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Toward a theory of revolutionary transformation: the impact of the socio-political paradigm shift triggered by the 25th January revolution on Egyptian organizations

Submitted by:

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A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield

Business School

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Abstract

Social revolutions are rare but momentous occurrences in modern world history. The occurrence of social revolutions in any society acts as a triggering force creating radical cultural, political and economic transformations as well as initiating new paradigm of power, practices and systems within this society (Elkersh, 2012; Ritchi, 2012; and Holbech, 2006) Egypt experienced a radical paradigm shift triggered by, the 25th of January revolution that completely altered the organization of the state, class structures, and prominent beliefs of the Egyptian society. After the rapid overthrow of the Mubarak regime, intensive waves of post-revolution protests have soon extended to include mainly all, state agencies and most of public and private sector's organizations (Howidi, 2012; Maqbol, 2013). Although, there are a large number of post revolution studies that discussed this phenomenon from social, economic and political perspective, none of them investigate the impact of this phenomenon on business organizations.

This study introduces a new theory to explain the transformations that are expected to emerge in Egyptian organizations in the context of the turbulent social and political events of the 25th January Revolution 2011. This research adopted the qualitative approach of grounded theory to collect and analyze data in order to create a theory through inductive analysis of the data. Data was collected from 22 semi structured interviews; participant observations and documentary evidence were used to enhance the rigor of the study. A coding paradigm was constructed presenting the theoretical framework of the study.

Overall, the results of this study demonstrate that causes, features and consequences of the drastic transformations that emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January 2011 revolution, display high degree of similarity with causes, features and consequences of the general socio-political changes triggered by revolutions. Evidence from data analysis demonstrates that power in Egyptian organizations was forced downward to the bottom line employees. Protesting employees were able to initiate new patterns of power and introduce new work practices aligned with their needs and demands. The findings also revealed ten underlying causes that triggered employees anger and drove them to engage in violent protests in the work place, causing destructive consequences to both Egyptian organizations and to the Egyptian economy.

Finally, the results of this study demonstrate that managers and employees were not able to manage effective changes in their organizations and to utilize positive outcomes from these changes.

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List of Acronyms

Acronym	Acronym's Meaning
G.T	Grounded theory
H.R.M	Human resources management
ECFESR	Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights

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Chapter one: Introduction

People are the most powerful weapon and commitment of people to certain claims for change might not only change systems, policies and values of the society but also the course of history (Addis and Morow, 2005, p.15)

Overview

Scholars, sociologists, and the business literature have argued that turbulence and dramatic socio-political transformation is a dynamic, never-ending process occurring globally in all societies (Toffler, 1980). Because the pace and power of these forces cannot be foreseen in order to control or change them, societies have to simply accept and deal with them as a social given (Ritvo and Roger, 2011). Social theorists and writers of revolutions have considered social upheavals to be one of the most powerful and influential forces that generate intense waves of socio-political transformation, driving institutional changes, and restructuring and reformulating the social, economic and political structure of the society (Brinton, 1938; Gurr, 1973; Holbech, 2006; and Skocpol, 1979). This study is set out with the aim of understanding and explaining the transformations that emerged in Egyptian organizations within the turbulent socio-political context triggered by the 25th January Revolution 2011.

The introductory chapter is intended to provide an overall idea of the research and to gain in depth understanding of the research phenomenon. This chapter starts by introducing the background to the area of study through relevant literature and provides a brief overview of the scope of change triggered by social revolutions, and how the social and political waves of change generated by revolutions act as a powerful change agent developing, restricting, and reformulating social, economic, and political structure of society. The next section moves from the macro to the micro level to discuss the phenomenon of revolutionary socio-political transformations. It briefly discusses how these socio-political transformations encourage new organizational reforms and empowers groups and individuals within the organizational system to adopt equivalent changes to those that emerged in the social sphere.

The third section of this chapter follows on from the previous two sections. It considers how the previous ideas of revolution and organizational change may apply in the Egyptian case. This section briefly discusses the major organizational dysfunctions and problems experienced by Egyptian employees in the three decades preceding the 25th January revolution.

Then the section moves to discuss how the Egyptian revolution encouraged employees to engage in intense rebellious actions in Egyptian organizations leading to the initial signs of reforms in both social and organizational settings.

The subsequent sections of this chapter address the following:

- The aims and objectives of this research.
- The importance of this research and its contribution to the body of knowledge.
- The methodology used in this research and the rationale of using grounded theory, and finally
- The position of the researcher in this research.

Background of research topic

1-2-1 Revolutions and socio-political transformations

Scholars, sociologists, and the business literature have argued that turbulence and dramatic socio-political transformation is a dynamic, never-ending process occurring globally in all societies (Toffler, 1980). Because the pace and power of these forces cannot be foreseen to control or change them, societies have to simply accept and deal with them as a social given (Ritvo, 2011). Social theorists and writers of revolutions have considered social upheavals to be one of the most powerful and influential forces that generate intense waves of socio-political transformation, driving institutional changes, and restructuring and reformulating the social, economic and political structure of the society (Brinton, 1938; Gurr, 1973; Holbech, 2006; and Skocpol, 1979).

A considerable number of studies have attempted to explain the nature of the causes, consequences and impacts of social revolutions as a change agent and a triggering force to reshape and reformulate the economic, political, institutional and cultural context of the society. Most have argued that the occurrence of social revolution in any society acts as a triggering force creating radical, cultural, political and economic transformations as well as initiating new patterns of power, practices and systems within this society (Cloke, Goldsmith & Bennis, 2002; Elkersh, 2012; Holbech, 2006; Knutsen and Baily, 1989; Ritchi, 2012; and Toffler, 1980).

Social theorists have argued that although there might be different forms of social change in any society, only a few of them are considered revolutionary changes (Gurr, 1973; Skocpol, 1979). What is unique about social revolutions, as noted by Skocpol (1979), is that basic and sudden changes in the social and the political structures occur through intense socio-political conflict. Skocpol (1979) added that the power of revolutions creates tremendous and fundamental transformations in the state organizations.

They argued that social revolutions change the lives of every citizen of the country; they completely alter the organization of the state, including class structures, and the prominent beliefs, theories and dominant ideologies held by the people, giving birth to nations of new power patterns and autonomy. Other writers have explicitly emphasized the significant role of power as a key aspect in all revolutions. Gurr (1979) argued that all revolutions involve requisition of power and that radical changes often occur in the power patterns of the society. Toffler (1980) emphasized the importance of power as a trigger force to modify the old value systems of the society after dramatic social changes. They pointed out that social revolutions often act to modify the old value system and the pattern of power, aiming to construct a new rule system and a substitution pattern of power and

authority within the society. Brinton (1938) defined revolutions as a drastic, and sudden, substitution of one group in charge of a territorial political entity by another group. They argued that after the collapse of the old pre-revolutionary regime, the society experiences noticeable changes in authority and power patterns. For instance, in the sixteenth century the Bourgeois revolution occurred in England to limit the power of monarchy, while in France the monarchy itself was toppled and new social and political patterns emerged in both countries (Watson, 2008). Other writers observed that since World War II, revolutions have occurred exclusively in third world countries, e.g. Egypt, Iran, Syria, and Yemen. They argued that these create intense socio-political paradigm shifts in the societies experiencing these revolutions (Knutsen and Baily, 1989).

In support of Brinton's definition, Gurr (1973) defines revolutions as the attainment of a substantial social change through the requisition of power. They argued that revolutions often bring about fundamental changes in peoples' beliefs, actions and patterns of power.

From these definitions of revolution, it may be concluded that the waves of change generated from social revolution often promote a drastic sudden substitution of the old paradigm of power, behavior, norms, beliefs, and ideologies of the society to construct an entirely new socio-political paradigm.

The Egyptian Revolution: The triggering force of social, political and organizational changes

The Arab countries have witnessed a series of anti-government protests and uprisings (both violent and non-violent) that soon became known as the Arab Spring (Mantreda, 2015). The initial spark of the uprisings began in Tunisia against Zine Elabidine Ben Ali, and these pro-democracy anti-government movements soon spread to protest against the corrupt leaders and dictatorial regimes that ruled for decades in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria (Hoissa, 2015; Mantreda, 2015).

The extraordinary success of the Tunisian revolution triggered people's courage in Egypt and inspired them to start their own revolution on January 25th 2011 which ended with the removal of President Hosni Mubarak who had ruled Egypt since 1981. The Egyptian Revolution was viewed by the international community as a unique, extraordinary, and inspiring event. The wave of popular protests in Egypt and other countries has inspired the imagination of many citizens globally to imitate the Egyptian model. Central squares in these countries were occupied by peaceful protestors, in tented communities who used similar slogans to the ones presented in the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions (Challand, 2011, p.271).

In January 2011, the people in Egypt were united in their demands, orientation, and goals in order to topple the regime and establish a new one aimed at achieving their ambitions and demands which had not been fulfilled by the rulers of the country for more than 60 years (Aboshanab, 2013). One of the most important factors that triggered and motivated the Egyptian revolution was the growing spirit of responsibility and positivity among the Egyptian youth together with their desire to overcome the fear and negativity that had built up (Ismail, 2012). Demonstrators in Egypt were protesting against 60 years of corruption, poverty, unemployment, and human rights violation. The majority of the people were from all Egyptian working classes, ages, religious backgrounds and ideologies, joining these massive protests and meetings in public spaces in Egypt, specially the Tahrir Square in the heart of Cairo (Fatemi, 2011). After 18 days of strikes and protests all over Egypt the protesters succeeded in forcing Mubarak to resign on February 11th, 2011 (Mansour, 2012).

Only a few days after the extraordinary success of the Egyptian revolution, waves of protests moved rapidly from the streets and squares and spread throughout all Egyptian organizations and institutions (Hewidi, 2012). Egypt has witnessed a wide spectrum of labour movements spreading throughout most public and private sectors. Strikes, protests and demonstrations have become a regular part of everyday life in Egyptian streets as well as in Egyptian organizations (Hewidi, 2012; Maqbool, 2013). Employees were fostering new mechanisms and upward influence tactics such as demonstrations, strikes, and sit-ins to raise their demands to their employers. A recent report by the

International development Centre has shown that around 4,500 labor strikes and protests had taken place in Egyptian organizations in the two years after the 25th January revolution. (Azoz and Elmogy, 2013). The post-revolution protests in Egypt spread to include all institutions of the state including the judicial and executive authorities such as police, army, judiciary, press, transport, water and electricity as well as other bodies in both private and public sectors (Ahmed, 2012; Amen et al., 2012; Ashoor, 2012; Eid, 2012; Elgalad, 2012; and Sayed, 2012).

A considerable number of published studies in Egypt (Abdeen, 2010; El Mahdy, 2010; El Fiqi, 2013) have investigated how employees suffered severely from arbitrary management practices, unfair treatment, and poor job conditions during the period preceding the Egyptian revolution. El Fiqi's (2013) study has explicitly shown the wide gap and the lack of proper relations between workers and employers in Egyptian organizations before the revolution. Abdeen (2010) suggested that Egyptian organizations suffer from a severe deficiency in human resource management practices. They added that Egyptian organizations do not show a reasonable degree of care and attention toward employees' wellbeing, health, and legitimate demands. Egyptian managers' treatment of employees in terms of fairness, healthy working conditions, and supervisory relationships, does not meet employees' expectations. In addition, organizational readiness to reward increased work effort and to meet socio-emotional needs are very low (Abdeen, 2010). Egyptian employees have also suffered from a severe decline in real wages compared with their equivalents in other countries (El Mahdy, 2010).

Other theoretical studies have investigated the autocratic style of Egyptian employers and their low concern for involving employees in decision making processes (Abdeen, 2010; and Hofstede, 1980). Hofstede (1980), one of the early theorists in organizational culture, pivotally stated that in cultures with a high-power distance index, such in Egypt, employers might be entitled to more privileges than subordinates. Egyptian managers exhibit the characteristics of a high-power distance culture and are unlikely to find it easy to delegate authority or to be flexible in executing decisions or to respond well to critics. In this, Hofstede is describing the general properties of the power distance rather than specific competences of Egyptian managers themselves. Further support for Hofstede's argument comes from Egyptian literature. Abdeen (2010) noted that Egyptian managers are highly centralized, rarely delegate authority, and often make decisions autocratically. Alternatively, Egyptian employees often avoid expressing their true opinions. They believe that their managers' opinions and decisions are correct simply because they are superior.

Although the above literature has clearly demonstrated the extent to which employees in the Egyptian organizations suffered from employers' arbitrary practices and unfair treatment, evidence from industrial relations studies and other published reports indicate that employees did not engage

in vigorous protest actions in the workplace to protect their violated rights and restore justice in the period preceding the 25th January revolution 2011. Official reports show that the number of protests and strikes that took place in Egyptian organizations was less than a quarter of the number of strikes observed in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution (El Fiqi, 2013). A further report published by the Egyptian center for Economic and Social Rights, shows that Egyptians have organized 9,427 protests in a two-year period showing a 70% increase over the protests organized in the Mubarak era; of these protests, 49% (4609) were initiated to achieve employees' demands in the workplace. (Azoz and Elmogy, 2013)

Preliminary evidence shows the social, political and economic reforms adopted by the post revolution government in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution. A new constitution was initiated slanted toward the interests of the people more than the interests of state (Pillary, 2014). In addition, the Egyptian post-revolution government introduced decisions to promote the values of freedom, democracy and social justice in Egyptian society after 60 years of oppressive and unjust practices (Abofadel, 2012; Abougazi, 2012; and Elshorouk, 2012).

From a micro perspective, initial indicators show a number of new organizational practices, decisions, and policies adopted by Egyptian organizations taking their legitimacy from the spirit of the revolution and the various cumulative pressures practiced by the employees.

According to (Winterton and Winterton, 1989; Lee, 2003) the intense post-revolutionary strikes and protests discussed so far are considered as important indicators of the change in the balance of power between employees and employers and are a powerful weapon adopted by employees in the workplace to achieve their demands. These strikes and other forms of upward power influence that have emerged in Egyptian organizations are considered a totally new phenomenon almost unknown in the Egyptian organizations during the pre-revolutionary era.

Overall, the above discussion demonstrates a high degree of similarity between the nature, features, causes, and consequences of the revolutionary transformation triggered by the 25th January revolution 2011 in Egypt, and the general features, causes, and consequences of social revolutions as presented in the literature of revolution in the previous two sections.

This study attempts to explore and explain the transformation that emerged in Egyptian Organizations in the context of the turbulent social and political events of the 25th January

Revolution 2011. In doing so, it is hoped that the present research will bridge an important gap of knowledge within the fields of sociology, human resources management, and organizational

behavior.

Research Aims and Objectives

Research aim

The principle aim of this research is to generate a systematically developed, and inductively derived, theoretical framework to explain the major features, causes and consequences of the revolutionary transformation that have erupted in Egyptian organizations as a result of the intense socio-political change triggered by the 25th January revolution 2011.

This research is pursued through a number of objectives:

Research Objectives

- 1- To conduct a critical review of the historical and general socio-political symptoms, causes and consequences of social revolution.
- 2- To explore and investigate the nature, features and characteristics of the revolutionary transformation that emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution 2011.
- 3- To explore the upward influence actions and tactics exercised by employees in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011.
- 4- To explore the underlying causes and motives that triggered the radical transformation in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution 2011.
- 5- To explore and investigate the emerging managerial and behavioral consequences resulting from the revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organizations.

Research Importance and Rationale

Social revolutions: an extraordinary change agent

Social revolutions are unique and extraordinary events that are rare in the history of nations. The period's preceding social revolutions are usually associated with implicit socio-political transformations (Elkersh, 2012; Ritchi, 2012; and Holbech, 2006). Scholars of revolutions argued that social revolution is a powerful change agent reshaping and reformulating the economic, political, institutional and cultural context of the society (Holbech, 2006). Considerable amount of literature of revolution and organizational change have noted that the transformational force associated with social revolutions is unique from all other transformations, these transformations are wider in scope and momentum (Gurr, 1973; and Skocpol, 1979). They have the ability to intensively change the old socio-political paradigm as well as the texture of everyday life and create a substitution paradigm of norms, values, behavior, and power within the society (Albercrombie & Word, 1992; Brinton, 1938; Davis, 1962; Gurr, 1973; El-Karouni, 2008; and Skocpol, 1979). This study suggests that the richness, dynamism and complexity of this phenomenon provide a valuable opportunity for new sociological, psychological and business research.

Bridging the Gap in the Literature of Revolution and organizational change

When reviewing the literature of revolution, it is found that there is a distinct silence of studies that attempt to investigate the impact of social revolutions on organizational transformation (Lebon, 1980; Gurr, 1973; and Skocpol, 1979). As most of the post revolution studies tend to concentrate on the fields of sociology and political science; it has been found that studies of revolution have explicitly focused on social and political factors in particular causes of political collapse, desire for regime change, and demands of freedom and democracy as central motivations. However, none of these studies have attempted to investigate the impact and consequences of the socio-political changes triggered by these revolutions on creating managerial and behavioral changes in the organizations and institutions subject to these changes.

Alternatively, a review of the literature in the general field of organizational change, finds that while a large volume of research has been carried out investigating the tight relationship between the socio-political context and work practices, values and behavior of organizational members (Cheng, 1983; Hofstede, 1991; Sherman & Bohlander, 1992; and Watson, 2012) there is an absence of attempts to explore the expected impact of social revolution, acting as a socio-political change agent, on creating new managerial practices, patterns of power and behavior in the workplace, which is the main focus of this study. While organizational change scholars have thoroughly

discussed the external triggers of organizational transformations (Hofstede, 1991; Marcovic, 2007; Sherman & Bohlander, 1992; and Watson, 2012), there are no studies that considered social revolutions to be one of these external triggers. Because of this, it can be argued that the current research covers an important gap in the literature of organizational change in particular, and in the literature of revolution in general.

Managing an effective organizational change

Initial indicators have shown the destructive consequences of the intense waves of post revolution strikes and demonstrations on Egyptian organizations, as well as on the entire economy (Ashoor, 2012; Eid, 2012; Robe, 2012; and Sayed, 2012). It is hoped that the results of this study will enable employers and policy makers in Egypt to address the underlying causes that trigger employees' anger and drive them to engage in rebellious actions in the workplace. The research suggests that if employers and policy makers in the Egyptian government were able to understand, realize and deal with these causes of employees' anger, they would have been able to align their policies, strategies and actions with these new revolutionary changes in the workplace. It is hoped that the results of this study will contribute to the on-going efforts of Egyptian business researchers and business experts to manage effective organizational change in a turbulent dynamic socio-political context like the one triggered in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution.

Methodology and Grounded Theory

Research philosophy and design

The major aim of this study is an exploration of the features, impacts, and consequences of the transformation, triggered by the 25th January revolution 2011, on employees' behavior, practices, patterns and power. An inductive research approach has been designed for in-depth exploration of the phenomena and generation of the substantive theory. Furthermore, this research argues that interpretive research philosophy will best fit the nature of the phenomena under study. An interpretivistic approach can help extract insights and in-depth experience of the researcher (active participant) and social actors (employees engaged in upward influence actions), of how they perceive and interact with the impacts and consequences of the Egyptian revolution in their organizations. Subjective judgment of social actors is explored using this philosophical approach (Bryman and Bell, 2007, p.19).

A constructivist ontological position was found to be suitable since the phenomena under study are socially constructed by people's actions and interactions (Garbich, 2007).

According to constructivists' social phenomena, the Egyptian Revolution is constructed by social actors since it is produced through the perceptions and actions of those social actors themselves (Saunders, 2009).

Based on the principles of theoretical sampling, the participants were purposively selected, and the researcher used his personal judgment to select cases that serve the aims and objectives of the research and directly participate in creating the phenomena under study. The conduction of interviews was found to be the most appropriate method of data collection since it best addresses the research aims and objectives by understanding the experience and perception of organizational members during their interaction with the socio-political transformation caused by the Egyptian Revolution. The research participants were mainly middle managers and union representatives who have directly participated in upward influence actions in the workplace. Interviews took place in two phases from November 2012 to August 2014, twenty-two semi structured interviews were conducted and transcribed for the purpose of triangulating data collected. Documentation and observations were also used. Finally, grounded theory data analysis was the principle methodology used in this research for data collection and analysis, where the theory is induced from thematic analysis of data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Rationale of Using Grounded Theory

Bridging the knowledge gap

Grounded theory adherents noted that it is of most use when little research in the subject area has been undertaken (Smith and Billey, 1993). Yoong (1996, p.35) stated: "The choice of grounded theory for the analysis and articulation of raw experience is supported in situations where there is little previous research in an area, when the focus is on human experience and interaction, when there is a high degree of applicability to practice, and when there is a need for contextual interpretation".

The new behavioral patterns emerging in the workplace are viewed as another significant justification for the use of the grounded theory approach in this study. Grounded theory researchers argue that it is useful in situations where people develop a new pattern of behavior while interacting together in groups and also interacting with new social phenomena (Glaser, 1978). An in-depth discussion of the methodology, data collection and analysis is presented in both Chapters 2 and 3.

Finally, as the aim of this research is to bridge a knowledge gap by, investigating the impact of social revolution as a socio-political change agent to trigger organizational transformations. And as social revolutions in Egypt is a new and still evolving phenomenon and in the absence of integrated theories the choice of methodology seems to be weighted in favor of adopting grounded theory.

1.7 The researcher role and position in the study.

Grounded theory researchers (Saberie, 2012; Cresswell, 2007; and Pramington, 2002) argued that developing themes from data involves interpretive effort and the analysis produced is not merely descriptive. Subsequently, In-depth, observation and close analysis of the research phenomenon in grounded theory researches will enable the researcher to gain an insightful understanding of the themes and categories emerging during the process of analysis and interpretation, Thus, the researcher should play an active role in identifying patterns and themes and in selecting which of these themes are of interest to achieve the research aims and objectives.

According to Grbich, (2007), the observations conducted in the field in grounded theory studies are considered a significant tool for constructing the theoretical framework of the study. Observing the events of the revolution in Egypt from participant's position matches the nature of the phenomenon under study. Research observation is suitable when studying constantly evolving social phenomena and enables the researcher to observe changes being constructed and reconstructed as he moves through differing political, social and organizational contexts (Lewis et al, 2007).

Where this research adopted the interpretivistic approach which profoundly relies on exploring subjective judgment of social actors (Bryman and Bell, 2007)_to explore and interpret the new socio-political phenomenon emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution, It is arguable that the interpretivistic approach adopted in this study will help the researcher (active participant) to extract insights and in-depth experience of social actors (employees engaged in upward influence actions) of how they perceive and interact with the impacts and consequences of the Egyptian revolution in their organizations. This considered the principle aim of this research.

In order to peruse this aim, the researcher has directly participated in all the events of the Egyptian revolution. My position as an activist in Egyptian revolution helped me to insightfully experience, discover and investigate how organizational members in Egyptian organizations perceive and deal with this new emerging phenomenon of revolutionary transformation in social settings (places where people group together to revolt against Mubarak regime) as well as in organizational settings (the workplace of research participants.)

The present study suggests that it is people's actions and interactions which initiate these phenomena and bring it into their work place. It is arguable that this close analysis and in-depth interference with social actors (employees in Egyptian organizations) their accumulated experiences

and in-depth meanings associated with the new emerging transformations in the socio-political surroundings after the revolution will enhance researchers understanding of the phenomenon under study and will provide the researcher with a route to construct the theoretical framework of the study

During the process of analysis and interpretation, the researcher plays an active role in identifying patterns and themes and the selection of those of interest to achieve the research aims and objectives. It is worth noting that the researcher has actively participated in many of the events and phases of the Egyptian revolution. He has also witnessed employees' protests and demonstrations that embarked in his own organization during the Egyptian revolution. This experience gives him an in-depth understanding of the new emerging socio-political phenomena in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution.

Further support to the previous arguments emphasizing the active role played by researchers acting as participant observers in Grounded theory studies comes from the work of Pramington (2002). He argued that researchers in grounded theories studies plays an active part in the evolving phenomena, and his experience and interaction with the event is considered an important source of data. In this way he gains an in-depth understanding and interpretation of categories and themes that result from the analysis of the data and enhances the validity of the results when compared with sources like interviews and organizational documents. Arguably being an active participant in the events of the Egyptian revolution, and the consequent protests embarked upon in the workplace, improves the researcher's ability to adequately explore, understand and analyses the new emerging power and behavioral paradigm as well as the new managerial practices that have emerged in the workplace. For instance, my role as a participant observer in the protests erupted in my own organization in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution, helped me to clearly understand the behavioral link between employees' anger and discontent and the upward influence tactics practiced by employees as a result of employers oppressive management and political human resources management practices which is considered one of the main triggers of anger in my organization as well as other Egyptian organizations. This was considered as one of the main categories in this study.

In addition to this, experiencing the radical changes emerged in my organization from the eyes of a participant observant, as well as being an active participant in all the phases of the Egyptian revolution, enables me to clearly understand and demonstrate the high degree of similarity between the causes and features of the revolutionary transformation erupted in the Egyptian society and those emerged in Egyptian organization in the aftermath of the 25th January. The previous comparison between the causes and the features of the revolutionary transformation in social and organizational settings, clearly demonstrates that the changes emerged in Egyptian Organizations was a

revolutionary respond to the drastic socio-political transformations emerged in Egyptian society in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution. This was one of the main conclusions deduced from the findings of this study.

Finally, one of the most significant reasons emphasizing the important role played by the researcher as an active participant in the phenomenon under study, is enhancing researcher's understanding and interpretation of how each participant interviewed belonged to different educational, managerial and social classes perceive and interpret the phenomenon and reveal the whole picture from their own point of view according to the social or managerial category in which they belong to. The researcher should play an important role in understanding; exploring and interpreting participants comment in order construct the final interpretive paradigm model of the study.

Chapter two: Literature review

Introduction

Grounded theory-oriented researchers argue that the literature review plays a much smaller role than it does in theory testing research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.26). However, the researcher believes that for explanatory purposes a full understanding of the literature of revolution and social changes is essential for establishing a thorough familiarity of the new emerging socio-political context in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011. It is also argued that an investigation of the socio-political transformation triggered by the 25th January Revolution 2011 will provide the researcher with a detailed analysis and interpretation of the themes and categories that emerge from the thematic analysis of the data in the empirical study.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of the literature of organizational change within a macro social, political and cultural dimensions as well as the literature of social revolutions. This chapter is divided into three interrelated sections. The first section of this chapter investigates the causal connection between the socio-political forces in the surroundings of the organizations and the value system, employees' behavior and managerial practices within these organizations. The ultimate aim of this part is to gain an enhanced understanding of micro-level organizational changes in its social and political dimension.

The second section begins with a brief review by classical writers of revolution (Brinton, 1938; Gurr, 1973; Holbech, 2006; and Skocpol, 1979) of the fundamental causes, features and consequence of the revolutionary transformations triggered by social revolutions in general. The second part of this chapter narrowed the scope of discussion to the particular case of the Egyptian revolution. It describes in greater detail the causes and consequences of the 25th January revolution 2011 in Egypt. This section starts by presenting a brief historical review of the most important social revolutions begun in Egypt starting from the Paranoiac era until the 25th January Revolution 2011. The literature further demonstrates social and political causes of the eruption of the 25th January revolution 2011 with a focus on the significant role of the dominant social elites and powerful political minorities as a main trigger causing people's rage and discontent and encouraged them to engage in intense popular protests in the 25th January revolution 2011. The chapter then moves to provide a critical insight of the main revolutionary demands raised by people in the public spaces of Egypt and discusses the major social, political and economic reforms that have taken place in Egypt because of the successive waves of popular pressures during and after the 25th January Revolution 2011. The chapter finally thoroughly investigates and discusses the role

of the new emerging popular pressures and collective movement fostered by people in Egypt acting as a change agent in altering the balance of power and authority and initiating new social, political and economic reforms corresponding with the people's ambitions and demands.

Section one: socio-political transformation and organizational change

Since the middle of 1990's transformation researches have increasingly pointed to integrate social, political and economic aspect into organizational change models in order to explain the radical transformation caring in the organizations (Blazejewski and Dorow, 2003).

According to (Toffler, 1980), many of today's changes are dependent of one another one can never isolate the interrelationships and dual effect of social, economic and political surroundings on organizational practices, strategies and decision-making process. As all organizations experience waves of changes carrying new ideologies, values and social patterns. The characteristics and patterns emerged by the evolving waves mainly causes corresponding change in the managerial key concepts as well as the ultimate value context of the organization (Toffler, 1980). In support, Hofstede (1991) and Schneider, (1988) have argued that many of the differences in employees, management styles and organizational structures throughout the world can be attributed to differences in the collective mental programming of the people in different national cultures, as Lack of understanding to incorporate national cultures in management and organizational practices can bring about series negative effects.

A large and growing body of literature has investigated the causal connection between the dynamisms of the socio-political environment of the society and the work values and practices of organizational members of this society. all have argued that modifying values attitudes of employees and managers and adapting organizational practices to the imposed change is not only crucial in determining the effectiveness and efficiency of organizations but even for the organization to survive within the challenging environment (Cheng, 1983; Hofstede, 1991; Sherman & Bohlander, 1992; and Watson, 2012).

Burnes and Jackson (2011) stated that organizational change initiatives and employees' commitment to change will only succeed when there is a proper alignment of the value system of the society and those members of the organization subject to the change. They argued that employees' commitment to change can therefore be looked at as a function of how the changes fit with employees' values, priorities, demands and desires.

Burnes and Jackson (2011) added that to achieve an effective change in any organization, employers' practices, strategies and decisions should also be tightly connected to the social, political, and economic context.

There is a richness of organizational change literature that demonstrates the interrelationship between the value system of the society and employees' work values. Organizational change scholars argue that if a society is experiencing transformation in its social pattern, employees are expected to bring these new values to the workplace and employers are expected to demonstrate a greater sense of obligation toward these values (Cheng, 1983; Marcovic, 1992; Sherman, & Bohlander, 2007; and Watson, 2012).

Ritvo (2009) has argued that it is human beings who are the makers of the socio-political paradigm a society may experience transformations in its social and political paradigms based on individual collective action and movements that bring new values, norms, beliefs and actions into the social sphere, adapting these values and actions accordingly. Ritvo (2009) noted that civilian social change empowers individuals and groups within the organizational system to adopt equivalent and similar changes to those in the social sphere. The emerging value system adopted by people in such societies is considered a powerful force in shaping norms, values and behavior (Watson, 2012; Hofstede, 1991). Addis and Morrow, (2005) has emphasized the importance of people actions and initiatives as a change agent they argued that people are considered to be the most powerful weapon, and that the commitment of people to certain claims for change might change not only the systems, policies and values of the society but also the course of history. In support, Blackburn (2008) stated that people's inspiring desires and dreams for democracy, freedom and a better standard of living initiate a huge social, revolutionary, power that aims to replace the old corrupted regime and governmental institutions and introduce a new paradigm of power, authority and organizational reforms within the society.

Finally, Watson (2012) maintained that social actions of people are derived from the social environment, in a way that every action, behavior, ideology is linked to a wider social structure. These contribute together to form the basic pattern of the society where all actions, arrangements and peoples are subject to this social structure. Watson explained how individual actions and social pattern are interconnected. He argued that a society may experience transformations in its social context based on individual collective actions, movements and process, bringing new values, believes and actions in to the social sphere adapting these values in their organizations and act accordingly. Watson stated process is created by human beings and changes in the social patterns will shape individuals mind that individual act as change agent work institutions, organizations and

set and change their way of interpretation and perceiving managerial practices and decisions, rejecting or adopting these practices based on their new frame of references. Watson maintained that effective institutions should learn how to cope with and adapt its practices to external social surroundings.

The previous literature has discussed how an emerging value system and behavior of employees within the organizations is derived from the value system of the society.

Other organizational change scholars have argued that the success of any organizational change initiatives is tidily connected not only to the values brought by employees from the social settings to the workplace, but more importantly, to the degree of alignment between employers' change initiatives and the new social and political values in the socio-political context of the organization.

Bratton and gold (2001) argued that for the open system model for management actions and organizational practices to be effective it should be tightly connected to the wider social structure, Watson, 2012). Similarly, Burnes and Jackson (2011) have argued that the new evolving organizational change has a high probability of success if it is derived from the value system of the society. They added that organizational change often fails where goals and values adopted by managers are not aligned with those that employees bring from their social environment. The lack of alignment between the value system of the change intervention and those members of an organization undergoing the change is considered as one of the most significant reasons for the failure of any change initiatives (Bratton and gold, 2001; Burnes and Jackson, 2011; and Watson, 2012).

In support to the previous arguments demonstrated by organizational change scholars, Institutional theory represent a distinctive approach to the study of the impact of social, economic and political phenomenon on institutional arrangements (Paul and DiMaggio, 1991). Institutionalism builds upon psychological, anthropological and other research into how institutions and people behave in a dynamic socio-political environment (Hodgson, 1993). They emphasize the importance of maintaining appropriate institutional arrangement in respond to severe, sudden social and political forces where individual preferences and practices are shaped by these drastic social, political and institutional forces (Paul and DiMaggio, 1991)

Institutionalisms' main concern is to understand and analyze forces and variations in the external environment before analyzing the expected transformation and evolution that may face any organization. Paul and DiMaggio (1991) clearly demonstrate how unexpected shocks and sudden changes in the external environment act as a powerful change agent for developing waves of change within the organizations subject to these forces.

Aldrich & Ruef (2006) used the term "blind change" to differentiate between unplanned sudden change which occurs independently of conscious planning as noted by Paul and DiMaggio (1991) and planned intentional organizational change which is a slow gradual change administered by top management and require a fair amount of preplanning and resource distribution to meet the objectives of change in organizations.

In agreement with the previous ideas of Aldrich & Ruef (2006), organizational change scholars noted that the process and the consequences of change in planned transformation is totally different than that of unplanned blind transformation (Burk and Litwin, 1992; Dessler, 2008; Ritvo, 2011). They view unplanned, Blind transformation as drastic rapid transformation that stems from rapidly ever changing unpredictable forces and environmental pressures that merely stems from unrealized events in the external environment (Gersick, 1992; Noble, 1981; Gurr, 1979). These drastic transformational forces as noted by Aldrich and Ruef (2006) usually results from unexpected environmental accidents, chance, conflict and so forth. And usually contains mistakes, misunderstandings, surprises and idle curiosity. According to Ritvo, (2011) the pace and power of these shocking transformational forces cannot be foreseen in order to control or change them. Societies have to accept and deal with them as social given.

Taking the ideas of institutionalists as a whole and applying them to the revolutionary transformation erupted in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution, it could be seen that Egyptian organization was subject of drastic institutional reforms as a result of the severe, unplanned socio-political transformation triggered by the 25th January revolution. Preliminary evidence shows signs of social, political and institutional reforms adopted by the post revolution government. These institutional arrangements were generated from the intense socio-political transformation triggered by the 25th January revolution (Elshorouk 2011; Elasaar 2011; El Behi and Foad, 2012). The Egyptian Center for Economic and Social rights (ECFSR) shows that around 2,000 labor strikes and protests had taken place directly after the 25th January revolution. These post revolution protests represent one of the highest levels of social struggle worldwide and include demonstrations, sit-ins, road blocks and strikes (El- Fiqi, 2013). According to the ideas of the institutionalists, these social and institutional transformations could be considered as an ideal example of a blind transformation. In support other scholars of revolution argued that transformations triggered from social revolutions are extremely unique from all other types of transformations because they have the ability to create fundamental, sudden socio-political as well as institutional changes in the social, political and organizational values of the society (Ritvo and Roger, 2011; Skocpol, 1979).

Within the same context other evidence from the Egyptian revolution demonstrates high degree of similarities between the nature and features of the blind transformation as demonstrated by Aldrich and Ruef (2006) and Paul and Dimaggio (1991), and the revolutionary changes emerged in Egyptian revolution in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution (El Asaar, 2013). It could be seen that the rapid collapse of Mubarak regime in 18 days after the eruption of the Egyptian revolution created, severe, sudden, drastic and unplanned socio-political transformation as well as new institutional reforms in mainly all Egyptian organization as well as the entire economy (Ashoor, 2012; Eid, 2012; Robe, 2012; and Sayed, 2012). These institutional reforms will be the subject of the current study.

It could be concluded from the previous discussion that Ideas of institutionalisms demonstrating the impact of sudden turbulent socio-political changes on institutional arrangement and individual preference strongly supports ideas of organizational change scholars who argued that failure or success of any change initiative is subject to the ability of the organization to understand, accept and cope with these new changes and initiate new functional and structural changes aligned with these emerging socio-political changes (Cheng, 1983; Hofstede, 1991; Sherman and Bohlander, 1992; Aldrich & Ruef, 2006; Watson, 2012; and Burnes and Jackson, 2011)

Although the previous literatures have explicitly demonstrated the impact of various social, political and cultural forces within the organizational context, they do not take the question of investigating the probable impact of social revolution acting as a powerful socio-political change agent on triggering transformations in the organizations.

There is an absence of research that attempts to explore and investigate the expected impact of social revolution acting as a socio-political change agent on creating new managerial practices, patterns of power and behavior in the workplace; this is the main focus of the current study.

The empirical study in this research attempt to bridge this gap of knowledge by exploring and explaining the transformations emerged in Egyptian organizations in the context of the turbulent social and political events of the 25th January Revolution 2011. In doing so, it is hoped that the present research will bridge an important gap of knowledge within the fields of sociology H.R.M and organizational behavior.

Section two: general Characteristics, causes and consequences of social revolutions

Basic Characteristics of the transformations triggered by social revolutions

Definition of social revolution

Brinton (1938) defines social revolutions as "a drastic sudden substitution of one group, in a change of a territorial political entity, by another group. He argues that after a collapse of the revolutionary old regime the society experiences a noticeable change in authority and power patterns Gurr (1973) has clearly emphasized the importance of power as a key aspect in all revolutions and argues that all revolutions involve requisition of power and changes in the power patterns of the society.

According to Toffler (1980), power is considered the main trigger that acts to modify the old value system and the pattern of authority aiming to construct a new rule system and a substitution pattern of power and authority within the society. A Bourgeois revolution occurred in England to limit the power of the monarchy and in France the monarchy itself was toppled, with new social and political patterns emerging in both countries after these revolutions. Gurr's definition is considered to be the major principle for the current study as it is the only one that mentions the terms "revolutionary organization" and "power requisition" as incremental consequences of social revolutions.

Further work by Skocpol (1979) identified four social-scientific theories of revolutions. First is the Marxist family. Marxists interpret revolutions as a class- based movement that stems from structural contradictions occurring within different social classes in the society. Revolutions occur due to the class action that is led by a rising revolutionary class, who tend to gain the support of others. Next is the aggregate-psychological theory Gurr (1973) which explains revolutions through psychological motivations that take part in political violence. This theory is built upon the action of people and how their minds are opposing the government work. Johnson (1966) proposed the systems value consensus theory. This explains revolutions as a violent reaction to ideological movements

Scope of change triggered by social revolutions

A large body of literature of revolution has attempted to explain the nature, causes and the consequences of social revolutions by emphasizing the comprehensiveness and the severity of the transformations triggered by such revolutions. Theorists and writers of revolution have argued that social revolution acts as a triggering force, reshaping and reformulating the economic, political, cultural and institutional context of the society (Brinton, 1938; Cheng, 1983; Gurr, 1973; and Holbech, 2006). Skocpol (1979) has pointed out that the power of revolutions fundamentally creates tremendous transformations in state organizations. They argue that these revolutions change the

lives of every citizen of the country; they completely alter the organization of the state, including their class structures, as well as the prominent beliefs, theories and dominant ideologies held by the people, giving birth to nations of new power patterns and autonomy.

Historians, scholars and writers of revolution have argued that although there might be different forms of social and political changes in any society, only a few of them are considered revolutionary changes. A rebellion for example merely involves a revolt of subordinate classes and may not create structural changes. A political transformation may change the state structure but not the social structure. Industrialization can transform social structure but not change the political structure (Noble, 1981). Britain for example underwent a period of systematic social transformation in the previous 30 years and these changes causes' substantial impacts on all aspects of life in Britain, yet these changes are not considered as revolutionary change. Egypt experienced similar forms of social transformation in the years before the 25th January Revolution; social mobility driven by economic liberalization, education, the rise of the military, foreign employers, migrant laborers and inflation were the major symptoms of these changes (Amin, 2001). A critical analysis of the literature of revolution indicates that none of the above-mentioned changes can be considered a revolutionary transformation.

What is unique about social revolutions, as noted by Skocpol (1979), is that fundamental and sudden change in the social structure, as well as the political structure, occurs and that these changes happen through intense socio-political conflict. Gurr (1973) suggested two further factors to consider if social change is to be viewed as a revolutionary transformation. They stated that social transformations are destined to be revolutionary if they are committed to accomplishing fundamental changes and also that violence and the reacquisition of power are considered to be the major incremental consequences of the revolutionary transformation.

Hence, it may be concluded from the above arguments that social revolutions are unique from all other transformations because they alone have the ability to change both social and political organization rapidly and radically

Overall, the arguments discussed so far by the literature of revolutions have illustrated six basic features for any revolutionary transformation triggered by social revolutions

1. Radical, rapid and sudden transformation in the socio-political structure of the society.
2. Requisition of power, causing a severe change in the pattern of power and authority of the society.
3. Rapid and basic transformation of a society's state and class structures.

4. Administrative and political power of the state needs to break down followed by the emergence of a new pattern of power.
5. New values and behavior emerge within the people of the society.
6. Violence and class-based conflict often occurs between powerful dominant classes and other revolutionary classes and this is considered to be the root cause of social revolutions.

Social, political and economic causes of Revolutions:

Skocpol (1979) presents important arguments about the causes of social revolutions. Numerous studies have attempted to investigate the major causes and the underlying reasons that trigger France, Russian and Chinese revolutions. Skocpol argues that social revolutions in those countries emerged from political crises centered on the structure of old regime states. These crises only undermined the autocratic monarchical regime but also the disorganized, centrally-coordinated administration and its coercive control over the potentially rebellious lower classes. Skocpol noted that the revolutionary crisis developed when the old regime states become unable to meet the challenges of an evolving international situation. The failure of a state to adjust in order to eliminate external threats, and pressures from within, is what will always bring about social revolution. Skocpol makes the point that although social revolutions involve many of the same factors, the idea of viewing each case separately is incorrect, Skocpol. noted that countries that have experienced social revolutions do have differences based on their culture and region but the methods that brought about their revolutions are inherently the same.

The causes of revolution have been widely investigated by Brinton (1938). Brinton noted that the major causes and drivers of revolutions is the systematic accumulation of complaints. Brinton likens it to a fever that rises due to illness among people; as people cannot tolerate the fever for a long time, a revolution is provoked, and a new regime emerges aligned with the people's claims and desires.

In his book "Psychology of Revolution", Jostaph Lebon has suggested that the reasons for triggering revolution are revealed to be accumulating discontent and the suppression exhibited by despotic governments or an unpopular sovereign (Lebon, 1980). Further support for Lebon's and Brinton's arguments comes from the work of Gurr (1973) who noted that discontent is a root cause of violence and the main cause of revolutions. Gurr highlighted the main factors that cause this discontent. Gurr stated that Poor social conditions, like poverty, tyranny, corruption and violation of rights often develop into a severe frustration within society and force people to engage in violent rebellious actions. Gurr (1973) argues that where the perceived gap between expectations and gratification widens, revolution takes place.

Another study (Davis, 1962) interprets the causes of social revolution from a different perspective.

Davis argues that revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal. The people's mood then becomes revolutionary. He noted that The Russian revolution clearly support this notion.

Skocpol (1979) emphasized the influential role of social and political conflict as important triggers of social revolutions. Skocpol argued that political crisis and conflict between political parties trigger social revolutions. Skocpol further states the continuous struggle between different political and social classes and the state eventually creates socio-economic transformation and explains that the uprising of certain social classes and socio-economic transformations are tied to the fall of the old regime and to the functioning of the new one.

Lastly, Britton (1938) has briefly outlined the conditions which seem to be present as causes in the most famous revolutions as follows:

1. People from all social classes are discontented.
2. People feel restless and held down by unacceptable restrictions in society, religion, the economy or the government.
3. People are hopeful about the future, but they are being forced to accept less than they had hoped for.
4. People are beginning to think of themselves as belonging to a social class, and there is a growing bitterness between social classes.
5. The social classes closest to one another are the most hostile.
6. The scholars and thinkers despair of the way their society operates.
7. The government does not respond to the needs of its society.
8. The leaders of the government and the ruling class begin to doubt themselves. Some join with the opposition groups.
9. The government is unable generate enough support from any group to save itself.
10. The government cannot organize its finances correctly and is either becoming insolvent or attempts to tax heavily and unjustly.

Overall, the main classical writers and theorists of revolution (Brinton, 1938; Davis, 1962; Gurr, 1973; and Lebon, 1980) have argued that the major causes and drivers of revolutions are the systematically growing complaints among people that often create a prolonged period of accumulated discontent which forces people to engage in violent rebellious actions against their authoritarian regime.

Political elite and dominant minorities: the root cause of social revolutions

Writers of revolutions have argued that the rising of a revolutionary class after revolution at the expense of diminishing powerful dominant minorities is considered as one of the major incremental consequences of social revolutions (Gurr, 1973; Skocpol, 1979). Revolution theorists maintain that the grand revolutions such as the French, the Russian, the Chinese and recently the Egyptian revolution were against injustice, tyranny and depletion of the nations' wealth and resources as they were in the hands of a minority that controlled them under the guise of serving people. The suppression and abuse of power by such minorities are often the main reasons for such revolutions that eradicate the deep-rooted dictatorships (Hessen, 2013). Dominant minorities, ruling elites or powerful classes are people who form the top political and economic figureheads. They are considered as a unique cluster of the population having higher economic and political leverage and possess a great amount of power and authority. In the three famous revolutions above, powerful dominant classes are considered to be one of the major causes of the revolutionary situation (Brinton, 1938; Gurr, 1973; Lebon, 1980; and Skocpol, 1979).

Skocpol (1979) has pivotally stated that pre-revolutionary France, Russia, and China experienced one major theme before their social revolution occurs; the pre-revolutionary countries were dominated by politically powerful domestic classes. According to Skocpol (1979), the French revolution is usually explained by the following two themes: the rise of the Bourgeoisie and the emergence of an enlightened critique of arbitrary traditional authority. Dominant minorities came to France in 1643 with the regency of Louis XIV. The government then turns to be multi layered. New control has emerged in French revolution. This Elite class became a supreme power not just in France but in the whole of Europe. In China the dominant class was divided into two main sectors: the centralized autocracy and wealthy families who owned the majority of Chinese resources. The dominant class in China dominated most of the highest ranks in government and state positions. Sons of landlords' families hold from non-degree holders occupy highest government positions. This social inequality triggered Chinese needs for structural reforms starting from the social and occupational hierarchies. Skocpol (1979) has argued that the new reforms destroyed the old order both ideologically (Class, Nationalist) and structurally by emphasizing social interests over class interests. Russia was also experiencing the same social symptoms as that of China and France since

Russian nobles dominated most of the fertile agricultural land leaving the infertile land to ordinary people. The dominating elites in Egypt and Iran assumed a vital role in aborting social revolutions; in their countries since such revolutions represent threats to their power and interests. In 1951, Iran witnessed a revolution led by Mohamed Mosdeq and that revolution created massive political, social and economic reforms.

However, these reforms had a negative impact on the interests of colonial forces and their allied elites inside Iran, and so legal, political and police campaigns were launched to derail the revolution until it finally was aborted in 1953 (Hewidi, 2013). The same scenario took place in Egypt after the revolution of January 25th, 2011 as the power centers in the military council, the police, judicial authorities, media and some businessmen allied to overthrow the first elected regime in Egypt's modern history. In doing so, they created crises that directly affect the daily life of the citizens in an attempt to undermine President Morsi's popularity. A report by the Gallup organization indicated that about 80% of Egyptians were suffering from poor economic conditions at that time (Youness, 2013). On 3 July 2013, a coup led by the army's Chief General Abdel Fattah el-Sisi removed Morsi from power and suspended the Egyptian constitution (Kirkpatrick, 2013).

