

**Are Egyptians disqualified for democracy?
A question of 'representation' from a post-colonial
perspective on the outset of Mubarak and Morsi**

Nibal Ezz El-Din Gameel Attia

Are Egyptians disqualified for democracy? A question of 'representation' from a post-colonial perspective on the outset of Mubarak and Morsi

Introduction

Post-colonial approach emerges in the field of International Relations (IR) to challenge the orthodoxy views of IR traditional theories. This indicates not only a different view on the reasons behind phenomena but as well questions the epistemology of traditional theories. The taken-for-granted facts stated in traditional theories are seen as a product of Eurocentrism and Western superiority from a post-colonial outlook. For such, post-colonialism emphasise the connection of power and knowledge whereby states with power as colonial entities were capable of creating knowledge on nature of the colonised. This created knowledge is not only biased but most importantly imagined, imposed, and acted upon (Abrahamsen, 2007)¹. Dirlik (1994) argues that although Post-colonialism is a term which encompasses a number of issues disregarded by traditional theories, has three meanings: 'conditions' of the colonised under colonisation, the international scene after the end of colonialism and the 'discourse' formation which took place in order to conceive the colonial order on the colonized². These three references to post-colonialism are used in order to interpret the impact of colonial epistemology and conduct on the colonised even after its independence. Based on this definition of post-colonialism, this paper argues that post-colonial approach presents a viable interpretation for the outset of two presidents (Mubarak and Morsi) in 3 years (2011-2013) to challenge an imposed reality/representation which depicts Egyptians unqualified for democracy. In a division of three sections, relevance of post-colonial

¹ Abrahamsen, R. (2007). Postcolonialism. In M. Griffiths (Ed.), *International Relations Theory for the 21st Century: An Introduction* New York: NY; Routledge.

² Dirlik, A. (1994). The postcolonial aura: Third world criticism in the age of global capitalism. In D. Brydon (Ed.), *Postcolonialism: critical concepts in literary and cultural studies* (Vol. 1, pp. 207-236). New York, NY: Routledge.

approach to the two revolutions is assessed. The first section discusses the colonial heritage of this representation, Mubarak's and Morsi's keenness to maintain this representation due to its role in the international system. The second section inspects the unconventional means of resistance adopted during this phase e.g. mockery and comedy to produce independent self-representation. Third section presents the counter-argument of post-colonial approach which claims inherent 'structural' gaps between North-South states in the international system which voids the argument of self-representation.

How and why are Egyptians depicted to be unfit for democracy?

Colonisation was driven by forces of modernisation and industrial advancement. For European states to sustain this development they sought expansion to reach other markets. The principal aim behind European expansion into Egypt during the nineteenth century was to integrate Egypt into the new global economy. The domination of Europeans and mainly British over public positions and bureaucracy was justified as a way to 'inspire' Egyptians to adopt the same organisation to manage their country. Such reasoning proved faulty as Lord Cromer – the British Agent in colonial Egypt-enforced the image of Egyptians as persons incapable of self-governance (Mak, 2011)[†]. As a continuity of Cromer's conduct in colonised India, 'character talk', is the name given to Cromer's discourse in promoting characteristics of Western superiority and an imagined reality which presents Egyptians "incapable of self-governance or managing their own" financial affairs (Cain, 2006)[‡]. Western accounts of Egyptians under the colonial rule sums Egyptians as 'children' in need of western administration to be managed (Warzeski, 2002)[°]. The discourse adopted relied on constant comparison of the two variables: us and them,

[†] Mak, L. (2011). More than officers and officials: Britons in occupied Egypt, 1882-1922. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. 39(1), pp. 21-46, DOI: 10.1080/03086534.2011.543794

[‡] Cain, P. (2006). Character and imperialism: The British financial administration of Egypt, 1878-1914. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. 34(2), pp.177-200. DOI: 10.1080/0308653060063340

[°] Warzeski, J. (2002). Mapping the unknown: Gendered spaces and the oriental other in travelogues of Egypt by U.S. women, 1854-1914. *History and Anthropology*. 13(4), pp. 301-317. DOI: 10.1080/0275720022000046760

civilised and educated Europeans versus childish and inferior Egyptians. This phase of colonisation re-organised all of Egypt's resources to suffice for the lack of cotton production in the global market which boosted economic figures of Egypt. This configuration of a created reality backed by misinformed facts allowed the superiority of Western character to be absorbed by the Egyptian society.

Egypt had gone through many stages I its political