Analysis of the Chinese, Egyptian, French, Iranian, Russian and revolutions illustrates three main characteristics of the ruling elites in these countries:

1. The elite class's role is revealed in the countries that do not apply democracy as the rulers' powers are above the law. Such elite controls economic resources, law enforcement and media and establishes centers of power to protect their interests and objectives at the expense of social and institutional ones.
2. These elite classes create a gap between their members and other members of the community, which is implied through the obvious discrimination in terms of social status and job privileges provided to the elite class.

The concepts of democracy and freedom represent the main threat to the elite's interests which adopt the concept of monolithic authority and apply oppressive means to achieve its objectives. In general, preliminary goal of all social revolutions is the attainment of substantial social changes through requisition of power (Brinton, 1938; Gurr, 1973; Lobon, 1980; and Skocpol, 1979). Thus, one of the basic motives triggering social revolutions is terminating the old authoritative regime and its ruling dominant minority. Skocpol (1979) argues that in such cases people have been suffering from unequal distribution of income, wealth and other social rights. Over all it may be concluded from the above literature that the dominant class in countries experiencing social revolutions were controlling

most of countries' resources, occupying the highest state positions and were emphasizing their personal interests over social interests and the wellbeing of the entire country.

Social and political Consequences of social Revolution

Scholars and theorists of revolutions consider the consequences of social revolution as the key element of study and argue that the outcomes of a revolution will emerge once it begins. Most of the famous social revolution in the history was associated with significant social, political and economic reforms (Gurr, 1973; Skocpol, 1979). The transformational forces associated with social revolutions are unique from all other transformations; they are wider in scope and momentum. They have the ability to intensively change the old socio-political model as well as the texture of everyday life and create a substitution paradigm of norms, values, behaviour and power within the society (Abercrombie & Word, 1992; Brinton, 1938; Davis, 1962; Gurr, 1973; and Skocpol, 1979). It has also been noted that one of the major incremental consequences of social revolution is a severe shift in the power structure of the society. It is argued that after the collapse of the pre-revolutionary regime, authority and power are forced further and further to the left of the political spectrum (to blue collar, medium and low classes of society) until the entire revolutionary regime collapses. Finally, a new revolutionary government emerges substituting the old dominant minority government. The new government then seeks to institute social and political reforms (Knutsen and Bailey, 1989).

Revolution and Violence

Theorists of revolution argued that social revolutions are always associated with violence (Gurr, 1973; Leahy, 1992; and Skocpol, 1979) writers of revolutions defined violence as the deliberate use of force to injure or destroy physically, and not some more general category of coercive actions or policies, (Gurr, 1973). Such writers always attribute violent conflict and revolutionary movements to some specific kinds of social change. According to Leahy (1992), revolution is usually associated with intense violence. For a successful revolution to occur there must be both change and violence, as there is nothing in the history of revolutions called nonviolent revolution (Skocpol, 1979). The ethological approach for studying revolutions argues that, in a revolutionary situation, conflict between classes in a society is a root cause of violence and this class conflict is considered a major revolutionary motive (Gurr, 1973).

Other Psychological theories argue that discontent is the root cause of violence. A prolonged period of fear, tyranny, poverty and government corruption generalizes frustration and anger and this accumulative discontent is translated into collective violent behaviour as the basis of social revolution (Davis, 1962; Gurr, 1973; and Korotayev & Zinkina, 2011).

When we consider the previous arguments of revolution in the context of the Egyptian situation, theoretical findings from the literature demonstrate that the causes, consequences and the characteristics of the revolutionary transformation triggered by the 25th January revolution 2011 are similar to those presented by the classical writers of revolution. This will be thoroughly discussed in part two of this chapter.

Section three: Power of the Egyptian revolution: Features, Causes and socio-political consequences.

A critical review of the history of Egyptian revolution

Historians and sociologists argue that historically important events are considered as major sources of influence that often leave noticeable marks on the people of a particular country. According to Hofstede and Band, (1988) people's norms, behavior and patterns of socialization often stem from these historical events. The wave of protests that emerged in Egypt in January 2011 is not an entirely a new phenomenon; other various social movements, protests, and demonstrations have occurred in Egypt in the last 200 years.

Revolutions have taken place in the modern history of Egypt since about the year 1800, specifically in 1798 when what is known historically known as Cairo's first revolution was triggered against the authoritarian rule of the French occupation (Williams, 2013). Subsequently, a series of social revolutions emerged in Egypt, most of them related to the authoritative practices of an oppressive regime.

The current section presents an analytical view of the history of the most important social revolutions in Egypt and develops an in-depth understanding of the new emerging social power triggered by these revolutions and the influential role of popular pressures in initiating new political, economic and institutional reforms in accord with the will and desires of people within Egyptian society.

Revolutions in the Paranoiac era

The first social revolution in the history of Egypt was in the era of Pepi II, one of the kings of the 14th dynasty in the Paranoiac era. The most important reason for the revolution at that time was very similar to that behind the 25th January Revolution 2011. That reason was the tyranny and despotism of the ruler who governed Egypt for a period of 77 years. Pepi II took exclusive possession, together with the nobles and clergymen, of the wealth of the country and enslaved the Egyptian people. There was extreme class and race discrimination that made these two classes, the nobles and the clergymen, the most privileged. The revolution of the Egyptian people at that time was to attain freedom and social justice (khairy, 2011). After this, there were no further social revolutions or

protests of significance in Egypt for thousands of years since Egyptians had surrendered to the rule of the Pharaoh who, as they thought, ruled by divine decree.

Cairo's revolution and the new emerging popular power in Mohammed Ali's era

Mohammed Ali, the pioneer of Egyptian contemporary renaissance, assumed power in Egypt in 1805 by the will of the popular leadership and in compliance with their opinions. It was this popular leadership which had given him access to the ruling power and it continued and survived in the early years of the rule of Mohammed Ali. It is credited with directing him in public affairs, and sharing in the ruling power (Shehata, 1999). This is considered as the first appearance of a leadership that the people were able to choose with their own free will and who ruled them after thousands of years of autocracy during which time the people had no role in choosing, directing or changing the ruling regime.

The Cairo's revolution (1798-1800)

The roots of such popular movements appeared after the first and second Cairo revolutions. These movements were one of the most important reasons behind the withdrawal of Napoleon from Egypt when Egyptian men, women, children and nobility filled streets and advanced to fight the French. They collected iron from mosques and made cannons and rifles, the use of which convinced the French that their stay in Egypt was impossible (Shehata, 1999). One of the most important social effects of these revolutions was that Egyptians recognized for the first time the importance of social power in achieving the aims of freedom and honor and thus the society's belief, its ability to choose its own destiny and to choose its own ruler. Since that time, Egyptians have not been satisfied with any system of rule except the constitutional system.

Following the departure of the French from Egypt in 1801, social power became an undisputable fact. This was clearly demonstrated in the Egyptian popular gathering around the nobility and leaders of Egypt to depose of Khorshid Pasha, the Ottoman Wali (governor) of Egypt at that time, replace him with Mohammed Ali. This leadership continued to support and extend its assistance to Mohammed Ali until he succeeded in forming the first Egyptian Army in modern times to face the Mamluks. This popular and social power reached the climax of its strength in Egypt in 1807 when the British army attempted to enter Egypt through the city of Rashid on the northern coast of Egypt. The British army, however, was unprepared face the organized popular power which confronted them in the streets and squares of Rashid. These popular gatherings were able to defeat the British, which had a deep effect on the morale and feelings of the Egyptians that they owned their destinies and emphasized their ability to build a modern state with a modern political and economic system

that emulates modern European systems (Shehata, 1999).

Social, political and economic reforms in Mohammed Ali's era

Mohammed Ali made use of Egyptian human resources as the foundation for building the economic, social and political system in Egypt in modern times. In spite of the fact that Mohammed Ali's rule was an autocratic one, there was a marked development in democratic systems as well as in administrative and governmental ones, some signs of administrative decentralization appeared in his era. He formed a governmental council (Al-Diwan Al-Ali) which he used to discuss with its members government-related issues before he embarked on implementing them. For each department of the government he formed a council. In 1829, Mohammed Ali founded the Advisory Council (Majlis Ash-shura) as the core of the consultative (Shura) system in Egypt. The Council consisted of all classes representing the Egyptian Nation (Ummah) at that time. Furthermore, he developed the judicial system by establishing a new judicial authority called Jam'eyyat Al-Haqqania (Haqqania Assembly) the function of which was to prosecute senior officials accused of financial and administrative corruption. The economic changes in Mohammed Ali's era had the strongest influence on the life of Egyptians since he abolished the compulsory ownership system that had been enforced by feudal lords on agricultural land, inherited from the Mamluks' era called the *Itizam* (tax farming) system. He considered the lands to be owned by the state and he then distributed these lands among the farmers (similar to the law limiting agricultural land ownership which was one of the effects of the 23rd July 1952 revolution). This procedure had a positive effect on improving the social and economic conditions of the people and gave a feeling of real land ownership to the Egyptian citizen in contrast to working merely as a farm hand for feudal lords (Al-Rafie, 2000).

Over all, the most important impacts of the drastic growth of popular power in Egypt in the nineteenth century can be summarized in the following points:

- Abolition of the repressive and authoritarian regime and replacing it with a civil chosen authority.
- Beginnings of a semi-democratic rule by forming the first Shura (Advisory) council in which was represented all social classes.
- Eliminating financial and administrative corruption of feudal lords and state employees.
- Improving the conditions of social justice through empowerment of the farmers to own their own land, limiting the agricultural aristocracy and financial bourgeoisie.

In general, the previous review suggests that noticeable changes emerged in the social, economic and political structure in Egypt in the aftermath of social revolutions and this can be traced back to

the development of popular mobilization in Egypt at that time. A meticulous analysis cannot ignore the similarities between the introductions and results of the socio-popular mobilization in Egypt in Mohammed Ali's era and those formed by the 25th of January Revolution 2011 where the most important demands were dignity, freedom and social justice and improving the economic conditions of the country.

Egyptian Revolution of 1919

This was one of the largest revolutions carried out by Egyptians when anger was created after the British authority refused to give Egypt the promised recognition of independence after World War I. It finally erupted when the British authorities ruling Egypt at that time exiled Leader of the Nation Saad Zaghloul Pasha who had demanded from the British that they grant Egypt its independence and freedom. The Egyptian revolution of 1919 was produced tremendous waves of anger and protest that has spread throughout Egypt and Sudan, and amongst all classes of the population. Finally, the revolution led to Britain's recognition of Egyptian independence in 1922 and the implementation of a new constitution in 1923 (Saylor, 2011).

The July 23 Revolution

The Egyptian military coup of 1952, also known as the July 23 Revolution, began with a group of young officers who named themselves —the free officer's movement and led by General Mohamed Nagib. This movement called for the purification of the country from corruption as well as eliminating colonialism, feudalism and despotic capital and replacing all these ills with a true democratic life. The consequences of social revolution often emerge years after its ending; the Army took power in the country for sixty years and was able to achieve most of the aims of the revolution through a socialist government except for the last: a true democratic life. With the era of Mubarak (1981), the legacy of the 1952 military coup showed clear signs of negative progress on the issues of freedom, democratization and economic development. Poverty rates greatly increased, and the economy continued to suffocate beneath substantial bureaucracy inefficiency and corruption (Thonton, 2006). These factors are viewed by social analysts as the main triggers for the eruption of 25th January Revolution 2011.

The historical review of the Egyptian revolution discussed so far has clearly demonstrated the influential role of social power and popular pressure in resisting tyrannical regime and toppling authoritative rule. Within the same context it may be suggested that Egyptian youth in 2011 followed the path of their grandfathers and provided a vivid lesson to whole world of how people's willingness, ambitions and initiatives can change systems, regimes, topple authoritative leaders and even change the course of history.

2.2.2 Causes and Motivations of the 25th January revolution 2011

Revolution writers have observed that social revolutions since World War II have occurred exclusively in the third world where ordinary people often try to exert power by continuous means against nation states. Civil movements and revolts against authoritarianism in those countries have brought masses of people onto the streets demanding change (Knutson and Bailey, 1989).

The revolution in Egypt gained its momentum from people's initiatives and dreams of genuine democracy, social justice, rule of law and freedom, as well as common aspirations that had remained unfulfilled for too long (El-Kersh, 2011).

Scholars and social analysts have argued that social and economic motivations and frustrations are considered the basic roots of the people's rage and form the underlying causes of the popular revolts sparked in Egypt on the 25th of January 2011 (Guehenno, 2011; Muldering, 2013). Muldering, (2013) has argued that the Arab spring demonstrations were a valuable opportunity for people to demand the fulfilment of the social contract made by their autocratic regimes and should be viewed as a socio-economic struggle rather than only a political one. He argued that the vast majority of Egyptian protestors were brought onto the streets of Egypt not by a burning desire for free and fair elections, but by the poor economic circumstances in which they lived. In support of Mulderig's argument, Guehenno (2011) has argued that the Egyptian revolution is as much about justice and equity as it is about democracy. Around 40% of the Egyptian population live on two dollars per day, with high rates of unemployment and poor living conditions, and these favor the demands of equity and justice rather than democratization.

A considerable amount of published literature has demonstrated the underlying causes and motivations that prompted people to engage in the popular massive protests of the 25th January 2011. The following are the key causes that trigger people anger and discontent in the last 20 years of the rule of Mubarak:

1- The heritage of power

Around the year 2000 the National Democratic ruling party, with the aid of the ruling family of Mubarak and his sons, began preparing for the transition of power within the ruling family in Egypt from the father to the son, Gamal Mubarak. In 2005 the ruling party, and other interest groups, in their push for the promotion of Gamal in Egypt, made radical amendments to the constitution to make sure that Gamal would be the only unchallenged candidate (Subeleman, 2001). In the years preceding the revolution, popular demands and pressures increased to stop this inheritance scenario (Al Asar 2006).

2- Marginalizing the rule of law

The regime's application of law was made according to an opportunist view of matters and not of social justice. The regime neglected to apply laws which contradicted its interests such as in deciding the illegitimacy of the Parliament elections in 2010 which led to an anti-state law culture and replacement of the supremacy of law with the supremacy of power. In addition, Egypt was ruled under the emergency law for three decades. Under the emergency law, police powers are largely extended, constitutional rights totally suspended, and suppression is legalized. People in Egypt often called for an end to this oppressive law as they consider it to be the main source of violation toward human rights (Eohr, 2008).

3- Police brutality

According to a report from the United States Embassy in Egypt, police brutality has been common and widespread in Egypt. Torture and police brutality in Egypt are endemic and widespread. The police use brutal methods mostly against common criminals to extract confessions, but also against demonstrators (Scoby, 2011). A large amount of evidence indicates that the police in Egypt during the last 20 years of Mubarak's rule was an instrument of regime power rather than a public service institution (Harding, 2011). According to the 2009 Human Rights Report by the U.S. State Department, "Domestic and international human rights groups reported that the Ministry of Interior and its State Security Investigative Service (SSIS) continued to employ torture to extract information or force confessions. During the year 2009 the Egyptian organizations for human rights documented 30 cases of torture.

4- Corruption in government elections

According to Egyptian organization for human rights, Egypt's legal framework and political context are not favorable to the holding of genuinely democratic elections. Manipulation of election results and accusations of corruption occurred during many of the elections over the last 20 years of the Mubarak regime. Mubarak won five consecutive presidential elections since 1981 with a broad majority (Eohr, 2008).

5- Unemployment and poor economic condition of youth

Egyptian poverty, inequality, corruption and unemployment are cited among the main causes of 25th January Revolution 2011. Poverty indicators show that 40% of Egypt's population (approximately 85 million) lived below a US\$2 per day poverty line and of this percentage, a large proportion were at the level of extreme poverty, below US\$1 per day (Zinkina, 2011). Despite high levels of national economic growth over the past few years (reaching a peak of 7.2% one of the best results among

Third World countries at the time), economic reports show that living conditions for the average Egyptian remained poor and the proportion of Egyptians living below the poverty line increased significantly from 17.8% to 23%. This paradoxical figure demonstrates the extreme level of social and economic inequality experienced by Egyptians before 25th January 2011. It seems that only the rich reaped the benefits of economic prosperity in Egypt during the period preceding the revolution (Zinkina, 2011).

6- The influential power of the dominant class in Egypt

Egypt, as in many of the Arab countries, has suffered centuries of political, social and economic dominance with power deep-rooted in the foundations of the state (Sakr, 2011). One of the most important motivations for triggering rage and discontent in Egyptian society before the 25th January Revolution 2011 was the illegitimate domination of political minorities and an elite social class over all Egyptian institutions. Since the dawn of 20th century, Egypt was ruled by the elite, great land owners, military leaders, technocrats, bureaucracy and the new capitalists. The presence of such elites is not always viewed as a negative phenomenon as they play a major role in developing the state's management systems. In the case of Egypt, however, these elites often seek out their own interests above those of the people. According to Sakr (2011), the main dangers of the dominating groups is that their presence in the Egyptian society is not related to some outstanding developmental achievement; instead their presence is based on manipulating the laws and seizing chances to serve their interests, in order to achieve the maximum benefits from them.

The Egyptian military institution, to which President Mubarak belonged, is considered one of the major powerful interest groups since the 1952 military coup. The military have ruled Egypt for over 60 years and it is one of the strongest and most crucial foundations with dominance over the Egyptian political, economic and social life. Since the Free Officers' coup on July 23rd, 1952, the army's power in Egypt grew massively and it used people of economic and political power, to widen its circle of power and influence in Egyptian society. Some analysts argue that the Egyptian army has a large economic empire that appears to drive the state's policy and dominates the media and the press (Abdel Hameed, 2013).

The regime during Mubarak's reign was based upon corruption that affected politicians, businessmen, media people and some military leaders, as well as suppressing the lower classes of people. Retired military leaders were placed in top managerial positions in the state; 21 of the 29 appointed governors are retired army generals. This is also true for many of the cities' chiefs, and high-ranking retired army officers of take managerial positions in the fields of tourism, fisheries, transportation, maritime transport and airlines (Abdel Hameed, 2013). In his book *The Western Scam*, Barry describes the Egyptian army leaders as a state within the state, and that the military elite of high rank has unlimited privileges and unrestricted power. This system in Egypt is what made it a state of police and army officers, who allied themselves with a power-seeking minority of

politicians, media people and businessmen. This situation led to the emigration of many capable people as the state and its resources were appropriated by such minority groups so that no outsiders were allowed access to them. Even appointments to certain positions in the government, such as university staff, were through the approval of the State Security authorities (Mansour, 2013). Such discrimination created feelings of social injustice, resentment and frustration among Egyptians generally, and youth in particular. According to Mulderig (2013) the social and cultural frustration expressed by the Egyptian youth were the underlying causes of the general discontent and unrest in Egyptian society and was considered as one of the main reasons for the eruption of the 25th January revolution 2011. Egyptians wanted to retrieve their freedom of decision and choice and create a new democracy based on liberation from economic exploitation, political suppression and ideological dominance of such a minority. They also aimed at changing the concept of guardianship of authority into one democratically elected as the people are the rightful owners the wealth and resources (Gamal, 2011).

2.2.3 Socio-political consequences and signs of change

Although the Egyptian Revolution is still in its evolving stage, preliminary evidence shows signs of social, political and economic reforms adopted by the post revolution government and these reforms were initiated as result of the intensive waves of popular pressure practiced by Egyptians during the events of the Revolution. The following section briefly discusses the new power and behavioral patterns as well as the major social, political and economic reforms that emerged in Egypt in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution 2011.

1-The new emerging social power in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution 2011

Power of people topple people in power

History is full of revolutions that changed the world as many nations railed against injustice, oppression and corruption so rebelling against their rulers, overthrowing them and changing the conditions under which people was previously deprived of their human rights and their resources. Revolutions writers argue that one of the major incremental consequences of social revolution is a crucial shift in the power structure of the society. All revolutions involve requisition of power, and a new of pattern of power and authority emerge within the society after revolutions (Skocpol, 1979; Gurr, 1973; Davies, 1962; and Brinton, 1938).

They also argue that after the collapse of the Pre-revolutionary old regime, authority and power are forced further and further to the left of the political spectrum (to blue collars) medium and low class of the society until the entire revolutionary regime collapses (Knutsen and Bailey, 1989).

A considerable amount of literature has emphasized the important role of people acting as a powerful weapon and an influential change agent, changing systems, policies, strategies, the paradigm of power and even the entire regime (Addis & Morrow, 2005; Blackburn, 2008; Cheng, 1983; and Sherman & Bohlander, 1992). Blackburn (2008) noted that it is people's inspiring desires and dreams for democracy, freedom and a better standard of living that has created a huge social-revolutionary power that aims to replace the old corrupted regime and governmental institutions with a new paradigm of power, authority and organizational reform within the society. Addis & Morrow (2005) has argued that people are considered to be the most powerful weapon, and that the commitment of people to certain claims for change might not only change systems, policies and values of the society but also the course of history.

In his book "Power of the People Topple the People in Power", Wael Ghoneim, an active participant in the Egyptian Revolution, made it clear that Egyptian youth made history when they broke the barrier of fear and communicated through social network sites calling on more than 14 million Egyptians to participate in a revolution that has a fixed time, fixed target and fixed direction (Elshorouk, 2012).

Gonem added that the distinctiveness of the Egyptian phenomenon is the popular uprisings, which are leaderless and uncompromising in demanding total change in the social and economic structure of the country (ibid); the Egyptian uprising does not have a central figure or force behind it (Elasaar, 2011), people were led by their unified goals and shared vision. People from different classes, trends and ideologies rose to achieve one goal, namely the termination of the tyrannical regime and ousting of the dictatorial president who ruled Egypt for more than 30 years to construct a new rule. Considerable evidence shows the influential and growing role of people in creating and directing governmental and presidential policies decisions and practices in Egyptian state institutions in the aftermath of the revolution.

The 25th January revolution 2011 in Egypt drastically transformed the socio-political paradigm of the country since it put the Egyptian people in confrontation with the corruption and tyranny that lasted for more than 60 years, and which were inherent in their rulers and the dominating elite. The importance of this revolution lay in its being a first real step towards establishing the sovereignty of the people in face of dictatorship, especially after the absence of a role for the community to exercise its power. Before that time, and even since the Pharaohs, the Egyptian ruler would impose the will of the governing class over the will of the people (El houdaiby, 2012). Enacting political decisions during those times by the state lacked any communal participation although the motto the nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty is included at the beginning of all the modern constitutions starting with that of 1923. This motto was never actually applied to Egyptian society because the drafting of constitutions was often made and amended by the ruler. (Abougazi, 2011).

With the advent of the 25th January Revolution 2011 a shift in the nature of the Egyptian character had occurred, from a meek to a rebellious one against the deteriorating living conditions and the oppressive regime (Lamie, 2013). A new emerging power was on the rise in Egypt. It was the authority of the people and social leadership with signs of exercise of that authority appearing in the political, social and economic arenas (Abougazi, 2011). As a result of democracy, and the climate of freedom, more than 9427 protests were organized in Egypt calling for social and economic rights, within only one year after the revolution (Azoz and Elmogy, 2013). The power of the people in Egypt moved from the back seat to take the initiative. Some initiatives by the people played an important role, as ambassadors do in foreign policy, in order to enhance the relationship with the Nile Basin countries in Africa; others were introduced to retrieve smuggled money lost during the reign of Hosni Mubarak (Aboeldahab, 2012). The state benefited from these initiatives by offering financial bonds for the people to finance the major national projects (Zahran, 2012). The secretary general of one of the biggest political parties in Egypt said after the revolution: "*we don't lead the people as far as they lead us, and we participate in public demonstrations and repeat what the Egyptian people say. This declaration clearly reflects the shift in perspective from autocratic to democratic leadership, which receives its authority from the will of the people*". (Abougazi, 2011, p.15)

In his book *Crowds and Power*, Elias Canetti precisely illustrates the relation between oppressive regimes and crowds and how power transforms after a while from a dictatorship to the power of the crowds (Hamzawi, 2013). Canetti shows that fascism and totalitarianism suppress freedom, inflicts ideological violence, withholds information and manipulates the collective consciousness. They also erase plurality and political competition and suppress opponents by marginalizing them. This power also does not accept the rule of law yet manipulates it for the sake of its own interests. Only then, all rights and freedom disappear, and the people turn into helpless crowds that are being acted upon by elite of intellectuals, lawyers and business men. It seems that Canetti's depiction fairly describes Egyptian society before the 25th January revolution 2011 (Hamzawy, 2013).

Presidential decisions under public pressures

After the collapse of Mubarak regime, people in power have realized the growing power of people, and their substantial influence in directing political decisions. President Morsi the first elected president in the Egyptian history took his first steps towards the presidential palace surrounded by popular masses in the famous Tahrir square, (the square of the revolution) showing the leading position of the people's will in the process of making presidential decisions. (Ebrahim and Mohamed, 2012). In his first public appearance as Egypt's first elected president, Morsi pressed in his speech in Tahrir square that there is no power higher than the power of people and that he shall

give the people's demands the highest priority. The president referred that the war against corruption after the 25th January revolution 2011 shall be through another revolution, which he calls for among the people and not the ruling authority (Mohamed, 2012) President' Morsi also shows great attention and appreciation to people's participation in the political decision-making process. He determined to meet with the different revolutionary coalitions for consultation about major political decisions such as drafting the Egyptian constitution. This was considered as an unprecedented event that never occurred during any of the previous president's reigns (Elshorouk, 2012). Another initiative taken by the president Morsi was forming a presidential team consisting of 4 assistants and 17 counsellors representing most of the political and religious and ideological trends of the Egyptians. This is considered as an unprecedented change in the paradigm of thinking for an Egyptian president to seek the help of his opponents to form a presidential team, participating in the decision-making process (Magdy, 2012). The president Morsi has made a package of decisions and retreated from some others in response to public pressures and revolutionary demands that were declared in different squares of Egypt after the 25th January revolution 2011. The decisions included dismissal of the Attorney General after his failure in revealing the criminal proofs of rebels killing. The president also dismissed the Governor of Matrouh after groups of people forces protested against him and accepted the resignation of the governor of Aswan after forty of protests against him (Adly & Bazak, 2012) More over president Morsi has decided to abandon the decision to increase taxes according to the economic reforms plan imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in the process of receiving a \$4.2 billion loan (Elgalad, 2012).

Egyptian post revolution constitution: a new era for popular leadership

One of the most important achievements of the Egyptian revolution is the initiation of a new constitution slanted towards the interests of people rather than those in power.

Constitution "is an agreement between different parties of society that regulates the relationship between the ruler and the people and limits the absolute powers of the ruler (Abougazi, 2012). Egyptians have a long history of struggling for constitutions that fulfils their aspirations of a country in which they enjoy freedom, dignity and social justice and have the power to regulate different bodies authorized to manage their life affairs. The 2012 constitution is considered as the first people's constitution as all the other constitutions were compiled by committees formed directly by the king or president, since 1923, through 1954 until 1971. These constitutions did not represent the different Egyptian groups and did not reflect their needs and demands. They were obviously compiled to maximize the rulers' authority (Abougazi, 2012). The constitution of January 25th Revolution annulled that of 1971 with its unlimited presidential authorities, so expressing people's needs and aspirations and increasing their powers over that of the ruler (Abougazi, 2012).

The articles of the new constitution reflected the people's power and their genuine contribution in the political decision-making processes. The manner in which the committee was formed also expressed the people's will. The parliament's members elected 100 persons representing all the society religious groups, different political views and different occupational groups. It also established hearing committees that covered the country collecting over 3000 proposals for the committee. In addition, over 100,000 proposals were delivered to the committee through its website (Abdelfatah, 2012). The principles and provisions of the 2012 constitution gave great attention to the participation of people in creating and manipulating the state's major policies, decisions and regulations. The constitution begins with the following line "We the People of Egypt", showing that the provisions and principles thereof are inspired from the people. It also included many articles referring to the mutual responsibility and powers of both the ruling regime and the people. For instance, the 18th provision states that: "natural wealth belongs to the people and the state is to keep, manage, exploit and preserve the rights of the following generations therein. The first three provisions stated that people are the source of powers, and that ruling is through a democratic regime with peaceful power handover, fair elections and people's active participation in decision making. The fifth provision stated equality between citizens without any discrimination or favoritism in terms of rights or obligations (Egyptian constitution, 2012).

The new power paradigm in Egyptian organizations

Ashkuar (2013) has noted that the people's uprisings in both Egypt and Tunisia were accomplished by the middle classes in both countries and that large numbers of the demonstrating people were employees in private and public sectors organizations. The revolutions in both Egypt and Tunisia first began amongst the workers and employees who had many demands for their organizations and companies to pursue a better future than their existing reality (Ashkuar, 2013). According to Alexandare and Bassiouny (2014), the role of the working class needs to be put center stage in understanding the toppling of Mubarak and his authoritative regime.

Since the 25 January Revolution 2011, Egypt has witnessed successive waves of strikes and protests which has become a regular part of everyday life in Egyptian streets and organizations. It seems that no segment of society is left out of the desire to protest (Howeidy, 2012) and the boundary of fear has been broken (Maqbool, 2013). A wide spectrum of Egyptian organizations has witnessed labor movements since the revolution, including diplomats, actors, writers, judges, police, military, doctors, faculty staff, and students (Selem, 2012; Ashoor, 2012).

A report published in April 2013, two years after the revolution, by the Egyptian Center for Economic and Social rights (ECFSR) shows that around 2,000 labor strikes and protests had taken place, four times the number of strikes in 2010. The 2012 protests listed in the report of the ECFSR

represent one of the highest levels of social struggle worldwide and include demonstrations, sit-ins, road blocks and strikes (El-Fiqi, 2013). Another report published by the international development center shows that Egyptians organized 9,427 political protests in a two-year period showing a 70% increase over the protests organized in Mubarak era, 49% of these protests (4609) were initiated to achieve employees' demands (Azoz and El-Mogy, 2013).

The above literature discussed so far prominently reveal that the impact of public pressures in the process of making political decisions after the 25th January revolution 2011 is much greater than the impact of agencies, foundations and other political and economic institutions.

2-Social violence in Egypt after the 25th January revolution

A serious amount of violent actions and crime has taken place in Egypt since the 25th January Revolution 2011 (Heweidy, 2013) indicating that violence is becoming a new phenomenon in the process of reformation in Egyptian society.

Some writers on political sociology believe that social violence in the aftermath of revolutions is a result of a set of negative experiences, such as oppression and social injustice that the individual has suffered for long periods either at work or in the community (Saeed, 2013). The reasons for the association between violence and revolutions, according Saeed in his analysis of violence among Egyptians in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011, include overcoming the fear of oppressive authority after long periods of depression and frustration. He added that, while revolution is against the law, people often imagine that violence is not a breach of law. Rebels feel that the state is no longer legitimate and so they attempt, in all the state organizations, to destroy all the capitalist, exploitative, corrupt and oppressive authorities. Thus, the fever of demonstration spreads throughout Egyptian society from school students to police officers (Saeed, 2013).

3-The revolutionary demands for freedom:

The previous despotic rule in Egypt created enormous needs for freedom and autonomy. As a reaction to the previous system, a new social and political trend emerged in Egyptian society, the Egyptian Anarchism movement. Anarchism is a socio-political movement based on the idea of rejection of any form of authority to ensure that nothing oppresses individual freedom. The idea of breaking free from despotic rule and being involved in the process of decision-making are the most important ambitions of Egyptians in the new system (Gamal, 2011).

The rising power of popular movements in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution brought an end to the concept of an autocratic leader. Essam el-Erian, vice president of the Freedom and Justice party, pointed out that the theory of the autocratic paranoiac president no longer exists as the holder

of this position is no more than an employee selected by people to achieve their higher interests (Yahiya, 2012). The Freedom and Justice party devoted efforts to improve and restructure the police institution, the oppressive authority of the old regime, in Egypt, proposing a project to develop and improve the climate in which police officers work, teaching them to abide by laws when dealing with protestors (Mohamed, 2012) One of the most important decisions taken by the military ruler after the 25th January Revolution was the partial lifting of emergency laws. These laws had been used to give unconditional powers to police officers, including the right to detain citizens without charge. On the 24th of January 2012, in response to successive popular pressures, the post-revolution government suspended this oppressive law which was followed by a release of 3073 civil prisoners who were tried in military courts (Elshorouk, 2012). In addition, in response to public demands for free speech, President Morsi issued a decree of law eliminating the custodial arrest in publication crimes as an amendment of the article 41 of Press Act 9 (Mohamed, 2012).

4-The Revolutionary Demands for Social justice

Achieving social justice is considered as one of the major fundamental claims which exercised many Egyptian people during the Mubarak era, and has been the major reason behind the 25th January Revolution 2011. About 70 countries, through statistic survey that has been made by the institution of World Fallyos Services, approved that the non-equivalent incomes in Egypt are very low. In comparison with 16% over the shared countries, about 30% of Egyptian people need extra incomes as incentives for individual differences (Essa, 2012).

Various indicators demonstrate that the post-revolution government adopted some of those pillars to achieve social justice in Egypt.

Complying with the social pressures and demands, the post revolution government took steps to narrow the wide gap between the various clusters in society. The first attempt to achieve social justice began with the government's decision to allocate 375 million pounds for the development of slum areas throughout Egypt.

Moreover, the new government declared a new tax improvement policy in order to narrow the wide income gap between the rich and poor social clusters in Egypt. The new tax policy would burden high income clusters, becoming less as income decreases. It would also provide full protection for those with limited income (Elshorouk, 2012). In addition, the government specified 25% of property tax from those who own more than one property to develop random areas (Elshorouk, 2012). These practices were viewed by people as serious attempts by the post revolution government to restore social justice and narrow the wide gap between various social classes in Egypt in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011.

In general the previous literature discussed so far suggest that people in Egypt were able to achieve substantial changes in social, political and economic structure of the state The 25th January 2011 revolution imitated a concrete change in the power base of the Egyptian society, as for the first time in history people in Egypt have an effective role in drawing the new national political and social picture through the main demands of the revolution raised by the revolutionists in Tahrir Square and all squares of Egypt which all revolved around achieving freedom, democracy, honorable life and social justice.

Summary

This chapter addresses and demonstrate the first research question. It aims to provide a brief overview of the literature of organizational change within a social and political context and literature of social revolutions. It presents a critical review of literature of the causes, features and consequence of the revolutionary transformations triggered by social revolutions. It then moves to describes in greater detail the particular causes and consequences of the 25th January Revolution 2011 in Egypt.

Overall, the above discussion demonstrates a high degree of similarity between the nature, features, causes and consequences of the revolutionary transformation triggered by the 25th January revolution in Egypt and the general, features, causes and consequences of social revolutions as presented in the literature of revolution.

The literature review in this study aims to address and discuss the contextual factors shaping the central phenomenon of the study (revolutionary transformation). This phenomenon will be the focus of analysis and interpretation in chapters three (part two) and chapter four.

The next chapter will discuss research methodology, design and strategy used in this research as well as investigating phases of data collection and analysis using grounded theory study

Chapter 3: Research methodology and Methods.

Introduction

This chapter is divided into three interrelated parts. The First part attempt to discuss how research questions is developed in grounded theory studies and what are the origins of the research questions in this study. It then illustrates the nine main research questions that plan and guide the whole research process in this study. Part two, demonstrate the methodology used in this research, it illustrates how the research methodology, design, strategy and paradigm of inquiry were developed in relation to the research aims, objectives and the nature of phenomena under study. The research starts by reviewing various paradigms of inquiry and choosing on what best facilitates achievement of the research goals and objectives, and then moves to describe how an inductive approach is most appropriate in this research. It then explains how qualitative research design and in-depth interviews best fit the investigation of the nature and characteristics of the phenomena under study. Finally, the study explains the rationale of using grounded theory methodology for this thesis, and its various versions, fundamentals, principles and limitations are also described.

The third part in this chapter presents and explains the stages of data collection and analysis using grounded theory methodology. The aim of this part is to satisfy the principal aim of this research which is to generate a systematically developed, and inductively derived, theoretical framework to explain the major features, causes and consequences of the revolutionary transformation that have erupted in Egyptian organizations as a result of the intense socio- political change triggered by the 25th January revolution 2011. As such, findings from documentary sources, observations and 22 semi-structured interviews are presented here and consequently used to build the paradigm model of the study. The ultimate aim of this preliminary phase is to gain an in depth understanding of the initial relationships that exist between key categories of the study. Data analysis in this research was performed manually and computer software was not used. As mentioned in the previous chapter, two pilot interviews were conducted in the early phases of this research before implementing data collection and analysis, the pilot interview acts as a preliminary guide for the interviewer to structure sets of questions for the next set of interviews; it also helped the researcher to narrow the scope of interview data. The pilot study conducted in this research concluded with almost 80% of the questions for use in the next round of interviews. Pilot studies also enable the researcher to elaborate major themes, codes and relationships which help to guide future

data collection and analysis as well as addressing the initial conceptual categories needed for building the ultimate paradigm model of the study.

This part discusses how key categories emerge and accumulate through the interplay of data collection and analysis. Thematic analysis was used for the purpose of refining and sorting categories that emerged from interviewing data. The three coding schemes used by Corbin and Strauss (2008) (open, axial and selective coding) were used together with theoretical sampling to limit the data and direct the study toward the theory.

A detailed summary of each of the key categories contributing to the initiation of the paradigm model is briefly explained. Theoretical development of the categories, interconnections between key themes, interviewing process, coding schemes and main categories contributing to the development of the paradigm model are explained in detail.

Developing research questions in Grounded theory studies

Developing research question is one of the central points in grounded theory studies. Research question plan and guide the whole research process. It assesses the appropriateness of the decision taken by the researcher regarding the adopted methodology data collection approach, the process of data analysis and the philosophical stance which should adequately fit with the nature of the phenomenon under study (Soliman, 2011; Flick, 2009).

As indicated earlier this research aims to explore and investigate the influence of the new emerging socio- political transformation triggered by the 25th January revolution on creating new patterns of employees' power and behavior in Egyptian organizations. In this exploratory research previous experience (notions, concepts and themes) especially when dealing with a totally unexplored area like the area understudy in this research.

In grounded theory, methodology concepts, themes, categories and the final substantive theory should freely develop from systematic analysis of data developed from the field and not derived from existing literature. Due to the exploratory approach adopted in grounded theory studies, research questions should not be guided by existing literature or a predetermined theoretical framework; it should be brought from the field rather than imported or forced from existing literature, (McCallin, 2003). In this study concepts, categories and the substantive theory of the study should be generated from a understand of the unique, extraordinary event of revolutionary transformation emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution. The empirical study in this research will provide the researcher with an in-depth understanding of the nature, properties

and characteristics of the new emerged phenomenon directly from observing, participating and experiencing the field of the research participants, this life experience will enable the researcher to develop research questions. This approach of developing research questions out of stories constructed by research participants and researcher observations will guide and direct the entire methodology of the study and will end with the construction of the substantive theory and the paradigm model of the study.

The origin of research questions in this study

1- The researcher experience and observations.

According to Flick, (2009) the origin of research questions in qualitative inductive researches lies in the researcher's personal experience and their participation in the social context. The research questions in this research was developed from researcher experience (participant observer) and answered by the inductively derived theory developed in the grounded theory research. This was clearly demonstrated in a separate section in chapter one (researcher role and position in the study) which clearly demonstrate the interpretive role the researcher plays as a participant observer in all the events of the Egyptian revolutions and how this role provides him with better understanding of the new emerged socio-political phenomenon in Egyptian organization in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution.

2- The pilot study

The researcher was able to fully understand the phenomenon and to generate research questions after conducting a pilot study. The pilot study conducted in this research helped the researcher to identify features causes and consequences of the phenomenon understudy and guide research questions.

Research questions

The revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organization

- 1- What are the main characteristics and dimensions of the revolutionary transformation emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution.
- 2- How can the new emerging revolutionary transformations affect employees' behavior; work practices and develop new power patterns in the work place?
- 3- What are the new tactics and practices adopted by employees in the workplace in respond to the new revolutionary transformation emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution.

The following set of questions were fully analyzed and interpreted in Seven categories that contribute to the formulation of the central phenomenon of the study chapter three section 3.14 (data analysis) and were thoroughly investigated and discussed in research findings chapter four section 4.1.

The underlying causes and motives of employees' anger and discontent

- 4- What are the principles causes and drives of the revolutionary transformation emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution?
- 5- How organizational members in Egyptian organizations perceive, accept and cop with the new transformational forces derived from the 25th January revolution?

The following set of questions are fully analyzed and interpreted of in 10 categories that contribute to formulation of the causal conditions that lead to the occurrence of the central phenomenon - chapter three section 3.14 (data analysis) and were thoroughly investigated and discussed in research findings chapter four- section 4.2

Organizational outcomes and consequences of the new revolutionary transformation.

- 6- How can the transformational forces resulted from the Egyptian revolution generate new patterns of power, authority and human resources management practices in Egyptian organizations?
- 7- What are the new employees' behavioral consequences resulted from the new revolutionary transformation emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution?
- 8- How can the new revolutionary forces affect communication patterns and employment relationship in Egyptian organization?

The following set of questions were fully analyzed and examined in 5 categories that contribute to the formulation of the main category: consequences of the revolutionary transformation, - chapter three - 3.14, and were thoroughly discussed and investigated in chapter four section 4.3 in chapter (research findings).

3.1 The research philosophy:

Framework for research designs

The following section illustrates the philosophical positions that best suit the research objectives and problems and match the nature of the phenomena under study. Three issues need to be addressed when investigating the philosophical position of the research namely the ontological, epistemological and methodological questions (Saber, 2012). These three pillars of the research shape the researcher's Understanding of available knowledge, claims alternatives. They also determine the approach which guides the research design and process of data collection and analysis

Ontological and epistemological philosophical perspective:

Referring to research paradigms, three basic questions guide and direct the research approach.

- 1 - What is the nature of reality? A question of ontology
- 2 - What is the nature of the relationship between the knower (inquirer) and the known (knowledge)?
A question of epistemology
- 3 - How should the inquirer go about finding out knowledge? A question of methodology (Guba, 1990, p.18)

The ontological paradigm of inquiry:

The ontological paradigm of inquiry is chosen by asking whether social entities are considered objective entities that have a reality external to social actors or whether they are considered as social constructions built up from the perception and actions of social actors (Bryman, 2012). Corbin and Strauss (2008, p.10) have explicitly noted that concepts theories emerged from constructivists, and the point of view should integrate both the researcher and the participant in the building up process. They pivotally stated that "concepts and theories are constructed by researchers out of stories that are constructed by research participants who are trying to explain and make sense out of their experiences and or lives both to themselves, and to the researcher, and out of the multiple construction analysts construct something that they call knowledge".

The rationale of using constructionism ontological approach

The present research suggests that the constructionism ontological position best fits the aims of the study as well as the nature of the phenomena under study (Bryman, 2012).

Social actors as part of the central phenomena

One of the principal aims of the current study is to explore the impact of the socio-political transformation triggered by the 25th January revolution on employees' values, behavior and organizational practices. The research demonstrates that the revolutionary changes that erupted in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the revolution were basically rooted in the socio-political context of these organizations. Such changes were created by people in almost all Egyptian organizations in the revolutionary social sphere from which they emerged into the workplace. The present study clearly demonstrates how constructionism challenges the objectivism suggestion that social actors (employees engaged in upward influence behavior) are divorced from the social phenomena under study (the revolutionary transformation that emerged in Egyptian organizations) (Bryman, 2012). The present research suggests that the new values and behavior generated by employees in Egyptian organizations was produced through social interaction with the macro socio-political phenomena triggered by the 25th January revolution 2011.

Employees in this study are viewed as the creators of the phenomena or change agents that contribute to the shaping and perception of, and interaction with, the new emerging phenomena. Thus, based on the constructivists' point of view the phenomena under study are built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors (employees) which are part of the social reality and not divorced from it. Thus, external reality cannot be separated from the social actors. Hence, the objectives set by this study cannot lend themselves to the positivistic view that see the phenomenon of organizational transformation and its socio-political roots as a separate process, or as an external reality beyond the reach of people who act as the change agents dealing, interacting and influencing this phenomenon. Thus, the objectivists' view of separating social phenomena from social actors would not serve the aims of the present study.

The epistemological position of the study

The epistemological position is arrived at by asking what acceptable knowledge in a particular field of study is or how individuals make sense of the world around them (Saber, 2012, p.63). The idea of the separate reality addressed in the objectivism ontology approach argues that the phenomenon is totally divorced from its social actors; in other words, different researchers would find the same results if similar research methods were used. This is considered a positivist epistemology. This epistemological position lends itself to a deductive approach by testing hypotheses from findings rather than producing it from the findings. The findings are thus considered to be the social reality which emerges in separation from its social actors. Positivistic researchers then have to quantify and measure the phenomenon as an object separate from human social interaction.

In contrast to positivism, interpretivists argue that social phenomena have multiple realities and are constructed from people's perception of how they live, deal and interact with it (Bryman & Bell, 2011). Interpretivism further divides into two intellectual traditions: phenomenology and symbolic interactionism (Saunders, et al., 2007). According to Blumer (1969) symbolic interaction refers to a particular form of interaction that occurs between persons. Blumer stated that: "the particularity consists of the fact that human beings interpret or define each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their response is not made directly to the actions of one another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. The other branch derived from interpretivism is phenomenology where it is assumed that the world is the reality of daily lives (Bryman, 2008, P.19). Phenomenologists examine experiences of the social actors from the interviewer's or observer's point of view involving perceptions, thoughts, desires and memories (Hair et al., 2011). Qualitative researchers often argue that the interpretivist paradigm is often combined with constructivism (Cresswell, P.20) as both refer to the same paradigm. It is clear how interpretivism agrees with the social constructivist ontology through the common inseparable connection between the social actor and the social phenomena (Bryman and Bell, 2011).

Rationale of using the interpretivism approach

A major aim of interpretive research is to enrich researchers' understanding of the underlying meaning and causes of actions and behavior of a participant (Parker & Roffey, 1997). Since one of the principle aims of this research is to explore the underlying causes and motivations of employees' upward influence behavior in the workplace, it seems that the interpretivism paradigm of inquiry would be the most appropriate approach to achieve this aim.

Interpretivists emphasize the important role of humans as social actors then solid subject (Saberie, 2012, p.68), the present study suggests that it is people's actions and interactions which initiate these phenomena and bring it into their work place. This social interaction is considered an interpretive process where social phenomena such as organizational transformations, shifts in the pattern of power, employees' upward influence behavior and factors triggering anger and discontent in the workplace can all be seen in patterns of relationships among the actions of employees (individual actors) in interaction with one another, with their organization and with the large scale social phenomena of social revolution. Another important factor justifying the use of interpretivism is that such an epistemology would best help extract the social actors' insights and in-depth experiences of how they perceive and interact with the consequences of the Egyptian social revolution in their work place. It is arguable that the close analysis of the social actors (employees in Egyptian organizations), their accumulated experiences and the in-depth meanings associated with the emerging changes in the social and political surroundings after the revolution will provide the researcher with a route to the findings and to construct the theoretical framework of the study. Based on the above, the interpretivistic approach is seen as the most appropriate for this study.

3.2 Qualitative research

With regard to the diversity within qualitative research, a definition and delineation are used to make clear what we mean by it. Qualitative research is described by theorists of research methodology as interpretive research, constructivistic research and participatory research; all these terms reflect the philosophical paradigm of interpretivism and constructivism (Bryman, 2012). According to Partington (2002), in a qualitative research design data are collected in the form of words and observations as opposed to numbers. Qualitative research is usually associated with research questions and phenomena that require exploration of detailed in-depth data aimed at a description, perception or comparison. The main purpose of qualitative research is to describe and understand social phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them.

3.2.1 The rationale of using qualitative research

1- Qualitative versus quantitative approach

Limits to quantitative approaches have always been taken as a starting point for reasons why qualitative research should be used.

a- Interference with social actors

Unlike quantitative research, qualitative researchers are deeply involved with the social actors. Bryman, (2012) Qualitative methods take the researcher's communication with the field and its members as an explicit part of knowledge instead of deeming it an intervening variable. The subjectivity of the researcher and those being studied becomes part of the research (Flick, 2009). In quantitative research, however the researcher should not be involved with the social actors, and the researcher feels that their objectivity might be compromised if they become too involved with the research participants (Bryman, 2012).

b- Building a theory rather than testing a hypothesis

Qualitative research is a theory building study concepts and theoretical elaboration emerge out of data collection. Quantitative research is a hypothesis testing approach as it brings concepts and theories to bear to the research before data collection and analysis begins (Bryman, 2012).

c- Degree of generalization

Another significant difference between quantitative and qualitative research is the degree of generalization. Whereas quantitative researchers greatly emphasize the issue of generalization, qualitative researchers seek an understanding of values, beliefs and behavior in terms of the context in which the research is conducted (Bryman, 2012).

D-Macro and Micro phenomena

Finally, Bryman (2012) argues that quantitative researchers are often involved with macro social trends and connections between variables whereas qualitative researchers are more concerned with micro aspects of social reality.

2- The exploratory nature of the research

Since the principal aim of this research is to explore the impact of the socio-political changes triggered by the 25th January revolution on Egyptian organizations, qualitative research best matches the exploratory nature of this work. Corbin and Strauss (2008) stated that qualitative researchers frame their research aims and objectives in such a way that the only manner in which

they can be answered is through exploratory qualitative research. According to Hair (2011), qualitative methods allow the exploration, in-depth investigation, and provision of critical insights into the phenomena under study.

3- Rapid social change

Rapid social change is increasingly confronting social researchers with new social contexts and perspectives, and traditional deductive methodologies for deriving research hypotheses from theoretical models often fails to deal with such evolving phenomena. Thus, in these situations research is increasingly forced to make use of qualitative research (Flick, 2009).

4- The complexity and dynamisms of the phenomena under study

According to Tuck (2007), qualitative research provides a better, in-depth, understanding of complex and dynamic phenomena; the current research suggests that the nature and features of the revolutionary transformation that emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the revolution need to be fully understood within the context of the dynamic, ever-changing, socio-political surroundings of Egyptian organizations. As this study covered a time of tremendous change within the Egyptian organizations, quantitative research is incompatible with a deep understanding of these kinds of complex dynamic phenomena with socio-political roots (Sorour, 2011; Tuck, 2007) whereas qualitative inquiry allows the researcher to investigate the phenomena in-depth, to meet the research aims and objectives.

Research approach (inductive versus deductive)

A deductive approach develops a theory and hypothesis and then proceeds to data collection and analysis, having designed a research strategy to test this hypothesis. Alternatively, an inductive approach is a theory building approach in which the researcher collects data and develops theory as a result of data analysis. (Saunders et al, 2009). The choice between alternative strategies of inquiry is based on the philosophical position adopted in the research that best suits the research objectives and problems and matches the nature of the phenomena under study (Creswell, 2001). In general, it is argued that deduction owes more to positivism and induction to interpretivism (Saunders et al., 2009).

As indicated earlier, one of the major aims of this research is to discover how organizational members in Egyptian organizations perceive and deal with the new emerging phenomenon of social revolution in the workplace. The research also aims to explore and investigate the influence of the new emerging socio- political transformation triggered by the 25th January revolution 2011 on creating new patterns of employees' power and behavior in Egyptian organizations. Due to the exploratory nature of this study, the researcher suggests that the inductive approach would be the most

appropriate for this study. Induction allows an in-depth understanding of the phenomena under study; it enables the researcher to discover ideas and insights from the point of view of the participants and to develop a contextual understanding of the new socio-political phenomena, its key features, causes and consequences in the workplace, and finally to construct a theoretical paradigm demonstrating interrelationships between the basic themes and categories contributing to the in-depth understanding of the phenomena under study. Hence, this excludes survey design from our consideration as the themes and concepts need to be constructed in the first place. Due to the absence of research on this topic in Egypt, the in-depth investigation presented here is obtained through inductive, systematic data collection and analysis developed using a Grounded theory approach. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory is often cited as being a prime example of an inductive approach to data collection. Grounded theory studies rely on inductive reasoning to discover, interpret and structure the meaning of the phenomena that are derived from data codes and categories. The final product of this process of analytic induction is the construction of the paradigm model and the development of the theory from the formulation and the meaningful structure of codes, categories and themes induced from the raw data.

Grounded theory methodology

The origin of grounded theory

Grounded theory (GT) has become by far the most widely used framework for analyzing qualitative data (Bryman, 2012). It was developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967 who felt that current theories used in research were often inappropriate (Creswell, 2007). They published their discovery of grounded theory and began to disseminate their methodology to the academic community in 1967. Grounded theorists hold theories that are generated from the systematic analysis of data from the field especially in the action or interaction of processes through interrelating categories of information based on data collected from individuals. Grounded theory is appropriate when the study of social interaction aims to explain a process rather than to verify an existing theory (Lingard, 2008).

The philosophical stance of grounded theory

Although grounded theory is basically viewed as qualitative approach, where the theory is induced from systematic analysis of data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), many grounded theory writers have distinct views regarding the philosophical stance of grounded theory itself. Chenitz and Swanson (1986) cited by Tuck (2007), placed grounded theory within a framework of symbolic interactionism as do Corbin and Strauss (2008). Charmaz (2006) interpretation has noted that the original grounded theory methodology is positivist. Contrary Corbin and Strauss (1990) stated that the emergent theory in grounded theory methodology is derived from pragmatism and symbolic interactionism. Tuck (2007) has argued that although grounded theory is accessible to the realist researcher, it seems that it has been developed and largely used by researchers within symbolic interactionism.

Glaser and Strauss's approach to grounded theory

The two authors of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss, disagreed about the meaning and procedures of grounded theory and so two distinctive styles were developed as a result of this disagreement. Strauss, working with Juliet Corbin, developed a more technical and structured approach which can be applied to verification as well as theory discovery (Tuck, 2007). Glaser, by contrast, maintains the emphasis on induction and on a more flexible approach to analysis.

Overall, the core concern of the grounded theory approach is the development of new theory. Grounded theory-oriented researchers argue that all findings should be grounded in the data collected and that this could be demonstrated by the strong conceptual links between data, codes, categories and the resulting substantive grounded theory which is the ultimate goal of the grounded theory researcher (Bryman, 2008).

The rationale for using the Strauss approach in this study

After the comparison of the two major approaches of grounded theory it has been decided to adopt Strauss and Corbin approach for a several reasons:

Firstly: this research uses Corbin and Strauss axial coding to compare codes and develop interconnections between them to initiate a coding paradigm that will help to best explain the phenomena and construct a meaningful theory. The use of axial coding in grounded theory studies is considered the major controversy between the different approaches of Glaser and Strauss. Glaser argues that concepts should be freely allowed to emerge from data (Kendal, 1999, p.748) and that there is no need to force data that emerge to fit a particular predetermined organizing schema asserted by the axial coding. Where the Corbin and Strauss approach primarily relies on axial coding, Glaser argues that this approach is too far removed from the underlying principles of grounded theory.

Secondly: before conducting this research, the researcher had already identified the phenomena to be studied while Glaser advocates conducting the study without any pre-conceived idea about the phenomena under investigation since this will emerge during the research process (Saber, 2012, p.101).

Thirdly: the researcher has reviewed the literature of revolution and organizational change to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomena under study and to establish the importance of the research.

Grounded theory and literature review

Grounded theory-oriented researchers argue that the literature review in such studies plays a much smaller role than it does in theory testing research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.26). However, other authors argue that in some cases a brief review of literature could be of significant importance to

gain an in-depth understanding and familiarity of the phenomena under study (Grbich, 2012). Glaser and Strauss (1967) argue that sometimes a literature review is not relevant at the initial stage in grounded theory studies, as sometimes the research proceeds into a totally different literature. In grounded theory methodology, the concept of open mindedness come to be understood as an implication that researchers should not investigate previous literature before starting data collection and analysis (Bryant, 2009). The open mindedness approach suggested by Bryant (2009) allows researchers to enter the research setting without any prior theoretical assumption, and to develop their own theories which are grounded in their substantive areas of interest (Smith & Biley, 1997). However, Strauss and Corbin (1990) saw that in minor cases literature could be used as a basis of professional knowledge and referred to it as literature sensitivity.

Alternatively, other Grounded theory researchers argue that entering the field of inquiry with little pre-conceptual knowledge regarding the research topic enables them to remain sensitive to the data by being able to detect and record events without first having them filtered through, and aligned with, pre-existing hypotheses and biases (Glaser, 1978). In support of this, Jack (2001) argues that a thorough familiarity with the literature is essential for establishing overarching questions and initial working hypotheses for the grounded theory coding activities.

In support, Smith and Billey (1997) argue that a general reading of the literature is preferred so that the researcher can obtain a feel for the issues in the subject areas and identify any gaps to be filled using grounded theory. The researcher can therefore approach the subject with some background knowledge. McCallin (2003) noted that literature reviews provide the researcher with significant knowledge which can be used in the process of constant comparative analysis in order to refine emerging concepts and categories.

In accordance with Smith and Belley's argument, the researcher has conducted some preliminary reading on the general topic of revolution and its consequent socio-political transformations.

The literature in this study investigates major causes, symptoms and consequences of social revolutions. It also discusses the historical background of the most famous revolutions in Egypt and the major changes to have emerged in the Egyptian socio-political context after the 25th January revolution. Literature is used once again in this study in the process of data analysis and interpretation. After codes, categories and themes emerge from various sources of data, relevant literature is used to provide a guiding framework and to theorize the findings resulting from the thematic analysis (Braun and Clark, 2004; Mccaline, 2003).

Rationale of using grounded theory

In the light of the research aims, objectives and nature of the phenomena investigated, and the philosophical stances adopted, in this research, the grounded theory research method is chosen for the following reasons:

1- Lack of integrated theory

Grounded theory is most appropriate where there is a lack of integrated theory particularly in relation to the area under study (Jill, 1997; Smith and Biley, 1997). Grounded theory theorists have noted that grounded theory is of most use when little research in the subject area has been completed (Smith and Biley, 1997).

Yoong (1996, p.35), cited in Yeadon-Lee (2010, p.18) "The choice of grounded theory for the analysis and articulation of raw experience is supported in situations where there is little previous research in an area, when the focus is on human experience and interaction, when there is a high degree of applicability to practice, and when there is a need for contextual interpretation. In the current work, there is an absence of integrated theories and previous studies that investigate the impact of social revolution acting as a socio-political change agent triggering organizational transformations, and so the choice of methodology seems to be weighted in favor of adopting grounded theory.

2- Degree of participant interference

Another important reason for promoting the use of grounded theory is the degree of participant interference in the social phenomena under study. Participants (strikers and demonstrators in the workplace) in this study interfere directly with the social phenomena and moreover are considered a significant factor for initiating these phenomena (Goulding, 2002). Participants in this study have experienced, and participated in, developing the process of change in Egyptian organizations. They can explain the process of action and interaction which are largely shaped by their views and interpretation (Cresswell, 2007).

3- Emergence of new behavior

The emergence of new behavioral patterns in the workplace is viewed as another significant reason that for the use of a grounded theory approach in this study. Grounded theory researchers argue that it is useful to employ grounded theory in situations where people develop a new pattern of behavior while interacting together in groups, and with a new social phenomenon (Glaser, 1978).

4- The nature of the phenomena

Grounded theory is most suitable when the researcher is investigating a complex multifaceted phenomenon that emerges in the social surrounding (Charmaz, 2006; Jones and Alony, 2011). According to Jack (2001), grounded theory provides a systematic technique and procedures for analyzing data when developing an essential theory to explain a phenomenon emerging from a complex and dynamic socio-political surrounding. It allows the researcher to group data into a paradigmatic form that examines how people act and interact with the new emerging socio-political phenomena, what tactics and strategies adopt to engage with the changing context and the eventual outcomes of these tactics and strategies in the work place. It can therefore be suggested that the nature of the phenomena under study can be best explained and interpreted using grounded theory methodology.

5- Accordance with the constructivists' philosophical stance

Organizational change theorists argue that organizational practices are socially embedded, as they then reflect socio-political environment from which they have emerged and are being used (Blackburn, 2008; Burnes & Jackson, 2011; and Watson, 2012). This argument explicitly matches the constructivist assumption that reality is viewed as socially and societal embedded and exists within the mind of the social actors (Grbich, 2007) Constructivists assume that reality is a subset of integrating the socio-political surrounding of individuals' or social actors' experiences with researcher interpretation; all these are considered the interpretive tools for constructing grounded theory.

6- Generating ideas for future research

While the Egyptian uprisings are still evolving, it is argued that the results from the analysis of this study may generate new ideas for further research in various fields of social science, especially in Egypt and the Arab Spring countries. This will be discussed in detail in the final chapter.

Coding in grounded theory

Coding is one of the most central processes in grounded theory and entails reviewing transcripts or field notes, labelling, separating, compiling and organizing data (Bryman, 2012). The interpretive nature of grounded theory clearly appears in the coding process and Charmaz (2014) has argued that it is the point of view of the researcher that directs the process of constructing codes and labelling data to achieve an adequate fit between actions and events.

Coding is the first step in the generation of theory. Coding in qualitative research is achieved through what is called constant comparison, which refers to the process of maintaining a close connection between data and conceptualization by moving back and forth within both the same and different interview transcripts, to develop different levels of data categories and themes consistent

with the research questions (Bryman, 2012; Corbin and Strauss, 2008; and Smith & Biley, 2013).

Strauss and Corbin (1990), drawing on their grounded theory approach, distinguish between three types of coding practice: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. These three coding schemes will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Criticism of grounded theory:

1- Hypothesis testing versus qualitative theory building studies

Although grounded theory is a powerful research method for collecting and analyzing data, it is still not widely used or understood by researchers and PhD students (Parker & Roffey, 1997). Despite over 40 years of available methodology after the creation of the theory; few grounded theory generating studies have emerged in the public management research literature (Allan, 2003; Parker & Roffey, 1997). Very few, if any, researchers have applied grounded theory in Egypt since it was initiated by Glaser and Strauss in 1967 and, until the present time, there is no standard Arabic translation in the Egyptian literature of the research methodology in Egypt. Social Science researchers in Egypt mainly adopt deductive theory testing approaches.

2- The philosophical stances of grounded theory

Most of the critiques encountered by grounded theory are derived from the theory itself (its origin, philosophy and features) or in its practical considerations in the process of collecting and analyzing the data to build up the theory. According to Jones and Alony (2011), the most common criticism of grounded theory is related to its philosophical origins. Jones and Alony (2011) argued that while grounded theory methods used interpretivist and constructionist tools, it stems from positivism / objectivism.

Positivists' researchers argue that the flexible nature of interpretive qualitative research relies on personal judgement, filled with conjecture and unscientific reasoning (Goulding, 2005). Some positivists' researchers perceive grounded theory as not scientific enough and that researchers need to show that the research includes a scientific perspective in order to demonstrate credibility. In general positivists claim that outputs of grounded theory are not reliable, and they cannot provide or sustain knowledge (Bryant, 2009).

3- The interpretive nature of grounded theory approach

Most of the difficulties encountered in the application of grounded theory appear in the process of data analysis. Grounded theory is an inductive approach and the process of data analysis is a tedious, complex, time consuming task during which the focus of the researcher may be lost (Allan, 2003). According to the interpretivist view, analysis of interview data in grounded theory research is largely interpreted by the researcher's view and perception of the phenomena under study. (Corbin and Strauss, 1967). Glaser and Strauss (1990) noted that the process of data analysis in grounded theory research should be carried out with an open mind and with no pre-conceived ideas. However, this is not an easy task for a novice researcher (Allan, 2003).

4- The problem of saturation

In grounded theory some researchers are uncertain about when to finish the analysis; Glaser (1978) discusses saturation as the key to knowing when to stop. It might take many attempts before the researcher is confident when to stop the analysis and form the theory.

5- The impact of researcher's cognitive framework

Thomas and James (2006) have noted that the cognitive framework of the researcher might influence the process of constructing themes from the grounded data. They argue that researchers are human beings their minds are full of prejudices about equalities, justice, freedom, education and future hopes. All of these influences unconsciously shape the researcher's view of the world.

6- Personal competencies and research skills

Not everyone is suited to applying grounded theory; a grounded theory researcher needs special competences. McCallin (2003) has stated that a qualified grounded theory researcher should have the following: thinking skills, communication skills, organizational skills and creative ability. This may be why grounded theory seems an unattractive option for the non-voice researcher.

7- Reliability and generalizability issues

With a belief in the objectivity of the social world, positivists argue that quantitative researchers, relying on standardized questions, tend to give greater practical emphasis to reliability and generalizability (David and Sutton, 2004). As grounded theory is derived from phenomenology and symbolic interactionism, positivists argue that grounded theorists give little concern to reliability and generalizability which are considered the cornerstone in quantitative research traditions as noted by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

Data collection

Methods of data collection

This research has collected qualitative data from the field one year after the start of the 25th January revolution, when strikes and protests became a rapidly moving phenomenon in Egyptian organizations. The methods selected for data collection were interviews, documentation and observations. The rationale for selecting each method and the ways in which these serve the research methods are discussed.

The interview in grounded theory studies

The semi-structured interview is the major data collection technique used during the stages of open and axial coding to discover and develop categories and to explore relationships between them. The interview method has been adopted in this study in order to extract qualitative data. Interviews are common amongst explorative theory-building studies (Saber, 2011). Since the central requirement of this research is to investigate how employees perceive, experience and deal with the new socio-political change in the workplace, this experience could only be revealed by the social actors who participate in creating and practicing this change in their workplace. Interviews stand out as the most appropriate qualitative data collection type able to extract these experiences. Wong (2011) pointed out a number of advantages of interviewing as a data collection method, of which three are of importance to this research: flexibility, probing and suitability to complex topics as in the case of the phenomena under study here.

The rationale of Using Interviews

This research is an exploratory work based on grounded theory, its major aim being to discover how employees experience, perceive and interact with the 25th January revolution in their workplace. A grounded theory researcher must show sufficient concern regarding the impact of the interview process on the data gathered. It is important for an interviewer to understand what shapes, structures and directs the questions in the interviewing process, although field notes, memos and pilot interviews are important tools for shaping and directing the interviewer's questions. It is the process of researcher sensitivity to both the interviewee and the data that play the leading role in forming these questions. According to Wimpenny (2000) this process should include setting the tone, seeking in-depth information, feeling and reflection, searching for the narrative and ending with a positive note. The interviewing process is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 (Data Analysis and Design).

In addition to this, the constructionist ontology and qualitative approach both connect with research where in-depth investigations are required with the social actors who experience and interact with the phenomena of the drastic transformation in Egyptian organizations (Sabiri, 2012, p.72). Therefore, an interview method is viewed to be the most appropriate for extracting in depth data from the view point of the research participant. Furthermore, as this research aims to understand the causes and drivers of the new upward power behavior that has emerged in the workplace after the revolution, primary data must be retrieved directly from working employees who experience and interact with these new phenomena. Therefore, the experiences of the individual workers are considered the main unit of analysis in this investigation (Skaren and Bougie, 2009, p.116).

Finally, based on constructivists' ontological position, in order to explain the process of interaction between employees (social actors who are considered as a major part of the central phenomena) and the changes that emerge in their workplace as a result of the transformations in the socio-political sphere, we require an in-depth interview type of investigation as this is seen to best address the objectives of this research

Documentation

Interviews and observation are considered most appropriate when investigating a phenomenon which lends itself to the grounded theory in order to achieve valid theory (Smith and Biley, 1997).

Documentation like organization memos and reports provide a rich set of data that can be used by later investigators to examine empirical questions about populations that may not be anticipated when information is first collected (Fisher and Anushko, 2008).

Content analysis has been the basic analytical tool used to explore data from documentary sources like memos and reports (Stemler, 2001) and refers to "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication " (Berelson, 1952, p.220). Content analysis transform text from documentary sources into meaningful codes and categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) Codes and categories are directly derived from the row data. Several of written documents were subject to documentary in this research, including memos of meetings with the union representatives, the administration and other reports demonstrating the major demands claimed by employees in the workplace in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution. This will be further investigated in Chapter 5.

Observations

Although, observation is not a primary approach in this research, the observation technique was used in this work to enable the researcher to enter the world of participants experiencing the phenomena under study and contribute to the development of empirical knowledge (Soliman, 2011). Observations were also used as a supportive tool to verify the credibility of the data collected and to offer more insights into the data provided by the other techniques used in this research. According to Flick (2009), triangulation of observations with other sources of data increases the expressiveness of gathered data. Triangulation of observational with other data collection methods was used to further verify the reliability of the data and offer additional insights into the data provided by each technique (Flick, 2009; Soliman, 2007). The researcher adopted unstructured observations, a technique suggested by Jones and Somek (2005) which involves taking detailed notes from the surroundings without a previously prepared schedule. In general, research observation is suitable when studying constantly evolving social phenomena and enables the researcher to observe changes being constructed and reconstructed as he moves through differing political, social and organizational contexts (Lewis et al., 2007).

3.7 Sampling Approach

Grounded theory studies often use non-probability purposive sampling for concepts and categories that emerge during data collection and analysis phases (Bryman, 2012).

Purposive sampling is common in qualitative studies. It enables researchers to use their personal judgment to select cases that will best enable them to answer their research question and to meet their objectives (Bryman, 2012; Saberi et al., 2012). Participants are chosen on the basis of their expert knowledge of the phenomena under study. One form of purposive sampling is theoretical sampling, advocated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) in the context of an approach to qualitative data analysis theory. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), theoretical sampling is —the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analysis jointly collects codes, and analyses of data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them in order to develop the theory as it emerges| (Bryman, 2012). Strauss (1978) explains that the relationship between the data collection and data analysis processes in grounded theory methodology differs from other research methodologies through this concept of "theoretical sampling", which he describes as a mechanism whereby the analyst decides on analytical grounds, what data to collect next and where to find them| (Strauss, 1978, P.38). The researcher follows the emerging theory and seeks the next group of subjects or activities from which to collect the next set of data for specific theoretical purposes, grounded in the emerging theory (Wong, 2011).

Glaser and Strauss (1967) have crucially stated that for the very beginning of the research it is important to assign an initial sample having the required properties and dimensions. This sample may diverge or converge according to the relevance of data collected to the theory. Decisions for selecting initial samples are based on the researcher's perspective or general subject area and are guided by the principle aim of the research which, in the case of this study, is to explore the impact of the socio-political paradigm shift triggered by the Egyptian revolution on work practices and employees' behavior and patterns of power. From this perspective, the researcher has decided to initially specify the basic features, properties and characteristics that should emerge in the sample to achieve the goals and objectives of the research. The process of theoretical sampling and the rationale of selecting the first two interviewing samples are thoroughly discussed in Chapter 4 (Research Process).

Theoretical saturation:

One of the most important issues facing grounded theory researchers is theoretical saturation. It is the question of when to stop gathering data or when to stop conducting new interviews (Charmaz, 2014). Corbin and Strauss, (2008, p.143) noted that saturation is reached when all categories in terms of their properties and dimensions are completely developed. At this point in the research all the concepts are well defined and explained. In support, Charmaz (2014, p.213) noted that categories are saturated when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights nor reveals new properties of these core theoretical categories.

In this study, saturation is reached after analyzing the 20th interview; any information obtained after the 20th interview did not provide further insights to the category. To further confirm saturation, two more interviews were conducted.

The pilot interview

This section investigates the rationale and the process of conducting two pilot interviews. A pilot interview is an aid used by the researcher to the design of later phases of the research; the ultimate goal of the pilot interview is to enable the researcher to see whether the full research that is proposed will actually investigate what is intended. Interview techniques, coding and data analysis are arranged this stage before the researcher commits to the full social research (Harvey, 2011). Consequently, the pilot interview in this study is not conducted for data collection as such but as an aid for later methodology. Two interviews were carried out over a four-month period in 2012. The two pilot samples were males working as middle managers in governmental organizations who

experienced the revolutionary changes in their organization in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution. The two pilot interviews focused attention on the practices, procedures and techniques of conducting and interpreting interviews as well as broadening an understanding of the phenomena of social revolution, identifying its features, causes, consequences and its impacts on Egyptian business organizations. Theoretical sampling and thematic analysis were used in order to determine the questions to be used in the next round of interviews. The following points summarize the main reasons for conducting pilot interviews in this study:

The rational for conducting a pilot interview

1- Guiding research questions

The pilot study acts as a preliminary guide for the interviewer for structuring and restructuring new sets of questions for the next interviews. The pilot interview concluded with around 80% of the questions used in the next round of interviews.

2- Practice of interview techniques

To improve the researcher's skills in basic interviewing techniques including questioning technique, prompting, writing initial memos, transcripts and development of initial codes from the raw data.

1. Acquiring basic Skills of constant comparison

Pilot interviews enable me to practice the process of constant comparison and how to maintain a close connection between the emerged codes and data.

2. Theoretical sampling and theoretical sensitivity

The analysis of the first transcript enables the interviewer to practice the skill of theoretical sensitivity. The analyst will decide which sample will select next based on outcomes of collecting coding and analyzing the transcripts. The results of this pilot interview suggest other groups to be questioned as theoretical sampling suggest.

3- Elaborating key themes and categories

The pilot interview allows the recognition and elaboration of the major themes, codes and relationships from the collected data. This initial categorization will help to guide future data collection and to determine whether the data exist in the cases intended for study. The evaluation of this interview provides the first path for the data analysis and helps shape the new grounded category. It is argued that this initial categorization is considered as the starting point for more meaningful themes, categories, properties and dimensions in successive cases.

3. Identifying the initial axial coding scheme

This is achieved by exploring the initial emerging relationships between and among codes. Looking for context, causal conditions, ideas, intervening conditions, action interaction, consequences strategies for addressing the phenomena and developing subcategories linked by a paradigm.

The process of data collection and analysis

Selecting the interview samples:

This was guided by the selection criteria adopted by the theoretical sampling approach. To be able to best achieve the goals and objectives of the research selecting as well as describing and explaining the features characteristics and dimensions of the phenomena under study. Both of the two interviewees either participated or interacted indirectly with the protests and strikes that took place in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution. The pilot interviews were conducted with a leading union representative in the Egyptian company for communication and a middle manager and also active member in the free union of Alexandria international port.

Arranging for the first interview

The purpose and scope of the study were reviewed, and appointments made for the initial interview. Informed consent was discussed in detail at the beginning of the interview with an emphasis on confidentiality.

The interviewing process

Each interview lasted for around 70 mins. Although confidentiality was guaranteed before starting the interview, it was felt that the interviewees were still slightly conservative when discussing some critical issues like criticism of the managerial style, absence of rules in their organization and the unlimited power of the dominant minority managers. The interviews began with observations of the real world using a "grand tour" question such as "What are the major changes that emerged in your organization in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution 2011". The question acted to direct participant attention to phenomena under study. It is possible to develop sub-questions that acted as starting point for a grounded approach, the issue is to generate knowledge of the particular to understand the issue integral and in-depth understanding to the organizational situation itself and linking it to related issues in the social sphere (Stake, 1995). A full detail of the interviewing process, procedures and preparations is discussed in the next chapter.

The use of memos

Data analysis and interpretation were supported with memos, with records of thoughts, feelings, ideas and observations plotted in interpretive memos. The use of these memos assists the future process of the research as well as facilitating theoretical sampling. Memos also enable the analysis to converge to a stricter level in the future, and a record of why a particular direction was chosen.

The process of data reduction and analysis

A meaningful process of data reduction is important at this stage to narrow the scope of the study, identify key categories and develop an initial coding scheme. The process of transcription and coding the two pilot interviews is extremely time-consuming, Massive amounts of data, notions, ideas, relationships and codes emerged after the first interview.

The first task was to reduce these large volumes of raw data, excluding irrelevant information, identifying significant patterns, integrating meaningful codes and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal. The second pilot interview was supported by another important source of information including official documents and reports from the free union of Alexandria port to the port administration containing samples of employees' demands and complaints as well as management responses to these demands. The information derived from these documents acted as a guide to new codes or patterns and was also used to support and validate the new emerging codes in the second interview.

Developing the initial coding list

Open coding, axial coding and interpretive memos are derived from the first transcript. Relationships between key categories emerged after interpreting the first transcript and a concept card was developed accordingly.

Open coding

Data from the transcripts were constantly compared and analyzed, when codes and themes start to emerge based on the researcher's interpretation guided by research aims and objectives, any group concepts that appear to relate to the same phenomena are brought together in one category, although the analysis was started with an open mind as recommended by grounded theory, an initial theme regarding the basic social phenomena of the study and its consequences in the work place existed after the first interview. The initial coding was developed for the major categories that emerged after the analysis. Seven major categories and 45 subcategories arose after the first pilot interview.

Axial coding

This clarifies the interconnection between categories or codes, how codes related to each other and the type of relationship between codes. It organizes the consequences, outcomes or results of action or interaction that resulted from the strategy. The process of axial coding is commonly started after all codes emerge from the open coding process and it was recommended by Corbin and Strauss to apply the two coding schemes in parallel as soon as initial conceptual categories emerge (Saber, 2012). After the first pilot interview, the themes were not yet clarified, and codes needed to be supported from other interviewees; however, an initial coding paradigm was initiated, considering it as preliminary guide for constructing the final paradigm model of the study.

Summary

This Part has thoroughly researched the philosophy, design, strategy and approach of the inquiry in relation to the research aims, objectives and the nature of the research phenomena. It has also demonstrated the process, procedures and the rationale of conducting a preliminary pilot interview before commitment to the process of data collection and analysis for the full research. The next chapter will discuss the full process of data collection, analysis and interpretation using grounded theory tools and techniques.

Part two: Research methods and paradigm model

Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is the method used in qualitative research to identify, analyze, and repair patterns within data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is the principal analytical tool adapted in this research, and its main aim is to discover and analyze themes and concepts embedded through observations, interviews and other documentary sources. It attempts to theorize the significance of the patterns and themes emerging from various sources of data, their broader meaning and implication in relation to previous literature (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

The ultimate goal of grounded theory is to generate a useful theory of the phenomena that are grounded in the data. After coding the data from the interviews, observations and documentary sources, the analysis focuses on the broader level of themes. The second phase of analysis starts by exploring, refining and categorizing emerging codes, concepts and categories, and sorting them into patterns of meaning or themes according to a particular analytic interest in the data guided by the research questions, aims and objectives.

The aim of the thematic analysis adopted in this research is to develop a substantive theory from data. In doing so, the emerged themes were guided, shaped and refined by the broad research aim, research objectives and interviewing questions before and during thematic analysis. The research objectives and questions have been reviewed, refined and reformulated during the analysis to ensure concordance with the emerging codes, concepts and themes that emerged from data collected during the interviews.

Manual or electronic analysis:

Although manually data analysis is complex, tedious and time-consuming for the researcher (Basit, 2003), manual analysis of data is favored in this research. Since each participant interviewed in this research belonged to different educational, occupational and social classes, it was found that each expressed his ideas in different ways, and the researcher plays an important role in understanding, explaining and interpreting interviewees' comments. According to Welsh (2002), computer software allows the researcher to understand and interpret data up to a particular level. When respondents express similar ideas in completely different way this makes it difficult for computer software analysis to cover all responses. Welsh added that manual coding enables the researcher to see the whole picture and gain a better understanding of the emerged themes and the

interrelationships between the emerged categories. Finally Tuck, (2007) has argued that although specialized software like Nvivo is a powerful analytical tool, and greater complexity is gained by using such specialized qualitative analysis programs, manual analysis is highly recommended by Glaser (1978) for its flexibility. For these reasons the researcher preferred to use manual analysis rather than electronic.

The interviewing process

Although other qualitative data collection techniques exist, such as observations and documents, the critical requirements in this research was considered to be best satisfied through personal interviews. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were used so that there was no constraint on the information offered by the interviewees and so allowing qualitative data to emerge as informants fully expressed their inner experiences and views (Saber, 2012). Furthermore, using the semi-structured interview allowed the researcher to change the sequence of any prepared questions, or even omit others, in accordance with the flow of the conversation (Saber, 2012).

Psychological dynamics of interviews:

The central requirement of the interview is to gain an in-depth understanding of how employees perceive and deal with the new emerging revolutionary changes within the natural work context. With the approval of participants, the researcher was granted access to personally visit participants in their houses. One of the difficulties encountered by the researcher is dealing with some sensitive topics in the interview. According to Lee (1993) issues like managers' political practices in the workplace and the power of internal and external connections are perceived by participants as sensitive topics. Sensitive topics are studies in which there are potential direct or indirect negative consequences or implications for the participants, and such topics require more caution and awareness from the researchers. Lee (1993) added that, since the research settings exist inside a wider social and political environment, that context may have reflections in organizational settings, especially if this external environment is conflicting and producing fears. In agreement with Lee's argument it has been found that due to lack of freedom of expression, a climate of fear and the negative political climate dominating Egyptian organizations in the pre-revolution period, employees perceive some of the topics discussed in the interviews as sensitive and induce fear. To minimize this fear and promote a climate of trustfulness, participants were informed about the general objectives of the research and an oral approval was obtained before starting each interview; participants were also informed of the use of a voice recorder at the beginning of the interview. Some interviewees feel uncomfortable with voice recording during their interviews and in these cases field notes were taken instead. Although some participants did not mind if their full name was used, only initials have been listed in interviews and in other cases only the job position

of the interviewee was mentioned. Almost 80% of interviews were tape recorded and transcribed into text files for the researcher to use as an interview guide, with a list of questions covering the major themes and categories. The interview guide is divided into five main sectors aligned with the objectives of the study and, based on the constant comparative approach, questions were compared and modified after each interview and questions not included in the guide may be asked as the interviewer picks up on things said by interviewees. The researcher constantly examined the text from interviewees' transcripts for salient categories of information supported by the text. After the 20th interview any information obtained from interviewees did not provide further insights in to the category, when all categories reached saturation. Each interview took an average of 55 minutes to complete, starting with an opening conversation and introducing the background of the phenomena of the empirical investigation. The interviews began with observations of the real world using a grand tour question such as "What are the major changes that erupted in your organization in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution 2011?". The question acted to direct participant attention to phenomena under study.

The following represents a sample of the interviewing questions used throughout most of interviews conducted in this study:

1-The new emerging pattern of power and behavior

- To what extend do you think that socio-political transformations triggered by the Egyptian 25th Jan revolution 2011 has affected your organization?
- Would you describe the changes that emerged in your organization as slow and gradual or rather rapid and severe?
- What are the major changes that you observed in employees' behavior and patterns of power in your workplace in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011?
- To what extent do you think that the transformations in your organization are associated with violence?
- What are the major forms and tactics of power that have been practiced by employees in your organization to achieve their demands?
- To what extent do you think employees have succeeded in forcing their employers to comply with their demands?

2-The underlying causes employees' rebellious actions

- Why do you think employees 'upward influence behavior emerged in your organization after the revolution and not before?
- What are the main triggers of employees' violence in your organization?
- To what extent do the employees in your company believe that the power of law is greater than that of their managers?

3-The triggering force of the 25th January Revolution 2011

- To what extent do you think the eruption of the Egyptian revolution has triggered employees' protest actions in the workplace?
- Do you think the famous slogan of the revolution —freedom, democracy and social justice has any reflection in your organization?

4-Employees' claims and demands

- Do you think protests in your organization were directed toward achieving organizational goals or it was basically directed to achieve employees' personal goals?
- What are the major demands and claims that have been raised by employees in your organization?

5-Management response and organizational consequences

- To what extent do you think managers in your organization have taken pre-emptive actions to prevent the current agitation events within your organization?
- Did you experience any noticeable changes in organizational policies, practices or strategies that resulted from employees' pressure in the workplace?
- From your point of view how can your organization achieve a more peaceful and stable atmosphere in the workplace after these dramatic events.

Demographic characteristics of research participants

As this research focus on a deeper understanding of the transformational process resulted from the upward influence actions (protests, strikes and demonstrations) exercised By Egyptian employees in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011. And since such data can be extracted only from workers, human resources managers and middle managers who initiate, participate or experience these actions in the workplace. Therefore, within the chosen organization the criteria set for the selection of research participants have been set based on this argument. To ensure the selection of the most appropriate research participants that fit the criteria set in this research the current study have focused the scope of selection to the following groups.

- Middle managers and workers who actively participate in upward influence actions.
- Human resources managers and specialists.
- Union representatives.

Table 3.1 illustrates Demographic characteristics of research participants

Interviewees code	Job title / Job rank	Gender	Industry or Service sector
I-1	Middle manager in building department (union representative)	Male	Telecommunication
I-2	Computer operator/ (union representative)	Male	Maritime transport
I-3	Human resources manager	Male	Mining sector
I-4	Junior officer (union representative)	Male	Egyptian police
I-5	Business consultant	Male	Training and consultation
I-6	Middle manager (university Liberian)	female	Higher education
I-7	Human resources management	Male	Food and beverage
I-8	Export manager	Male	Textile sector
I-9	Physician	Male	Medical sector
I-10	Computer specialist	Male	Maritime transport
I-11	Computer specialist	Male	Electronic sector
I-12	Middle manager (legal affairs)	Male	Maritime transport
I-13	Computer specialist	Male	Electronic sector
I-14	Bus driver	Male	Public transportation
I-15	Bus driver	Male	Public transportation
I-16	Bus driver	Male	Public transportation
I-17	Export manager	Male	Ceramics industry
I-18	Corporate trainer	Male	Training and Consultation
I-19	Senior manager (legal affairs)	Male	Public transportation
I-20	Middle manager	Male	Training and consultation
I-21	Human resources manager	Male	Petroleum sector
I-22	Middle manager	Male	Higher Education

Phases of data analysis

Phase one: Theoretical sampling

Theoretical sampling is central to grounded theory studies where the logic of its use in such studies is to develop a theory that sets the terms for sampling throughout the study. Locke (2001, p.55) has defined the process of theoretical sampling as "the practice of actively searching for and sampling data in order to provide the best possible information for theorizing a substantive topic area".

For the purposes of grounded theory, it is important to capture concepts which are grounded in the data. These data are of theoretical relevance when they are represented as concepts and categories (Jack, 2001). Effective theoretical sampling was achieved in this study through the careful selection of the interviewed participants. These were chosen so that they covered a wide scope of business organizations and different functional groups that have experienced the transformations that erupted in their organizations in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution.

The first two pilot interviewees were purposively selected, at the very beginning of the study according to Sbaraini et.al, (2011, p.5) who have argued that in grounded theory researches purposive sampling is often used prior to initiating theoretical sampling.

Initial data collection and analysis from pilot interviews helped to narrow the focus of the study from its initially broad scope to a narrower and more defined field. In accordance with Cowley and Health (2004), the first two interviews help to direct codes and formulate the categories of grounded theory. While the emergent categories in theoretical sampling always point to the next step, Cowley and Health (2004) argued that after the first pilot interview important categories of theoretical relevance emerge which direct researcher attention to the most relevant group of respondents.

In this study, early categories that emerged prior to initial analysis of the two pilot interviews were employees' upward influence behavior, power tactics, and Human Resources Management (HRM) practices. Categories were repeated or changed as more data were added. As the analysis proceeded, the categories began to be grouped with higher orders calling for further interview samples that would agree theoretically with the new emerging categories. Based on the initial outcomes that emerged from the analysis, the researcher considered that human resources managers, leaders of labour protests and union representatives were the most significant groups for generating, to the fullest extent as many properties of the categories as possible, as well as relating categories to each other.

Phase two: Coding:

According to Charmaz (2010), coding is the pivotal link between the collection of data and the development of an emergent theory to explain these data. Codes are what the interviewer highlights during the process of interview as an issue of importance or interest to the research. Coding shapes the basic analytic framework from which the researcher builds his theory (Allan, 2003). During this process all codes emerging from the data analysis will be inductively reduced into theoretical codes. Theoretical codes that emerge from different sources of data are compared to reach the final emergent theory (Tuck, 2007, p.100). In the current work, theoretical saturation was reached after the 20th interviewee, with findings from data analysis adding no new concepts or codes. Two additional interviews were conducted to ensure validity of the discovered codes. The data in this study were analyzed systematically through the three stages of coding noted by Corbin and Strauss (2008), namely open, axial and selective coding.

1- Open Coding:

This is the first stage in the analysis of data in grounded theory studies, starting immediately after the first interview. Open coding develops the process of analysis from the descriptive stage to the conceptualization of the relationship across social phenomena contained in the data (Goulding, 2002). The coding process begins with a sensitive assessment of all the different facts that the researcher perceives as important in exploring and understanding the phenomenon under study, according to its potential relevance to the research aims and objectives (Biley and Smith, 2007). The aim of building the initial set of codes is to produce a relevant set of concepts that will in turn become the first stage in the construction of the theory. In this study this stage consists of two main steps:

A- Developing open codes from data analysis

B- Developing core categories from the emerged codes

Open coding starts with an analytical reading of interview transcripts or documents, highlighting the passages of relevance to identify the required codes (He, 2004). In open coding the purpose is to reveal as many potentially relevant codes as possible, and at this stage the researcher does not focus on grouping and categorizing the emerged codes based on any shared properties or attributes.

After the complete analysis of data from the 22 transcripts, 245 codes emerged. These are randomly listed in the table below:

Table 3-1: Sample of open codes that emergent after complete data analysis.

Balance of power	Collapse of Mubarak regime	Growing sense of ownership
Freedom of expression	Management rapid response	Threat to stop work
Employees' basic needs	Threat of demonstration	Unequal distribution of Profits
Employees mass movements	Threat of firing	Employee strikes
Invisible power	Rapid transformation	Reforming managerial System
Power of employees versus power of law	Employees' decisions	Irresponsible freedom
Lack of manners	Rapid change in employees' behavior	Retaining the paradigm of Power
Social conflict	Payment inequity	Employees' confidence
Violent behavior	Assaulting managers	Employees' discrimination
Employees' frustration	Power monopoly	Unlimited benefits of top Management
The buffering class	Highly connected employees	Negotiation and persuasion
Passive attitude	Complaint channels	Exceeding legitimate Authority
Special treatment	Workplace Violence	Work privileges
Accumulative anger	Minorities dominating rule	Victims of injustice
Subjective criteria of Promotion	Inequality of penalties	Socially embedded practices
Job statutes	Military coup and change	Aggressive actions
Conflict of interest	Authority obedience management	Aggressive actions toward Employees
Excessive benefits	Insulting employees	Hiring military officers
Autocratic regime	Open door strategy	Financial improvements
Strict control	Employees' rights	Raising salaries
Managerial democracy	Improving work conditions	Unethical tactics
Oppressive management	Legitimate demands	Weak concern for employees' needs
Political actions	Union activities before the revolution	Damaging production Facilities
Feeling proud	Mistreatment	Better treatment
High expectations	Self-serving behavior	Lack of legal control
Political climate	Politically oriented strikes	Unfair distribution of outcomes

Categorizing: Combining codes and developing core categories

A meaningful, homogeneous set of codes is categorized in this stage (Bryman, 2012). Codes emerge through what is called constant comparison which refers to the process of maintaining a close connection between data and conceptualization by moving back and forth within the same, as well as different, interview transcripts to develop different levels of data categories and themes consistent with the research aims and objectives (Bryman, 2012; Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

The process of open coding conducted in the first phase of analysis resulted in a large number of codes and these were grouped together based on shared properties and attributes. Codes were grouped in one category whenever it appeared that some of the coded concept may be grouped under more abstract higher order concepts (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p.113). By constant comparison of codes covered in the data gathering, relationships were established between codes and similarities between codes and categories were found on a continuing basis as they were discovered.

A process of linking, combining, refining and relabeling, using insightful awareness, generated new key categories with the ability to explain all subsidiary categories. Early categories to emerge were employees' power, upward power tactics and employees' demands.

The following figure shows the new emerged categories with the highest level of abstraction.

Table 3.3 Core categories emerged from open coding

1-Employees' power	
<input type="checkbox"/> Altering management decisions	<input type="checkbox"/> Employees' initiatives
<input type="checkbox"/> Forcing managers to quit	<input type="checkbox"/> Power of the union
<input type="checkbox"/> The power of grouping	<input type="checkbox"/> The invisible power
<input type="checkbox"/> Employees' Alliances	<input type="checkbox"/> The independent union
<input type="checkbox"/> Government response to labor movements	<input type="checkbox"/> Freedom of expression

2- Upward power tactics

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Calm down strategy | <input type="checkbox"/> Demonstration of strikes |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Destruction of company's reputation | <input type="checkbox"/> Threatening to stop service |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Assaulting managers | <input type="checkbox"/> Protests |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Violence | <input type="checkbox"/> Demonstrations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Damaging facilities | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Work stoppage | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aggressive behavior | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Social networks | |

3- Employees' demands

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Respect and appreciation | <input type="checkbox"/> Raising salaries |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Means of transportation | <input type="checkbox"/> Demand for justice |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Objective criteria of promotion | <input type="checkbox"/> Freedom to express opinion |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Minimum and maximum wages | <input type="checkbox"/> Better treatment |

4- Revolution the triggering force of change

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> The power of the revolution | <input type="checkbox"/> Faith to create change |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Growing courage | <input type="checkbox"/> Accumulative discontent |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Collapse of Mubarak regime | <input type="checkbox"/> Frustration and anger |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Breaking the barrier of fear | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Environment of freedom | |

5- Organizational consequences

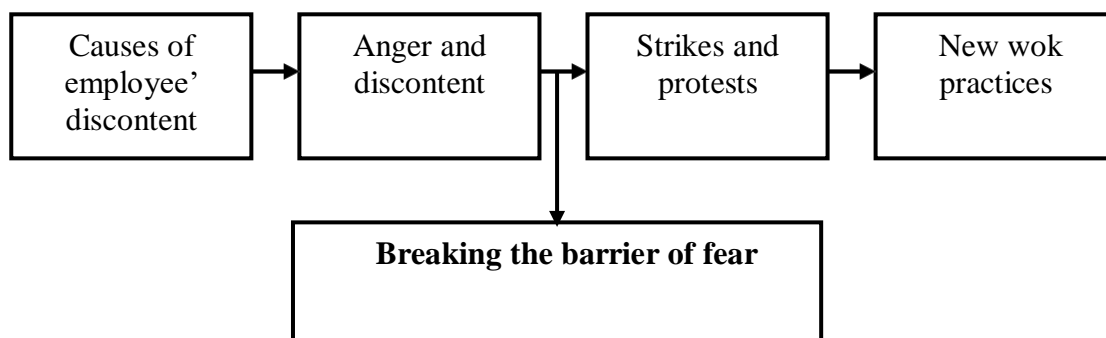
- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Incentive rewards | <input type="checkbox"/> Improving work conditions |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Housing projects | <input type="checkbox"/> Creating new complaint channels |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Health care | <input type="checkbox"/> Awareness of employees' rights |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Salary raise | <input type="checkbox"/> Negative consequences on production |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Increase in retirement bonus | <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of functional reforms |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Objective criteria of selection | <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of legal control |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Expressing opinion | <input type="checkbox"/> Poor delivery of services |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Open door strategy | <input type="checkbox"/> Emphasizing rules |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Removing communication barriers | <input type="checkbox"/> More freedom |

2- Axial Coding

Axial coding is the third analytical phase applied in this study. In this phase, which occurs in parallel with open coding, categories are linked together and combined to form the coding scheme or the paradigm model of the study (Sorour, 2011).

Bryman (2011, p.569) has defined axial coding as "a set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding by making connections between categories, this is done by linking codes to context, to consequences, to pattern of interaction and to causes". As illustrated in Table 4-1, after couple of transcripts in the initial coding the researcher generates inductively as many ideas and concepts as possible from early data (Allan, 2003). In open coding the focus is on these data to define concepts and categories; in axial coding the primary focus is to confirm that concepts and categories accurately represent interview responses and to examine whether the concepts and categories are related. The ultimate aim of axial coding is to explore and identify the category which is considered the central phenomenon in the paradigm model of the study and other components of the paradigm model that are subcategories related to the central category. The basic components of the model are explained in the paradigm model section.

The following diagram (3.1) shows a sample examination of an interview transcript of an initial axial coding scheme that appears in the early phases of analysis.



After open coding and the grouping of codes, axial coding helped to filter out a total of 16 main categories which in turn form the basic structure of the emerging paradigm model. These categories are subsumed into six main categories representing the six components of the paradigm model. The following table shows a concept card describing sample of the main categories emerged after the first pilot interview. A full explanation of the main categories that emerged from the thematic analysis of data is discussed in chapter 5.

Table 3.4 Summary of concept card developed after the first interview.

Category	Description	Interview extract
The power of the Group	The power that is derived from the interconnection and the relationships between people in one group	<i>"but now a group of employees can challenge a managerial decision by protesting and applying pressures upon their managers"</i>
Employee upward power tactics (main category or themes).	These are influence tactics practiced by employees in the work place aiming to influence managerial decision or responding to employees' demands.	<i>"In my opinion some of these tactics are not accepted such as those including threatening to stop service or closing facilities" "the protests grew and there was more organization and invitations on Face book, then there was mobilization of employees from different branches heading toward Cairo"</i>
Accumulative discontent	"Prolonged unfulfilled desire or a need experienced by employees for a long time."	<i>"Before the revolution there was tyranny and power monopoly for a limited group that took over authority without letting any outsider participates, more like managing some private mansion, they were an exclusive authority group".</i>
The new emerging power (main category)	"The power of employees that have emerged in Egyptian organizations as a result of 25 th January revolution."	<i>"After the revolution employees with protests and objections no longer have any fear of being fired, suspended or harmed by any means. This gave people the opportunity to express their opinions and the number of employees in protests multiplied"</i>

3- Selective coding

Finally, in the selective coding phase, the researcher selects the central category that best explains the phenomenon being researched and relates to it all other categories using the paradigm model above. Identifying core categories is considered the ultimate aim of grounded theory (Biley & Smith, 1997). Bryman (2012) has defined core categories as the control issue or focus around which all other categories are integrated. This analytical process is very similar to axial coding but at a higher level of abstraction (Jack, 2001). A link is then developed explaining all the categories in the paradigm model. This is what Strauss and Carbine call the story line that frames an analytical account of the phenomena of interest.

Selecting the core category is based on what phenomenon is reflected repeatedly in the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). This was the most difficult part in this research; according to Strauss and Corbin, (1998), selective coding requires the researcher to integrate and generate a theory that can ultimately fit the data and explain the phenomena.

The category "revolutionary transformation" was selected as the core category and all other lower level categories were related to this making them subsidiary categories. The rationale for selecting revolutionary transformation as the central category was discussed in detail in the section describing the application of the paradigm model.

This central category is defined in this study as: a sudden, rapid and radical change that emerged in Egyptian organizations which resulted from the intense socio-political change in Egypt in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution, this revolutionary change acting as a trigger to modify the old pattern of power and work practices, aiming to construct new work practices and a substitution paradigm of power and authority within Egyptian organizations. Finally, the theory is grounded and described in the paradigm model in terms of all categories and their relationships.

Developing the paradigm model of the study

This section presents and explains the basic parts of the paradigm model and the interconnection between them. According to Saberi (2012, p.92) "*a paradigm model is a pattern of causal interactions between the emerging categories resulting from axial coding and presented in a form of a data diagram.*" Figure (4-3) displays a coding model.

Categories are grouped, re-arranged and linked together in a coherent scheme to form a complete explanation of the researched phenomenon. The latter is the central category of the model in which other subcategories in the model are interlinked and related to it (Jack, 2001). These categories should answer questions pertaining to the phenomenon studied such as what, where; when, how and with what consequences the phenomenon takes place in order to contextualize it (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). In the current research, the paradigm model helps to explain the revolutionary transformation (the central phenomenon) that emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution in relation to its causes, consequences and its socio-political context.

The coding paradigm specifies the phenomenon in terms of the causal conditions that gives rise to it, the context in which it is embedded, the action/ interaction strategies by which it is handled and the consequences of those strategies (Cresswell, 2007; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The output of the main category contributes to the start of the paradigm model and is explained in further detail in Chapter 5 (Findings and Interpretation). The second phase in the open coding process (categorization) filtered out a total of nine main categories. These categories are subsumed into six categories each representing a component of the paradigm model.

The components of the paradigm model

3.14.1 The phenomenon

This is the central category to which all other categories are related and interact with. According to (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) "*A phenomenon is the central idea, event, happening around which a set of actions/ interactions is directed at managing and handling*". The research identifies the phenomenon by asking questions such as —What is the data referring to? and —What is the nature of the action/interaction? In essence, it asks the question "What is going on here?" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.130).

The answer to this question is the evolving revolutionary transformation that emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution. The phenomenon of revolutionary

transformation is the only category able to explain and subsume all other categories through the phases of open coding and categorization of data. The category "revolutionary transformation" emerged from the grounded data after the systematic grouping and integration of codes through all the phases of the interviewing process. Codes of shared properties that help to clarify and explain the drastic change in Egyptian organizations are combined and grouped together to form the central phenomenon of the study. The main categories that contribute to the formulation of the central category of revolutionary transformation are:

- 1- Rapid and radical shift in the balance of power and authority.
- 2- Employees form groups, alliances and unions to increase their influence capacity.
- 3- Emergent of New upward influence behavior and tactics in the workplace.
- 4- Transformations associated with violence.
- 5- Social and class conflicts between managers and employees.
- 6- Rebellious actions emanated from a revolutionary socio-political change.
- 7- Upward influence actions directed towards specific goals and demands.

Properties and attributes of the revolutionary transformation are explained in detail in the findings and interpretation chapter. After identifying the core category, an important question arises: what causes this radical and rapid transformation to emerge in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution?

Other questions are also important to gain an in-depth explanation of the central category:

- Why this revolutionary transformation erupted in Egyptian organizations?
- What motivates employees to engage in upward influence actions in the workplace?
- What are the major conditions, motivation and underlying causes of triggering these changes in Egyptian organizations?

These questions are the subject of analysis in the second phase of analysis presented by the paradigm model of the study.

Causal conditions:

This is the second pillar of the paradigm model and illustrates the events or happenings that lead to the occurrence of the phenomenon (Strauss and Courbin, 1990; Jack, 2001; and Sorour, 2011).

According to Jack (2011), causal conditions do not produce the phenomenon; rather, it is how people are affected by the properties of these conditions that results in the phenomenon. Sorour (2011) has argued that identifying causal conditions requires asking the following question:

—What are the events or incidents that lead to the occurrence of the phenomenon?

The category "causes of employees' rage and discontent" is considered the principle cause that drove the revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organizations. This category is based on ten subcategories that emerged in the open coding stage, and these eight categories are considered the underlying causes and the major drivers that motivated employees to engage in intensive waves of violent and nonviolent protests causing the drastic changes in Egyptian organizations.

Findings emerged from the thematic analysis illustrated in figure (3-2) illustrates the relationship between the subcategories or properties of the causal condition "causes of employee's' discontent" and the central phenomenon (revolutionary transformation) as it appears in the paradigm model of the study.

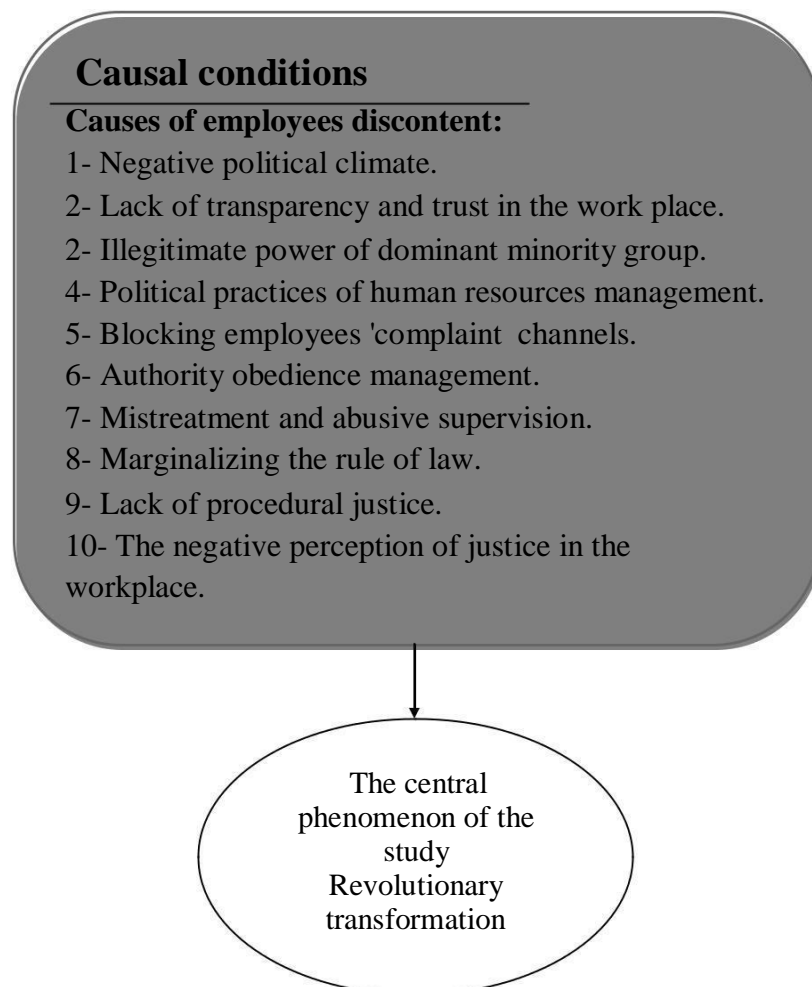


Figure 3.2: Causal conditions.

The context

Context refers to the surroundings associated with the phenomenon (Capelli and Sherer, 1991). These surroundings play a significant role in determining the degree of organizational change. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990, p.101) "context represents the particular set of conditions within which the action/interaction strategies are taken to respond to a specific phenomenon". Context is the conditions that intersect dimensionally at a specific time and place to create the set of circumstances or problems to which persons respond through actions (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). In our study we can consider the socio-political transformation triggered by the 25th January 2011 as the contextual conditions in which employees' actions and organizational practices were linked.

According to Sorour (2011, p.209), identification of the context in which the phenomenon has taken place requires asking the following question: what are the set of conditions that affect employees' behavior, pattern of power and work practices in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of Egyptian revolution? Findings from the thematic analysis demonstrate that the shift in the balance of power in Egyptian organizations was directly related to the new paradigm of power that emerged in Egyptian society during and after the revolution. Other evidence from analysis of the data illustrates that social violence emerging in the Egyptian society was the root cause of workplace violence in Egyptian organizations. It may be concluded from the above findings that the drastic socio-political transformation that erupted in Egyptian society in the aftermath of the 25th January 2011 revolution acted as a powerful force in shaping and reforming patterns of employees' power, behavior and organizational practices. In our example the model becomes:

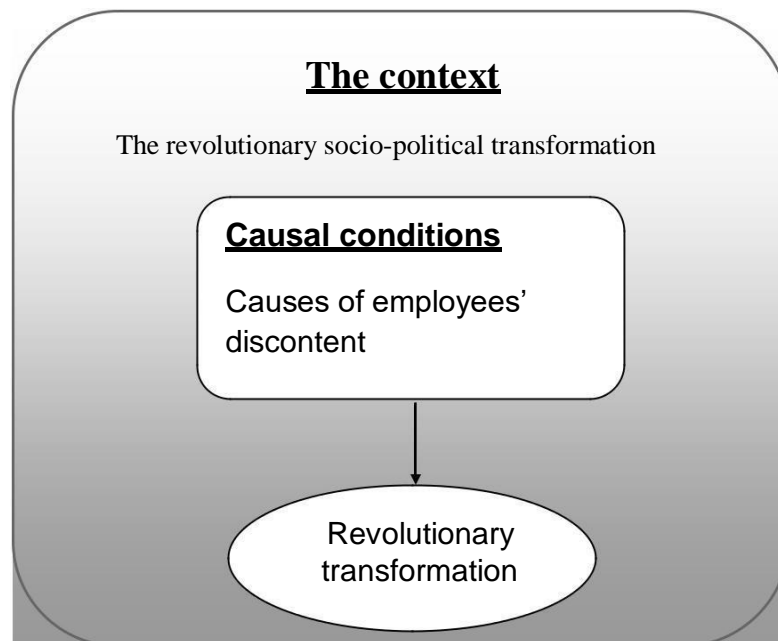


Figure 3.3: The Context.

Intervening conditions

According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), "intervening conditions" act to mitigate or otherwise alter the impact of causal conditions on phenomena. Whether intervening conditions can take place may be found by asking the following question: —What are the conditions that mitigate or alter the impact of causal conditions on the evolving phenomenon "revolutionary transformation"?

In the current research it has been found that although in the period preceding the Egyptian revolution employees suffered from arbitrary management practices, poor job conditions and unfair treatment from their superiors, they did not practice any sort of protest to express their anger or to protect their rights and restore fairness. Findings suggest that employers in the post revolution period were promoting a climate of fear through the intensive use of arbitrary practices and the overuse of punishment. Evidence from the data analysis suggests that Egyptian employees have long been an unstable latent force and the 25th January Revolution 2011 as well as the rapid collapse of Mubarak regime were the main triggers that removed employees' fear and encouraged them to engage in revolutionary actions aiming to regain their rights and restore fairness in their organization. Based on the above discussion it may be concluded that the revolution was the crucial factor that mitigated the impact of the causal conditions, "causes of employees' discontent", on the central phenomenon "revolutionary transformation". In our example the model becomes:

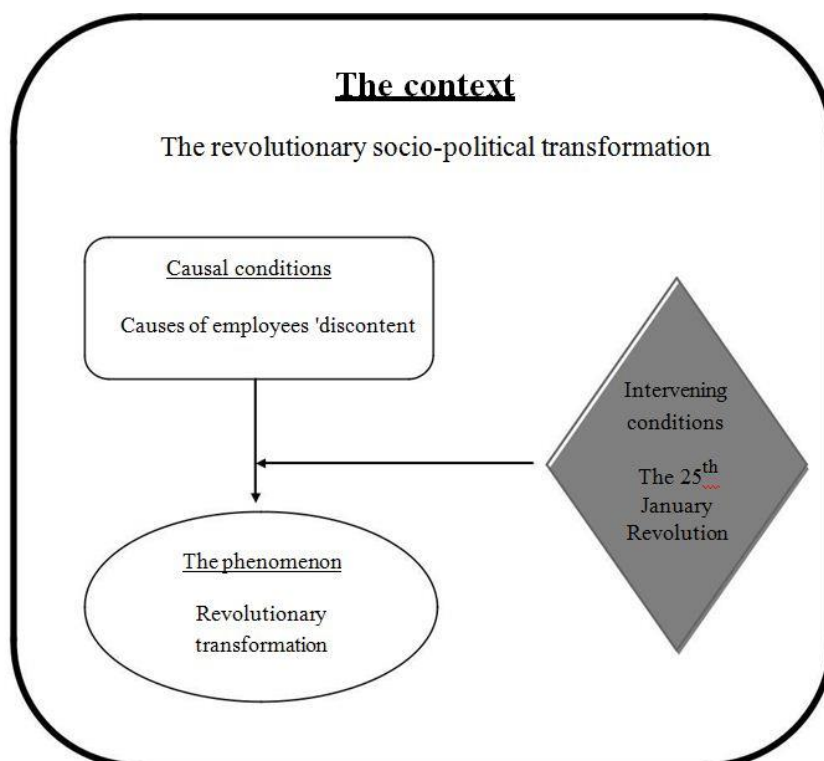


Figure 3.4: Intervening conditions.

Actions/interaction strategies

Action/interaction strategy refers to "the changes did for some reason in response to, or to manage, the phenomenon" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.104).

Identifying action/interaction strategies requires asking the following question:

—What are the action/interaction strategies adopted by organizational members that causes revolutionary transformation to emerge in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution?

The main category "upward influence tactics" answers this question. Upward influence tactics are techniques used by employees in the workplace to exert pressure on their employers to influence their decisions and force them to comply with their demands. It has been found that tactics like demonstrations, strikes, work stoppage and threat of striking were frequently used by employees to force their managers comply with their demands. Strauss and Corbin (1998), argue that action/interaction is mainly affected by causal, intervening and contextual conditions. Findings suggest that the causes of employees' discontent (causal conditions) were tightly connected to the upward power practices (action/ interactional strategies) used by employees in the workplace. Employees applied these tactics as a means to express their accumulated anger at the practices of their employers at that time. It was also noted that after people experienced the dramatic success of the revolution (intervening condition), employees were encouraged to imitate this revolutionary model within their organizations. Employees engaged in various forms of upward power tactics to force their managers to comply with their long-standing demands.

The main category upward influence tactics subsumes four open categories that will be thoroughly discussed in the next chapter. In our example the model becomes:

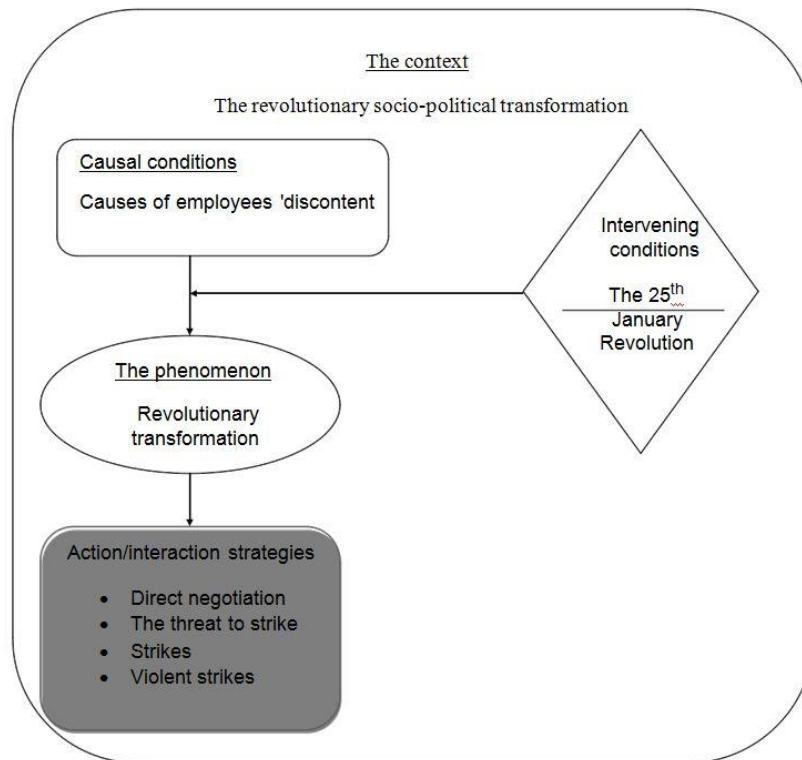


Figure 3.5: Action/interaction strategies.

Consequences

The action and interaction strategies practiced by employees in the workplace had certain outcomes and consequences. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), consequences are the outcomes of actions/interactions; they are also the result of failures by persons or groups to respond to the situation created by actions/interactions.

Consequences can be identified through the following question:

What are the consequences of the upward influence tactics adopted by employees in the workplace in response to phenomenon of organizational transformation?

One of the major incremental consequences that resulted from the employees' upward influence actions was the drastic shift in the paradigm of power and authority. Employees have succeeded in strengthening their power and influence in the workplace by establishing their own independent union to replace the ineffective, politically oriented, union that mainly protected the interests of the employers at the expense of employees. This independent union was a powerful means to represent employee's demands and protect their rights after the 25th January 2011 Revolution. It gave them more power to control and direct organizational decisions, policies and strategies. In addition, evidence from the data analysis demonstrated that the successive pressures applied by employees resulted in significant improvement in HRM practices in line with employees' needs and desires.

Alternatively, other evidence from the analysis demonstrates negative destructive consequences resulting from the actions adopted by employees in the workplace. Undermining employer/employee relationships, banning production and destroying production facilities are the most prominent examples of these destructive consequences.

This category is based on five subcategories that emerge in the open coding stage:

- 1- The emergence of a new paradigm of power.
- 2- The new evolving HRM practices.
- 3- Freedom of expression and upward communication.
- 4- Destruction of employment relationships.
- 5- Employees' awareness of their rights

The following figure illustrates the main categories, interlinking categories and the main properties of the paradigm model of the study:

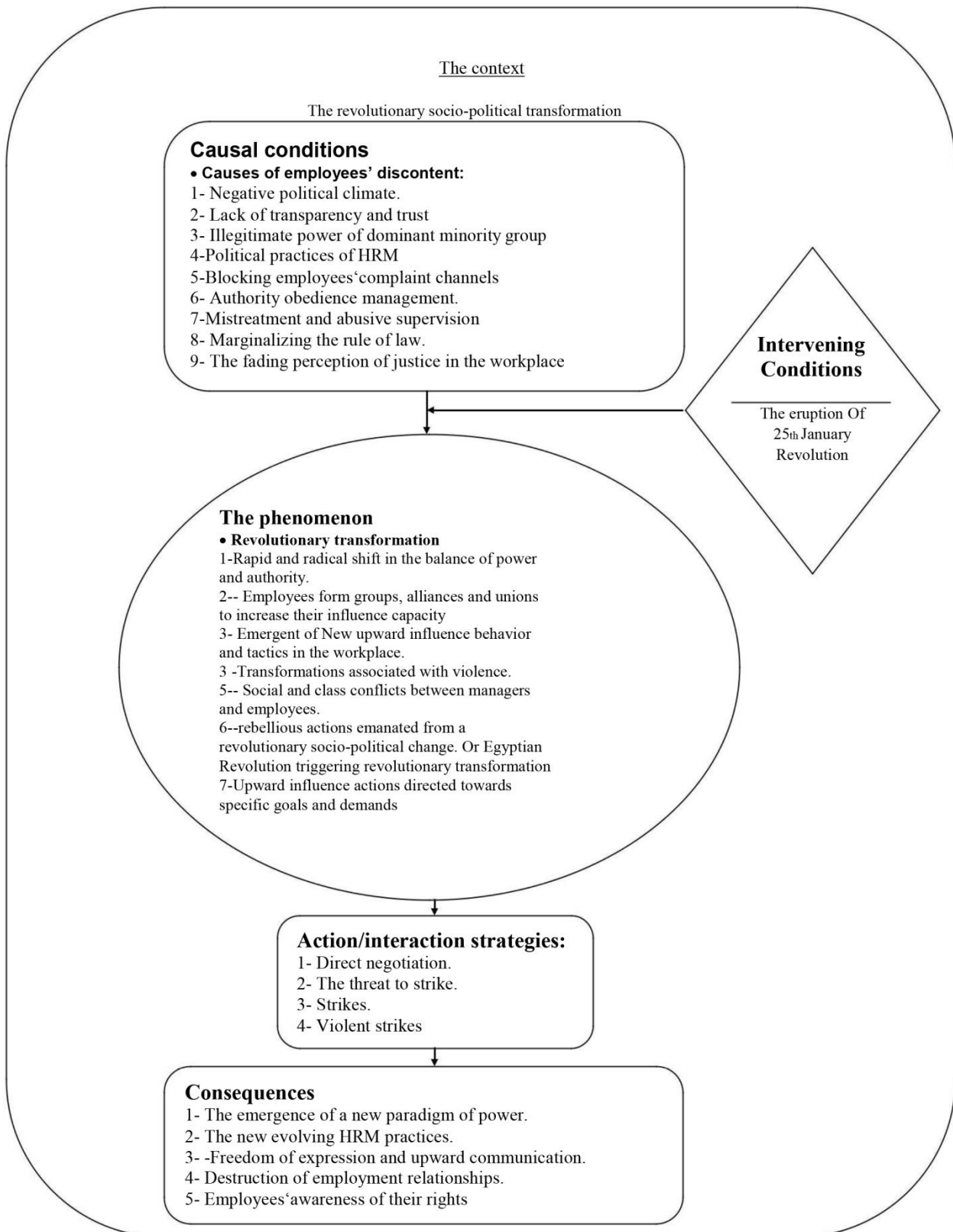


Figure (3.6): the paradigm model of the study.

Conclusion:

Summary

This part has shown the sequential steps and procedures used by the researcher in the process of data collection and analysis. Thematic analysis, theoretical sampling, the interviewing process and coding procedures have been thoroughly explained. It has also illustrated the application of axial coding through the paradigm model of the study, the six main components of the paradigm model, interlinking categories, subcategories and causal relationships between categories. The chapter focuses on investigating the interrelationship between the main categories rather than discussing its properties. The next chapter will thoroughly discuss the main categories and their properties in relation to the relevant literature, which will be used as a guiding framework to theorize the findings resulting from thematic analysis.

Chapter 4: Discussion, interpretation and contribution

Introduction:

This chapter analyses and discusses the four main research questions (from 2 to 5) presented at the end of chapter two. The chapter reports the findings and interpretation of the study guided by the themes and categories that emerged from the paradigm model presented in Chapter 4. It discusses the nature, features and causes of the revolutionary transformation (the central phenomenon) that occurred in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January 2011

Revolution as well as the upward influence tactics of employees (action/interaction strategies) and organizational consequences within the context of the rapidly changing socio-political environment triggered by the Revolution.

For the grounded theory methodology, literature of relevance to the emerged themes (which was mainly derived from the fields of social revolutions and organizational change) was used as an aid to provide a framework for the empirical investigation and to theorize the findings that resulted from the thematic analysis. The scope of the analysis was limited to the investigation of basic themes and codes of particular significant to the research aims and objectives. Comparisons between the emerged themes and their broader socio-political backgrounds were made and discussed during the analysis. Finally, the proposed implications of the substantive theory in Egyptian organizations are discussed and the research contributions to the body of knowledge are presented.

The structure of the chapter:

In accordance with the research aims and objectives, and with the main categories within the framework of the model, the chapter is divided into four main parts, each of which presents the results of one or more of the research questions:

1- The revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organizations

Revolutionary transformation is the central phenomenon of the present research. This part aims to satisfy the second and the third objective set by this research. This should be able to best address the following two research questions:

- 1- What are the main features of the revolutionary transformation that emerged in Egyptian organization in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011?

2- What are the major upward influence actions and tactics exercised by employees in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011?

2- The underlying causes and motives of employee's anger and discontent

Findings presented in this part of the research findings chapter illustrate the major motives and root causes of employees' discontent in the work place, and how this anger empowered employees in the workplace to engage in upward influence behavior and tactics to force their employers to comply with their demands. Findings in this part best address the following research question: 3- What are the causes and motives that triggered revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organization?

3- Organizational outcomes and consequences of the new revolutionary transformation

This part discusses the incremental managerial and behavioral consequences that resulted from the consecutive waves of protests and strikes experienced by Egyptian organizations during the three years preceding the 25th January Revolution 2011 until the military coup of the 3rd July 2013 that restored the old paradigm of power and authority in Egyptian organizations. Findings in this part best address the following research question: -What are the major managerial and behavioral consequences resulted from the revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organizations?

4- Research contribution

This section attempts to explain how the developed grounded theory makes a significant contribution to knowledge and covers three main areas: 1-Theoretical contribution to the body of knowledge in the areas of organizational theory, organizational behavior, human resources management and organizational sociology, 2-Methodological implications, and 3- Managerial implications.

Part one: The revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organizations

Introduction:

This part critically evaluates the basic features and properties of the revolutionary transformation (Central phenomenon of the study) that emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011. Findings in this part should be able to best address the following two research questions: 1- What are the main features of the revolutionary transformation that emerged in Egyptian organization in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011?

A review of the literature of revolution and organizational change shows very few studies that attempt to investigate and explain the term "revolutionary transformation". Most of these studies have discussed this term from social or political perspective (Noble, 1981; Gersick, 1991; and Gurr, 1973). Because of this, a development of the term from grounded data in the current study is considered a valuable contribution in the field of organizational change.

Noble (1981) noted that although there might be different forms of social changes, only a few of them may be considered a revolutionary change. What is unique in social revolution is that fundamental and sudden change in social and political structure occurs through intense socio- political conflict. A more recent study by Gersick, (1991, p.12) stated that not all organizational changes may be considered revolutionary, only those huge transformations that emerge in organizations as a result of unrealized events. Gurr (1973) argued that organizations are set to be revolutionary if they are committed to accomplishing fundamental changes and that violence, social change and re-acquisition of power are considered to be the major incremental consequences of this revolutionary change. The term revolutionary organization is defined in this study as the rapid and radical changes in work practices, patterns of power and behavior experienced by Egyptian organizations as a result of an intense socio-political change triggered by the 25th January 2011 Revolution.

Findings from the empirical study, supported by relevant literature of revolution, reveal seven main features of the revolutionary transformation that emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January 2011 Revolution. These features will be thoroughly investigated in the current section:

- 1- Rapid and radical shift in the balance of power and authority.
- 2- Increase influence capacity of employees by forming groups, alliances and unions.
- 3- New upward influence behavior and tactics in the workplace.
- 4- Transformations associated with violence.
- 5- Social and class conflicts between managers and employees.
- 6- Rebellious actions emanated from a revolutionary socio-political change of the Egyptian revolution.
- 7- Upward influence actions directed towards specific goals and demands.

4.1.1 The rapid and radical shift in the balance of power and authority in Egyptian organizations

The post revolution demonstrations in Egypt

In the aftermath of 25th January 2011 Revolution Egypt witnessed a wide spectrum of labor unrest spreading through most public and private sectors with strikes, protests and demonstrations became a regular part of everyday life in the street as well as Egyptian organizations (Hewidi, 2012; Maqbool, 2013). A recent report by the Egyptian Center for Economic and Social rights (ECFSR) has shown that around 2,000 labor strikes and protests had taken place in Egyptian organizations just two years after the revolution. New mechanisms for employees' collective voice emerged, and various employee power tactics (protests, strikes, sit ins, etc.) appeared in the workplace resulting in a considerable number of new organizational practices, decisions, and policies which took legitimacy from the spirit of the revolution and the various consecutive employees protests. According to El-Fiqi (2013) the strikes and protests that took place in Egypt after the revolution were four times the number that occurred in 2010. Another report by the ECFSR shows that Egyptians organized 9,427 political and organizational protests in a two-year period showing a 70% increase over the number organized in the Mubarak era. The report illustrates that 49% of these protests (4,609) were initiated to achieve employees demands (Azoz and Elmogy, 2013).

The previous literature showing the revolutionary changes that emerges in Egyptian organizations is supported by further work by Winterton and Winterton (1989) and Lee (2003) who argued that post-revolutionary strikes and protests in organizations are important indicators of emerging employees' power in the workplace. They added that these actions are important tactics that alter the balance of power between employees and managers and are powerful weapons adopted by employees in the workplace to achieve their goals and demands.

In support to the previous literature other empirical evidence from this study provides a more detailed picture of the radical shift in the balance of power and authority and the drastic growth of employees' influence in the workplace after the Egyptian Revolution.

The growing feeling of power in Egyptian organizations

Evidence from the data analysis illustrates that Egyptian employees have experienced a growing sense of power and autonomy since the revolution which encourages them to exert

pressure upon their managers to comply with their demands. This growing feeling of power was clearly revealed in the following participants (I-1) comments:

“Employees gained real power after the revolution, they can now protest at any time they want to and take their demands to the highest authority in the organization, they even manage to keep the Head of the authority from entering his office, they present memos with all their demands. So, the changes were sharp and rapid”

In support to the previous comment, when asked how he viewed the changes in the patterns of power and authority that emerged in Egyptian organizations after 25th January 2011 Revolution an executive manager (I-13) commented:

“I think that after the revolution of 25th January power has been moved to employees. They are the ones who possess the power in the organization, they are the only ones who can take action and the employers are just reacting to these actions. It happens that my manager was trying to make me feel satisfied to avoid my anger.”

Similar comment was stated by (I-2), a middle manager in Alex port, illustrating the degree of flexibility of Egyptian managers in response to employees demands. He comments:

“After the revolution management started to be more flexible and every manager was worried about his position; then he began kneeling to the demands of his employees and obey reluctantly, and on the other hand employees started to look for their rights after 30 years of suppression.”

The strong feeling of power is revealed in the language used by (I-2). The word kneeling indicates the extent to which managers were obliged and forced to respond and behave in a specific manner to satisfy their employees, even if it was against their will. (I-2) comment is supported by Kaushal (2011) who stated that applying power from an organizational perspective is viewed as driving an organization's members to behave in a way they would not normally do of their own accord. These findings indicate the extent to which employees perceived their power and influence capabilities in their forceful ability to influence managers' actions and practices in the workplace.

Employees autonomy

(I-6) a middle manager in a private university, demonstrates how employees can force top management to undertake substantial changes in the administrative system giving them more freedom and empowerment:

“There are some high expectations among employees that there will be a critical change in the administrative system to provide them with more freedom, and more power for the committees regarding decision making process. Yet every employee is his/her own president and gets what he/she desires.”

The previous comment by (I-6) reveals the growing feeling of self-sovereignty and autonomy that employees experienced after the 25th January 2011 Revolution.

Obligatory resignation

The ability of employees to force their managers to quit is considered as one of the major symptoms of the growing power of employees in the workplace. The successive waves of protests succeeded in forcing governors, ministers and political leaders to stand down. President Morsi, the first elected president after the collapse of Mubarak regime, recognized this new emerging power in Egyptian society, and responded to massive popular pressures and revolutionary demands by dismissing the governor of Matrouh, and accepting the resignation of the governor of Aswan after massive protests against him (Adly, 2012; and Sebak, 2012). Protesting employees were able to change their employers either by forcing them to quit or by exerting pressure on the governor or the accountable minister to make a decision to dismiss them.

When asked about the major changes made by protesting employees after the revolution (I-6) commented:

“The first change made by people was dismissing the human resource manager and these demonstrations succeeded in firing the head of the university after that.”

One of the interesting narratives that reveal the intense power of employees' demonstrations in the workplace was by (I-2) It shows how employees have succeeded in forcing a decision from the ministry of transportation to dismiss the president of Alex Port before claiming to rehire him upon employees' request (I-2) narrate:

“We protested against the authority's president on January 1st and 15th, 2012 upon his refusal of all our demands after which he closed all the negotiation channels with the employees. That very day he was fired after being accused of corruption and

wasting about 10 million pounds and the head of the maritime transport sector was hired as his replacement. As we were deliberating with the management we received some documents that exonerated the authority's president and proved that he was unjustly accused and that the minister was misled by false information. We insisted on holding a protest on January 24th to support him on the eve of the first anniversary of the Egyptian revolution.”

The above comment clearly reveals the substantial influence of the protesters in the workplace. It also highlights one of the infrequent cases of an ethically oriented demonstration, working for the good of the company rather than achieving personal goals.

Employers' rapid compliance to employee's pressures

One of the key themes indicating the growing role of employees' power and influence is managers' rapid compliance with employees' needs and demands in the workplace. The following interviewee's comments reveal the ability of employees to influence, adjust and change managerial decisions, forcing managers to accede to their demands.

Altering managerial decisions

When asked about the impact of protests and strikes practiced by employees after the revolution in altering managerial decisions in Egyptian organizations, a leading union representative (I-1) commented:

“Now a group of employees can change a managerial decision using a strategy of protesting, applying pressure upon their managers forcing them to retreat from their decisions.”

This comment reveals the extent to which patterns of power and authority were forced downward from the top hierarchal level of the organization to the bottom line level.

A representative of the independent union, (I-10) when asked if he experienced any noticeable changes in managerial practices in response to employees' pressures, comments:

“Yes indeed, for now the employees have a say in decision making and some relative ability to change decisions, we do have power to present our case and, if proven fair, we can make changes; in some situations, we managed to force the authority to respond to our demands.” He added that *“because of the recent events we are receiving responses that are totally different than those of the past, since for the first time the administration is now willing to negotiate with us.”*

Changing the terms of the work contract

Findings emerged from data analysis demonstrate that the status of temporary employees required drastic changes in the company's employment policy as well as the Egyptian labor law. This was one of the major benefits attained by employees after the 25th January Revolution.

(I-11) a human resources manager in an oil company, commented:

“In our first meeting with employees after the revolution we discussed the problem of temporary employees who sought permanent positions. Employees managed to force the top management to give them permanent jobs. Also, there are the part time employees that were hired by an external entrepreneur for a certain project or operation; those temporary employees forced the head of the authority and the minister to provide them with permanent jobs through demonstrations and strikes.”

(I-11) comment shows the extent to which employees were able not only to alter manager's decisions but also to change some terms in the company's work manual to enable temporary workers to attain a permanent job. Until then, this had been a very laborious task.

Employees positional power

The previous comments by (I-10) and (I-11) corroborate the ideas of the basic sources of power, suggested by Gall (2005, p.3). They noted that one of the main sources of employees' power is the potential power which comes from employees being located at critical points of distribution, production and exchange. They argue that employees' power is derived from their potential ability to disturb the production process where any strike actions may cause severe damage and losses to the organization. Gall added that the threat of using this power in the workplace often creates leverage over employers to respond to employees' demands. This argument is supported by further empirical findings.

A middle manager in Alex Port (I-21) comments:

“Striking is the most powerful means, especially when you work at a critical position such as my department which actually operates the entire port.”

The thematic analysis illustrates that employees perceive the threat of embarking on strikes, and of stopping services provided to the public, as one of the most powerful influence tactics against employers. Alternatively, it may be argued that employers often weigh up the potential costs and consequences of practicing strikes in the workplace with the cost of fulfilling employees' demands. It is found here that employers mainly choose the peaceful alternative of complying with employees' demands, rather than bearing the undesirable consequences of employee strikes.

Similarly, another middle manager (I-22) demonstrates the reasons that drove the government to comply with employees' demands after threat of striking in the workplace, he comments:

“Reducing production will have serious impacts on power production, domestic natural gas supply, cement plants and other manufacturing operations, not to mention shutting down some production sites, since restarting any site will cost millions so that providing the employees with any demands they make will be much less of a cost”.

The previous comment clearly demonstrates how employers in a prominent government petroleum company were forced to comply with employees' demands after experiencing the expensive costs and destructive consequences of stopping or reducing production.

Power, authority and influence behavior in organizations

So far, the empirical investigation has demonstrated how Egyptian organizations experienced a dramatic shift in the balance of power and authority in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution. It shows how a new bottom-up pattern of power and authority emerged in organizations replacing the old top-down paradigm. The findings corroborate previous work in the field of organizational power which offers a complementary theoretical explanation for the essence of power, authority and upward influence tactics practiced in Egyptian organizations after the revolution.

The study of power in and around individuals, societies, groups and organizations has been an area of research in numerous studies across a variety of academic disciplines (Paul, 2009). From an individual perspective, Al-Kahtani (1986, p.30) has argued that power is considered one of the most important needs that motivates people and drives their behavior at the workplace. Al-Kahtani also claimed that the need for power is the major stimulus for a person to behave in such a manner in

order to reduce the stresses resulting from that unsatisfied need McCallin (2003) defines the need for power as those forces and drivers providing satisfaction to individuals and are contingent upon the individual's ability to influence another person.

In the field of organizational behavior, several studies have attempted to explain the concept of power. A key problem with such explanations is that they do not achieve a universally approved definition (Luthan and Keith, 1992). One classical definition of power that is considered as the basis of power taxonomy, is that suggested by Rahim, et al. (1994); the concepts of coercive, reward, legitimate, expert and referent, appear to be fairly representative in empirical research.

Rahim et al. (1994) argue that it is the ability of one party to change or control the behavior, attitudes, opinion, objectives, needs and values of another party. In motivational terms, Leavitt (1978) has stated that any person, regardless of his formal rank, having a strong motivation to influence or control the behavior of other people, is said to be power motivated. From a wide range of definitions explaining power, Luthans and Keith (1992) have proposed one of the most coherent definitions of power they stated that power refers to the capacity that "a" has to influence the behavior of "b" so that "b" will do something he or she would not have done otherwise.

Finally, DeReuver (2006) suggested a definition of organizational power consistent with Emerson's Power dependency theory as the relative capacity to modify others' states by providing or withholding resources, or by imposing punishment, that an individual can deliver to others.

The legitimate power

Power and authority are frequently viewed by organizational behavior theorists as interchangeable concepts. Leavitt (1978) defined authority as the legitimate power derived from formal rank, role and position, as tools of controlling and influencing the behavior of other persons. From the perspective of subordinates, authority is the institutional mechanism that aims to define which of the two members of a relationship, A or B, will be the superior. According to Leavitt the ultimate objective of power and authority is influencing and controlling individuals' behavior although it is argued that the key difference between the two terms is in the tools and the mechanisms. Authority employs job roles, formal ranks and hierarchal positions to influence behavior, while power is exercised using other tactics and mechanisms.

Employees upward power behavior and tactics:

In the discussion above, the literature has not mentioned the direction of practicing power within the organization. Luthans and Keith (1992) distinguished between power derived from the top of the hierarchy, received as legitimate power or formal authority, and power derived from the bottom line of the hierarchy, received as employees' upward power or bottom-up authority. Recent years have witnessed an increase in the amount of literature discussing the growing capacity of employees' power in modern organizations, and the growing demand for alternative organizational practices introduced from the bottom-up rather than from the top-down.

The research findings discussed so far have demonstrated that in the aftermath of the revolution employees in Egyptian organizations were able to practice and exert influence upon their managers to comply with their demands. These findings seem to be consistent with studies in the field of organizational behavior which suggest that power and influence are practiced in either direction (top-down or bottom-up) and at varying levels of the organizational hierarchy.

According to Kaushal, (2011), power can be practiced either from the top managerial level in the hierarchy to the bottom line employees, which is known as authority (legitimate power), or it can be practiced by employees at the bottom of the hierarchy towards the top management (upward power). Other scholars have clearly emphasized the numerous advantages and benefits that organizations can achieve when adopting more participatory and democratic approach in practicing authority. El-Kot (2003) argues that management practices should move towards more democratic style as a result of the revolutionary trends that affect the organization. More self-directed tactics and participatory approaches are required to achieve effective results. In considering the revolutionary trends in the market, Dessler (2008) suggested new management practices such as flat organizational structures, empowerment, decentralization, fewer boundaries, vision-oriented teams and participative management. Clok and Goldsmith (2002) have stated that the age of authoritative management is finally coming to an end and that the need for overseers, surrogates, parents, functionaries and bureaucracies is over, at the same time the need for coordinators, coaches, mentors and self-managed teams is steadily increasing. They argued that when managers fail to communicate with their employees, an organizational revolution will emerge to turn autocratic, inflexible, static and bureaucratic teams into evolving democratic, collaborative and self-managed ones. They also noted that the emerging managerial paradigm place value on strategic integration, collaborative relationships and flat organizational designs. Clok and Goldsmith (2002) and Chai (1993) noted that even in organizations using

authoritative managerial practices, employees have the ability to promote, hire or terminate other employees. This argument is supported by the empirical findings in this work that show how employees in several Egyptian organizations have succeeded in forcing their employers to quit.

For instance, a middle manager comment:

“Now the employees can and have changed decisions and even managers; their powers have reached the level of changing their own superior managers.”

According to Ryan (2008), the bottom-up approach is used to describe the broadly different organizational arrangements, varying with respect to the amount of decision-making authority delegated to staff. This approach contradicts that adopted in Egyptian organizations after the revolution. Ryan's approach implies mutual agreement between employees and employers to delegate a particular amount of power and authority to employees. However, from the thematic analysis, it has been found that Egyptian employers were extremely shocked and irritated by the upward power actions practiced by employees in the work place after the revolution. Due to their authoritative inflexible managerial style they failed to make any suitable organizational arrangements in response to the growing demonstrations and were totally reluctant, unprepared and unwilling to converse with their employees and to address their demands. It is because of employees' intense influence actions that power was forcefully shifted to the bottom level of the organization. The findings discussed so far support the view by revolution theorists of post revolution transformation. They argue that one of the key features of a revolutionary transformation is a severe shift in the power structure of the society, when power after revolutions is drastically shifted to the left continuum of society and a new pattern of power and authority often emerge within such a society (Brinton, 1938; Davis, 1962; Gurr, 1973; and Skocpol, 1979).

4.1.2 Power of bonding alliances and unionization

The 25th January Revolution 2011 gained its momentum from people's collective capacity and mass movement to end the dictatorial Mubarak regime and change the tyrannical government. In his book "Power of the People Topple the People in Power", Middle East Google Marketing Manager Wael Ghoneim, one of the leading activists who participated in the Egyptian Revolution, made it clear that Egyptian youth made history when they broke the barrier of fear and communicated through social network sites calling on more than a million Egyptians to participate in a revolution that had a fixed time, fixed target and fixed direction.

Ghonem added that the success of the Egyptian revolution stems from the fact that it was initiated without a leader, for the real hero who led that revolution was the people themselves. All the people, with their different classes, trends and ideologies, sprang to achieve one goal to end the tyrannical regime and oust the dictatorial president who had ruled Egypt for more than 30 years. People in Egypt succeeded in replacing that regime with a ruling system that provides "Bread, Freedom and Social Justice." (Elshorouk, 2012).

Findings from data analysis suggest that after viewing the tremendous consequences of the Egyptian revolution and realizing their forceful ability to create drastic socio-political changes in Egypt, people have recognized the importance of bonding, grouping and unionization as powerful tool to pursue their goals in their organizations.

2-1 Imitating the Egyptian revolution model

A managerial expert (I-5) illustrates how people after the Egyptian revolution have realized their ability to create radical changes in their social as well as their organizational settings:

“After the revolution employees became involved and their pressure techniques actually affected their institutions. Employees also developed a faith in an ability to change. The revolution's success and ability to achieve changes were the first inducing factor to take the change from the social political framework into the organizational level.”

It has been seen that after the revolution employees found that acting individually weakened their ability to achieve results then acting collectively, they saw bonding, unionization and collective actions as effective ways to achieve results.

2.2 Employees' bonding and collective actions in the workplace

According to Law (2006), collective action is the behavior or actions of a group working to achieve a common goal. When individuals engage in collective actions the strength of the group's resources, knowledge and efforts is combined to reach a goal shared by other parties. Rollison (2008) suggested that forming a bond in the workplace enhances employees' feelings of security and power. A considerable amount of literature demonstrates that employees' power will only exist in workplace by joining groups, and forming bonds and social networks (Jain, 2011; Jain, 2010; Johan, 2006; Paul, 2009; and Triscari, 2012).

Evidence from the empirical study suggests that employees after the revolution clearly recognized the substantial power derived from bonding and unionization. For instance, a middle manager (I-6) commented:

“Employees sensed that bonding can achieve goals and that agreement upon goals and moving towards them can be rewarding.”

In support of this, another middle manager in a private company stated that:

“After the revolution employees developed some belief that gathering can achieve their goals.”

This suggests that when employees feel powerful they will act powerfully and exercise influence actions in the workplace. These findings seem consistent with the ideas of Johan (2006) and Paul (2009) who argued that it is employees' choice to be powerful; employees will be powerful if they think they are powerful and that the choice of power is subject to the group member's agreement and choice of power usage.

The power of gatherings

A leading union representative (I-2) in Alex Port comments:

“When we declared withdrawing confidence from the president of the union we gathered 1500 employees' approvals in less than a week.”

Thus, employees clearly recognized their power and their forceful ability to rapidly join together and form groups and alliances in order to achieve their goals and demands in the workplace.

The power of numbers: Increasing the circle of influence

It has been seen that employees' belief that joining together and acting collectively offers them the sufficient power to force their employers to comply their demands and to recognize their common strength. It seems that employees after the revolution believe that they can achieve through numbers what they are not able to achieve individually. This was clearly illustrated in the following comments.

One of the protest leaders in the public transport foundation states:

“If you have one hundred employees at your back, you can have all your demands answered.”

An expert in industrial relations makes the point that:

“A demonstration is massive when large numbers of workers are gathered in one place.”

As before, another union representative (I-9) says that:

“Before the revolution the numbers of doctors attending the assemblies were about 1000 members, due to passive attitudes among doctors before the revolution, which increased to 2000-3000 after the revolution.”

These comments illustrate how employees attempted to increase their circle of influence in the workplace by joining into groups to achieve unfulfilled goals, and they mainly aim to enhance their power over the people in power which are usually their managers.

Support for these findings is found in the ideas of Jain et al. (2011); Johan et al. (2006); Paul (2009); and Triscari (2012). They all argued that people interact with each other purposively toward the achievement of a particular goal or aim and when people join in a group they can exercise more power than that derived from individuals looking for the same goal. Individuals can be expected to bond together in the workplace with other likeminded people to secure their interests (Davis, 1996).

4.1.3 Employees upward power tactics

Finding in this section address the following research question: What are the major upward influence actions and tactics exercised by employees in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011?

Findings from the data analysis demonstrate that employees adopt different types of upward power actions and tactics in the workplace to pursue their goals and achieve their demands. Some of these actions, as noted by Abideen (2011) are not officially approved by top management. Employees use such tactics as an attempt to achieve their personal or group objectives that would not be achieved otherwise. Abideen added that these tactics are not considered a part of one's organizational role but as a method to influence, or attempt to influence, the distribution of advantages and disadvantages within the organization.

Alternatively, managers perceive these changes as undesirable. It has been found that managers did not anticipate these massive waves of protests in their organizations in the aftermath of the revolution, they lacked a clear vision and were acting randomly in some cases and aggressively in others since they had no pre-planned strategy or counter-tactics to deal with such unexpected situations.

Lack of vision

For instance (I-22), a middle manager in a private university, comments:

“The management did not respond effectively to the preceding events; they don't have any clear strategy or vision to deal with employees' influence actions. They still suffer from a gap between the management and the employees.”

Another middle manager in Egyptian telecom had a similar experience. He illustrated the preliminary reaction of employers in response to employees' initial influence actions:

“Due to lack of clear vision regarding employees demands and the company's ability to meet them, the management's instructions were not to give the employees any promises to meet their demands.”

Contingency protesting approaches

The analysis has shown that the type of upward power tactics adopted by employees depends on the way managers perceive and deal with employees' protest mechanism. If the influence mechanism used by the labor force failed to achieve their goals, employees usually elevate the intensity of their tactics and engage in more aggressive ones.

A managerial consultant (I-5) asserts:

“The first reaction to workers actions were to refuse to respond to their demands and after such refusal the events would boil up until the management surrendered.”

In support of the previous comment, three other union representatives working in different public corporations (Egyptian Telecom, Alex port and public transportation foundation) have all demonstrated that the intensity of employees' protests increases as a result of managers' resistance and political counter actions adopted by managers in response to these protests.

(I-2) one of the leaders of the independent union, comments:

“Protests elevated gradually; they always start with negotiations and launching more than one initiative for dialogue, as well as meeting with the officials. When negotiations failed to yield the required outcome, employees move to the next phase in upgrading the upward pressure techniques which is protesting outside the customs department premises to avoid being accused of hindering work in this event. 500 employees were protesting and letting out very strong frustration and anger against the management.”

Another union representative shows a similar experience to that of (I-14) in the Alexandria public transportation foundation. (I-2) comments:

“At first there were some preliminary steps such as presenting our demands to the top management. As the general manager did not respond we contacted the National Council of Human Rights and some of us actually went to the ministry to present demands. After that we filed an official report requesting permission for holding a strike on March 6th, and the public in Alexandria were notified that our services would be halted during the strike, so people won't be harmed”.

This experience is supported by theoretical findings, Maslyn et al. (1996) which suggest that the tactics used do change according to the circumstances experienced by employees and the resistance encountered from employers. Employees often begin influence attempts with safe or socially acceptable tactics (rationale persuasion) and often move to more severe tactics if they meet resistance from their managers.

This argument by Maslyn et al (1996) raises two important questions. The first is how managers in Egyptian organizations perceive employees' upward influence tactics in the workplace. The second is the nature of the major counter tactics and approaches fostered by employees in response to managers' resistance or refusals to comply with their demands.

Management misperception of change

Findings suggest that employers perceive employees' upward influence actions as a serious threat, undermining their power, interrupting their job status and ruining the company's reputation. They generally view employees' influence attempts as illegitimate and unethical insurrectionary actions. They usually criticize the destructive effects of employees' actions rather than discussing the rationality and fairness of their demands.

For instance (I-12), a legal affairs manager in the public transportation foundation, when asked about his opinion on the influence tactics used by employees to exert pressures upon managers in the work place, comments:

“The main tactic is creating pressure by threatening to stop work through striking. Drivers actually made many attempts to stop work and the army intervened by launching military transportation agency's buses, for free which I think was not right; they should have collected fares. On the other hand, when the public transportation employees strike they do favors with their friends, the service caps drivers who in turn increase the fares and harass the public. Now the police are very firm against such actions and they need to carry on eradicating these deeds.”

(I-12) comment is an ideal example of the militant approach adopted by managers in dealing with employees' protests in the workplace. Although (I-12) believes that strikes encouraged by the drivers will negatively prejudice the public and causes losses to the transportation foundation, he pays no attention to discussing the rightfulness and fairness of drivers' demands or investigating the root causes of their anger. (I-12) believes that the interference of the army by using free buses, both in Cairo and in some areas in Alexandria will solve the case and bring the strike to an end. This clear example demonstrates how employers in Egyptian organizations were dealing with employees' protests. This suggests that managers had not yet recognized and learnt to cope with the drastic changes in their organizations after the revolution. It seems that employers were still adopting the old arbitrary practices in order to eliminate any sort of protests in their organizations without regard to rationality or legitimacy.

The present findings seem to be consistent with Thornhill and Lewis (2000, p.7) who argued that managers' perception to changes may be inadequate because its learned way of coping from last experience prove to be insufficient in the current climate, which result in the need for more flexibility and fostering significant changes in organizational policies, practices, systems and management style.

Conflict of interest

The previous comments by (I-12) and other employees engaged in protesting actions clearly demonstrate that employees and employers perceived the new emerging influence actions from totally different perspectives. While employees view these influence attempts as a valuable opportunity to achieve financial and other human resources benefits, employers see these attempts as a power struggle and a conflict of interest. It may be argued that any gains achieved

by one of the conflict parties will be at the expense of the other. For instance (I-22), a middle manager in a private university, has explicitly stated:

“We do not share any common ground with managers”.

In support of (I-22) statement, Haq (2011, p.268) defines a conflict situation as "a particular kind of social interaction process that involves interpersonal incompatibility and contradictory wishes between parties who have mutually exclusive or incompatible values and incompatible objectives". From the research findings, it can be deduced that the employer/ employee relationship will be based on win/lose approach. Employers will always oppose and resist all employees' influence attempts to pursue their goals and demands.

The analysis also suggests that managers, during the protests, did not take any serious actions to reach a mutual agreement between the conflicting parties. A middle manager in a private company says:

“Management is not interested in having a dialogue with the employees after they declared the date and time of their demonstration as well as its reasons.”

Another interviewee raises the issue of flippant negotiation adopted by employers in their attempts to resolve the conflict. (I-7) comments:

“The negotiations with the employees were not serious and the employees started their actions by filing complaints amicably seeking an immediate response, which did not happen.”

In contrast to the approaches discussed so far, Wigham (1982) suggested a more collaborative approach to resolve conflict between employees and employers in the workplace which he called joint body negotiation. According to this approach employers and workers are invited to sit around a table and discuss their differences on equal terms. For the joint negotiation approach to succeed both the conflicting parties should negotiate on a win/win basis. Where a win/lose situation is the dominant approach in the relationship between employees and employers, it is doubtful that employers would adopt this collaborative approach in these circumstances.

In general, it has been found that most of the interviewees stated that the rigidity and the inflexible manner adopted during the negotiation process forced protesters to move toward more aggressive tactics in pursuit of their goals.

Employees demonstrations and strikes

When employees realize that negotiation channels are blocked, they started to elevate their protesting tactics to a higher level. In some countries such as France, Russia, Iran and recently Tunis and Yemen strikes have challenged and changed governments that were dictatorial and oppressive. In Egypt too, the intensive protests and strikes that erupted during the revolution succeeded in overthrowing the Mubarak regime.

Demonstrations and strikes are considered to be the most significant means used by employees to pursue their goals in the workplace. They are an upward power tactic used by employees to stop work in order to force an employer to comply with employees demands (Websters, 1996). According to Lee (2003) and Winterton and Winterton (1989), strikers may alter the balance of power between employees and managers within single work place.

The data analysis has emphasized the importance of strikes as a powerful tactic used by employees and such strikes have encouraged new forms of workers' organizations in the workplace such as the free union. It has been found that striking employees working in pivotal positions in the company usually causes severe losses and reputational loss to the company and so these employees derive their power from the positions they hold in their company.

(I-11) a middle manager in a port IT department states:

“Striking in the port is the most powerful means that we used, especially when you work at a critical position such as my department which actually operates the entire port.”

This comment shows the extent to which employees perceive and recognize their powerful influence in the workplace and this could be linked to the inherent power of the position. According to the Business Dictionary "Authority and influence bestowed by a position or office on whoever is filling or occupying it". This definition clearly demonstrates that influence actions could be practiced by any organizational members regardless of his/her hierarchal rank and position. It has been seen that employees recognize the significance of this tool and use it as a pressurizing tactic to achieve their demands such as disputes regarding economic benefits or improved working conditions.

3.5 Employees' coercive power

One of the most influential upward practices used by employees in the workplace is employee's coercive power. Employers practicing coercive power have the ability to inflict punishment or adverse consequences on their employees or, at least, to make threats that employees believe will result in punishment or undesirable outcomes in the case of not obeying employers' orders or not following organizational rules and policies (Luthans, 1992). Coercive power depends mainly on fear, and the ability to impose punishment. The previous definitions of power discussed above all illustrate that regardless of the formal rank, influence tactics and the direction of practicing power (bottom-up or top-down), the end result of practicing power is the influencing, altering and controlling of people's behavior, actions and practices in the work place (Davis, 2012; Jangiret et al., 2011; Kaushal, 2011; and Leavitt, 1978). Most organizational behavior research has noted that coercive power in particular is exercised from the top managerial level to the bottom level of the organizational hierarchy.

However, in contrast to the theories and arguments of coercive power discussed in the literature, the findings of the current study do not support the previous research in this area. Instead, they suggest an opposite flow of practicing coercive power in the workplace. The empirical study shows that after the 25th January Revolution 2011, coercive power was

frequently exercised in the workplace from the bottom level of the organizational hierarchy to the top managerial level. It has been seen that employees were frequently using coercive power to threaten their managers with the punishing consequences of engaging in strikes in the workplace. These findings seem to be consistent with the ideas illustrated by the expectancy theory of motivation. This emphasizes that a person fearing punishment and expecting undesirable consequences usually conforms to the desires of a more powerful person (Dessler, 2008). It is probable that this fear of strikes and their undesirable consequences forced employers to submit to the powerful employees and comply with their demands. The findings demonstrate that labor unions as well as employees were frequently using this course to exert pressure upon management.

The threat of the invisible power

The findings discussed so far clearly demonstrate the powerful impact of strikes and demonstrations in altering organizational practices and forcing employers to act in accordance with employees' demands. Later, when these mechanisms had proved successful in the workplace, employees moved to less violent but more influential upward power tactics.

Employees used their coercive or invisible power to force employers to comply with their demands. The term invisible power was initially stated in the first pilot interview with Tala leading union representative in Egyptian telecom. (I-1) stated that:

“Managers after the revolution feared not meeting employees' demands. Employees now have a sort of invisible power.”

When he was asked about what he means by the term invisible power, (I-1) said:

“This is the threat of embarking on protests and demonstrations in the work place”

This basic argument by (I-1) was confirmed by empirical support from other employees' comments.

Almost all employees interviewed argued that organizing demonstrations and strikes is not always the best way to achieve their demands. They suggest that the threat of strikes is more powerful than the actual strikes themselves. For instance, (I-2) a middle manager in Alex Port used an interesting metaphor to illustrate the dramatic impact of this tactic (I-2) comments:

“We were applying pressure to force our employers fulfill our demands and not to cause damage to the workflow and we called this the secret power. It is just like the superpowers: they always threaten to use nuclear weapons, but in reality, they wouldn't.”

Other interviewees' comments thoroughly demonstrate the underlying reasons employers fear the coercive (invisible) power exerted by employees to threaten and force them to comply with their demands before moving to more aggressive tactics.

Threat of undermining employers' status

(I-5) an expert in training and human development, comments:

“Employees' threats to strike actually undermined employers' power and forced them to give up”

Threat of losing the job

When a training manager was asked about the cause of employers' fear from employees' protests in the work place, a training manager (I-18) said:

“The reason demonstrations and protests were fruitful was the fear and panic managers had for their positions after the revolution. They were ready to do anything to keep them intact.”

Another employee argued that the collapse of Mubarak regime through demonstrations increased managers' worries of facing the same fate:

“After the revolution everybody knew that he will have the opportunity to say what he wants in a loud voice, before employees embark on strikes. Managers decided to make some improvements and to ask the employees about their demands and give promises; hence in my perspective the initiative wasn't from the employee but was from the manager because he saw that the president himself was kicked out.”

Threat of stopping service provision and causing harms to the economy

The discussion so far has concentrated on the situation where the employing organization is the focus of attention/on but another important dimension in discussing disruptive capacity is the proportionality of the impact of these actions upon the economy and the wider society. It is arguable that strike actions in critical industrial service sectors like Alex port and Egyptian telecom have a disproportionate impact and severe negative consequences for the national economy as well as for the organizations subject to these strikes.

Employers consider stopping service provision as one of the most mischievous influence tactics adopted by employees to force them to comply with their demands.

(I-20) a quality control manager in Swiss port, the second largest after Alexandria port shows the crucial destructive consequences of exercising strikes in Swiss port. He comments:

“The port depends completely on blue collars, and in case of strikes the foundation becomes paralyzed and useless.”

In support of (I-20) another employee in Alex port described the organizational as well as national negative consequences that resulted from hindering work in the port through demonstrations and strikes in the workplace. (I-11) comments:

“Strikes in Alex port resulted in delaying ship departure, releasing ships without being able to load their cargos, and stopping loading trucks into the country. In some cases trucks drivers might take hours on the road to reach the port where they face angry employees protesting for certain demands and stopping the work. This might cause altercations that sometimes require intervention by the management, the police and the army.”

Alexandria port is considered as Egypt's commercial gateway and determines the amount of commercial transactions with other countries. The strikes exercised in Alex port and Swiss port hindered the work of the port causing serious loss of company revenue and reputation with ships forced to seek alternative ports. The ultimate result of these strikes is severe damage to the rank and reputation of maritime transport in Egypt.

An employee working in another government sector has similar experience to that of (I-12) a union leader in Egyptian telecom, (I-1) explained how employees' pressure on management with threats of stopping services increased the speed of response to employees' demands:

“Threatening to stop providing the public with telecommunication services such as the info call was a very critical threat that jeopardized the company's reputation and would have led to changing the management; therefore, it led to management conferring in order to meet employees' demands.”

Employers calm down strategies

It has been found that due to the strategic and national importance of industries like Egyptian Telecom and Alex Port, the government, represented by the top management of the company, usually adopted calm down strategies aiming to avoid any aggressive actions like violent demonstrations and strikes. The government and employers in these critical situations cannot tolerate the destructive consequences of hindering provision of the telecommunication service to the public, and they were usually forced to comply with demands.

A union representative (I-11) comments:

“According to the recent strikes practiced by employees in Alex port we are now receiving responses that are totally different than those of the past, as the top management is now willing to negotiate with us.”

This comment shows how employees in Egyptian organizations have fully recognized the enormous destructive impact of practicing strikes in the work place. They often use this tool as a threat to press upon employers to meet their demands.

4.1.4 The violent transformations in Egyptian organizations

One of the key themes that emerged from the analysis is workplace violence. As strikes continue to erupt, employees move to another stage of upward power tactics and start to resort to violence to extract their demands. Violence is considered as one of the primary features of

the revolutionary transformation that emerged in Egyptian society and organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011. Violence in Egyptian organizations can be viewed as one of the most unfavorable behavioral consequences, but it can be also seen from another perspective as a powerful influence tactic fostered by Egyptian employees to force employers comply their demands. Evidence suggest that violent strikes and other, coupled, violent tactics are viewed as one the most powerful but destructive weapons used by employees against employers. Employers in some cases have succeeded in managing the waves of employee demonstrations and achieved reasonable solutions that satisfy both parties. However, violent strikes in other cases have encouraged employers to close their factories. For instance, in South Korea strikes and protests drove businesses to move their domestic facilities to other countries with more peaceful workers (Lee 2003). Following the same scenario, violent strikes in Egypt have forced several factories to close and dismiss its labor force. A managerial expert (I-5) stated that:

“After successive waves of violent strikes embarked by employees of Farag Aamer group (The biggest food and Beverage Company in Egypt) the owner refused to respond to employees' demands and decided to shut his factories down for two months.”

Other theoretical evidence suggests that violent strikes often cause severe damage to production facilities and ruin companies' reputations. According to Winterton and Winterton (1989) "the famous 1984 coal strike in the UK entailed a loss of about 38 million working days in the coal industry alone; in the UK general strike of 1926 over 150 million days were lost". Most of the strikes exercised by employees were prohibited by law. Several types of illegal strikes have emerged in Egyptian business organizations such as wild-cat and sit-down strikes where employees occupy employers' premises as a protest (Websters, 1996).

According to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (Osha, 2014, p.1), violence in the workplace is defined as: any act or threat of physical violence, harassment, intimidation or other threatening disruptive behavior that occurs at the worksite. It ranges from threats and verbal abuse to physical assaults and even homicide. In line with Osha's definition, of violence, considerable evidence from interviewees' comments demonstrated the mounting rate of violence in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011.

Violent Strikes in the workplace

When asked about his experience of employees' strikes in his organization a human resource manager (I-21) commented:

“Events developed to a partial halt of work and packing the available products without starting new operations. Then there was a total halt of production and finally there was the strike inside the factory and preventing cars from departing the premises. After these actions the management gave in and responded to most of the demands. The most effective means was stopping production and shutting down the facility.”

This shows how employees, before engaging in violent actions, were exercising a variety of non-violent influence actions in an attempt to press upon their managers to comply with their demands. It may be argued that violent action was the employees' last resort to pursue their demands where they believed that non-violent tactics would not achieve their goals.

Assaulting managers

When (I-2) a leading union representative was asked if employees showed any aggressive behavior in the workplace, he comments:

“Yes, in many cases they showed aggressive behaviors such as verbal assaults against the CEO during the protests. As we were protesting, the president had to go through the employees to get in and out of his office and we were obliged to secure him and provide him with a safe passage. The slogans shouted by the employees included "down with the military rule, the port is not a boot camp.”

Another relevant comment in support (I-2) view considers the insulting of managers as a goal rather than being an influence tool used by employees. A legal affairs manager comment:

“Some employees use the protests and strikes to insult their managers”

It can be seen from the previous comments that protesters adopt several forms of violent tactics to exert pressure upon their managers closing factories by force, physical and verbal violence, and damaging production facilities were the most severe. The findings have also shown that violent tactics in the workplace has extreme negative consequences for managers, employees and the entire organization. It has been seen that violent strikes witnessed by Egyptian organization in the aftermath of 25th January Revolution 2011 have ruined companies'

reputations, boosted managers' prestige, and destroyed employer/employee relationships.

Drastic socio-political change triggering workplace violence

The Literature of Revolution provides a possible explanation for the intense violence in Egyptian organizations after revolution. Many sociologists and writers of revolutions have argued that any turbulent social change is usually associated with intense violence (Gurr, 1973; Skocpol, 1979). Gurr (1973) emphasized that individual frustration and discontent are the root causes of violent conflict in a revolutionary transformation and stated that "when frustration is sufficiently widespread, intense and focused on the government, violence will become a revolution" Gurr (1973, p.365). Considerable support for Gurr's argument may be found in the severe social transformations that emerged in Egyptian society in the aftermath of the revolution. According to Howidy (2013), Saad (2013) and Serageldin (2014), Egyptian society has witnessed a substantial amount of crime and a growing rate of violent and aggressive behavior during this time.

These arguments are supported by evidence from the organizational change literature. Hofstede (1991); Fenton (2011); Ritvo (2009) and Watson (2012) and have all found that revolutionary changes in the social sphere empower people to undertake equivalent changes in their organizational sphere. Reflecting upon the research findings, when a managerial expert (I-5) was asked if he perceived any relationship between the drastic changes that emerged in the socio-political settings and those in Egyptian organizations after the revolution, he comments:

“Organizations are states within the state. After the revolution employees became involved and their pressure techniques actually affected their institutions. Employees also developed a faith in an ability to change. The revolution's success and ability to achieve changes were the first inducing factor to take the change from the social political framework into the organizational level.”

Based on these theoretical and empirical findings, it can be concluded that violent actions taken by employees in the workplace is basically rooted in the social violence occurring in Egyptian society in the aftermath of the revolution. A more detailed investigation of the causes of employee's violence is thoroughly discussed in part two.

Social and ethical concerns of labor protests: The inimitable case of doctor's strikes

Findings from the thematic analysis have demonstrated that the violent strikes discussed so far were led by people's anger, frustration and discontent rather than rational planning. Situations in Egyptian organizations often boil up when managers fail or refuse to satisfy employees' needs and demands during the first phases of the protests.

Controlling and directing labor strikes

It has been seen that once the spark of strikes was ignited, no one can evaluate the potential destructive consequences of these strikes; it is rare that employees discuss these consequences of their action before embarking on strikes. It seems that unions and protest leaders play a minor role in directing and controlling the waves of angry protestors in the workplace due to the political orientation and the self-serving practices adopted by union leaders at that time. A union leader (I-2) has commented:

“As a union we were unable to control the employees once they started taking actions on their own. This might cause them and the union great damage”.

This seems to be consistent with the ideas of Metcalf and Milner (1993) who stated that if all trade unions were to take into account the views of their members before embarking on industrial action many unnecessary and damaging strikes could be avoided, without damaging production facilities, ruining the company's reputation and undermining relationships with managers.

Destructive national consequences of violent strikes

The preceding discussion has concentrated on the situation where the employing organization is the focus of attention but another important dimension in discussing the disruptive effects of employees' violent actions in the workplace is the proportional impact of these actions upon the economy and wider society. One of the principles ethics of strikes is not to harm people basic needs workers in the crucial industries like Health, child care, food distribution should be excluded from the strikes Morris (1980) However, Morris agreement seems to contradict with the Egyptian case. Groups engaged in violent strike actions in critical industrial and services sectors like Alex port, the Egypt Air Company, public transportation foundation and Egyptian telecom can lead to severe consequences on the national economy and society. For instance, a middle manager (I-9) in Alex port has already commented that protests at the port have led to organizations looking for alternative facilities to avoid damage to their business.

“Alexandria port is Egypt commercial gate that determines the size of internal and external commercial transactions with other countries. The port represents the state's power and therefore protesting through delaying shipping, releasing ships without being able to load their cargos, stopping loading trucks into the country, might cause altercations that sometimes require intervention by the police and the arm. All this led to ships leaving the port without their cargos and certain business are now seeking new alternatives elsewhere to avoid the damages resulting from protests”.

Illegitimate use of positional power

The data analysis has shown that strikes embarked upon in these industrial sectors were mainly directed toward personalized goals rather than for the good of the organization. (I-10) comment below clearly illustrates how employees recognize the power derived from the position they possess in their organization and how they use this power as a tool to exert pressure upon their managers:

“Employees often make use of their position in Alex port to press their demands. We are working in an extremely vital foundation and we use this for our interest.”

Other findings show that employees often practice power actions for their own self-interest, disregarding the negative consequences of their protesting actions in workplace:

“Employees influence actions workplace has personalized because they threaten to stop production not considering the consequences of their actions.”

Ethical and social concerns of doctors' strikes

The discussion so far has shown how protesting employees were overwhelming concerned with their personal interest at the expense of the organization. In contrast, the doctors' strikes were an apparent exception to the violent strikes discussed so far. The strikes and other protesting tactics practiced by doctors have totally different characteristics to those in other industrial sectors in the economy. Clarity of vision, with effective planning and social and ethical concerns were the main characteristics of the doctors' approach.

The commencement of doctors' protests

Aisam (2014, p.10) has stated that the current round of doctors' strikes had started in the aftermath of 25th January Revolution 2011 negotiation started with the government in order to draft a new law covering the medical professions including doctors, pharmacists, scientific and medical technicians.

The doctors' strikes were aimed at sending a message to the government that doctors needed improved working conditions, enhanced salaries (similar to other industrial and services sectors) and an improvement in overall medical quality.

Egyptian revolution inspired doctor's courage

Findings from the thematic analysis demonstrate that the post-revolution atmosphere of freedom was the main trigger that encouraged employees from all economic sectors to participate in activist movement to achieve their demands. When asked if he thought the Egyptian revolution increased doctors' courage and triggered their activism, a leading union representative (I-9) commented:

“Of course, the post revolution environment provided the atmosphere for exercising protests; freedom increased, and the assemblies witnessed more activity. Before the revolution the numbers of doctors attending the assemblies were about 1000, due to passive attitudes among doctors; it increased to 2000- 3000 after the revolution. This increase in doctor's activities gained media support and the government started to pay more attention.”

The effective organization of doctors strikes

In contrast with the strikes discussed previously, the doctors' strikes were planned and organized, and not driven by anger like other blue-collar strikes. When asked about how doctors were organizing their strikes, (I-9) a leading union representative commented:

“At the beginning doctors practiced partial strikes followed by full strikes and the supreme committee formed by the general assembly takes part by notifying hospitals of the strike plan. The supreme committee of the union might include second committees in the governorates and other committees within the hospitals to encourage doctors to take part in strikes and communicate with the management, which are usually against the strikes. Sometimes it only takes a few talks with the management to convince the hospital management that he/she will personally benefit from such strikes, others might be totally against the strike and those

should be avoided during the strike or the strike might take place when they are not around.”

The above narrative by (I-9) clearly demonstrates how doctors were practicing and organizing their strikes. It shows the extent to which doctors' strikes were well planned and organized in contrast to strikes by blue collars in other economic sectors.

Social orientation of doctors demands

According to Aisam (2014) the pre-revolution Egyptian government paid minimal attention to the medical service provided to the public and paid no heed to the specific needs and demands claimed by doctors to ensure efficient and effective performance of the medical service provided. Most doctors engaged in strikes were suffering from poor and unsuitable medical equipment in public hospitals. Aisam (2014) noted that doctors in Egypt had been forced to take part in the strikes since they had found themselves working around the clock and having to cover for other hospitals.

When (I-9) was asked about the main causes and motives of the doctors' strikes and their major demands he comments:

“Our main demand was to provide doctors with a special cadre such as those for other special groups such as judges, petrol sector employees, police, even teachers. The government used to consider the health ministry as a service that generated no profits and doctors never received enough attention. The threats of striking and protests brought attention to their fair case, which does not serve the doctors alone for it serves the whole community.”

Increasing the health budget

One of the major concerns raised by doctors through their protests, as argued by the union of medical services, is an increase in the budget of the ministry of health. This increase, as noted by a union representative, will enable hospitals to provide higher quality, specialized services for patients, and will also enable doctors to divide hospitals into health care units, central hospitals, private hospitals and public hospitals, adding to the efficiency of the health services provided to patients. When (I-9) was asked about the major demands raised by doctors during their strikes, he commented:

“Our first demand was increasing the ministry's budget to allow; first increasing doctors' salaries to ensure them a good living standard and second, to improve the services provided to patients.”

In general, these findings indicate that doctors, in contrast to other strikes by blue collars, were raising the demands of improving patients' medical services in parallel to those to improve doctors' wellbeing. This illustrates the extent to which protests practiced by doctors revealed high standards of ethical and social concerns. It has been seen that most doctors engaged in the strikes believed that their strikes were for the interests of the entire community rather than achieving personalized benefits.

Social and class conflicts between managers and employees

Social conflict and class conflict triggers of work conflict

It could be conceivably suggested from the previous discussion of doctors strikes, that the high social, economic and educational class of this professions can be seen as one of the possible explanations of the peaceful, nonviolent and rational tactics adopted by doctors in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution 2011.

Crossman (2014) noted that, according to social conflict theory, society is fragmented into groups that compete for social and economic resources. The dominant group (which contains mainly the capitalists, business owners and political leaders) is the one that maintains and is able to practice power over the other groups which are mainly workers or (the proletariat) in an attempt to control the maximum amount of political, economic and social resources. In support of Crossman's argument of social conflict, according to Marxist socialists, the clash between business owners (capitalists) and workers (proletariat) is at the heart of Marx's thinking on social conflict. Marxists argue that the relationship between powerful capitalists and labor was unjust since the business owners exploit labor in return for poor wages (slavery wages) in contradiction to the minimum accepted requirements of justice and equality (Torrance, 1995). These Marxist ideas are supported by other social conflict theorists who assert that in a capitalist system the power relationship usually favors the strong and rich owners (capitalists) who use and abuse poor and weak workers to operate the business and for profit (Bruscke, 2014; Moffit, 2014; and Torrance, 1995).

Further support to the previous discussion is offered by the research findings, which show how employees in Egyptian organizations perceived the wide gap in power, salaries and other work

benefits between managers in high positions and bottom line employees. For instance, one of the famous slogans raised by employees in the post revolution demonstrations was " *you get millions we get dimes.*

When (I-18) was asked if he perceived the symptoms of social conflict between blue collars and their superiors in the workplace he comments:

"Blue collars believe that their superiors do not deserve their positions and technicians are actually much better than managers."

Class conflict and alienation

According to Luthans (1992) people obtain power in the workplace from the accepted social class which is called ruling class structure. Luthans added that an organization as a social entity has an accepted social structure as well as a hierarchal structure. The ideas of Luthans seem to be consistent with other research findings. It has been found that managers perceived the authority and influence they hold over their employees as being derived from their managerial position as well as their social status. It could be argued that the ruling dominant class of the Egyptian society is typified in the hierarchal structure of Egyptian organizations. By contrast, findings demonstrate that bottom line employees, particularly blue collars who consider themselves belonging to a lower social class as well as a lower hierarchal position, perceived the wide positional and social gap in the workplace as unfair and unjust especially when it was associated with arbitrary practices by their managers. It is arguably that one of the major causes of employees' rage that drove them to engage in violent actions and vengeful behavior in the workplace; these bottom line employees experienced a feeling of alienation toward their managers. Verbal and physical violence can be viewed as vengeful actions exercised by employees who were exposed to oppressive and arbitrary practices in the pre-revolution period. For instance (I-18) a business councilor asserts:

"After the revolution when an employee was subject to some sort of managerial penalty, he might try get back at the management official who imposed the penalty on him during the protests."

In support of these (I-3) an expert in industrial relations, when asked if he thinks that workers feel some sort of inferiority complex or grudge towards their superiors, stated:

"Yes, sometimes we see some technician going into competition with managers to the extent that he can take out loans just to buy a car identical to his manager's. Employees of low cultural and educational levels often believe that their superiors do not deserve their positions and technicians are actually much better than managers".

The ideas of Marxism have been of particular importance in this context. Marx believed that business owners in which he called capitalist exploit and abuse labor force in which he called proletarian to peruse profit. Marx added that these people sell their labor for paltry wages and are exposed to unjust practices. Marx argued that such a system will inevitably lead to class conflict between capitalist (Business owners) and workers (proletariats). Marx believed that this system would lead to feelings of alienation for the workers. Alienation is the experience of isolation and sufferance that results from feelings of powerlessness and according to Marx the only way to avoid this is to re-organize the society (Torrance, 1995)

The turbulent context: power derived from the Egyptian Revolution

The findings arising from the previous discussion have demonstrated that one of the key features of the revolutionary transformation that erupted in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the revolution is the important shift in the balance of power and authority in those organizations. Findings also raise an important question of why employees experience more courage, a more powerful voice, more political strength and the exercise of intense protests in the period after the revolution rather than before.

Collapse of the Mubarak regime

Employees change initiative

It has been found that the success of the Egyptian revolution, the rapid collapse of Mubarak regime and the dismantling of his police force in 18 days is considered as one of the major factors that demonstrate employees' courage and confidence to initiate changes in their organizations corresponding to those that emerged in the socio-political sphere. When asked about how he perceived the impact of the Egyptian revolution on developing employees' change initiative in the workplace, a managerial expert (I-5) comments:

“Organizations are states within the state. After the revolution employees became involved in nearly everything and their pressure techniques actually affected their institutions. Employees also developed a faith in an ability to change. The revolution's success and ability to achieve changes were the first inducing factor to take the change from the social political framework into the organizational level”.

Developing Employees confidence

Employees and their employers perceived the rapid collapse of Mubarak regime from two different perspectives. Employees believed that they now had sufficient power to end oppressive management and force compliance with their demands. This was clearly illustrated by (I-12), a senior manager in the public transportation foundation. He stated that:

“After the revolution employees saw the whole system being overthrown, this affected all the country's sectors. The employees developed the feeling that they can remove any leadership in the government down to their superior manager. This happened in the Public Transportation Agency when the employees started a strike against the formal president of the foundation”.

The comment by (I-12) indicates how the collapse of the political system created a radical shift in the powerbase in Egyptian organizations.

Employees witnessed a fundamental paradigm shift triggered by the Egyptian revolution which encouraged them to practice more power and influence actions in their organization, bringing to an end the age of powerful employers and oppressive managers.

Power of revolution undermines the power of managers

Managers perceived the collapse of the Mubarak regime from a different perspective. They believe that their power is now revealed and that they will encounter the same fate as Mubarak. A middle manager comments:

“Managers decided to make some improvements and to ask the employees about their demands and give promises, hence in my perspective these initiatives have come about after witnessing that the president himself was kicked out”.

Fear of being dismissed and perceiving the revolution as a negative threat were other factors that enhanced employees' power and forced employers to respond to their demands. For instance, a union representative (I-2) comments:

“Nowadays, the situation of employees became similar to the situation of the whole country, if I wanted anything, I would get it whatever the way, and I saw this during the revolution. Therefore; I'm in charge and the management has to do anything I want. Everybody was worried about his position, of being eliminated and facing the same fate as Mubarak, so management started to be more flexible.”

The previous comment clearly demonstrates how the socio-political shift triggered by the revolution created an equivalent transformation in the paradigm of power and authority in the workplace. This supports the ideas of Ritvo (2009) who suggested that civilian social change empowers individuals and groups within the organization to promote similar and equivalent changes to those in the social sphere.

Breaking the barrier of fear

The thematic analysis finds that employees during the period preceding revolution were experiencing far-reaching fears that their superior managers might take oppressive and aggressive actions against them such as firing and over-punishment if they intended or practiced any protests or initiatives in the workplace. After the revolution and the collapse of Mubarak regime, however, employees' fears from management's oppressive practices were overcome. A middle manager comments:

“Before the revolution there were fears that the management might take aggressive actions such as firing or framing employees, as this was the method used by the state in dealing with its opponents. With the fall of the head of the state, President Mubarak, employees began to see the manager as a human being that can fall with employees' collaborative efforts. The revolution was the main incentive for preparing employees' behavior to confront the management.”

Removing the fear of the national security police

National Security was considered as one of the hidden and terrifying tools used by the pre-revolution regime to dominate the work life in Egyptian organizations and to ensure that organizational policies and practices aligned with the will and the political vision of the ruling regime. It has been found that fear of the National Security was totally removed by the eruption of the 25th January Revolution 2011 and employees were able to demand their rights without fear of being threatened by the national security police. A middle manager (I-11) in Alex port comments:

“It was not just about elimination of ex -president Mubarak but it was about elimination of the culture that appeared because of his reign and breaking the barrier of fear; an employee is not afraid anymore of the national security or police. This is always what the revolution was about, breakage of the barrier of fear. Like the French, Russian and even the American revolutions against the British occupation they were all about the stress which generated an explosion. So after any revolution I have to demand my rights.”

Removing fear of expressing opinions

A leading union representative illustrates how employees, after breaking the barrier of fear, were able to unionize and join together and were encouraged to freely express their opinion without fearing oppressive punishment from their superiors (I-11) comments:

“Fear kept people from expressing their opinions and that fear was demolished by the revolution. Therefore, after the revolution employees with protests and objections no longer have any fear of being fired, suspended or harmed by any means. This gave people the opportunity to express their opinions and the number of employees in protest multiplied. This fear was the reason why only a few employees took part in the protests as these few were punished for their stand. But now there is some sort of appeasement for the employees thus encouraging others to participate.”

4.1.7 Employees’ goals and demands

Psychologists have stated that human behavior is a purposeful behavior; it is always directed and pointed toward a goal (Leavit, 1975). The literature notes that people interact with each other purposively toward the achievement of particular goals (Paul, 2009; Triscari, 2012). All have argued that when people join into groups they can exercise more power than that derived from an individual looking for the same goal.

A goal provides the directional nature to people's behavior; it guides their actions and thoughts to particular outcomes and individuals often respond and perform according to these goals even if these are not attained (Luthans, 1992). Support for this argument comes from the ideas of Byrne (2006) and Covey (2004). Byrne (2006) asserts that when people adjust their mindset, and focus their attention toward achieving specific goals; these goals will be attracted to them and become a fact of life. Within the same context Covey (2004) noted that when people are capable of determining their vision and specify their goals, they can explicitly direct their resources and capabilities toward achieving the goals they believe in.

Jain (2011) emphasizes the significant role of grouping and unionization in achieving employees' goals in the workplace. Jain noted that when people join into groups to achieve a unified goal they aim mainly to enhance their power over the people currently in power who are in the main their managers. A middle manager has already said:

“If you have hundred employees at your back you can have all your demands answered”.

Further support to these ideas comes from the literature of revolution. According to political conflict theory, groups engage in political influence actions if they are part of an organized group led by a leader to produce a common goal for the people so that everyone is encouraged to join (Skocpol, 1979). Taking this as a whole and applying to the events after the revolution, it may be seen that people of different classes, trends and ideologies were grouped together to achieve the unified goal of ending the existing tyrannical regime (Elshorouk, 2012). All people were united in their demands, orientation and goals in order to topple the regime and establish a new one aimed at achieving their unfulfilled ambitions and demands (Aboshanab, 2013).

Hence, it could conceivably be assumed, based on the ideas of political conflict and the arguments emphasizing purposefulness of individual behavior, that the upward power behavior practiced by employees in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution is purposeful behavior and was mainly directed toward achieving specific goals and demands in Egyptian organizations.

Findings from the thematic analysis demonstrate that most post-revolution demonstrations' and strikes practiced by employees in the workplace are supported by particular employees' demands and that employees maintain unity. It has been found that most striking employees agree upon certain claims and demands to be raised with their administration. When employers fail to fulfill these demands for a long period of time, employee discontent often emerges and spreads among organizational members sparking strikes, protests and demonstrations in the work place. The following comment demonstrates the major demands that were raised by employees in Egyptian organizations. A middle manager said:

“Salary raise, profits distribution among employees, giving temporary employees permanent jobs, promotions, job benefits and eliminating the abusive penalty systems are the most regular demands of employees in the workplace in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution.”

These demands are consistent with those raised by workers in other third world countries facing similar circumstances to those of Egypt for instance in Pakistan, employees' protests occurred over Pakistani government Employees' claim for job security and fair criteria for promotion that avoids direct appointment regardless of applicants' qualifications and experience (Assiannet, 2012). Pakistan had witnessed salary raise strikes and violent protest erupted in the factories of various governmental institutions after the government failed to pay salaries to their employees in the last few years (Jagirdar, 2013). Oppressive management and unreasonable job conditions were another important reason for protests in the work place. In Malaysia, 108 unions has called for strikes to address refusal of overtime allowance and irregularities in granting leave in rural areas where

managers were treating employees like bonded labor. The union stated that employees who questioned the action of the management were dismissed from service and was arguing for their reinstatement (Syndication, 2010).

Basic features of employees' demand

Political (self-cantered) demands

One of the key themes to emerge from the thematic analysis is employees' political or self-serving demands. Although there are several possible explanations for the emergence of political demands in Egyptian organizations it seems that organizational political climate is the root cause from which political self-serving demands stems. This will be discussed in detail in part two of this chapter. Findings from the data analysis have shown that the majority of employees' demands are personalized in nature, directed mainly toward the self without regard to the wellbeing of the organization.

For instance (I-11) a leading union representative, states:

“Most of protestors demands are of a personal nature, so employees can live with administrative corruption as long their needs are not threatened even if this was against the company's general interest.”

This shows that once employees have achieved their goals in the workplace they are no longer motivated to embark on additional influence actions, consistent with the ideas of Luthans (1992) who argued that goals motivate employee's efforts intentionally toward a specific direction, and arrival at a goal eliminates the motive which in turn eliminates the behavior.

One of the important and interesting narratives demonstrating the extreme personalized nature of employees' demands was that noted by Shal. A middle manager in a private company, (I-8) stated:

“Apparently the strikes were embarked to achieve financial demands but in fact the main demand was to fire the foreman, the head of production, and after the strike was over they apologized to the chairman and the main result of the strike was that this foreman got a raise, more powers and a new car. So although the strike was against him he was the only one who benefited from it. So he was the one who started or motivated the strike.”

The previous comment shows how some strikes have underlying motives and hidden grounds which are mainly hidden by the declared purpose.

Trivializing organizational benefits:

Findings from interviewees' comments demonstrate that protesting employees pay little attention to the interests of the organization. (I-1) a middle manager was asked if he thinks that employees will engage in protests in the workplace to fight corruption:

“No employees will ever protest against corruption unless it affects them personally.”

Supporting this, another middle manager in a private university (I-22) assures:

“Employees can accept a certain level of corruption, both financial and managerial, as long as it does not affect their own interest.”

Legitimate and illegitimate demands:

The data clearly illustrate that a large proportion of employees' demands were illogical, irrational and illegitimate. This was illustrated in the following comment by (I-22), a managerial expert, when asked about the proportion of rightful to illegitimate demands he comments:

“The rightful demands represent only 25% of the total, where 75% are greedy demands”.

Another middle manager supported (I-22) argument:

“Some of employee's demands were out of grounds and have no grounds”.

One interesting narrative reveals the degree of irrationality of employees 'demands. (I-11) comments:

“This is exactly what happened after the revolution. One of the demands was exchanging work sites weekly, between employees and managers; a bottom line employee wanted his fellow manager to experience what he is going through in work. This demand was unrealistic; demanding that one top manger exchanges post with a bottom line employee means that both of them shall be working out of their own domain. Such a demand is an example of the elastic demands raised by employees: either the management fulfills my demands, or the manager takes my post.”

Exaggerated demands

(I-12) a legal affairs manager, suggested a probable explanation of employees' exaggerated demands in the workplace. When asked about why employees were exaggerating in their demands, he comments:

“Rapid respond to employees encourages them to ask for more such responses to these groups of employees resulting in some sort of epidemic belief that employees demand will always be answered”

Financial demands

Raising the current salary is considered as one of the basic employee demands in most Egyptian organizations as well in as other third world countries suffering from similar social and political problems like those of Egypt. According El-Fiqi, (2013), 36% of employees' protests in Egypt were staged to demand better pay. This argument was supported by several interviewees' comments:

A middle manager in a governmental organization stated:

Apparently, most strikes embarked in the workplace are for financial demands.”

Another middle manager states:

“The main demand that we all supported was raising our income.

A union representative argues that:

“Increasing incentives by 200% was one of the most important demands in our company.”

These findings seem to be consistent with the work of Sherman and Bohlander (1992) who argued that pay is a major consideration to all employees as it provides them with tangible reward for their effort as well as a source of recognition and well-being. They added that employees mainly desire compensation systems that they perceive as being fair compared with other employees in similar industries, departments or similar jobs within the same department. Employees also desire financial rewards to be commensurate with their efforts, skills and expectations and sufficient to satisfy their basic living costs.

Perceived gap in salaries

The following narrative by (I-20) demonstrates the extent to which employees in public sector companies perceived a gap between their salaries and those earned by employees working in private sector companies:

“The main demand that we all supported was improving income because the salaries were insufficient, although they face risks and can misuse their positions to get bribes. Even the facilities provided to the port's employees were below the average usable level such as men's rooms and mess halls. Even where some facilities and services were provided for the day shift employees, the night shift employees were not provided with equal services. For example, they had to take their own food with them for they cannot leave the port for any reason during working hours.”

The following memo by the independent union illustrates the major demands raised by employees of the public transportation foundation.

Demand and rights of workers at the Public Transportation Authority in Alexandria

1. *Applying minimum wages rule on all the employees at the authority.*
2. *Counting striking days as fully paid working days along with the 50% that was cut off from the western district workers.*
3. *Raising income tax to be 30.000 Egyptian pound, for they are applied on the wrong basis as it is counted on the basic salary and not on the bonuses according to provision 4 of Act 29/1992.*
4. *Paying 200 Egyptian pound raise of 10% annual raise as bonus.*
5. *Forming a technical committee from the Faculty of Engineering to supervise buses, trams and spare parts, as well as, the rest of technical aspects.*
6. *Saving the authority from corrupted employees and holding them accountable for their actions against the authority's workers which had negative consequences on the layman at the governorate.*

This list of demands constitutes a mix of financial, non-financial, direct and indirect benefits demanded by employees in the public transportation foundation. Around 70% of these demands are financial demands and the first five demands in the list comprise raising wages, reward and incentive payments. This indicates the relative importance of financial compared with other demands.

Non-financial and indirect benefits:

In addition to the financial demands raised by employees, evidence from the above memo and other employees' comments suggested that employees, during their protests, were demanding other indirect financial and non-financial benefits like health care, providing transportation, safety, improving work conditions and job security. Evidence suggests that employers usually give higher priority in responding to these types of demands rather than financial ones.

Summary:

This chapter began by discussing and analyzing the basic features and characteristics of the revolutionary transformation that erupted in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution. Comparison with the relevant literature of revolution suggests a strong link and high degree of alignment between the nature and features of the revolutionary transformation, as illustrated by the empirical findings of the study, and those features of revolutionary transformation seen in that literature. The chapter then moved on to thoroughly discuss and analyze the major changes in the patterns of power and behavior that emerged in Egyptian organizations after the 25th January Revolution. The discussion then analyzed the

basic demands raised by employees in the protests, strikes and demonstrations in the workplace in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution. The main findings from the empirical study showed a radical shift in the paradigm of power and patterns of behavior in Egyptian organizations. They also demonstrate that employees' anger and discontent erupted in the workplace when employers failed to sense employees' needs, recognize their problems and fulfill their demands. So far, the present chapter has reviewed the central factors and conceptual issues of the revolutionary transformation and discussed the radical transformation in the paradigm of power and authority experienced by Egyptian organizations. It could conceivably be suggested that such a new paradigm emerged as a result of the dysfunction and problems that Egyptian employees suffered during the Mubarak regime. The next chapter moves on to thoroughly investigate these basic dysfunctions, problems and causes of employees' rage and discontent that resulted in the intense waves of demonstrations, strikes and other forms of upward influence actions in the workplace.

Part Two: Causes of employees' anger and discontent

Introduction:

The previous part of this chapter discussed the nature, features and characteristics of the revolutionary transformation (the central phenomenon) that erupted in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution. Findings in this part best address the following research question: What are the causes and motives that triggered revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organization?

The discussion in this part raises an important question about the events or incidents that led to this phenomenon. This part of the chapter considers the principle causes that drove this revolutionary transformation and is divided into nine main sections. Each of these examines one of the subcategories or properties of the main category (causes of organizational discontent) that emerged from the thematic analysis of data:

- 1- Negative political climate.
- 2- Lack of transparency and trust.
- 3- Illegitimate power of dominant minority group.
- 4- Political practices of human resources management.
- 5- Blocking employees' complaint channels.
- 6- Authority obedience management.
- 7- Mistreatment and abusive supervision.
- 8- Marginalizing the rule of law.
- 9- The fading perception of justice in the workplace.

4.2.1 Negative political climate

Organizational politics: The central cause of employee's discontent

The previous chapter has demonstrated the impact of practicing power, influence and other political tactics by employees in triggering a revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organizations. The thematic analysis has shown that organizational politics is considered a central cause that triggers employees' anger and discontent, with all other causes being viewed in this study as sub causes related to it. It has been seen that the political self-serving behavior of Egyptian managers gave birth to new employees' behavior in the workplace with intensive, violent and aggressive characteristics.

Numerous studies of management and organizational politics have discussed issues related to influence, power and politics in the workplace (Albert and Lanaleles, 2012; Chang, 2012; Leavit, 1978; Luthen and Keith, 1992; and Kashul, 2011). All have noted that political behavior plays a more significant role in organizational life than is often recognized (Bucharian and badham, 2006). According to Drory and Godot (2009), the management of politics and the politics of management has received a great deal of attention due to their image of mystery, pervasiveness and potential benefits for those who know how to use them in the struggle over resources within the same context. Vigoda (2000) has noted that organizational politics has always been present in the working environment of the organization in shape of striving over scarce resources and the existence of varying interests among groups.

Definition of organizational politics

One of the most comprehensive definitions is that presented by Vigoda and Cohen (2002, p.348). They have defined organizational politics as self-serving behavior practiced by employees to gain self-interested advantages and benefits at the expense of others and sometimes contrary to the interests of the entire organization or work unit. Aryee (2004); Coser (1967); Treadway (2004); Landells and Albrecht (2013); and Vigoda (2002) have presented similar definitions to that of Vigoda and Cohen (2002). Similarly, parker (1995, p.892) defined politics as social interest process in which behavior is defined to maximize long term or short-term self-interest, all have emphasized the self-serving nature of organizational politics in the workplace. Aryee (2004) defined politics in organizations as a means of getting things done and a mechanism for resolving conflict outside the official bureaucratic structure of an organization. Aryee added that politics is basically seen as a

potentially negative activity practiced by organizational members to achieve personal benefits. From this perspective, politics is a self-serving interpersonal influence behavior not formally sanctioned by the organization and organized to maximize self-interest at the expenses of others. Albercht and Landells (2013) define organizational politics as the activities that are illegitimate, self-serving and often harmful to the organization and its members.

A legal affairs manager (I-12) commented when asked about how he viewed employees' behavior after the Egyptian revolution:

“Each person in my organization was seeking personal interests even if they conflicted with those of others. For example, they all demanded raises in salaries regardless what are the budget limits”

This reveals the self-serving nature of employees' demands in practice. It shows how organizational members were utilizing the revolutionary climate to maximize their interests and achieve their own goals even if this was at the expense of their organization.

Negative consequences of the organizational political climate

A large and growing body of literature has demonstrated the negative dysfunctional consequences of organizational politics in workplace. All have emphasized a negative relationship between organizational politics and other job-related variables (Albercht and Landell, 2013; Change, 2013; Davis and Gardner, 2004; Farrell & Petersen, 1982; Ferris and Kacmar, 1992; Treadway et al., 2004; and Vigada, 2000).

Vegoda (2000, p.1268) has argued that "organizational politics and job outcomes in public sector organizations is a subjective and dysfunctional phenomenon; basically, perceived by employees as the purely selfish act of individuals to accomplish goals". Vegoda added that the self-serving nature of organizational politics usually contradicts with achieving justice and fairness, which in turn leads to negative behavior in the workplace. Chang (2012) has noted that people manipulate political behavior to obtain power, influence and self-interest. Albrecht (2013) asserts that such behavior by employers negatively affects employees' satisfaction, commitment and performance. Moreover, it increases job tension, employees' anger and intention to leave (Alberch, 2013, p.56). Gardner and Davis (2004) argued that organizational members who perceive themselves to be working in a negative political environment may develop a cynical attitude toward the organization.

5.2.1 Negative Political climate in Egyptian organizations:

Findings emerged from analysis of data to show that all organizational members, regardless to their job status or managerial positions, were engaged in political behavior, to attain personal benefits and self-interest advantages at the expense of other employees and without regard to the wellbeing of the organization. These findings contradict with other theoretical findings by (Leavitt, 1978) who argues that if authority (legitimate power) is used as a tool for influencing behavior. It should not be used for influence sake but for the organization. However, evidence from thematic analysis shows different prospective of practicing power in Egyptian organizations employers were using their legitimate power to achieve personalized gains rather than for sake of the organization. Findings also suggest that, where organizational members are practicing political behavior, they all suffer from the negative dysfunctional consequences of this behavior in the workplace. This seems to contradict the theoretical findings of Vigoda (2000, p.329) who suggested that organizational politics had a potentially damaging effect on lower status employees but no effect on those of higher status since they lack a stable power base and effective means of influence. It has been found that bottom line and lower status employees as well as higher ranked managers were using political tactics extensively in the workplace and both parties suffered from the negative consequences of this behavior.

The following section will describe and discuss the basic symptoms, features and negative dysfunctional consequences of political behavior practiced by employers and employees in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution.

Upward influence actions and management political counter actions

Findings from the thematic analysis indicate that employers often adopted political counter actions in response to the upward influence tactics adopted by employees in the workplace. According to Coser (2006, p.348) "political actions are those self-serving actions practiced by organizational members in the workplace which are merely directed toward achieving personalized goals and not for the good of the organization". The interviewees' comments demonstrate that the tactics used by managers to deal with angry employees' lack transparency and trust. In addition, managers used practices like false promises, surveillance, and political negotiations as counter tactics to avoid complying with employees demands. These tactics trigger employees' anger and drive them to engage in more aggressive and violent actions. Employers often misperceive and miscalculate the negative consequences of their political tactics in the workplace and it has been seen that employers

often ignore employees' warning signs and underestimate the risks and harm of employees' violent actions. For instance, (I-3) an HRM consultant comments:

“The first spark of a demonstration is usually some sort of internal or limited dialogue that turn into primitive disputes.”

Political counter tactics in Egyptian organizations

The following interviewee's comment highlights the most frequently used political tactic practiced by managers in the workplace:

Postponing response

A union representative (I-2) comments:

“Managers prefer to keep postponing handling the problem; they usually handover to another manager.”

This explicitly illustrates the irresponsible approach adopted by managers in handling employees' problems. Managers usually fear taking responsibility and prefer to postpone handling problems and bearing their potential negative consequences.

Spying on protestors

An HR manager (I-3) asserts:

“Some of the people participating in demonstrations actually belong to the management.”

Installing spying strikers into the protests is considered one of the unethical political tricks used by employers to obtain information about protestors' movements and their potential protesting tactics.

Insincere negotiation

Two employees have already shown how Egyptian managers, during the process of negotiation with their employees, lack seriousness and did not show a true desire to fulfill any of their demands. The above comments are supported by a union representative comment (I-1) on calm down tactics:

“Managers often use political approaches to calm employees down. Management's instructions were not to give the employees any promises to meet their demands according to the company's potential. There was no seriousness in dealing with employees demands so it was merely settling them down.”

Fake promises

Another employee had a similar experience to that of (I-1), (I-22) comments:

“Management applies tranquilizing techniques offering fake promises as temporary sedatives and as the crisis grows, employees' reactions turned more violent as Egyptian employees can snap very easily and the consequences can be unpredictable.”

The previous comments by (I-22) and (I-1) further support the ideas of Armstrong (1998) regarding the negative impacts of managers' fake promises on maintaining a peaceful atmosphere and healthy relationships in the workplace. He argues that for employers to control and maintain harmonious working relationships and maintains a peaceful environment within the organization, employers should build a climate of mutual trust and should always keep to their word and never make promises they cannot fulfill. Armstrong, (1998) added that managers should rely more on deeds than words, arguing that trust is undermined where there is inconsistency between what is said and what is done. This approach suggested by Armstrong widely contradicts the one adopted by Egyptian managers in their attempts to control and maintain a peaceful, healthy relationship in the workplace. Armstrong's argument is supported by Vegoda (2000) who emphasizes how employees perceive managers' political actions in the workplace. He argues that managers' actions are often perceived by employees as purely selfish, directed toward accomplishing their own goals at the expense of employees' interests.

Political orientation of employee's upward influence actions

Where's Findings emerged from analysis of data demonstrated that negative political climate dominating Egyptian organizations encourage high-ranked managers and dominant minority groups to practice illegitimate self-serving activities. Other evidence emerged from the data suggested that the negative organizational politics climate in Egyptian organizations also encourages employees to practice political behavior in the workplace to achieve self- interest benefits. It has been found that the upward influence actions practiced by employees were mainly directed toward achieving personalized goals rather than to the wellbeing of the organization.

The self-serving nature of employee's movements

A middle manager (I-11) once comments:

“When the administration started to respond and increase salaries for us, employees started to claim for more increases; they have begun to be greedy, actually all of us as long as it is related to money and interest.”

A couple of employees expressed their real goal that drove employees to engage in demonstrations and strikes in the workplace. A leading union representative (I-2) comment:

“Employees did not care much about the value of freedom; they only use it as a means for achieving their personal goals.”

Another middle manager asserts:

“Most of employees won't take any action to fight corruption the strikes mainly erupted to achieve financial demands.”

A legal affairs manager (I-12) commented when asked about how he viewed employees' behavior after the Egyptian revolution:

“Each person in my organization was seeking personal interests even if they conflicted with those of others. For example, they all demanded raises in salaries regardless what are the budget limits”

This reveals the self-serving nature of employees' demands in practice, it demonstrates how organizational members were utilizing the revolutionary climate to maximize their interests and achieve their own goals. These findings are consistent with the ideas of Vigoda and Cohen (2002, p.312) and Andrews et al. (2003) who suggested that employees in the workplace often engage in upward power actions to protect their interests and to achieve personal benefits even if these practices are at the expenses of organizational interests.

Personal interests on the expense of organizational interests

One interesting comment was by (I-11) who illustrated the personalized self-serving nature of employees' protests in the workplace in the aftermath of the revolution. When asked if he

believed employees would act against corrupted management to pursue their financial demands, he says:

“80% of the employees will not take any action and will not care.”

This agrees with the ideas of Lester and Vogelgesang (2009) who stated that employees were hardly ever interested in the actions or goals of their organizations as they were mainly concerned with bringing home a pay check.

(I-11) comment is supported by (I-1). He explicitly emphasizes the issue of political self-serving protests by employees:

“Employees were seeking some personal interest, such as a promotion, and after achieving it they just settled and no longer participated in protests.”

Support is also found in the ideas of Vegoda (2000) who argues that organizational politics is a subjective dysfunctional phenomenon, basically perceived as purely selfish acts of individuals to accomplish goals.

4.2.2 Lack of transparency and trust

Evidence from the analysis demonstrated that the negative political climate dominating the work environment in Egyptian organizations does not encourage a climate of transparency and trust; employers rarely clarify work rules and regulations to their employees and rarely share any job-related information or inform them about the reasons behind their decisions.

According to Lester and Vogelgesang (2009, p.253), “employers can be said to be transparent when they are open with employees with information that is relevant to the workplace”. They added that employers should promote a transparent climate by sharing relevant information during interactions with employees, when they frequently give and receive feedback, and finally by being open and honest with them about the motives and reasons behind their decisions. The perception of transparency by employees is expected to increase organizational outcomes, while a lack of transparency would lead to negative consequences like lower organizational sustainability and declining rate of performance.

Lack of transparency

A middle manager comments:

“I did not ever see the work regulation book of our company; this was written according to the desire and interests of certain individuals and is only applied to serve their interests and particular organizational members received exaggerated salaries and benefits without regard to organizational rules and procedure.”

Another middle manager comments:

“Rules and regulations are never explained to employees, HRM and the legal affairs departments always follow high ranked managers to secure their positions.”

This suggests that promoting a climate of openness and transparency is viewed as a threat to practicing political behavior in the workplace. Since rules and regulations clarify employees' roles, duties and rights, promote consistent treatment, eliminate uncertainty and ensure equal opportunities, such a climate will prevent managers from overstepping their positional power and adopting illegitimate practices to achieve self-interest benefits. Hence, transparency and openness is often viewed as a threat to Egyptian managers.

Trust and the employment relationship

According to Law (2006) Trust is the belief that a person may be relied on. A lack of trust between employees and managers create a sense of demotivation in the workplace (Pech, 2009). It has been found that managers 'fake promises, political tactics and the lack of clear vision damaged trust and disturbed employment relationships. Armstrong (1996) noted that in too many organizations inconsistency between what is said and what is done undermined trust, generates employee cynicism and provides evidence of contradictions in management thinking.

According to Armstrong (1996), employees are more likely to trust managers when they believe that management means what it says and when observe that management does what it says it is going to do and finally when they feel they are treated fairly, equitably and consistently. The previous ideas suggested by Armstrong seems to conflict with the research findings which demonstrate that the employees/employers' relationship is ruined by the political tactics, fake promises and unfair treatment used by managers in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution 2011.

Illegitimate power of dominant minority groups

The data analysis suggests that the negative political climate discussed in the previous section was the central cause of employees' rage and discontent. Hence, this climate may be viewed as the comprehensive framework that subsumes all the other causal conditions that trigger discontent in the workplace. These causal conditions are tightly related to the political climates that dominated Egyptian organizations in the revolution period.

The findings imply that a negative political climate, with a lack of openness, transparency and trust in Egyptian organizations encouraged a group of powerful organizational members, who do not necessarily belong to the top management, to develop political strategies, to build coalitions and networks of connections and to use illegitimate practices to achieve self-interest advantages and benefits and attain special privileges which are not provided to their peers at the same organizational level. This group is called, in this study, the dominant minority group or power center.

Employees perceive the special privileges and the illegitimate activities practiced by these groups as unfair and unjust and were one of the major reasons for their anger and forced them to engage in violent actions against these groups in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution.

Illegitimate use of power:

Vigoda (2000) noted that illegitimate use of power is one of the major symptoms of organizational politics behavior by which dominant minority groups attain personal benefits outside the framework of rules and regulations. It has been found that dominant minority groups often overuse their power, tailor or bend laws and introduce policies and customized rules to achieve personalized benefits and special privileges.

A middle manager comments:

"These people are very powerful and above the law they can even influence the chairman's decisions that merely fear them as they can turn employees against him."

This clearly demonstrates how the power of these groups in some instances may exceed that of their employers. A managerial expert, the previous findings seems to be consistent with further work by Ritchie (2012) who argued that privileged groups or dominant minority groups in the social system marginalizes other groups and provide the means to support or reproduce new systems of power in the organizations. (I-5) demonstrates how these groups tailor rules to serve their own interests:

“The legal affairs department is a tool to achieve their goal ... justice within Egyptian organizations become on the side of these groups.”

In support, another middle manager comments:

“They use their power beyond all limits and rules; I believe this group dominates all financial and managerial privileges.”

(I-6), a middle manager, stated that:

“Laws are used to achieve the goals of high management; they are translated according to their best interest.”

According to the literature, the illegitimate use of power is usually contrary to achieving justice and fairness within the organization and results in high levels of employees' anger and frustration (Vigoda, 2000, p.328). Employees' perception of negative political behavior is a source of frustration and employees often react to this climate by showing increasingly negative attitudes toward the organization (Vigoda, 2000). In support of Vigoda's argument, Kacmar and Ferris (1991, p.193) stated that the higher this perception in the eyes of organizational members, the lower is the perceived level of justice, equity and fairness.

The previous arguments by scholars of organizational politics seem to be consistent with the empirical findings. It has been found that employees perceived the political behavior practiced by this dominant group as unjust and unfair. After the 25th January Revolution employees were able to build their own alliances and networks and engage in collective actions directed toward these dominant minority groups aiming to restore fairness and to attain their violated rights.

Illegitimate policies of selection

Gall (2005) argued that influential power centers inside the organization often overuse their power to bend selection policies to the advantage of a preferred job applicant. This was viewed as one of the most destructive practices adopted by dominant minority groups as it compromised morality and promoted a feeling of injustice within employees.

In support of Gall's argument, a middle manager (I-11) in a governmental institution comments:

“Employees were selected and hired based on their relationships and contacts and not according to their experience and specialty.” He added that: “In my organization, as well as in other state agencies, military and police officers get appointed to leading positions, and the problem is that they are hired into positions in which they have no previous experience”.

The power of networking and connections:

According to Vigoda (2003), building powerful connections, having a shared vision and common purpose enhances the ability of managers to protect their interests and achieve their personal goals.

Evidence from the empirical investigation suggests that dominant minority groups often use a network of internal and external connections to strengthen their power and build collective capacity to exert significant influence in the workplace. The importance of networking and relationship building is widely recognized in the literature of organizational politics (Oniel, 2001; Roebor, 1975; and Vegoda, 2000). These authors argue that connection power can be derived from internal or external networks.

Power of internal connections

A middle manager (I-12) commented:

“Some managers remain many years in their positions due to their close relationship with their employers.”

Another middle manager (I-13) stated that:

“The power of some employees is derived from their direct manager, we consider those as our shortcut to the manager, these people were not selected based on their skills and qualifications.”

Other evidence suggests that highly connected employees usually attain financial privileges because of their connections with high ranked managers. A leading union representative stated that:

“Employees felt injustice since some of their peers were paid more just because they are highly connected.” He added that: *“Some employees were hired in high positions and got paid 20.000 pounds because of their connection; others were paid extremely less.”*

To strengthen their relationship network and enhance their influence capacity in the workplace, managers often make use of their positional power to hire their relatives in pivotal positions in the company. A middle manager commented:

“What I can see from my position is that the whole management staffs are relatives... I can call that familial stratification ... these groups separate themselves from others and they protect each other.”

Power of connections and unjust perception

The following narrative by (I-20) shows the degree of injustice and unfairness perceived by employees because of unfair allocation of financial rewards in the workplace. A custom officer in one of the largest ports in Egypt and experienced one of the most provoking situations in his work life because of the powerful network of connections in the workplace:

“In 2007 I had busted an attempt to smuggle a load of coke, but we did not find our names in the reward list. We had known after a while that the manager, his driver and his office boy have been rewarded although none were there during the bust ... I believe that the manager's driver has the power of the manager. I think this is just a play of connections.”

The comment by (I-20) demonstrates the subjective criteria used by managers in allocating incentive rewards and other financial benefits. It clearly indicates that financial benefits and other advantages were directed to serve the interests of special groups of employees without regard to their qualifications or experience.

Power of External connections:

According to Gall (2005, p.2), "managers often leverage their power in the workplace when aided by state power. The power exerted by managers when aided in this way often reduces workers' control and increase their own". This argument by Gall was supported by the empirical findings.

Job related preferences:

It has been found that due to the internal and external power of connections, dominant minority groups attain specific job advantages, benefits and privileges outside the framework of work rules and regulations. Employees perceived the wide gap of privileges and benefits as sources of frustrations and discontent and show an increasingly negative attitude toward them.

When a middle manager was asked if he noticed any special privileges to certain groups of employees he commented:

"I can see a wide gap between employees in my organizations, for example highly connected employees get higher salaries and have better job advantages; this group has no communication with the blue collars and does not feel their problems and sufferings."

Appointing officers in civilian institutions

Evidence from the data analysis suggests that highly connected managers and employees were able attain special privileges and advantages just because they are aided by high-ranked personal in dominant state institutions like the army, police and judiciary: This view was clearly seen by (I-20):

"In my foundation (Alex port), as well as governorate and state agencies, military and police officers get appointed in leading positions ... the problem is that they are appointed in these positions with no previous experience."

State power dominating organizational policies:

One of the extreme cases demonstrating the influential impact of state power on organizational policies and practices, particularly HRM practices, was the one narrated by (I-7) an HR manager in a governmental business organization, (I-7) stated:

“A wife of a high-ranked military general in one of our embassies abroad was hired in a managerial position with a high salary and being promoted while no one ever saw her at work.”

The previous two comments clearly demonstrate the influential role of powerful personnel from state agencies in bending and tailoring HRM policies to advance preferred employees based on connections and network relations rather than their experiences and professional qualifications. Other empirical evidence has pointed out that before the 25th January Revolution 2011, the power and status of dominant minority groups was to a great extent derived from the national security agency and the Democratic national party, the political ruling party at that time.

Exploiting organizational resources

Findings from the thematic analysis demonstrate that dominant minority groups often make use of their positional and connection power to amend and introduce policies and exert significant influence and control over the allocation of organizational resources. One of the protestors expressed his anger for the unfair distribution of benefits among employees:

“There is social discrimination among employees; benefits are not fairly distributed among us”.

Another leading union representative (I-2) when asked if profits were fairly allocated to employees in his company commented:

“Around 6 million pounds from the company's profits were allocated to the company's president and his people.”

Another union representative (I-1) has demonstrated how the ruling party and the ruling family in Egypt before the 25th January Revolution 2011 were exercising political power to influence the allocation of profits in Egyptian organizations. He commented:

“One of the famous figures from the ruling party used to receive 30 million pounds of the company's profits to cover the expenses of a public library.”

In general, these comments have illustrated that the dominant minority groups in Egyptian organizations are driven more by politics than by formal rules and regulation to achieve self-interest benefits at the expenses of other employees. The self-serving practices adopted by these groups denied a fair allocation of organizational resources.

The findings discussed so far corroborate the ideas of Skarlicki and Folger (1997, p.434) who suggested that when employees felt exploited by the company, they were likely to engage in acts against the organization, such as theft, as mechanisms to correct the perception of injustice.

Political practices of HRM:

Findings from the data analysis demonstrate that employees perceive HRM practices and policies as extremely subjective, biased and unfair. The HRM department is viewed by employees as a tool for employers to achieve their goals and maximize their interests at the expenses of other employees. An HR manager (I-7) commented on the biased role of HRM:

” The human resources department is the most hated department among employees ... I believe that this department has two main roles: business partner and employees' advocates In fact, it only plays the first role and does not care about employees.”

Another middle manager stated:

“We do not feel the existence of HRM department in our organization; they only serve top management instead of defending our rights.”

Within the same context, a third middle (I-21) manager says:

“Human resource managers always stand toward the employer's side. If an employee felt that they are protecting his rights, all the problems would have been worked out gradually.”

Illegitimate practices of HRM

It has been found that due to the lack of transparency, openness, and negative political climate, the practices and policies fostered by HR managers were not guided by rules or regulations. HR managers often use their connection and positional power to bend organizational rules and to facilitate particular advantages and benefits to their superior managers and the powerful dominant minority group. (I-17) a middle manager in a private company comments:

“Egyptian organizations lack the logical rules to determine job requirements,

qualifications, responsibilities and specifications. Most job benefits such as promotions and salary raises are related to relationships with supervisors or superior managers and not to skills or qualification of the employee.”

In support of (I-17) a middle manager in a prominent private university assert:

“There are not any subjective criteria for the human resources management; for example, punitive practices vary according to the power ranks. In many cases small employees can get fired for a minor mistake while high-positioned employee can commit massive administrative and financial mistakes without being fired.”

Interfering with the line authority of HRM

Other empirical evidence suggests that superior managers overrule the line authority of HR managers and over step their power to take decisions in issues considered the main duties and responsibilities of HR managers such as selection, promotion, pay and procedures determining the distribution of benefits and rewards. These decisions and practices were far outside the framework of HR rules, policies and procedures as determined by the company's work manual, and also conflict with employees' legitimate rights under Egyptian labour law.

Subjective criteria of selection:

An abundance of evidence from employees' comments shows that most selection decisions were based on the degree of the applicants 'connections with the superior manager rather than the skills, qualifications and experiences of the applicants.

A middle manager in Alex port (I-11) comments:

“Most employees in our foundation were selected and hired based on their contacts and connections and not according to their experience and specialization.”

Another middle manager (I-12) presents an extreme case, revealing the impact power of connections on the selection and hiring decisions. He commented:

“In our department we have 660 employees most of them were hired based on their connections with a powerful manager. The one with the most powerful connection will be the biggest winner.”

The previous comments have all illustrated that selection and hiring decisions were not based on objective criteria of the job. Rather, it was related to the strength of the connection and personal relationship between the superior manager and the job applicant.

Subjective criteria of promotion:

The findings also show that promotion, as well as the selection process, was not based on standardized objective criteria. The closeness of employees to some key managers largely affects promotional decisions.

A middle manager comments:

“Promoting employees was not based on seniority and competence but mainly according to the connection with the manager.”

These observations seem to be consistent with other theoretical findings by Conner (2006) who suggested that organizational politics introduces a serious bias into HRM functions and potentially damages the selection, evaluation and promotion processes. Conner (2006) has also argued that most organizational members, especially of the bottom line level, perceive these political practices negatively. Examples of the adverse outcomes resulting from these practices include disciplinary problems, favoritism, job dissatisfaction, power struggles, decreased productivity and overall organizational inefficiency.

Ineffective payment system:

According to Armstrong and Dawson (1989) financial payments that employees receive is often the major cause of their interest and hence their employment. The payment system is defined as a way of influencing the behaviour of workers so that the purpose of the organization is effectively served.

Armstrong and Dawson (1989) have noted a number of features for an effective pay system. They argue that such a system should ensure that employees feel sufficiently well rewarded not want to leave. The system should also encourage high performance by the workers. What is more important according to Armstrong and Dawson (1989) is that the system must be seen to be fair and consistent with employees' needs. Considering these features of an effective payment system and the interviewees' comments, it has been found that none of these features can describe the payment system adopted in Egyptian organizations. Evidence from employees' comments suggests that, although employees feel abused by these

illegitimate and unfair practices, they would still not choose to leave the organization because of the unfavorable economic conditions in Egypt which produce a lack of suitable employment opportunities.

In general, most interviewees report unfavorable perceptions of the payment system adopted in their organization. Employees stated that the financial payment was not sufficient to cover the minimum living requirements and basic needs. This was clearly demonstrated from a complaint raised by one of the protestors in the public transportation foundation, who stated:

“The salary system did not meet our basic needs; the payment raise was only 5 L.E which does not cover any of our living costs.”

Another union representative demonstrated that even white-collar employees, such as doctors in governmental hospitals, perceive the payment system as unfair and unjust. He commented:

“The system of salaries in Egypt makes fixed remuneration only 25% of the overall salary while the variable remuneration, which includes bonuses and incentives, is 75%; this means that when a doctor retires his pension is calculated on 25% of his salary. In fact, it is not even enough to buy the medicine he may need after his retirement.”

Although these comments explicitly demonstrated how employees were suffering from extremely low salaries, which was perceived by them as unfair and inconsistent with their basic need, other evidence suggests that superior managers and particular organizational members received exaggerated salaries and benefits without regard to organizational rules and procedures.

Blocking employees' complaint channels

According to Benson (2000), effective human resources management should emphasize employees' voice mechanisms and encourage participation and suggestion schemes in the workplace. To promote a perception of fairness in the workplace human resources management should act as a mediator between employees and the employing organization, encouraging them to raise problems and have them addressed by the organization hence, employees would not need to resort to alternative mechanisms like strikes and demonstrations to initiate their issues and articulate their grievances (Benson, 2000).

Findings from thematic analysis demonstrate that the employees' voice was totally ignored in the workplace due to the lack of effective complaint channels through which employees raise their complaints and express their needs at work. When asked about how employees perceive complaint channels in the workplace, a middle manager comment:

“Employees having complaints know that they will not regain their rights through legal channels.”

This shows the extent to which employees perceive the formal complaint channel as an ineffective means to deal with their issues and grievances in the workplace. Other empirical evidence suggests that the inadequate functioning of complaint channels forces employees to adopt other informal mechanisms to raise their voice and articulate their demands to their employers.

A middle manager (I-23) in a private company, comments:

“The only power employees have is that of crowd and demonstrating. All other legal channels of communication were blocked.”

Thus, the human resources management system in Egypt is not designed to accommodate the interests of their workers by responding to their voice and addressing their problems. This promotes a climate of injustice and forces employees to engage in upward influence actions to protect their rights and restore fairness.

Authority obedience management:

Authority obedience management is considered one of the key themes to emerge from the thematic analysis of the data. Results from the research findings suggest that Egyptian employers were adopting oppressive methods, arbitrary practices and extensive use of penalties to exert strict control over their employees and ensure their discipline. According to (Leah, 2010) supervisors mainly justify strict controlled centralized structure based on early economic models of worker behavior that describes their subordinates as lazy unintelligent and self-centered.

The evidence demonstrates how employees were suffering severely from these arbitrary practices, unfair treatment and poor job conditions in the period preceding the Egyptian revolution. It also suggests that when employees felt exploited by these practices they are likely to engage in aggressive acts against their employers to achieve their demands and restore fairness.

Managerial suppression:

Climate of fear:

The data analysis demonstrates that managers often use oppressive practices and promote an atmosphere of fear in the workplace to achieve strict control and to terminate any potential rebellious action in the workplace. When asked why employees have engaged in these protesting mechanisms after the revolution and not before, a leading union representative (I-1) commented:

“Before the revolution there used to be a climate of fear in my organization. Employees were not able to express their opinions. This fear was the reason why only a few employees took part in the protests. Even these few were punished for their stand.”

Another HR manager (I-3) went further to explain the reason for these oppressive methods practiced by managers in the workplace:

“Management used to put employees under extensive pressures in order to control them and break them. They eventually exploded. After the revolution they felt that they have eliminated all the limits that used to control them.”

The previous comments demonstrate that managers were not using these arbitrary practices for functional and organizational purposes. Use of the words "pressures" and "break them" indicate that managers purposively adopt these tactics to put employees under strict control, permanent stress and to prevent any probability of being engaged in rebellious actions.

Centralized authority stifling employees voice

A middle manager in Alex port once comment

“In our foundation, as well as in other foundations ex -military and police officers get appointed in leading positions. They are treating us as if we are the soldiers with this ordering style; they refuse any form of discussion, orders should be executed, or you will be punished.”

This seems to be consistent with the work of Abideen (2010) who noted that Egyptian managers are highly centralized, rarely delegate authority and often make decisions autocratically. Alternatively, Egyptian employees often avoid expressing their true opinions; they believe that their managers' opinions and decisions are correct simply because they are superior.

One of the most interesting narratives showing how Egyptian manager's deal with disagreement was that by (I-22), a middle manager in a private company:

“At the first meeting of employees' unions, the chairman ordered black coffee for everyone without giving them any choice regarding what they want to drink, if everyone drunk what he ordered, he consider that as a sign of obedience and if any one objected then he or she will be on the black list as rebelling and disobeying the chairman.”

In support to the previous findings Davis (2012) and Ritchie (2012) have argued that employers mainly exercise power over their employees by using hierarchal authority, over two thirds of all organization were found to be structured in a hierarchal way with power residing at the top of the organization (Triscari, 2009). According to DeReuver, (2006) this hierarchal authority can lead to hierarchal abuse and outcomes of that abuse becomes both harmful to dignity and dysfunctional for performance.

Ignoring employees voice

It has been found that ignoring employees' voices is considered as a significant cause of employees' anger and discontent that forces employees to engage in violent actions in the workplace.

A middle manager has already commented that " *management is not interested in dialogue after employees have declared their demonstration and its reasons*". Moreover, due to the oppressive climate in the workplace employees were prohibited from discussing their rights in front of their manager (I-3) comments:

“The employers do not allow employees to discuss their rights or they will be on the black list and any talks about human rights shall be a subject for sarcasm among management”.

The previous findings seem to be consistent with the studies of Heery and Noon (2008), who stated that when the employees' voice is not heard, or is ignored, employees often suffer a high level of discontent in the workplace. They added that by responding to this voice allows employees to raise problems and have them addressed by the employing organization.

Ignoring employees warning signs

Employees' voice and complaint messages are considered as important warnings, revealing their anger and discontent and a sign of potential aggressive action in the workplace. One of these indicators was the sending of memos by employees to their superiors presenting their demands and expressing their anger. (Look appendix 5)

Appendix 5 was extracted from a memo sent from the independent union of Alex port to the Supreme Council of Armed Forces.

The memo in appendix 5 clearly illustrates the oppressive management actions (what the independent union termed "*actions persecuting the workers*"), of unjust practices, ignoring employees' demands and mistreatment considered by the union as the main causes of employees' anger and forced them to embark on violent action in the workplace.

In addition, it shows that employees began their influence attempts using peaceful tactics like negotiation and sending official complaint memos and were then forced to move to more aggressive influence tactics when managers refused to respond to their demands.

The independent union set forth in the memo that the aggressive and irresponsible practices used by their managers (what they termed "*irresponsible actions*") might force them to embark on aggressive counter-actions to defend their rights and achieve their demands. They state that these actions could cause excessive damage to the port and consequently could lead to severe harm to the entire economy. It can be deduced from this part of the memo that the independent union was sending a hidden warning and a threatening message to their superiors. They emphasize that maintaining a peaceful work climate is, to a large extent, related to management responding to their demands.

In general, this memo demonstrates the negative consequences of disregarding the employees' voice in the workplace and the danger of underestimating their power by ignoring their demands. This is consistent with the ideas of Feeny & Explodes (2003), who argues that employers often ignore the dangers of employees' aggressive action and its catastrophic consequences. They often do not recognize the initial warning signs that appear

during the process of negotiations; they do not see or believe the violent potential of employees. It has been found that indicators like forming new coalitions, sending memos and verbal expressions of anger were not enough to warn employers that a damaging event is about to strike in the workplace.

The previous findings suggest that political counter-actions practiced by managers in the workplace lack a clear vision of employees' needs and legitimate demands. They usually favor their own self-interests over those of employees. There seems to be contradiction between managers' vision regarding the political tactics practiced by employers in Egyptian organization and the agency theory view of organizational rationality which argues that organizational executives are rational decision makers who seek to align employees' interests with organizational interests (Sharpo and Shore, 2007).

Eliminating conflict

According to Mouton and Blake (1978), authority obedience managers believe they are the central source of the organization, that they should have complete an ultimate control over all decisions and are not subject to criticism by any subordinate because no one has a sufficiently broad perspective to know the complex considerations that affect the final results. They added that such managers are directed toward eliminating disagreement between the manager and his subordinates before it arrives. Managers often use suppressive tactics to end this disagreement and conflict between employer and subordinate before it accelerates and accumulates, generating prolonged anger and frustration (Mountain and Black, 1997). These practices often suppress subordinates' anger and the more intense the anger, the more likely is the subordinate to engage in anti-organizational activities.

The data analysis suggests that managers used not to consult with their subordinates when taking decisions, even those who were directly responsible for these occupational interests.

Union representative comments:

“Before the revolution decisions were taken in one direction; any disagreement with the boss represented a threat to employees; whoever objected would have faced many of the suppression means including managerial penalties such as demotion, reducing financial bonus and even police interference.”

Production centered versus people centered orientation

Mouton and Blake (1978) stated that since managers lead with and through people, the assumptions they make about people are important in determining managerial effectiveness. Considering this argument, it has been found that managers in Egyptian organizations view people as means of production or corporate machines. Egyptian organizations are an ideal example of production centered organizations where managers' primary concern is to improve the productivity of all factors of production, including the labor force, without regard to the emotional and social needs of people in work. Evidence has shown that failing to realize the human side of work and focusing only on operational and production issues resulted in a negative functioning of the organization. An HR manager comments:

“Any cuts in cost are always at employee's expense. The organization pays minimum concern to issues like social health and insurance. Employees should be permanently hired to have insurance, and this only happens in cases of severe injury.”

The above findings seem to be consistent with Moutin and Blake (1978) who argue that a manager adopting an authority obedience orientation concentrates on maximizing production by exercising power and authority and achieving control over people through compliance. They add that, according to this orientation, whenever a contradiction exists between people and production it is resolved at the expense of people. They believe that individuals in the workplace are no more than building blocks.

Mistreatment and abusive supervision:

Mistreatment is defined as "the interactional, distributive and systematic abuse of employees that takes place at both interpersonal and institutional levels" (Meares, 2004, p.1). According to Floger and Skarlicky (1997), the quality of interpersonal treatment between employees and employers is an important cause for creating anger and resentment in the workplace. Abusive supervision alternatively is defined as "a prolonged hostile treatment of subordinate. Abusive supervision such as sabotage, yelling at and ignoring subordinates often act as a significant threat to employees' wellbeing" (Harris, 2011, p.1010).

One way a company's ethics manifest themselves is in how fairly it treats its employees in the workplace. Unfair treatment and abusive supervision increase job tension, depression, anxiety, reduces morale increases turnover and have negative effects on performance and productivity (Dessler, 2012; Meares, 2004). Dessler argue that there are many reasons why managers should treat employees with dignity and respect "after all, they are people before being employees and managers should treat people with dignity and respect" (Dessler, 2012, p.281). Dessler concluded that Perception of fairness in the workplace leads to enhanced employee commitment, enhanced satisfaction and enhanced organizational citizenship behavior.

Findings from the thematic analysis demonstrate that Egyptian employers often devalue employees and do not show a reasonable degree of attention and care toward employees' health, safe work conditions and wellbeing in the workplace. In general, it has been found that supervisory relationships do not meet employees' expectations.

When asked about the extent to which employers were caring about employees' wellbeing in the workplace, a middle manager comments:

“Unfortunately, the vast majority of employers think that employees should be very grateful because they have a job. So they must not cause any problem for management.”

Another middle manager (I-20) in Elein el Sokhna port stated:

“When you deal with employees in good way you will be surprised by their reaction and response; some of these employees were never treated as human and in a respectable way.”

The previous comment shows the extent to which employees were so longing for respect and appreciation for their effort and performance that this could act as a strong motive to stimulate and improve their performance in the workplace.

Shahinpoor and Matt (2000) have emphasized the harmful consequences of paying the marginal attention to employees' dignity in the workplace they argue that when organizations mistreat their employees they create unethical and toxic environment for organizations members. They added that

by restoring dignity to individual, organizations gain more productive and equal employees and create an environment that promotes critical thinking, learning and commitment to ethics.

(I-20) a customs officer goes further in explaining the interpersonal abuse of bottom line employees in the workplace:

“Managers were treating blue collars as slaves, they never consider them as human beings, and I believe employees will never do their tasks in the right way.”

These views are supported by Rup and Cropanzano (2002), who suggested that treating employees fairly and valuing their work contribution tends to improve their job performance and commitment. According to Aryee (2004), and Hochwarter (2003) employees in the workplace invest their talent and effort in return for tangible rewards (e.g.: pay) and socio-emotional benefits (e.g.: recognition and self-esteem). Results from the data analysis demonstrate that Egyptian employees perceive tangible as well as emotional organizational returns as unfair and unjust. A middle manager (I-16) has expressed all his employment needs in a brief demonstrative statement:

“I only wish to cover my living needs and express my opinion and enjoy justice.”

This raises an important question regarding how these unfulfilled needs (tangible and intangible) might affect employees' performance and their wellbeing in the workplace. The famous Maslow hierarchy theory answers this question; Maslow has noted that if people grow up in an environment in which their needs are not satisfied they will likely perform as unhealthy and unadjusted individuals in their organizations (Greenberg and Baron, 1995). Maslow maintained that unless employees meet their needs on the job they will not function as effectively as possible. Maslow added that the compensation system in any organization should be able to satisfy the basic fundamental needs of employees; it must be sufficient to allow them to afford adequate living conditions. If employees are not able to satisfy their basic needs, they will hardly be able to make much of a contribution to their companies.

Maslow noted that the inability of the employer to satisfy the other needs in the hierarchy, like safety and recognition, would not achieve a secure, sustainable work environment and will lead to negative impacts on employees' perception of

psychological security (ibin). Finally, Shahinpoor et al. (2007) argued that by restoring dignity in the workplace organizations gain more productive and loyal employees, while mistreating employees will create an unethical toxic environment.

Marginalizing the rule of law

The rule of law is defined as "a political and legal convention that dates to antiquity which is aimed at preventing arbitrary decisions by people in power such as those made by monarchs or dictators. Rule according to law is associated with prevention of tyranny" (Pillay, 2014, p.137).

It could be deduced from the previous definition that the main aim of promoting the rule of law in the workplace is to limit illegitimate political power and abusive behavior practiced by managers in the workplace.

According to Aryee (2006, p.4), a "rule-oriented" organization is negatively related to the perception of organizational politics". In a politically oriented climate, like the one dominating Egyptian organizations, managers often view the rule of law as a constraint that restricts their political power since promoting a rule-oriented climate will prevent them from using their political power to exert significant influence and strict control over employees and organizational resources.

Evidence emerged from thematic analysis demonstrate that the rule of law in Egyptian organizations is completely marginalized. Managers often use their positional and connection power to bend laws and customize work rules for their self-interest.

A leading union representative comment:

"The law is double edged; it can be manipulated to pass whatever the management wants."

A large amount of empirical evidence illustrates how high-level managers and other powerful minority groups overwhelm the power of law in Egyptian organizations. When asked about how managers influence the rule of law in Egyptian organizations, a middle manager (I-22) in a prominent private university comments:

"In our university management power was above the law and there was no faith in rules and regulations, laws were passed to protect special groups and to achieve the goals of the top management, so they were translated according to their own interest."

Another middle manager demonstrates the wide gap perceived by employees between posting and

establishing rules in the organization and the actual practice of these rules. He commented:

“There is a wide gap between the written laws and regulation and actual practice of these rules on the ground; for example, there used to be an old saying: employees are the actual owners of the company, but in fact they do not ever receive the least of their rights.”

The reason why rules are neutralized in the workplace was clearly explained by (I- 22):

“It appears that managers are governed by law and rules, yet practicing authority were never by laws but according to managers attitudes and opinions, laws are tailored by managers to serve their own interests and not employees. This gives employees a feeling that they are weak and helpless.”

Statements like translating rules, tailoring laws and management opinions indicate how managers in Egyptian organizations make use of the negative political climate, lacking openness and trust, and intentionally do not clarify and manifest organizational policies, work rules and regulations to their employees. Managers often believe that undefined, ambiguous rules will enable them to legalize illegitimate practices and bend organizational rules to their own advantage.

This view is in agreement with Haq (2001) who argues that when organizations are dominated by political behavior, guiding rules and policies are not clearly defined. In this environment the decision-making process is uncertain, and people make decisions independently based upon their own interpretation.

The political role of the legal affairs department:

The previous findings suggest that rules, policies and regulations do not promote consistent treatment in the workplace; rules are double edged, ambiguous and tailored to serve the interests of special groups at the expense of the other employees.

Evidence suggests that the legal affairs department is perceived by employees as a political tool and oppressive arm of the authority, which often uses legal expertise to legitimize managers' illegitimate practices rather than providing employees with their legitimate rights.

(I-12) a middle manager commented:

“The legal affairs department takes the side of the owner and not employees. In my company (ceramic industry) technicians face many occupational diseases such as lung sclerosis. These technicians are facing a high potential of early retirement. They mainly suffer from legal affairs which try to pay them the least pension.”

In support of (I-12) comment, a leading union representative (I-2) says:

“The legal affairs department in our company is biased to the top management. If I want to prosecute my company I have to go to the administrative prosecution where I can have the chance to plead against the procedures. This cannot be through the legal affairs department.”

These findings have shown that the political climate dominating Egyptian organizations promotes a feeling of inequality and injustice. Rules and regulations in the workplace do not guarantee that all employees are equal before the law or that no person or group has privileged status. It seems that as employees lose faith in the law, their perception of politics and unfairness in the work place becomes heightened and this could explain why employees adopt other violent means to achieve their rights and restore fairness.

The fading perception of justice in the workplace

According to Wang (2010, p.660), "organizational justice concerns employees' perception of fair treatment by an organization, its managers and supervisors". Andrews (2001, p.49) defines organizational justice as "the organizational members' view of the fairness of the distribution of resources". This study considers perception of injustice and unfairness as the root cause for triggering employees' anger and discontent in the work place when viewed in relation to the other causes induced from the negative political climate dominating Egyptian organization prior to the 25th January Revolution 2011. Evidence from the thematic analysis of data suggests that management oppressive behavior, illegitimate use of power, marginalizing the rule of law, lack of transparency, openness and trust are all considered

as sub-causes for the perception of organizational justice, forcing employees to engage in upward influence action in the workplace. The figure below (5.7) illustrates the interrelationship between perception of Justice and the causal conditions triggering employees' anger and discontent in the workplace.

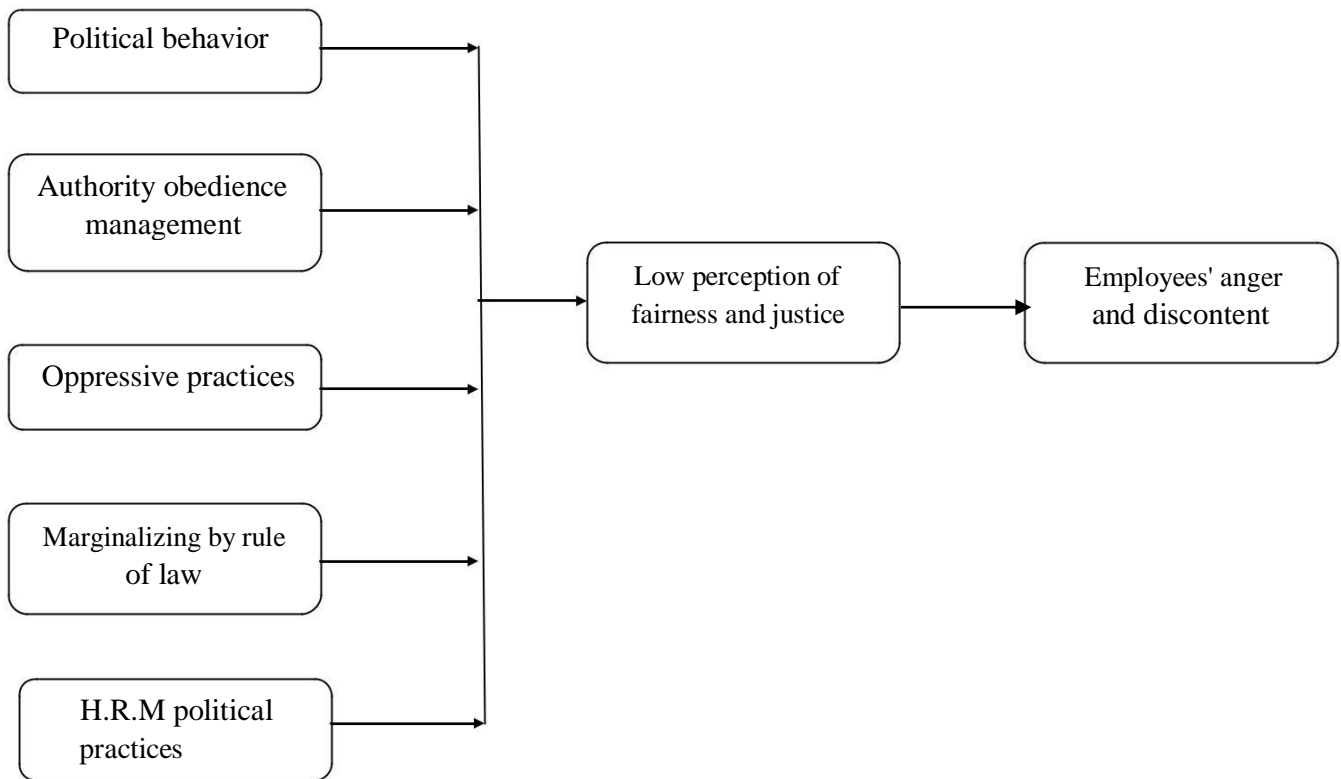


Figure 4.1 the interrelationship between perception of Justice and the causal conditions triggering employees' anger and discontent in the workplace.

Preliminary findings from the field study suggest that employees view justice as high or perhaps the highest priority demand on their agenda. "*All what we need is justice*", this comment was made by one of the protesters when asked about the reasons that motivate him to engage in a strike. When asked about the most frequent demand he experienced in his organization, a union representative (I-2) stated:

"Most of employee's demands were complaints about inequality and justice."

The three pillars of organizational justice

Organizational justice researchers have recognized three main components of organizational justice: procedural, distributive and interactional (Andrews, 2001; Aryee, 2004; and Wang, 2010).

Procedural justice refers to the perceived fairness of the formal organizational policies and procedures used to determine the organization of resources (Andrew, 2001; Rupp and Cropanzano, 2002). Distributive justice refers to the perceived fairness of the allocation of resources by the organization; employees evaluate whether the outcomes they receive as a result of their employment (pay, promotions, and performance appraisal) are fair or not (Andrew, 2001). Interactional justice refers to interactional fairness perceived by employees in the workplace (Ropd and Croperzo, 2002). Hence, researchers argued that interactional justice corresponds to the supervisor, and procedural justice corresponds to the organization.

Interestingly, when injustice stems from an organizational source, employees rebel against the organization and when employees experience injustice from their managers and supervisors they are likely rebel against either the organization as a whole or the person who created injustice (Rupp and Cropanzano, 2002, p.928). This argument by (Rupp and Cropanzano, 2002) supports results from the empirical study. Findings from the data analysis suggest that both the organization and the superior manager was subject to rebellious actions by employees and thus it could be concluded that employees in Egyptian organizations suffer from all three types of injustice in the workplace.

Where the previous sections have focused on investigating the various types of interactional justice experienced by employees (such as abusive supervision, overuse of punishment and management oppressive practices), the text will focus more attention on investigating the various forms of procedural injustice experienced by employees in the workplace.

Procedural injustice and organizational politics:

Organizational justice researchers argue that employees perceive fairness not only in terms of outcomes received but also in terms of the policies and procedures used to determine these outcomes (Folger and Skarlick, 1997, p.435). Kasmar and Andrews (2001) argued that when political climate dominates managerial practices and decisions, and when rules and regulations play a minor role on directing management decisions, the work climate will be

viewed as injustice and unfair. Hence a negative relationship is expected between procedural justice and perception of politics (Skarlick and Folger, 1997).

Negative perception of procedural justice:

According to Ayree (2004, p.2), "organizational politics and procedural justice have been noted to be inextricably intertwined". Before the 25th January Revolution 2011 most of the demands raised by employees were complaints about inequality, justice and special treatment given to certain employees merely because they are highly connected. More recent studies (Aryee, 2004; Ferris, 1992; Folger, 1998; and Vigoda, 2000) have used the theory of procedural justice to argue that political tactics are related to the efficiency of HRM practices in these organizations. In political oriented organizations those with the power to hire, reward and fire would be expected to do so based on their personal judgment rather than standardized rules and procedures. Hence, it could be suggested that fairness in a politically oriented-organizations is related to managers' personal judgment and personal interests, whereas employees were obliged to rely on the sense of fairness of their authoritative managers to ensure that they do what's right by their employers.

The previous arguments by Folger (1998), Vigoda (2000), and Aryee (2004) were supported by findings from the field study: when employees were asked about how they perceive the process and procedures practiced by their managers in determining and allocating wages, allowances and other human resources management advantages, their responses are mostly negative. Most of employees argue that the compensation system in their organization does not put great emphasis on equating workload, skills and qualifications with wages and benefits received by employees.

A couple of employees experienced a very negative perception regarding the unjust procedures of the compensation system in their organizations. A middle manager (I-20) in a governmental institution comments:

“There is a huge gap in salaries for employees in the same foundation; in our foundation some employees are doing the same tasks while receiving different wages, I think the salary law should impose equity between employees not just in earning but in social insurance, medical insurance and social clubs without exceptions or privileges. For instance, a chemical professional in Egyptian pharmaceutical company earns 1000 L.E while the same profession in another private company earns 5000 L.E.”

This comment by (I-20) demonstrates how employees perceive the inequality of earnings for professions with similar job specifications, qualifications and skills as unfair and unjust, greatly emphasizing the huge salary gap between more than seven million employees working in the public sector and their equivalents in the private sector.

The previous comment also helps to explain why protesting actions and mechanisms in public sector organizations were more powerful and destructive than in the private sector. This view is supported by theoretical findings that demonstrate how organizational sustainability in private sector organizations is different from that in the public sector. Rainy (1991), has argued that the patterns of employment, level of administration independency of managers, the nature and features of the problems encountered by employees in public organizations are very different from those in the private sector. Rainy added that in most countries the wages of public servants are lower than these in private sectors, employees' promotion is slower, and rewards are generally not related to work outcomes.

Considering variations in the performance levels

Other empirical evidence suggests that the salary system does not consider variability in work effort, performance, responsibilities and work conditions when determining the fair wage of employees. A middle manager in a large governmental organization stated:

“Some employees work one shift, others work two shifts. Employees should not receive equal payments while they are working in different work conditions and facing different risk levels.”

Unjust perception and violence

Findings from the data analysis explicitly demonstrate that the perception of procedural injustice is the central cause of employees' anger and resentment in the workplace consistent with the ideas of social exchange theory and equity theory. Social exchange theory views the employment relationship as an exchange process where employees exchange their talent and effort in return for pay, self-esteem and recognition (Ayree, 2000, p.1). Employees seek to obtain favorable returns from this exchange process. According to equity theory, if a person perceives inequity between his contribution in the workplace and its reward, a tension or drive will develop in the employee's mind, and he will be motivated to eliminate this tension and inequity (Dessler, 2005).

A large amount of literature has discussed the impact of organizational injustice and unfair treatment on employees' behavior (Dessler, 2005; Rupp and Cropanzano, 2002; and Vegoda, 2000). The literature offers a complementary key reason why employees engaged in violent upward influence actions against their organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January

Revolution 2011. They all argue that when employees experience unjust practices in the workplace, they experience feelings of anger, outrage and resentment (Folger, 1997; Greenberg, 1990). Rupp and Cruponze (2002, p.928) argue that when injustice comes from an organizational source, employees retaliated against the organization. In support of Rupp and Cropanzano's argument, Skarlicki and Folger (1997) noted that unjust treatment can elicit a desire for retribution and the harmed party often experiences a need to punish those blamed for the problem.

Summary:

The present section has investigated the underlying causes of employees' anger and discontent that led to the occurrence of the central phenomenon of the study that was discussed in the previous section. The analysis in this section has focused attention on discussing the severe negative consequences of organizational politics and considered it the root cause of other factors triggering employees' discontent in the post revolution period such as: lack of transparency, marginalizing the rule of law, lack of complaint channels and political HRM practices. The findings in this chapter clearly illustrate the impact of these causal factors on the perception of fairness and justice in the workplace, forcing employees to engage in upward influence actions to restore fairness and attain their violated rights. In the next section, findings demonstrate the organizational outcomes and consequences that resulted from these upward influence actions practiced by employees in the workplace.

Part three: consequences of the revolutionary transformation

Introduction:

So far, this chapter has investigated in part one the nature, feature and characteristics of the revolutionary transformation triggered in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution 2011 that set the central phenomenon to which all other themes and categories are related. Part two of this chapter investigated the causal conditions that led to the occurrence of this central phenomenon of revolutionary transformation. The final part of this chapter discusses and describes the consequences and outcomes that resulted from the drastic transformation that erupted in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the revolution. Findings in this part best address the following research question: -What are the major managerial and behavioral consequences resulted from the revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organizations?

This part is divided into four main sections each discussing one of the main categories or properties of the organizational consequences that emerged from the thematic analysis of the data:

- 1- The emergence of a new paradigm of power.
- 2- The new evolving human resources management practices.
- 3- Freedom of expression and upward communication.
- 4- Destruction of employment relationships.
- 5- Employees' awareness of their rights.

The emergence of a new power paradigm in the workplace:

The first section in the first part of this chapter discussed the drastic shift in the paradigm of power initiated by the Egyptian revolution considering it the principle change agent triggering organizational transformation in the workplace. It investigated how this change agent was efficiently employed by employees to create a rapid and radical transformation in Egyptian organizations. This section now demonstrates the managerial and job-related consequences that resulted from these changes in the power bases and patterns of power in the workplace.

Evidence emerged from the thematic analysis demonstrate that one of the major incremental consequences resulting from the intense socio-political transformation triggered by the Egyptian Revolution was the drastic shift in the paradigm of power and authority in the workplace. Power was forced downward to the bottom line employees. Employees rapidly united and formed groups

and alliances to achieve their goals and demands and consequently, new independent unions were established by Egyptian employees.

In general, it has been found that the power and influence of trade unions in the workplace diminished completely over the 30 years preceding the Egyptian Revolution. Employees viewed the newly established entities as an effective means to represent their demands and protect their rights in the workplace. The independent union gave employees more power in directing and controlling managerial decisions concerning employees' interests as well as initiating new organizational policies, practices and strategies aimed at achieving their demands and pursuing their goals. The advent of independent unions is considered one of the most important indicators of the growing power of employees within the Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the revolution.

The power of unionization

A considerable amount of research provides evidence that unionization is considered as one of the most important means that enhances employees' power in the workplace (Mouton and Blak 1979; Sherman and Bohlander 1992; and Davis, 1996). Many published studies have attempted to illustrate why employees unionize, yet there is no simple answer. Although pursuing improvements in pay levels could be important factor, it is not the only one (Dessler, 2012). Employees mainly join unions when there is a general dissatisfaction with managerial policies and practices (Sherman and Bohander, 1992). According to Leshner (2012, p.1638) — Being part of a union gives employees a more powerful voice and more political strength to advocate for issues of benefit for employees, Dessler (2012) has noted that where employees believe that organizational policies and rules are administered unfairly, they are more likely to turn to a union as a source of assistance. Furthermore, employees were more likely to join a union when they perceive the effectiveness of the union in the areas of wages, benefits and protection against unfair dismissals. Unions also play a significant role in grievance development by the way they both lead and follow workers (Gall, 2008, p.3; Dessler, 2000). Motives for unionization seem to emerge in the workplace to protect employees from unfair and oppressive practices exercised by employers.

Mouton and Blak (1979) contend that when employees find themselves ignored and their work marginalized, when they are subject to arbitrary practices, and they lack sufficient power to correct wrongs and unfair treatment, they believe that joining together in a union offers them the power to force employers to comply their demands and recognize their strength.

The post revolution union

Although the arguments above all favored joining unions, findings from the thematic analysis demonstrate that employees in Egyptian organization often paid little attention to joining unions in the period preceding the Egyptian revolution. Employees perceived labor unions as an ineffective means of defending their rights and improving their employment conditions. For instance (I-13) a middle manager commented:

“Labor unions weren't helping us. Their effectiveness was only apparent in activities like trips and social activities.”

It has been found that due to wrongful and ineffective political practices by the government and syndicate leaders, employees did not obtain any perceptible benefits from joining labor unions, often believing that unions did not represent them or pursue their employment ambitions.

The political practices of the pre-revolution union

Evidence from the research findings illustrate the political nature of the activities and practices by the syndicate leaders in the period preceding the revolution and that the pre-revolution union was acting against the interests of its members being totally biased to the interests of employers and the government. When asked if he witnessed any positive role of the old union in the period preceding the revolution (I-15) an employee in the public transportation foundation comments:

“All unions were working under political affiliation and were subject to the security authorities. Employees do not select their representatives in unions. These unions are not seeking to meet employees' needs and demands; they are chosen to be lawful for the government and the State Security”.

In support of this, when a middle manager was asked if he perceived any differences in purposes and practices of the pre-revolutionary union and the one initiated after the revolution, he commented:

“Employees' faith and trust in labor unions was weak because they have developed an attitude that members whom they elect usually sell them out to the authorities, so the employees doubt the union members and have negative feelings towards them. Accordingly, employees' faith and trust in the independent unions was acquired after suffering from the mistakes of the previous unions.”

This illustrates the extent to which the pre-revolution unions were subjugated by the government and top management and were normally acting against the interests of their members. However, this contradicts Roeber (1975) who noted that in general unions are perceived to be acting against the government but as far as they concerned they are merely acting in the interest of their own members.

Overall, the findings extracted from interviewees' comments showed that the pre-revolution unions were seen by employees to be acting in the interest of the government and the leaders of the union and against the interest of their own members.

The power of Independent union

It has been found that the power and influence of trade unions in the workplace diminished completely over the 30 years preceding the Egyptian revolution. Employees during the era of the pre-revolution union sustained arbitrary, illegitimate political practices and suffered from complete ignorance of their problems and demands. All of these factors motivated employees to establish the independent union to represent their demands and protect their rights. A union representative (I-2) comments:

“Then we had an independent entity to claim our rights and demands which gave us power to discuss and negotiate, honestly. We all had benefited from it.”

Defending employees' rights

When asked about the reasons for initiating an independent union, a leading union representative (I-1) comments:

“We thought of forming an independent union to defend our rights and we do not have any representation at, or privileges of, the management which does not admit our presence.”

This revealed that employees were encouraged to join the newly established union after managers in Egyptian organizations failed to recognize and respond to their legitimate demands or give them the opportunity to participate in decisions affecting their welfare.

Recognition of the independent union

One of the success signs of the revolution was that the Independent union started to gain acknowledgement and formal representation. A union representative (I-2) comments:

“Ministry of Manpower has acknowledged the independent unions. So, the senior management in my company have started meeting with them; these unions are beginning to have an almost acknowledged structural framework”

The previous comment demonstrates how the growing role played by the independent union in initiating employees' issues and articulating grievances has forced the formal authorities to offer the newly established union a formal structure and an acknowledged representation.

Effective organization and communication of the independent unions:

The thematic analysis demonstrates that the ability of the independent unions to effectively communicate with its members, to form employees' networks, organize demonstrations and call for strikes are considered the most powerful weapons used by the union to exert pressure upon employers. The narrative by (I-2) clearly reveals the superior organization and the communication capabilities of the independent union:

“The secretary of Containers Company employees, Mr. Y/M, is the head of 177 independent employees' unions across the country in the form of the Democratic Union of Egypt's workers. His activities are spread across the country from Assiout in the south of Egypt to Alexandria in the north and from Sinai to the Libyan borders and he holds large meetings for many workers. We have received training courses from the ITF after the revolution and these helped us in establishing communication committees for development and for us, as a union, communication with the employees is the most important element.”

These managerial and communication capabilities enable the headquarters of the independent union in Cairo, regardless of the geographical diversification of the subsidiary unions, to effectively administer the activities of these subsidiary unions and drive collective influence actions encompassing all of these subsidiary unions.

The emerging power of the syndicate leader

The power and influence of the independent union was expanded from discussing employment issues, pursuing employees' benefits and defending their rights at the functional level, to directing and participating in making strategic decisions at the corporate level. This was clearly demonstrated by a managerial expert who stated:

“The employees' syndicate chairmen within the companies have massive powers and an active role in decision making.”

Coercive power of the independent union

The power of the independent union grew inexorably after the Egyptian revolution and become strong enough to resist not only the will of top management but that of the elected government. A human resource manager commented:

“The unions kept pushing employees demands by threatening the management to demonstrate and strike. And with such threats the management had to give in to some demands. The top management feared losing their positions.”

This supports the ideas of Sherman and Bohlander (1992, p.3) who noted that where employees are organized into unions, employers can encounter costly collective bargaining proposals, strike threat and changes to unfair labor practices.

The real influence of the independent union stems from its powerful collective voice in the workplace and its forceful ability to organize demonstrations or call for strikes in circumstances where collective bargaining and negotiations fails to fulfill their demands. In general, the findings discussed so far are consistent with those of Leshner (2012), Mouton and Robert (1979) and Petch (2009). All have emphasized the significant role of the employees' collective voice derived from unionization in enhancing employees' power, protecting their rights and resisting arbitrary organizational practices.

Emotional response rather than a cultural change

One of the surprising comments was that presented by (I-2) a leading union representative when asked if employees still believe in a charismatic personality to lead them or if they now believe in the power of the group:

“No, their confidence is always in a person and when such a personality collapses the whole entity collapses.”

This suggests that the drastic changes that emerged in Egyptian organizations was no more than an emotional response to a tremendous socio-political change triggered by the Egyptian revolution rather than a sustainable cultural change.

Overall it can be concluded from the above findings that before the 25th January Revolution Egyptian 2011 employees perceived the union as ineffective in defending their rights and improving employment conditions. The old union did not recognize and promote workers' preferences and

demands; it was mainly appointed by the government rather than democratically elected by its members. Hence, it did not in fact represent its members or act in their interests; its practices and decisions were usually biased and directed toward achieving the interests of the government and the national democratic ruling parties to which most of the syndicate leaders belonged.

Due to the political nature of this appointed union, employees believed that the union does not represent them, and did not expect the union to advocate any relevant issues of benefit to employees. Employees' past experience regarding activities of the union seems to corroborate this view since they did not experience any noticeable improvement in their working conditions. More importantly they did not perceive any serious attempts to defend employees' rights and protect them against arbitrary oppressive managerial practices like unfair dismissals.

The period since the revolution experienced a radical shift in the employees/union relationship. Employees' motivation to unionize seems to surface in Egyptian organizations after experiencing the drastic transformation produced by the massive waves of protests at that time. Employees in Egyptian organizations have perceived the power of bonding and unionization to be the most effective tool to pursue their goals and force their employers to comply with their demands. They believe that it is only through unity that they can protect themselves from potential unfair treatment and oppressive managerial practices in the workplace. Employees have experienced practically how the independent union has succeeded in these aims.

The new evolving human resources management practices

Findings from the data analysis demonstrated that the successive waves of protests and other upward influence tactics fostered by employees in Egyptian businesses and state agencies in the workplace succeeded in forcing the administration to adopt completely new human resources management policies, practices and strategies. For the first-time employees were involved in the process of formulating policies and programs consistent with their unfulfilled needs and desires. Employees experienced radical improvements in issues such as payments, reward systems, financial and nonfinancial allowances, health care, housing, transportation and work conditions. It is arguable that these changes reflect the new orientation adopted by the administration to create a new participative work environment. It could be seen as an obligatory response to the successive strikes and demonstrations practiced by employees in the workplace.

The memo in appendix (5-b) represents a list of demands raised by workers of the public transportation foundation in Alexandria to the governor there after a strike lasting for more than 10 days. Surprisingly, all of the demands put to the governor were approved.

The previous memo clearly demonstrates how employees were able to make use of the favorable work climate after the revolution to push all their needs and demands. Employees succeeded in obtaining financial as well as non-financial benefits as a result of the upward influence pressure exerted on their management. However, it may be seen from the above memo that the majority of the demands raised by employees were financial demands rather than non-financial ones.

Improvements in work conditions

Other evidence has shown how employees have experienced substantial improvements in work conditions after the 25th January Revolution 2011. For instance, doctors have seen noticeable improvements in health budgets and work conditions after their important strike in 2013. Protesting doctors succeeded in forcing the government to approve aid of 750 million pounds to improve working conditions as well as the quality of the medical services (Aisam, 2014).

The previous findings seem to be consistent with Metcalf 's (1993) argument for the impact of employees' protests on wage settlement. Metcalf reported that real wage settlements involving strikes were higher than those without. Metcalf added that for a ten-year period (1979-1988), real pay increases where there was a strike were 0.7 % a year higher than settlements without a strike.

Upward communication and freedom of expression:

As mentioned in the previous part (The new evolving human resources management practices), one of the main triggers for employees' anger and discontent in the workplace was lack of freedom of expression and of an effective complaint system through which employees could raise complaints and express their needs. Managers' oppressive practices and abusive supervision had promoted a climate which prohibited employees from expressing their opinions and raising their complaint. (I-10) A middle manager commented:

“Before the 25th January we had no ability to knock on the manager's door. We all know that the manager will refuse to talk with us. In present days everyone can talk to the manager directly and without any mediator.”

This finding further supports the idea of Heery and Noon (2008) who asserted that when the employees' voice is not heard or is ignored, and their employers do not respond to their demands, employees suffer from discontent in the workplace. Rosenblatt (1997) also pointed out that employees will be extremely dissatisfied if they do not participate in issues, decisions and policies that directly affect them.

Freedom of expression

Findings from the data analysis demonstrated that, after the revolution, employees have broken the barrier of fear that used to hinder them from expressing their opinions and raising their complaint to their managers. For instance, a middle manager said:

“As the barrier of fear demolished, employees show great desire to express their opinions.”

Another middle manager stated:

“Before the 25th January Revolution we had no ability to knock on a manager's door, we know that he will refuse to talk with us; after the Revolution any and everyone believes that he can say what he wants in a loud voice; managers often respond before employees engage in strikes.”

The previous comments indicate that employers after the 25th January Revolution 2011 have initiated new organizational systems and policies that encourage upward communication, like suggestion boxes, direct meetings and company's publications. It seems that managers adopted these new techniques and channels in order to defuse employees' work pressure anger and frustration before it transformed into a more violent form. Managers were eventually able to recognize and realize employees' influence capacity in the workplace; this was clearly illustrated in the following statement by one of the protestors:

“Managers often respond before employees engage in strikes.”

Findings from data analysis demonstrated that the new post revolution climate emerged in Egyptian organizations has encouraged employees to construct new changes aligned with their needs and demands. These findings were consistent with the work of Lupton (1991), Rahim (1994) and Yoon (2012) who suggested that when employees are able their views and concerns in the work place this proactively challenges the status quo and makes positive changes in their organization.

Negative effect on production and employment relationship

As mentioned in the first section, protesting employees have been able to achieve noticeable improvements in issues like salary raise, profits distribution, job security, promotions and job benefits. They have also succeeded in eliminating the abusive penalty systems, reactivated the complaint system and enhanced organizational freedom. Alternatively, considerable evidence from the data analysis demonstrates the negative destructive consequences resulting from the intense social and political conflict perceived by employees and employers in the workplace. Stopping

production, destroying facilities and damaging employees/employers' relationships are the most prominent examples of these destructive consequences.

Negative impact on business survival:

Evidence from the industrial field demonstrates that violent strikes in Egypt forced several factories to close and dismiss their labor force. It also drove other investments to move to more peaceful places. For example, an export manager in a multinational company asserts:

“After the 25th of January owners have reconsidered their investment, since labor demands have led to higher salaries, so they cannot keep their competitive price, these companies hinder business and achieve losses.”

Damaging employment relationships:

According to Bardwell and Calydon (2010), employment relationship should be seen as a process of socio-economic exchange that includes an economic component but more importantly social and emotional dimensions.

After the collapse of the Mubarak regime, intense violent strikes and demonstrations erupted in many Egyptian organizations (Amen, 2012; Ashour, 2012; and Maqbool, 2013). These actions forced the resignation of a series of ministers, governors, university deans and CEOs in private and public sectors organizations. *“They were standing on the way of our demands.”* This statement was frequently repeated by protestors to justify the violent protests against their managers. It has been found that threatening managers' positions and undermining their status is considered the primary cause for damaging employees/employers relationships. These findings seem to be consistent with other theoretical findings by John (1990) who suggested that violent upward influence approaches practiced by employees are found to have a negative effect on the maintenance of supervisor/subordinate relationships and influence performance appraisal.

Employees' awareness of their rights

A middle manager made this comment when asked about the main changes that he experienced in his organization in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011:

“After the revolution, we started paying attention to laws and regulations that declare our rights, we never used to read the work guide and labor law. I started to read it carefully to understand the rules and to know my rights and now I can get them.”

The previous comment clearly indicates that employees after the revolution are more aware of their rights and duties, it seems that employees after the revolution will no longer tolerate being treated as numbers; they refuse the marginalizing of their role and they will no longer accept "I give orders, you carry them out". They expect more participation and involvement especially in issues that directly affect them.

It may be concluded from the previous findings that Egyptian organizations have experienced a drastic shift in managerial approach in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011, It seems that employees were able to replace the old authority obedience management approach with a new rule-oriented one that places the rule of law, and the power of rules, over the illegitimate power of managers.

Summary:

This part of the findings discussed the major managerial and behavioral consequences and outcomes emerged in Egyptian organizations as a result of the intense upward power actions (actions/interaction strategy) fostered by employees to force their managers comply their demands.

Overall, findings illustrated that organizational members perceived these changes from different perspectives. Where's bottom line employees and blue collars view these consequences as a valuable opportunity to attain their rights and improve their work conditions. Employers perceive these consequences as extremely unfavorable as it threatens their position, undermine their statues and causes severe harms to the organizational outcomes. The next chapter presents the overall conclusion of the thesis as well as discussing the limitations of the research as well as the recommended future research.

Part four: Contribution to knowledge

This section attempts to explain how the developed grounded theory makes a significant contribution to knowledge and covers three main areas:

- 1- Theoretical contribution to the body of knowledge in the areas of organizational theory, organizational behavior, human resources management and organizational sociology.
- 2- Methodological implications.
- 3- Managerial implications.

Theoretical contribution:

1- Bridging a knowledge gap in organizational change literature

One of the most important contributions of this study is the integration of the macro phenomenon of social revolution with the micro phenomenon of organizational transformation. The study contributes to the current knowledge and understanding concerning the impact of social and political turbulence acting as a change agent on the development of new organizational transformations similar, and equivalent, to that which emerged in the socio-political context.

The substantive theory developed in this study demonstrated that the socio-political turbulence triggered by the 25th January Revolution 2011 is the principle driver initiating the waves of changes (values, behavior, patterns of power and work practices) in Egyptian organizations. According to He (2004), the rationale of grounded theory is to discover a model in areas where little is known or to provide an alternative/affirmative theory concerning the focal issue. The emergent theory of the current study extends understanding in areas of organizational change in its relationship with socio-political changes in its external environment.

For example, the emergent theory largely confirms the conceptual argument of organizational change literature that organizational practices are socially embedded as they reflect the socio-political environment in which they exist and are used (Simon, 2008; Cheng, 1983; Hofstede, 1991; Sherman & Bohlander, 1992; and Watson, 2012). Findings from the thematic analysis display a high degree of alignment between the nature and features of the revolutionary transformations found by this analysis and the one described in the literature of revolution. In addition, it confirms, and adds to, the existing understanding of the interrelationship between social, political and organizational change. The research went further by expanding this understanding to the sociopolitical forces acting upon organizations to create changes in these organizations. When reviewing the literature for gaps in the general field of organizational change, findings illustrate that a large volume of

research has been done on investigating the relationship between the socio-political context and work practices, values and behaviour of organizational members (Burnes and Jackson, 2011; Cheng, 1983; Hofstede, 1991; Sherman, & Bohlander, 1992; and Watson, 2012). However, there is an absence of research that attempts to explore and investigate the expected impact of social revolution acting as a socio-political change agent on creating new managerial practices, patterns of power and behaviour in the workplace; this is the main focus of the current study. It could be concluded from the following that; the current research covers an important gap in the literature of organizational change in particular and in the literature of revolution in general. This bridging of the knowledge gap in the literature of organizational change is one of the most important contributions of this research.

2- Social Violence and Workplace Violence

The current study has shown that Egyptian organizations before the 25th January Revolution 2011 experienced a peaceful, sustainable atmosphere until violence started to surface in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the Egyptian uprisings. Violent strikes and other coupled violent tactics are viewed as one of the most powerful but destructive weapons used by employees against their employers. Violent strikes cause severe damage to production facilities, company's reputation and force some factories to close. Preliminary evidence from the empirical study, supported by other theoretical evidence from the literature of revolution, suggest that the social violence that emerged in Egypt in the aftermath of the revolution is one of the key causes for triggering workplace violence in Egyptian organizations.

According to the researcher's awareness there has been no research in the field of organizational behaviour that attempts to explore the potential interrelationship between social violence and organizational violence and further studies need to be conducted to confirm and substantiate the findings of the current work. This research starts to bridge an important knowledge gap within the fields of sociology, human resources management and organizational behaviour by directing the attention of business scholars and sociologists to this unexplored area.

3- Social Conflict and Work Conflict

Findings supported by existing literature suggest that class conflict in Egyptian society is the root cause of the workplace conflict that rapidly elevated in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the revolution. The ideas of Marxism have been of particular importance in this context. Marx

believed that business owners, which he called capitalists, exploit and abuse the labour force (the proletariat) to peruse profit. Marx added that these people sell their labor for paltry wages and are exposed to unjust practices. Marx argued that such a system will inevitably lead to class conflict between capitalists and the proletariat, believing that this system would lead to feelings of alienation for the workers (Torrance, 1995). In support of these ideas, Alexander (2015) argued that class conflict and the wide gap between the rich and the poor in Egypt is one of the major social causes of the Egyptian revolution.

Drawing on the work of Marx and Alexander, this study describes a picture of the failed post revolution employment relationship between employees and employers, and suggests that the severe social conflict in Egyptian society could be strongly considered as a potential cause of the clash between workers and business owners in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011. However, further research needs to be conducted to substantiate and enrich these findings.

Methodological contribution

Using grounded theory to explore the phenomenon of revolutionary transformation in unexplored context

In order to understand the nature and features of the organizational transformation within the revolutionary social context triggered by the Egyptian Revolution, and to interpret it on a more suitable theoretical framework, this thesis has responded by using grounded theory to generate a substantive theory of transformation in a turbulent, dynamic socio-political context like the one triggered by the Egyptian revolution. As social revolution in Egypt is a new and still evolving phenomenon bridging the knowledge gap (given the absence of integrated theories investigating the impact of social revolution on developing organizational transformations) the choice of methodology seems to be weighted in favor of adopting grounded theory.

According to the researcher's awareness, there is an absence of studies in Egypt that attempt to use this methodology as a theory building approach. Moreover, until now there is no accredited or agreed translation in Arabic for the term grounded theory. Grounded theory is still not widely used in the management research literature in general (Allan, 2003; Parker and Roffey, 1990).

As such, this work has extended grounded theory research by utilizing it as a research methodology relevant to the exploration of the phenomenon of organizational transformation within a rapidly moving turbulent context.

Managerial implications

After the 25th January Revolution 2011, strikes and demonstrations have become a regular part in everyday life in Egyptian organizations. It seems that Egyptian employees after the revolution appear to be a time bomb, ready to explode at any time.

Findings from the empirical study demonstrate that employers in Egyptian organizations in both public and private sectors encountered a number of destructive consequences resulting from the waves of angry protest practiced by employees in the workplace. These consequences ranged from damaging production facilities, forcing factories to close, assaulting managers, destructing employment relationship and ruining companies' reputations. Findings suggest that employers and policy makers in the Egyptian government failed to understand, realize and cope with the causes or triggers of employees' anger; they failed to realize the violent potential of employees and missed warning signs and indicators of potential actions by angry workers. This thesis suggests that if managers had been able to properly understand and address these warning signs and potential violence indicators, they would have been able to align the policies, strategies and actions of their organizations with the new revolutionary changes that emerged in the workplace.

The output from the substantive theory and the paradigm model of the study has clearly addressed nine causes or triggers that drive employees to engage in violent protests in the aftermath of the Egyptian revolution. This research suggests that these triggers could provide a clear picture to employers, business owners and policy makers in private and public institutions of how to predict and read the signs of a potential rebellion in the workplace and promote the necessary changes in organizational system policies and strategies that are needed to effectively cope and survive in a turbulent socio-political environment.

One of the significant implications and innovations of the substantive theory of this research is the development of a behavioral workplace indicator assessing the causes and triggers that drive employees to engage in violent actions against their organization. This research argues that the potential violence indicator (PVI) designed in this study will enable employers and policy makers to predict and recognize signs of potential rebellious action by understanding the main causes of anger and to take the early preventive and corrective activities to limit the catastrophic consequences of these actions.

Chapter Five: Conclusion, limitation and future research

Summary of research findings.

This chapter presents the overall conclusion of the thesis. This study has investigated the phenomenon of revolutionary transformation within the turbulent social and political context of the 25th January Revolution 2011. The emergent substantive theory has thoroughly analyzed and discussed the nature, features, causes and consequences of the revolutionary transformation which constitute the central part of the thesis in chapter four.

In part one of Chapter four (Research Findings) the study described and explained the scope of change and the main features of the revolutionary transformations in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011. The study clearly demonstrates the severe shift in patterns of power and authority, the new social and behavioral patterns, the upward power tactics fostered by employees to achieve these changes and the major demands claimed by employees during their protests. In part two of Chapter Four (Causes of employees' anger and discontent), the researcher investigated the underlying causes of employees' anger and discontent that led to the occurrence of the central phenomenon of the study discussed earlier. The analysis in this section focused more attention on discussing the severe negative dysfunctional consequences of organizational politics. Such negative political climate is considered in this study as the root cause of employees' discontent in the workplace. Results have shown that the negative political climate in Egyptian organizations reinforce, and in some cases, creates other causes of anger and discontent such as lack of transparency, marginalizing the rule of law, lack of complaint channels and political human resources management practices. Findings in this chapter clearly illustrate the impact of these causal factors on deepening the feeling of injustice and inequality in Egyptian organizations which drives employees to engage in upward influence actions to restore fairness and attain their violated rights.

Part three discussed the incremental positive and negative consequences resulting from the revolutionary transformation that emerged in Egyptian organizations in the two years following the revolution. Evidence emerged from the thematic analysis to demonstrate a drastic shift in the paradigm of power and authority in the workplace. Power was forced downward to the bottom line employees, who rapidly united, forming groups and alliances to force their employers to comply with their demands. In doing so, employees created a new union to defend their rights. The Independent union is considered one of the major gains achieved by Egyptian employees in the aftermath of the Egyptian Revolution. This independent union enhances employees' power and increases their influence capacity in the workplace. Other evidence from the research findings

suggest that protesting employees have been able to achieve noticeable improvements in issues such as salary rise, profits distribution, job security, promotions and job benefits. Alternatively, the evidence also demonstrates the negative destructive consequences resulting from the intense upward influence actions practiced by employees in the workplace.

This thesis has achieved the objective of this study which was to build a substantive theory of the impact of the 25th January Revolution 2011 on developing new organizational transformations in the patterns of power, authority, behavior and work practices. The study empirically demonstrates the utilization of grounded theory to build a theoretical framework (paradigm model) to address and explain the interrelationships between the central phenomenon (revolutionary transformation), its causes and consequences within the context of the turbulent socio-political change triggered by the 25th January Revolution 2011.

Overall, the results of this study demonstrate that causes, features and consequences of the drastic transformations that emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution 2011, display high degree of similarity with causes, features and consequences of the general socio-political changes triggered by revolutions. This will be thoroughly discussed in the next section. After providing a critical discussion of the research findings, this chapter then moves to discuss the contribution of these findings at the theoretical, methodological and managerial levels.

The results of this study demonstrate how managers and employees have failed to manage an effective change in their organizations and utilize positive outcomes from these changes at individual and organizational levels. The research provides some recommendations to business owners and policy makers in Egypt of how to effectively manage and make best use of the organizational changes that emerged in their organizations within the turbulent and rapidly changing context they experienced in the aftermath of the revolution. In this final chapter, conclusions are drawn from the macro and micro perspective that demonstrate the general socio-political changes produced in Egyptian society, showing the specific impacts of these changes on Egyptian organizations. The research finally highlights the limitations that have been revealed and also suggests some directions for further research.

Research conclusion

This study produced results which, to a large extent, corroborate the findings of much of the previous work in the field of revolutions and organizational change. The results of the present research have clearly demonstrated how the Egyptian revolution acted as a severe socio-political change agent generating substantial waves of change to reformulate the economic, political and institutional structure of Egyptian society.

It has been found from the thematic analysis of data that the intense socio-political changes triggered by the 25th January Revolution 2011 empowered individuals and groups within Egyptian organizations to adopt equivalent and similar changes to those that emerged in the socio-political sphere. The results of this study also indicate that the new evolving value system caused by the Egyptian revolution was promptly embedded in Egyptian organizations in terms of new values, behavior, patterns of power and work practices. Since the main causes, drivers and motives that triggered these transformations in the workplace were to a large extent similar to the social causes of anger and discontent that led to the revolution, it may be concluded that the organizational transformations in Egyptian organizations was a revolutionary response to the drastic changes in the post-revolution socio-political context.

Causes of discontent in Egyptian society and Egyptian organizations

It has been found that leading authorities in Egyptian organizations, as well as in the pre-revolution ruling regime, were exercising similar authoritarian and political practices to enhance their power and domination and to ensure high levels of discipline and obedience. The research suggests that oppressive practices adopted by the pre-revolution ruling regime formed one of the key reasons for people anger and discontent in both Egyptian society and Egyptian organizations.

Authoritarian rule in Egypt: Roots of authoritarian management

Results of this study suggest that the authoritarian managerial style as practiced in Egyptian organizations is similar to that practiced in military institutions; the research participants believed that the arbitrary and oppressive practices adopted by their managers were tightly related to the oppressive tyrannical practices fostered by the pre-revolutionary political regime. The results suggest that social and political suppression by the authoritarian military regime that dominated Egypt before the 25th January revolution 2011 was a potential cause of authoritarian management and oppressive practices in Egyptian organizations. These results seem to be consistent with the

work of Zedan (2013) who argued that it is due to the military hegemony that took power in Egypt in 1952 that the Egyptian style of management has been affected by the military style. He added that the military system is hierarchical by default, and favors routine, authority, blind obedience to superior orders and veneration of the higher ranks in the hierarchy. These characteristics are very prominent in the style of the Egyptian manager. Further theoretical support for Zedan's argument comes from the work of Gall (2008) who argued that employers often leverage their power in the workplace when aided by state power. Gall added that power exerted by employers reduces workers' control and increases their own control.

Other support to this argument comes from Stanford prison experiment by Zimbardo (Chery, 2015). He demonstrated the powerful role that the situation and circumstances can play in human behaviour. Zimbardo argued that when people were placed in a position of power, they began to behave in ways that they would not do in their normal lives or in other situations. Alternatively, when people were placed in a situation where they had no real control, they became passive and depressed. The results of this experiment argued that in this situation, individual experience (situational attribution) rather than the internal characteristics of the individual (dispositional attribution) caused people to behave in a certain manner (Chery, 2015).

Destructing the social and the psychological contract.

This research suggests that the people in power in both Egyptian organizations and the Egyptian government did not pay much concern to people's basic needs and their legitimate rights. They were extensively abusing their positional power to maximize their own gains and to protect the interests of the dominant minority groups at the expense of the majority. They failed to fulfil their political, legal and moral obligations to meet people's basic needs and expectations. These findings seem to be consistent with the ideas of the social and psychological contract which clearly demonstrates the mutual roles and duties arising from the relationship between authority and the individual either as a member of society or as an organizational member.

Overall, this study suggests that the breaking of this social and psychological contract violated the basic principles of justice and equality in both Egyptian society and Egyptian organizations and was the main cause of the actions in Egyptian society as well as in Egyptian organizations and institutions.

Destructing the social contract

A social contract is a voluntary agreement for mutual benefit between the community and the government that assigns and secures the fundamental rights of society members, and is based on the

principle of justice (Flathman, 1973, p.223). Flathman added that civil disobedience often occurs if the majority of people perceive a severe breach in the concept of justice. The findings of this study agree with the principles of social contract theory as presented by Flathman.

For many years' people in Egypt suffered from poor living conditions, education and health care, autocratic government practices and police brutality (Harding, 2011; Human rights, 2007; and Sobhi, 2011). They found that all the legitimate and democratic means to attain their rights and improve social and political life in Egypt were blocked. It seems that they had no mechanism but to revolt in order to achieve these rights and demands. People's claims were mainly to improve their living conditions, with fair elections, more social justice and real participation in political life; they were also demanding new constitutional laws and rules not slanted toward the interests of those in power and particular interest groups, to guarantee that everyone is equal before the law and that no person or group has privileged status (Pillary, 2014).

Overall, it could be concluded that violating people's rights and failing to satisfy their basic needs was the main cause of the severe socio-cultural frustration, discontent and unrest experienced by people in Egypt in the period proceeding 25th January Revolution 2011.

Destructing psychological contracts

According to Jim (2009, p.3) a psychological contract is defined as a series of mutual benefits embedded in beliefs of mutual obligations and needs arising from an organization-individual relationship. Social exchange theory argues that both parties' employees and employers should pursue mutual benefits when dealing with each other's this relationship should be characterized by trust (Coil-Shapiro and Shoir, 2007). Armstrong (1988) has outlined the key expectations an employee may expect from his employers: to be treated fairly, to have security in employment, to be rewarded equitably in accordance with their contribution and to have opportunities for further growth. Armstrong added that the mismatch between employees' and employers' expectations can destroy the psychological contract creating conflict, confusion, dissatisfaction and poisoning employment relationships. According to Skarlicki and Folger (1997), when employees felt exploited by the company they were more likely to commit negative acts and other illegitimate activities to correct the perception of injustice. In agreement with the work of Armstrong (1988) and Skarlicki and Folger (1997), findings from the empirical study demonstrated that bottom line employees, particularly blue collars, suffered severely from cumulative problems and dysfunction during the authoritarian regime of Mubarak and prior to the 25th January Revolution 2011. The research suggests that the inability of Egyptian employers and the ruling political regime at that time to recognize and address employees' expectations promised in the psychological contract triggered

employees' anger and forced them to engage in violent actions in the workplace to restore justice and achieve their demands.

Revolutionary transformations in social and organizational settings

Findings of this research demonstrate a high degree of similarity between features of the revolutionary transformations as described in literature of revolution and those emerged from thematic analysis of data. The research concluded the following:

- 1- Both types of transformation were extremely rapid, drastic and unexpected causing fundamental changes in patterns of power, authority and behavior with substantial changes in the value system of the society as well as organizational members.
- 2- Both types of transformations were carried out by people in lower social classes and in lower managerial levels, bottom line employees and blue collars; (the proletariat). According to Marx, the transformations in organizations of countries experiencing revolutions were bottom-up rather than top-down. It has been seen that patterns of power and authority in Egyptian organizations experienced a severe shift toward bottom line employees. This finding corroborates work by Kashal (2011) and Triscari (2012) who argued that organizational transformation is not necessarily introduced by those in power as it may be introduced and exercised by people who possess power even if they belong to lower managerial hierarchy. The literature of revolution argues that destroying and redistributing patterns of power and authority is one of the basic features of a revolutionary transformation (Gurr, 1973; Skocpol, 1979; and Toffler, 1980). In support, Knoutnen and Bailey (1989) argued that, during the collapse of the pre-revolutionary regime, authority and power are forced further and further to the left of the spectrum (to the blue collars, middle and law classes of society) until the collapse is complete. Finally, a new revolutionary government emerges in place of the old dominant minority government.
- 3- Theorists of revolutions argued that all revolutionary social change is associated with violent conflict and severe revolutionary movement (Gurr, 1973; Leahy, 1992; and Skocpol, 1979). The present finding seems to be consistent with these arguments as evidence emerged from thematic analysis demonstrate that workplace violence was one of the key themes of the revolutionary transformation that emerged in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011.
- 4- The literature of revolution argued that people engage in political conflict actions to achieve a common goal that they believe in (Skocpol, 1979; AboShanab, 2013). Marx, has argued that revolution is not a blind social movement; makers of revolution know what exactly must be destroyed to make way for something better (Plamntaz, 1975; 164). Results from this study

seems to be consistent with the findings of revolution theorists. The thematic analysis found that most post-revolution demonstrations and strikes were supported by a specific list of demands and those employees were grouped together and maintained unity in pressing upon their administration to fulfill these demands.

The previous comparison clearly demonstrates the extent to which the revolutionary socio-political change in Egypt empowered employees to develop equivalent and similar changes to those in the social context. Hence, it could be concluded that the organizational transformation that erupted in Egyptian organizations is a revolutionary response to the one that took place in the socio-political sphere in the aftermath of the Egyptian Revolution.

The failure of change management attempts in Egyptian organizations

The discussion in Chapters 4 (Research Methods) and 5 (Findings and Contribution) has described and explained the major causes and features of the revolutionary transformation as well as the main incremental consequences of this transformation in Egyptian organizations. Although the 25th January revolution 2011 created rapid, drastic and radical transformation in Egyptian organizations, the empirical evidence suggests that the negative dysfunctional consequences of this revolutionary transformation to a large extent overwhelmed the positive functional consequences of this change. This raises important questions about the nature and scope of the change and why organizational members have failed to effectively deal with it.

Transformations in Egyptian organizations: a cultural change or a political response.

Findings from the empirical study show that soon after the collapse of Mubarak regime and the success of the Egyptian revolution on the 11th of February 2011, intense waves of protests erupted in Egyptian organizations, employees were encouraged to seek equivalent and similar changes in their organizations to those in the social sphere. This study suggests that the success of the 25th January Revolution 2011 could have been a valuable opportunity to cement radical changes and positive improvements in Egyptian organizations if only organizational members had been able to effectively cope with and manage the new changes brought from the socio-political sphere. Although results suggest that employees have been able to achieve noticeable improvements in issues like salary, profits distribution, job security, promotions and job benefits, there is no significant evidence to suggest that Egyptian organizations have achieved an effective organizational change or created any noticeable structural and functional improvements in their organizations. On the contrary, evidence from the data analysis demonstrates the negative destructive consequences resulting from the intense social and political conflict experienced by employees and employers in the workplace, of which stopping production, destroying facilities and

damaging employees/employers' relationships are the most prominent examples. The results of this study are supported by other theoretical evidence from organizational change literature demonstrating that the failure to achieve an effective change in Egyptian organizations is a mutual responsibility of both employees and employers.

Overall, this study indicates two main reasons for the ineffective change management exercised in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011. These are the self-serving orientation of employees' change initiatives and the lack of alignment between employers' change initiatives and the new emerging value system.

1- The self-serving orientation of employees' change initiatives

Organizational change scholars argue that effective organizational change should involve both employees and employers in the plan for change and then accept the implementation and benefits from the change (Durk and Litwine, 1992; and Mitre, 2013).

Burk and Litwine (1992) noted that the process of change should be slow and gradual, as change cannot happen overnight, and that an effective transformation should affect positively the structure of the organization, decision making process, communication and relationships. It should also give birth to new systems, strategies, policies and mechanisms designed to facilitate work and generate positives that foster the effective use of employees in the workplace (Durk and Litwine, 1992; Dessler, 2008). Finally, all of these factors will be reflected on the outcomes and results of the organization including better productivity, customer satisfaction, profits and service quality.

Considering the results from the empirical study, the change management process adopted by Egyptian organizations completely contradicts the organizational change literature for effective change management with Egyptian organizations experiencing a completely different transformational process. It has been seen that employees formulate groups, networks and alliances aiming to increase their circle of influence and collective capacity to exert more pressure upon their managers to maximize their gains and to peruse their self-interest goals. However, the findings do not imply that the formulation of these groups indicates a new cultural change, and there is insufficient evidence to suggest that the new employee alliances were created to achieve permanent structural or functional improvements in the workplace.

Post-revolution transformations in Egyptian organizations were not fostered through a shared initiative and mutual responsibility of employees and employers; rather, it was imposed by

employees to achieve personalized gains, without regard to any benefit to the organization. Transformation in Egyptian organizations was sudden, rapid, unexpected and unplanned rather than slow, gradual and planned as argued by the organizational change literature. Moreover, employers were not involved in planning or managing this change; they were forced to accept it and deal with it as a social reality to avoid the negative consequences of standing against the stream of violent protests.

Finally, evidence from the empirical study suggest that Egyptian organizations have experienced destructive consequences ranging from factory closures, destruction of production facilities and damaging employment relationships as a result of these ineffective change initiatives fostered by employees in the aftermath of the revolution.

It may be concluded from the previous discussion that employees' intentions and initiatives to pursue organizational transformations and build a new system in their organizations was extremely pragmatic, unplanned, short-sighted and lacking adequate skills and comprehensive vision. The change initiatives adopted in Egyptian organizations could be described a political response to successive internal and external pressures rather than a gradual, sustainable cultural change.

These results corroborate the ideas of Marx who suggested that it is not guaranteed that revolutionaries who were able to destroy the unjust socio-political order will be able to build a new one. Marx argued that people often lack the discipline and skills to do it. Their conditions, as Marx himself describes in his early critique, will hardly prepare them for this role. Marx added that they, the most oppressed of men and the most at the mercy of events, who even at work are not their own masters, are to take control of the society and eventually to transform it more radically than it has ever before been deliberately transformed (Plamenatz, 1975, p.174). Marx concluded that although revolutionaries put forward some general principles to use as guides for constructing the society, they do not detail the proficiency and skills to turn these guidelines into practical implementations; for Marx, the task of reconstruction is different to the task of destruction (Plamenatz, 1975). Further work by Marx demonstrated the political nature of post-revolution alliances, arguing that alliances are formulated by revolutionary groups for specific, tentative short-term goals, after which these alliances break up, as groups come to destroy one another since they have different sympathies and different aims (Torrance, 1995, p.282).

In agreement with the previous ideas of Marx, the study produced results that clearly demonstrate the irrational, immature and the short-sighted vision of labor initiatives and actions in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011.

Labor movements after the military coup

On the 3rd of July 2013 a military coup led by General Elsis removed the first democratically elected president Dr. Morsi from power, suspended the post-revolution constitution and installed an interim government presided over by the head of the supreme constitutional court (Kirkpatrick, 2013). This coup is considered a major setback to the newly born democracy in Egypt, working against the values and principles of the 25th January Revolution 2011 and the gains subsequently attained by employees (Bein, 2013). Surprisingly, millions of workers answered the call of the military coup and participated in mass demonstrations against Dr. Morsi and the post-revolution government (Stern, 2014). What is more surprising is that the independent union which was one of the most important gains of the 25th January Revolution 2011 was one of the main supporters of this coup. Results of this study indicate that worker and union support for the military coup was one of the crucial missteps committed by workers that cost them huge losses.

A few months after the success of the coup, the newly appointed government had crushed all the benefits and the gains attained by workers after the 25th January Revolution 2011. The constitutional declaration initiated by the military coup has totally ignored workers economic and social rights such as those of housing, health care, insurance, pensions, Social Security and minimal and maximal wages (Beinin, 2013). One of the most destructive consequences of the military coup is a new law placing broad restrictions on protests, freedom of expression, and prohibition of all kinds of mass demonstrations and giving the security forces free rein to use excessive forces against demonstrators (Kingestly, 2013).

It could be concluded from the previous discussion that the counter revolution carried out by the military has reproduced the old pre-revolution paradigm of power and authority and negated all the gains and benefits attained by employees through the 25th January Revolution 2011. This clearly demonstrates the view of Egyptian workers to the notions of freedom, autonomy and accountability. Consideration of the novel —The Shawshank Redemption‖ may provide several possible explanations for this result.

This concerned an unconventional prisoner Ellis Boyd who spends 40 years in prison until he was released. During this time, the prisoner adapted to the way of prison life. Although, prison administration was using illegitimate violence to ensure prisoners obedience (O'Sullivan, 2001), the prison had become his reality and living there became so natural to him that he cannot escape to lead a new life (Haber, 2014). Life in the prison represents an ideal example of what has happened to the Egyptian layman, who lived for so long inside the walls of oppression and humiliation until

the outbreak of the 25th January Revolution 2011. When he experiences freedom for the first time in his life, he feels confused, frightened and unable to comprehend and cope with the new reality, and his wish was to go back to his prison where things make sense and continue with his stable and accustomed life. This is the analogy for the large stratum of Egyptians who supported the military coup of the 30th June.

2- Lack of alignment between employers' change initiatives and the new emerging value system

In the open system model, for management actions and organizational practices to be effective it should be tightly connected to the wider social structure (Bratton and Gold, 2001; Watson, 2012). In support, organizational change scholars argue that institutions and organizations in any society experience transformation in their social context based on employees' collective movements, bringing new values, beliefs and actions into the social sphere and subsequently into their organizations, adopting these actions accordingly (Cheng, 1983; Hofstede, 1991; Sherman & Bohlander, 1992; and Watson, 2012). According to Burnes & Jackson (2011), the new evolving organizational change has a high probability of success if it is derived from the value system of the society. They added that organizational change often fails where goals and values adopted by managers are not aligned with those that employees bring from their social environment. Similarly, Burnes and Jackson (2011) have argued that lack of alignment between the value system of the change intervention and those members of an organization undergoing the change is considered as one of the most significant reasons for the failure of any change initiatives.

The previous review of organizational change literature is strongly supports the results of the current study. In general, this study indicates that the 25th January Revolution 2011 empowered employees within Egyptian organizations to develop equivalent and similar change to that emerging in their revolutionary social sphere. Evidence suggests that employees were able to initiate new values, norms and power patterns within their organizations, which were eventually translated into new work practices.

The result of this study show that managers failed to understand, accept and cope with the new changes emerged in their organizations. Instead, they have failed to initiate new functional and structural changes, managers often viewing these changes as aligned with employees' values, goals and desires rather than as a potential opportunity to be effectively exploited for the wellbeing of the organization. Although some evidence from the empirical study showed that Egyptian employers were forced into minor improvements, these were mainly in the compensation and employment systems in response to the intense pressures practiced by employees. Findings from the empirical

study did not show any significant evidence that Egyptian organizations have adopted any effective, sustainable and tangible structural and functional improvements in their systems, policies and strategies.

The result of this study also suggests that the catastrophic and destructive consequences of employees' violent protests in the workplace could be considered as an indicator of the failure of employers in Egyptian organization to effectively manage the new changes that emerged in their organizations. Employers failed to effectively recognize, address and cope with the new values and behavioral patterns brought by employees from their socio-political context. According to Bennis (1998, p.43) "unless leaders learn to value their people and tap the potential of their human resources their organization will sink".

This study suggests that in order to sustain a peaceful climate and ensure effective change in Egyptian organizations employers should understand, recognize and value employees' needs, values and expectations, aiming to translate them into new work practices. Managers should put employees' recognition and wellbeing as a priority goal. People are more confident when appreciated by their managers (Heathfield, 2014) Employers should also show real attempts to harmonize and rebuild employers/employees' relationships by exhibiting values of justice, trust, openness, freedom and transparency in the workplace.

Overall, the results of this study indicate that the deeply entrenched and dysfunctional problems that employees have suffered in the post-revolution period have not simply disappeared with the collapse of Mubarak's regime. It is argued that success in achieving permanent long-term functional organizational reform in Egyptian organizations will depend on the co-operative effort of employees and employers to adopt a coherent strategy that makes the rule of law dominant over political aims and practices, and favors the interest of the organization over the personal illegitimate interests of both employees and employers.

Research limitations:

1- The scope of selection:

To ensure the selection of the most appropriate research participants that fit the criteria in this research, the current study limited the scope of selection to the following groups:

- Active participants in upward influence actions.
- Human resources specialists.
- Union representatives.

The study centered on these groups since the primary focus of this study is to gain a better understanding of the new emerging phenomenon (revolutionary transformation) as perceived by the social actors who were directly involved, participating and, in some cases, formulating this phenomenon. These groups are seen as the most relevant to explain the nature and characteristics of the research phenomenon. However, these groups do not necessarily give a full picture of the real features, causes and consequences of the phenomenon of revolutionary transformation. Employees may reveal a slightly different picture from their managers. For employees this transformation represents a valuable opportunity to regain their violated rights and demands for better work conditions and financial benefits, whilst high ranked managers and business owners perceive this change as a series of threats to their position, their future career and to the wellbeing of the entire organization.

The perception of both parties (employees and employers) is related to their positions resulting from the emergent change in their organization. Employees in this study are viewed as active producers of the phenomenon of revolutionary transformation while employers are the recipients. It could be argued that since the construction of the phenomenon is an interactive process among all organizational parties (employees and employers) it is important to understand how employers perceive this phenomenon from their point of view.

2- The relative focus on public sector institutions:

This research has also focused more on investigating the changes in the public-sector institutions in Alexandria. Evidence from research participants shows different responses of upward power actions between public and private organizations. Organizational actions mechanisms and movements in public sectors organizations were more powerful and directed, and this could be due to different patterns of employment, education level, or the nature and features of problems

encountered in public organizations. Similar research needs to be conducted in private sector organizations as well, and in geographical areas other than Alexandria.

3- Time scope:

The scope of investigation in this study was limited to the two-year period preceding the 25th January Revolution 2011. On the 3rd July 2013 a counter revolution led by the military triggered new waves of change that crushed all the gains attained by people in the January revolution 2011. The new military government put restrictions on freedom of expression, prohibited all kinds of demonstrations and restored the old paradigm of power and authority. The literature review and data collection process covered only the period from 2011 to 2013 preceding this military coup.

4- Gender specification in the study

This study is not a gender specified, Preliminary findings from the analysis of data demonstrate that Egyptian employees in the prerevolutionary period from all ages' gender, occupation and educational background were subject to oppressive management and arbitrary practices from their employers. Though, this study suggests that gender was not considered as a significant factor in triggering post-revolutionary movements in Egyptian organizations in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011.

Future research

This section proposes a range of further research which should be undertaken to strengthen this study. The discussion in this chapter is to a large extent based on the previous section and the limitations noted there will be used in recommending future studies.

1- Involving top management in the research sample

As mentioned in the previous section, the study has focused on employees who were directly involved and participating in upward influence actions. It is questionable whether this group will give a full and unbiased picture of the phenomenon under study. Where the construction of the phenomenon of revolutionary transformation is an interactive process among all organizational parties, further research should involve top management teams and other organizational stakeholders to gain a clearer and more comprehensive understanding of the new emerging phenomenon from various perspectives.

2- The research to private sector organizations

In this study, most of the interviewed participants belong to public sectors organizations. Although all Egyptian institutions experienced the same socio-political transformation after the 25th January Revolution 2011, the different work conditions, patterns of employment, management system and problems encountered in the private sector imply that researching such organizations may show other perspectives that might enrich the research findings. It is recommended that a comparative study is conducted exploring the differences in perceptions and expectations between employees in private and public sectors organization regarding the new socio-political transformation brought into their organizations by the Egyptian revolution.

3- Further research possibilities

This study has briefly discussed the underlying causes and drivers of the revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organization in the aftermath of the 25th January Revolution 2011. These conditions were not the primary focus and according to the paradigm model of the study were not considered the central phenomenon here. Hence this study did not widen its investigative perspective. These factors could be subject to investigation in the further research.

The following are examples of further research possibilities:

- Exploring the impact of organizational politics in workplace violence.
- How promoting a climate of openness, trust and transparency affect organizational sustainability.
- The relationship between Egyptian managerial style and the perception of fairness.
- Toward an effective managerial change in Egyptian organizations.
- Toward a rule-oriented organization.
- Organizational politics, justice and change.
- How employers' self-serving behavior affects organizational sustainability.
- The role of national security on leveraging employers' power in the workplace.

4- Extending the time frame of the study

As mentioned in the previous section the scope of investigation in this study focused on the two-year period preceding the military coup, so it is advisable to use action research over the years since the military coup to discover the new emerged socio-political changes and their impacts on the patterns of power, behavior and work practices.

5- Exploring the phenomenon in other contexts

The main objective of this research is to develop a substantive theory of the impact of the 25th January Revolution on developing organizational changes in Egyptian organizations. However, it must be noted that the substantive theory only interprets the new transformation that emerged in organizations within the unique context of Egypt and reflects the points of view of those included in the study. In order to verify the emergent theory and expand the sphere of research findings, it is recommended to conduct further research, explaining the impact of social revolutions on organizational transformation in Arab spring countries experiencing similar socio-political transformations similar to that in Egypt, such as Tunisia, Libya and Yemen.

6- Testing the emergent theory

The theory that emerged from the current research established a new paradigm model explaining the features, causes and consequences of revolutionary transformation in Egyptian organizations. Therefore, it is advisable to conduct further quantitative studies to test the concept derived from the grounded theory and the results from the paradigm model. Further findings can also provide a way to test its validity in other contexts, sectors and industries. The Egyptian Revolution is still young, and much has not yet been written of its course; it is still in its evolving state and the process of change triggered by the revolution will continue with progress and setbacks along the way (English, 2011, Serageldin, 2014). Other changes that emerge will provide valuable opportunities for further research in many areas of the discipline.

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Appendices

Appendix 1-Sample of interviews transcript - Alex port

The data collected during this interview are classified and strictly for scientific research use

Participant: I-2, computer operator in Alexandria Port authority and head of the independent union of Alexandria Port authority employees.

Researcher: allow me to welcome and thank you for approving to participate in this interview and would you please introduce yourself and your position?

R: you have witnessed the Egyptian revolution and participated therein, and I am aware that have led your own revolution in your organization, so do you think that the Egyptian revolution had some effect on the employees' behavior in your organization?

P: yes of course everything took place outside the organization had an impact inside it.

R: do you believe that the employees' behavior changed after the revolution?

P: yes, I do, in both negative and positive ways.

R: did the employees' structure of power change and did they power grows after the revolution?

P: yes indeed, for now the employees have a say in decision making and some relative ability to change decisions for we do not have absolute power yet some power to present our cases and if they were proven fair we can make change. In some situation this was true and we managed to force the authority to respond to our demands.

R: in your opinion did the employees' power grow stronger through their ability to change managerial decisions?

P: I as an employee, receive support through the state's respond. For an instance in the case of the Comprehensive Solutions Company, we sent a fax to the prime ministry and received a reply within a month, thus giving us confidence in the respond.

R: how did the employees gain their power over the management in the organization; what were the practices of this growing power?

P: for example, before the revolution the management used to take aggressive action against employees and they only had the choice of complaining or litigation, but after the revolution the first action taken by the employee is consulting the union which starts by supporting the employees and addressing the official in person. According to the recent events we are receiving responses that are totally different than those of the past, as the top management is now willing to negotiate with us.

R: did you get to have a role in managerial decisions making and some representation in the boards?

P: we do not have any legal representation, but the union has managed to change some managerial decisions and attitudes such as the decision to build some floating platforms in the port. This was an effective decision and after a hunger strike of 50 employees the management decided to change its decision.

R: you mentioned hunger strike as one of the upward pressure techniques you used, what are these techniques and are they gradual?

P: yes they are gradual; they always start with negotiations and launching more than one initiative for dialogue, as well as, meeting with the officials. Negotiations did not result in achievements and we have a certain situation in our organization that most of top management personnel were previous military officers and they are assigned for the position for a limited period, which they plan to spend without problems. So they prefer to keep postponing handling the problems until they deliver it with the office to the next manager. In one case negotiation yielded some weak achievement; that is providing the night shift employees with means of transportation. The next step in upgrading the upward pressure techniques was protesting outside the customs department premises to avoid being accused of hindering work and that event of 500-600 employees protesting there and letting out very strong frustration and anger against the management. Upgrading the procedures continued until a minister's decision came that forced us to halt our activities. The decision was firing the president of authority upon accusing him of financial corruption. We had two choices, first to continue protesting in the absence of the authority president or suspending the event and negotiating with the new president. We decided to support the fired president because we became aware that he was falsely accused using forged documents and that the minister was misled to take that action against him. The decision to support the former president although he refused responding to the employees' demands was shocking for them and the union justified its stand by adopting a fair cause and not defending the person per se. the employees' actions grew to hunger strike for 50 employees in the Alexandria port museum.

R: Did the employees show any aggressive behavior?

P: Yes, in many cases they showed aggressive behaviors such as verbal assaults against the authority president during the protests as we were protesting and the president had to go through the employees to get in and out of his office and we were obliged to secure him and provide him with a safe passage. The slogans shouted by the employees included "down with the military rule, the port is not a boot camp".

R: You mentioned that the revolution had advantages and disadvantages?

P: As for the main advantage that is; freedom of speech. Yet for the disadvantages they included irresponsible freedom for sometimes it took the form of furious anger and as a union we were unable to control the employees' so they started taking actions on their own that might cause them and the union great damages. For instance, in one of our protesting events in the port museum under my supervision the employees sabotaged a golden plated commemorative plaque only because it bore the name of the former president Hosny Mubarak.

R: Do you approve such trespassing? And do you believe in "ends justify means"?

P: Do I don't approve trespassing, but I support all the events and activities taking place by the law and I strongly wish that the employees will have legal awareness of their rights and obligations and duties because the law will protect us all.

R: Which of the upward pressure techniques you use are provided by the law of labor?

P: The law does not provide any right to protest or strike; these rights were acquired through litigation for instance we based on the strike of Al-Mahalla in 2008 to establish that the right to protest is legal. As for the law of labor criminalizes strikes and imposes penalties on the protesting workers for they hinder work.

R: Was that law modified after the

revolution? P: no it still in effect.

R: But you were not punished for protesting?

P: That is true, although the management could have taking legal actions against us because of the strike. We were informed that the government adopted an attitude to calm and sooth the employees. In some cases, some employees were imprisoned and fired upon accusations of hindering work and causing massive losses although their strikes were on notice.

R: You work in the Electronic department, so do you believe that social networks have key role as means of communication and mobilization?

P: As we are a group of young people with strong contact with computers the beginning of the union was in the form of a page on face book and this how we started gathering people. At first it was a restricted group to avoid leaking secret information and data to the management. We were very selective and picky regarding choosing the members, because we were exposed to conspiracies and complains against us in the administrative prosecution office because of our comment on the face book.

R: Did you face any problems due to your activity in the union?

P: yes me, along with, the union secretary and the head of the legal committee were accused of many charges that included instigation to sabotage the internet underwater cables and placing posters which are still under investigation in the administrative prosecution. Actually we demanded to be prosecuted in the administrative prosecution because as for the legal affairs department in our organization is biased to the management and that in the administrative prosecution I can have the chance to plea against the procedures which cannot be done in the authority.

R: I would like you to tell me about the main motives that triggered the employees' protests and strikes and in your opinion what are the reasons for the employees' upward pressure after the revolution and not before it?

P: as for the circumstances were still the same before and after the revolution for a while, but as the state's foundations including the presidency collapsed within seconds and that the officials showed fear all that created a feeling inside the employees that the can go forward and present their demands.

R: from where did the employees get their strength?

P: from the revolution, as well as, other employees' experiences with protests and strikes.

R: did the employees face administrative suppression or abuse of power before the revolution?

P: yes, and that was one of the factors triggering the revolution, as back then the employees were not allowed to pass the manager's office not to mentioned meeting him, so the employees had some sort of phobia when it comes to the top management and being called to meet one of the top managers.

R: was the barrier of fear demolished?

P: Completely.

R: Did the confidence grow?

P: Indeed.

R: what about the freedom?

P: it can be added to dealing with the management according to the law.

R: is it the same law?

P: yes, except that it was not applied before the revolution. The job injustice lawsuits went on for many years in the courts of law, but now such cases can be resolved in few months and might be worked out without litigation.

R: the state of law was missing?

P: yes, as the law was ineffective even the law of "union founding freedom" was not passed until now; we established the union according to some international agreement.

R: Before the revolution, did the top management apply law to pass some decision or promote someone?

P: the law is double edged, so it can be manipulated to pass whatever the management wanted. For instance, the Administration and Regulation Agency issued an annual booklet banding committee rewards, are paid for members of committees held on duty, but the management could manipulate that situation by paying the members some bonus after the committee under any other item but the committee.

R: so the management abused the law?

P: in most cases and they also had some positive stands.

R: was the administrative corruption clear or tangible?

P: yes, suffice to mention the corruption in the field of occupational safety which never received any consideration of the management although many committees were held for the subject and their members received many bonuses causing massive anger among the employees. Also hiring and promoting employees in spite of seniority and competence according to connections with the

management. The union and the protesting employees are the termites eating through this body of corruption to demolish it.

R: what are the motivators that created this angry behavior despite the peaceful nature of Egyptians?

P: unjust.

R: what is the most important value the employees sought?

P: feeling the justice and appreciation, both financial and moral, in the work place. The current president of the authority managed to achieve this because he agreed to provide sick employees with sickness subsidy, but the union members advised him to meet the sick employees in person and that move had great impact.

R: do you think that the employees' upward pressures are related to individual demands, or demands of the whole organization and perhaps some public benefits for the country as a whole?

P: at first we were motivated, as a union, by the legal principle that unions are established to protect the public interest and money, but the individual motivation of the employees is the financial incentive, in addition to, other benefits such as the medical care for the employees and their families, means of transportation and housing projects.

R: were these aspects absent before the revolution?

P: exactly

R: if there was some massive managerial corruption and the employees had their demands would they protest?

P: no, the employee will never protest against corruption unless it affect hhimL her personally.

R: is there a wide gap between managers and employees now?

P: on the contrary, the management now applies the open door policy in all organizations as the managers meet with employees who were unable to meet their managers except during the official visits and now an employee can call the manager on his/ her cell phone.

R: what were the most wasted rights of employees before the revolution and their most frequent demand?

P: justice, in the beginning of revolution in our organization we had some slogans such as "the manager has bonuses and the employee has a generous God "and "they get to set in air conditioned offices and we are setting on the side walk".

R: what was the management's first response?

P: nothing although the event was massive as we entered an open protest with 600 employees which was covered by the media.

R: did you use media?

Yes, we became good at using it to our benefit, either in a positive or a negative manner, to promote data that could be false or misleading in some cases.

R: do you consider yourselves an organized power or a random one?

P: I believe we still lack organization.

R: did certain entities interfere with decision making or receive shares of the profits before the revolution?

P: a certain proportion of the profits, 1-3% of the profits, that is 5-7 million pounds, were allocated to the authority president and some of the top management people. For example there was an employee that used to receive 1500-3000 pounds every three days.

R: Did the salaries vary greatly among the employees?

P: for some people not everyone.

R: you talked about firing the authority's president and rehiring him upon the employees' request, would give me some more details?

P: this was an experience when the course of events was hastened strangely. We had a protest against the authority's president on January 1st and 15th, 2012 upon his refusal of all our demands in an official statement that he issued on January 7th with which he shut all the negotiation channels with the employees. At that very day he was fired on the background of being accused of corruption and wasting about 10 million pounds and the head of maritime transport sector was hired as his replacement. As we were deliberating with the management we received some documents that exonerate the authority's president and proved that the president was unjustly accused and that he is considered the port authority some national milestone and he was running it with no aspiration for

any personal benefits and that minister was misled by false information. We insisted on holding a protest on January 24th to support him on the eve of the first anniversary of the Egyptian revolution, as the 25th is a very special day upon which the authority takes very strict security measures. On January 29th, 30th and 31st we held a food strike to present our demands.

R: what is the order of the employees' fifteen demands after the revolution?

P: a 200% incentive reward and a decision were issued by the prime minister to pay it to all the state employees. Yet upon negotiation with the management they kept trying to evade it by claiming the employees actually receive an equal amount of money, which was the first trigger of their revolution. Then followed housing, health care, means of transportation, reconstructing departments, paying shifts bonus and developing work environments. This order of demands was purposeful.

R: were these demands offered before the revolution?

P: no they were just wild dreams among the employees. For they once dreamed of having a housing project that they began collecting raising fund for the project, by collecting 3-5 pounds from each employee but they project was never launched. As for the other demands such as salary raise, health care or shift bonus the employees never dared to dream of. Many employees left the authority because of the very low wages paid there.

R: do you see any resemblance between the demands of the Egyptian revolution and those of the employees in your organization?

P: yes, the justice. The employees in our organization managed to get freedom and improve their financial conditions. And we can see that the management is moving towards responding by taking the right actions on its own. Thus, resulted in redirecting our efforts towards fighting corruption not just in our organization but also throughout the state. It is true that just a small number of the employee are concerned with fighting corruption that they are willing to travel throughout the country and our union uses whatever documents in hand to direct the legislation authorities to investigate any suspected corruption.

R: did you grow in power by mobilizing people?

P: yes, and some of the activists think of forming an independent force for fighting corruption in all the state's entities.

R: is there any close relation between your union and other unions?

P: union is in full alliance and partnership with the union of "Containers Company" as we share thoughts. The secretary of Containers Company employees, Mr. Y/M, is the head of 177 independent employees' unions across the country in the form of the Democratic Union of Egypt's workers. This man's activities are spread across the country from Assiout to Alexandria and from Sinai to the Libyan borders and he holds very big meetings for many workers. We have received training courses from the ITF after the revolution and these helped us in establishing communication committees for development and for us as a union communication with the employees is the most important element.

R: is communication with the management now faster and more aware of your problems?

P: of course, and it took many different and new forms such as email and phones. Sometimes an employee can send his/ her problem to the related official by mail or text message and the official can solve it without meeting the employee at all.

R: what is the difference between the independent and the public union?

P: the basis of the independent union is "the freedom to establish unions" according to certain criteria, but the public unions were elected and the employees' faith in these unions is weak because they have developed some attitude that those whom they elect usually sell them out the authorities, so the employees doubt the union members and have negative feelings towards them. Therefore the employees' faith and trust in the independent unions must be acquired and I have to suffer due to the mistakes of the previous unions. We thought of forming an independent union to defend our rights and we do not have any representation at or privileges of the management which does not admit our presence. Nevertheless, we have our impact on ground as when we declared withdrawing confidence from the public union we gathered 1500 employees' approvals in less than a week. So, confidence in people is important in creating confidence in the union and we are trying to build the notion of dealing with an entity and a thought not with some person, therefore we run for offices in the elections with lists of members.

R: do the employees believe in a certain charismatic personality or in a group?

P: no their confidence is always in a person and when such a personality collapses the whole entity collapses. For example, in 2005 there was a person called M/ A, representative of Jihad movement, and he was head of the Alexandria Port Employees' Union in 2005 and he was arrested because of striking. Back then the entire number of the employees working in the port was 500 persons and they used to tie their hands together to protect each other from being arrested, he managed to stop

ships, as well as, the maritime services and we also managed to stop the maritime services and held a strike outside the work place that he managed for three days.

R: what is the most intimidating thread for the port's management?

P: the threat to stop work which did not happen back then.

R: what are the demands you have accomplished and that you are proud of?

P: financial improvement, health care and the occupational safety and is sometimes compensated by some occupational hazardous allowance and the night shift bonus.

R: what about selection and hiring?

P: the authority once had a vacancies hiring competition ad in the newspaper and we used it as a chance to gather the port's employees in protest against turning the port into some military base by assigning former army officers to manage it and occupy all the main positions therein. We were affected by the slogan of "down down with the military rule" and that competition was like the spark that led the revolution and resulted in hiring civilians so we will be able to communicate with them for the military personnel are used to the subordination manner of management with zero tolerance for dispute or discussion. Our effort in that field was productive as we managed to convince the management to hire a civilian officer as head of the Port's Security Department which used to be managed by a former police general. Our demands included not extending the service period of the employees, either civilian or military, after retirement age and the demand was our only achievement on January 1st and the authority president issued a decree to ban rehiring those who are over the age of 65, including the port's head of security.

R: which of the organization's departments is capable of solving your problems?

P: on the ground, there is no department that is capable of doing that

R: normally, the human resource department is the one responsible for resolving the employees' problems; do you have such a department in your organization?

P: No we have the managerial affairs department.

R: were your departments reconstructed?

P: some of the departments lack construction in terms of the hierarchal system or jobs' descriptions, as the case in the Electronic Department that has over 600 employees in random conditions, as the

positions have no description and the employees in that department can be transferred to other departments according to the manager's mood. Many managers were accused and convicted for action taken by their inferiors.

R: would you tell me about the situation of the Chinese company?

P: yes, the court passed a verdict in the favor of our cause to annul the contract signed between the Port Authority and the international Chinese container company and reallocating the three berths to the authority, but we have not been able to put the verdict into effect ever since. The same situation happened in the case of the Comprehensive Solutions Company as we have been in war for 6 months as we offered a bid to operate the electronic department and according to the contract the comprehensive Solutions Company used to receive 14 million pounds but the company that was chosen by the bid receives 4 million pounds. Thus, we managed to save 10 million pounds a year in a contract for five years that adds up to 50 million pound, so we demanded the management to pay some bonus for the employees.

R: do you see improvement in employees' treatment and dignity?

P: if the employee gives up on his/ her rights the dignity shall be lost and the employees' activity will aim at destroying the management and the management will launch test attacks towards the employees. The struggle for rights between the management as a representative of the government and the unions as representatives of the employees shall go on forever.

R: thank you do you have anything to add?

P: No, thank you

Appendix 2: Memos and letters between the free union and the Administration of Alex port

Maritime Transport Sector

Alexandria port authority

Independent Union of Workers of Alexandria Port Authority

Attn., Supreme Council of Armed Forces

We call upon you to intervene to protect workers at Alexandria Port from the actions taken by the Authority management that endanger the national security and settlement, among these actions persecuting the workers especially by Head of security Department.

The independent Union of Port Workers has organized a peaceful protest without halting work or causing any damages on Sunday 1/1/2012. The workers' demands were delivered to the Head of Authority. He replied with a very harsh statement thus leading to provoking workers; feelings of unjust as his statement lacked appreciation to the workers.

Pressure grew as some of workers were referred to investigation due to false allegations.

We address you to keep this country and this great economic entity from these irresponsible actions taken inside the port, which shall harm the higher interests of Egypt through provoking workers to demonstrate and crowd to defend their own rights. The port's management should, during this hard time the country is going through, avoid such unjustified provoking for workers and that is what we, the independent union, seek as we put the national interest first.

As the independent union have tried to negotiate the statement with the management, the union's members and board members were surprised that they were referred to investigation, thus resulting into serious and aggravated rage among workers and union members and they decided to protest and strike on 15/ 1/ 2012 until their problems are resolved.

May Allah Keep Egypt

Presented to by

Chairman of independent Union

I-2 Maritime Transport Sector

Alexandria port authority

Independent Union of Workers of Alexandria Port Authority

Public assembly invitation

The independent Union of workers of Alexandria port authority and Dekhila Port is honored to invite the union's members to attend the assembly at the Authority Workers Club, El Max on Saturday 24/12/ 2011, at 10 am.

Thanks

Board of the

Independent Union of Workers of Alexandria Port Authority

Alexandria port authority

Authority Head's Statement regarding workers' demands

Workers of the Alexandria port authority

I would like at the beginning to refer to the meeting we had on Wednesday 28/12/2011 and the negotiations that took place then, as well as, my answers to all workers' enquiries about the hiring

and bonus system. I have declared that the bonus have been increased by 25% for all the employees except those of top management because they already receive special bonus.

I was happy about the meeting and we had several meetings since I was assigned to this position on 13/ 10/ 2011. I intended to discuss all employees' demands and set some strategies to apply these demands, if it hadn't been for the riot and chaos that took place among employees due to violations made by some of them. These actions had negative impacts on the port and its revenues and the numbers of companies and clients dealing with the port, which tended to transfer their works to other ports with more security, and settlement.

Despite my regular meetings with employees, I was surprised with the statement declaring starting a protest on 1/1/ 2012 for these actions are not justifiable, as long as, we have regular meetings. Such actions, e.g. protests, affect employees' morals and the course of work at the port, therefore its revenues.

As you all know port's workers, despite the country's circumstances, still receive much more payments compared to employees in other sectors of the governmental system. For example, they receive;

- Two month payments bonus for all employees,
- Exceptional efforts bonus over 200% of the salary,
- Monthly bonus of 70%,
- Bonus for job nature 20% - 40%.
- Meal cash for employees exposed to lead or copper poisoning, L.E 2.5/ day
- Monthly reward for maritime chiefs, mechanics and heavy machinery drivers,
- Monthly reward for drivers,
- Monthly rewards for storage keepers,
- Monthly special bonus for Electronic Department's employees,
- Monthly reward for cash collection department's employees,
- Maritime units' employees receive **** by decree 478/2011
- Meal cash for divers,
- Meal and custom cash for pilots,
- Constant transportation fees for mail agents,
- Monthly production bonus for all employees out of scales revenues, L.E 100/ monthly
- End of employment reward of 18 months payment for retiring employees, on or before retiring age, and according to governing regulations,

- In addition to the abovementioned, 1108 employees were given permanent positions and the required procedures shall be terminated in cooperation with the Central Organization Authority to give permanent jobs to 183 employees, who have reached due time for permanent job. The rest of temps shall be given permanent jobs on due time.
- I gave instruction on 29/12/2011 to form a committee of Admiral Authority Counselor, to set regulation for paying such bonuses and rewards to provide complete internal control and equality and justice among employees and on the performance basis. Full control shall be provided after affection of the new act as of 1/1/2012 which provides that the total annual income of any of state's civilian employees, by the act 47/1978, or those who follow special acts, or employees at service and economic public agencies, as well as, public figures or special cadres both temp or permanent, should not exceed 35 times the minimum total income or payments of the least paid employees at the same authority they work at, for those who occupy third specialist degree position.
- Other positions have been added benefit from the meal cash and the managerial decree was issued in this regard.
- The Central Authority for Accountings was addressed and informed with all the procedures regarding the Tabba territory and the legal procedures thereof are undertaken.

I would like to emphasize the following points:

1. There shall be a monthly meeting on the first day of each month with all employees groups to discuss the problems they face and seek solutions for them.
2. Those with needs or suggestions should present them through the legitimate channels, on official forms with the specific demands. These demands shall be studied by the departments, within 15 days as of the day they were presented. In case there was no reply I should be notified officially to take the proper action.
3. All the employees, who shall be given permanent jobs, shall be surveyed and their periods of experience shall be counted, as well as, the effects thereof such as degrees and payments within the first week of January at most.
4. A permanent committee shall be formed to follow up applying special regulations for intensive bonus to provide maximum justice and equality among different groups of employees.
5. Reconsidering the privileges given to temps under contracts and trying to equalize them with permanent employees according to the budget's relevant items and devising a unified regulation for temps that governs all their job conditions.
6. Reconsidering the maritime units' employees' reward paid according to administrative decree 378/2011.

Finally I hope that all employees will keep the performance level which guarantees making highest revenues that enable us to respond to employees' demands on time and according to regulations. I also hope they will not respond to calls for protests and gatherings that offend the Port's authority, the premier Egyptian port, which is the main outlet of our external trade and the main factor

affecting Egyptian economy for it represents 66% of Egyptian trade. This publication includes the replay to all employees' demands.

Chairman

Admiral A/Y

First demand: paying rewarding bonus equal to that of leading officials at the port, as we all work at the same place and under the same conditions.

Second demand: justice in distributing rewards within the departments, for employees suffer great unjust due to unfair distribution for rewards and special rewards which are received by undeserving employees and cost the state's budget great amounts that could be redirected to those who actually deserve them.

Third demand: amending the port's internal regulations.

Forth demand: applying for leading positions in the classified ad on 10/12/ 2011 should be for civilians only

Reply:

1. This is an unconstitutional demand and contradicts with the principle of justice and equality, for setting such a condition keeping a certain group from applying to vacant positions at the port is illegal.
2. Every vacant position has certain criteria, which have been approved by the Central Authority of Organization and management. Therefore the Port's authority cannot violate these criteria without conferring with the Central Authority of Organization and management and mentioning the reasons which must be approved by the Central Authority of Organization and management.
3. As military officers retire their positions in the army they become regular citizens entitled for applying for any official position in the state's administrative system.
4. As the head of leading positions applicants' selection committee, I promise that selecting employees shall be based upon transparency and impartiality and I shall consider the public interest and laws and regulations governing the process.

Fifth demand: paying meal cash for deserving employees

Respond: according to the administrative decree No. 1659/ 2011 issued on 13/10/2011, the authority already pays meal cash for some groups of employees who are at risk of lead and copper poisoning, that is L.E. 2.5 daily and recently some other groups of employees have been added to benefit from this allowance and the relevant decree has been issued.

Sixth demand: reviewing all maintenance contracts of the authority, which are not performed regularly; such as scales maintenance, computers, and maritime equipment, milling machines, carpentry machines and cars.

Seventh demand: the authority should be fully responsible for supporting the employees' family health care program.

Respond: there are constant committees studying this issue and one of the authority's buildings is under evaluation to become the core for the authority's hospital.

Eighth demand: making fiscal allocations for special risk cash according to job nature

Respond: the aforementioned job nature allocation, used to be paid to certain groups of employees and not to all of them, that is 10% and it was raised for all employees with certain percentages.

Ninth demand: activating the employees' housing project and declaring what became of the lands that the authority owned and were wasted during the periods before developing the port and afterwards until now.

Respond: I gave instructions to legal department and all relevant departments to survey the lands owned by the authority and to terminate the legal procedures.

Tenth demand: training employees at all departments using training centers and developing skills to match development in other ports.

Respond: this year's training program was distributed to all departments to determine the training course type needed for each employee. These courses shall be surveyed as soon as the departments reply. The authority already uses the special expertise of Ports Training Institute affiliate of the Arab Academy for Science and Technology and Maritime Transport in training some of the employees of different specialties. Some extensive training courses shall be held at the Authority's hall No. 11 and different courses in the fields of employees' rights and duties. These courses' lectures shall be given by some of your coworkers who have accumulated experience in the field.

Eleventh demand: no contracts with employees over 60 to provide youth with the opportunity.

Respond: in fact there are no contracts for the time being with anyone over 60, there are only few employees who are fulfilling their contracts period, due to work needs, according to the relevant authorities in time. The over 60 contracting employees are only four and their contracts shall be terminated on 31/5/2012.

Twelfth demand: civilian employees must take part in administrative and leading positions, after all what is the point when some ex- military officer manages two departments and enjoys the privileges, while another civilian employee awaits a chance for promotion.

Respond: all the leading and positions shall be reconsidered and their vacant ads shall be posted and open for application. The following diagram states the authority's employee's numbers including ex-military who represent only 7% of them.

Alexandria port authority employees: 4068

911 with contracts, 183 of them shall be given permanent jobs and the procedures are being undertaken with the Central Authority of Organization and management.

There are 3155 permanent employees.

Thirteenth demand: we demand 1% planning to be distributed to all port's employees and the profits; social justice.

Fourteenth demands: reconstructing unconstructed departments such as the electronic department

Respond: the organizational structure of the authority was modified and the maritime transport sector shall be notified with it in order to present the modifications to The Minister of Transport and to be approved by Central Authority of Organization and management. All new departments were included, e.g. the electronic department.

Fifteenth department: addressing the relevant authorities to provide the authority with new buses

Respond: 6 mini buses, 3 micro buses and 4 cars were purchased during the fiscal year 2010- 2011, which never happened before in the authority's history, that is, to purchase this number of vehicles through replacement and renewal.

Appendix 3: Sample of interviewing questions

List of interviewing questions

First section: impact of political and social changes upon employees' behaviors within the foundation:

1. Did you notice symptoms of change in Employees' behaviors and values in the aftermath of the 25th January revolution?
2. To what extent is social and political change reflected on the employees' behavior within the company?
3. What are the main manifestations of such change in terms of authority, power and superiority hierarchy within the company?
4. What are the major manifestations of increase in employees' power within your company?
5. Did management make any decisions, take any actions or put any policies to orient the employees' powers within the formal power and organizational framework of the company?
6. Are there any signs of managerial democracy and employees' participation as result of the sequential pressures by the employees within the work settings?

Second: Upward influence tactics

What are the major tactics and practices used by employees in different departments to exert pressure upon management comply their demands?

1. To what extent do you approve the legitimacy and ethics of such practices performed by employees to achieve their demands? And are they accompanied sometimes with violence?
2. From your opinion are there some exaggerations in the techniques used by employees to force their employers to comply their demands.
3. What is the role of social networks as one of rallying and pressure tools used upon management?
4. What are the most effective methods in achieving management's response to employees' pressures?

5. Do you think protests were directed toward achieving organizational goals or it was basically directed to achieve their own personal goals?
6. Were the pressure tactics used to pressure the management gradual or sharp and sudden?

Third: Motives and incentives of employees' post revolution behavior:

1. In your opinion why did such pressure tactics appear after the revolution and not before?
2. Do you think that there is some relation between demonstrations and public pressures after the revolution and the demonstrations of employees in your organization now?
3. To what extend do you think employees were victims of organizational prejudice in the period preceding the 25th January revolution 2011 before face managerial injustice and misuse of authority and power before the revolution that resulted in such new practices? And what are the main features of this managerial injustice?
4. Are there any other motives or reasons from your point of view that can lead to such new behaviors among employees?
5. Does the work regulation applied in the organization consider employees' rights on the base level as on the high management level?
6. What are the major feature of the expanding gap between employees and management before the revolution." employee's biggest suffering is the manager"?
7. To what extend do you think employees ' pressures be a result of the group speeches that are linked to certain employees' interests or general causes and interests serving the whole company, such as eliminating corruption and improving organizational effectiveness?
8. What is the degree of financial and managerial corruption in your company before the revolution? And do you think that corruption has decreased after the revolution?
9. Do you see any resemblance between employees' pressure tactics before and after revolution? Describing aspects of employees' demonstrations:
 1. Applied tactics:
 2. Age
 3. Gender
 4. Number of participating employees
 5. Demonstrations repetition
 6. Demonstrations' scale of impact.
10. What are the major values that employees seek and consider main motive for demonstrations and strikes in your company?

Rule orientation:

1. To what extent is your company abiding by labor laws and company's regulations?

2. What are the main positional rights of labor law and company's regulations that were overlooked by it?
3. Did the company take any suppressive actions regardless the labor law or the company's regulations?
4. Do the employees in your company believe that the rights can be acquired through legal methods?
5. To what extent do the employees in your company believe that the power of law is stronger than that of the manager?
6. To what extent does the high management power affect the policies and practices of legal affairs department?
7. Do you think that the legal affairs department has an actual power that can grant rights and investigate employees' complaints against their managers, or is it some oriented power?

Dominating minority:

1. To what degree do you think that there is a group of managers in high management dominating the policies and practices of the company and have more financial and managerial privileges than their counterparts on different managerial levels?
2. What are the major features of managerial dominance?

Accordance between revolution demands and employees' demands:

1. Do you any accordance between the Egyptian's revolution and the group demonstrations in your company?
2. What are the major employees' demands in your company after the January 25th revolution 2011?
3. Were such demands present before the revolution?
4. Do you see any match between the employees' demands and revolts' demands?
5. Did managers in your organization have taken any preemptive actions to prevent the current agitated situation within your organization?
6. What are the main practice and decision made by the human resource management in response to employees' pressures?
7. Do you think that the employees in your foundation are treated better and with more consideration by the management after the revolution?

Appendix 4: Key themes and subsidiary codes:

T-1 Employees Power

- **Felling powerful**
- **Altering management decisions**
- **Forcing authority to comply**
- **Balance of power**
- **States respond**
- **Management rapid respond**
- **Strategic changes**
- **Changing employers**
- **Threat of firing**
- **The invisible power**
- **Hiring employees**
- **Employees decisions**
- **Employees desires**
- **Employees motives**
- **Power of the union**
- **Reforming system**
- **Freedom of express**
- **Threat to stop work**
- **Threat of demonstration**
- **Employees massive movements**
- **Employees strikes**
- **Rapid transformation**
- **Power of employees versus power of**
- **Law**

Employees behaviour

- Irresponsible freedom**
- Lack of manners**
- Worst behaviour**
- Assaulting managers**
- Passive attitude**
- Protesting behaviour**
- Relelative attitude**
- Growing some of ownership**
- Feeling proud**
- Freedom of express**
- Exploiting the right**
- High expectations**

organization transformation and socio-political change

- **Rapid change in employees behaviour**
- **Retaining power paradigm**
- Social conflict**
- Blue and white collars**
- Employees confidence**
- Socially embedded practices**
- Concordant between employees revolutores**
- Military cope and change*
- Concordant demands**
- Police oriented climate**

T-4 causes of upward power behaviour

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Authority obedience management | <input type="checkbox"/> Aggressive actions toward employees |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Excessive benefits | <input type="checkbox"/> Autocratic regime |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hiring military officers | <input type="checkbox"/> Back to military rule |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Loyalty to managerial position | <input type="checkbox"/> Employees managerial rights |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Strict control | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lazy employees preposition | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Military rule | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Suppressive authority | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Administrative suppression | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Oppressive management | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Theory x assumptions | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Weak concern to employees needs | |

T-5 political climate

- Political actions
- Union activities before the revolution
- Self serving behaviour
- Organization serving behaviour
- Political climate
- Political oriented strikes

T-6 power of dominant minorities

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Unfair of profit and outcomes• Unlimited authority• Special treatment• Work privilege• Minorities dominating rules• Employees discrimination• T and power monopoly• The buffering class• Minorities justice and discounted | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Exclusive authority groups• Exceeding legitimate authority• Loyalty employees• Accumulative anger• Victims of pre justice• Employees frustration• Unlimited benefits of top management• Highly connected employees• |
|--|---|

T-7 marginalizing power of law

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Based legal affairs department• Tailored (double edged laws)• Power of manager and power of rules• Employees abusing laws• Lack of faith in law• Labor law• Rule orientation• Commitment to laws• Power of employees versus law | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lack of legal control•••••••• |
|--|---|

T-8 employees dignity and appreciation

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Employees appreciation | <input type="checkbox"/> Job security |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of sense of security | <input type="checkbox"/> Blue collars and white collars |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fair treatment | • |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lack of inferiority | • |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Insulting employees | • |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Low concern to employees | • |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Employees basic needs | • |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Job statues | • |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Safety | • |

T-9 organizational justice

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| • Lack of organizational justice | • Financial corruption |
| • Procedural pre justice | • Hiring employees |
| • Victims of pre justice | • Promoting employees |
| • Unequal distribution of profits | • Fulfilling basic needs |
| • Employees discrimination | • Social justice |
| • Inequality of penalties | • Poor compensation and terms system |
| • Managers perception of fairness | • Expressing opinions |
| • Employees prospective of justices | • Freedom of speech |
| • Managerial corruption | • Over payment inequity |
| • Under payment inequity | • complaint channels |
| • Blocking complain channels | • Smooth complain channels |

T-10 poor H.R.M practices

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| • Dominant role of H.R.M | • Biased H.R.M department |
| • Subjective H.R practices | • Safety precautions |
| • Subjective criteria of biring | • Promotion lagging problems |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Subjective criteria of promotion | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unqualified personal | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Poor work condition | |

T-11 lack of transparency

- Objective criteria of hiring
- Ambitions deductions

T-12 revolution the triggering force of change

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| • The power of the revolution | • Faith to create change |
| • Growing courage | • Accumulative discontent |
| • Collapse of Mubarak | • Frustration and danger |

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- Breaking the barrier of fear
 - Environment of freedom
 - Growing confidence

T-13 upward power tactics

- Calm dawn strategy
- Cart of law
- Destructing companies reputation
- Assaulting managers
- Violent
- Damaging facilities
- Work stoppage
- Aggressive behaviour
- Social networks
- Demonstration of strikes
- Communication and negotiations
- Threatening to stop service
- Protests
- Demonstrations

T-14 organizational

- Postponing the problem
- Negotiation and persuasion
- Calm down
- Legal action
- Unethical tricks
- Phases of upward power tactics
- Serious actions
- Managerial shock
- Aggressive actions
- Shutting down the factories
- Refuse to comply to de
- Fulfilling demands
- Eliminating leader

T-15 employees demand

- Rightful demands
 - Personal centered demands
 - Budget of health services
 - Personal benefit versus organizational benefits
 - New cadr (commitment to labor law)
 - Commitment to retirement age
 - Irrational demand
 - Objective criteria of hiring
 - Occupational safety
 - Respect and appreciation
 - Legitimate demands
 - Greedy demands
 - Illegitimate demands
 - Unethical tactics
 - Employees slogan
 - F benefits
 - Medical care
 - Means of transportation
 - Demand for promotion
 - Financial demands
 - Raising salaries
 - Minimum and maximum wages
 - Moral demand
 - Feeling respect and appreciated
 - Demand for justice
 - Freedom to express opinion
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- Better treatment
 - Decent life
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T-16 H.R.M consequences

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incentive rewards • Housing projects • Health care • Means of transportation
 • Paying shift down • Financial improvements • <i>Salary raise</i> • Increase in retirement bonus • Conflict of interest
 • Objective criteria of selection • Expressing opinion • Other managerial consequences • Open door strategy • Removing communication barriers • Reconstructing department • | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving work conditions • Creating new complaint channels • Awareness of employees rights • Freedom to establish independent union • Channels of complain • Social network • Negative consequences on production • Functional reforms • Speedy respond • Participation in managerial decisions • Lack of legal control • Poor delivery of services • Better treatment and respect • Emphasizing rules • More freedom • Appointing representatives on board • Unfavourable work environment • Managerial democracy • Narrowing the problem of discrimination • Unstable business environment • Change in organization culture • Retaining rule domination • Lack of structural improvements • Managerial democracy <hr/> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in H.R.M practices |
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Appendix (5-A)

Alexandria port authority

Independent Union of Workers of Alexandria Port Authority

Attn., Supreme Council of Armed Forces

We call upon you to intervene to protect workers at Alexandria Port from the actions taken by the Authority management that endanger the national security and settlement, among these actions Persecuting the workers especially by Head of security Department Mr. Tareq Mekawy and Mr. Farag Gamaluddin Abdel.Hakeem.

The independent Union of Port Workers has organized a peaceful protest without halting work or causing any damages on Sunday 1/1/2012. The workers' demands were delivered to the Head of Authority. He replied with a very harsh statement thus leading to provoking workers; feelings of unjust as his statement lacked appreciation to the workers.

Pressure grew as some of workers were referred to investigation due to false allegations.

We address you to keep this country and this great economic entity from these irresponsible actions taken inside the port, which shall harm the higher interests of Egypt through provoking workers to demonstrate and crowd to defend their own rights. The port's management should, avoid such unjustified provoking for workers and that is what we, the independent union, seek as we put the national interest first.

As the independent union has tried to negotiate the statement with the management, the union's members and board members were surprised that they were referred to investigation, thus resulting into serious and aggravated rage among workers and union members and they decided to protest and strike on 15/ 1/ 2012 until their problems are resolved.

May Allah Keep Egypt

Presented to by

Chairman of Independent Union

Appendix (5-B)

Public Transportation Authority in Alexandri

Memo No.5 of 2012

In reference to the meeting held on Sunday 11-3-2012 with;

Prof. (O.F) governor,

Representative of Commander of Northern Military Region

Prof (H.I) Member of the Senate, Freedom and Justice Party, and Prof. (W. K) Member of Parliament, Freedom and Justice Party;

To discuss the demands of workers of Public Transportation Authority in Alexandria. The following points were agreed upon;

- 1. Contacting the Minister Of Finance who agreed to grant workers one extra month payment on the employment termination bonus to become one and half months for each actual working year, The ministry shall consider developing funding sources for the second month and the reply shall be on 15-4-2012 at most, so the payment shall be of 1/3/ 2012.*
- 2. The mean of revenues bonus shall be counted on the total bonuses of the months of year 2010 according to actual working days the increase of the two feasts bonus to be 30 days, was approved after the governors take the required legal procedures.*
- 3. The meal's value was increased for L.E.8 to become L.E. 10 after the governor takes the required legal procedures.*
- 4. A health care system was approved after reviewing the legal aspects and it shall be funded by employees' subscription fees paid by those who will to participate.*
- 5. Counting striking days as actual working days without bonus.*
- 6. Involving a technical committee from the Faculty of Engineering to set the technical criteria for the buses that shall be contracted for and the committee should include the authority's relevant technicians.*
- 7. The authority shall address the central Agency for management and organizing about;*
 - 1. Providing financial degree of the workers who stopped their progress at the 3rd degree,*
 - 2. Giving permanent jobs for the temps who spent 6 months at job and equalizing qualifications. all the required data were provided to the Agency on 20/2/ 2012*
- 8. Increasing point bonus to be L.E.50 per point as of 1/4/2012*

Under signed; Eng. X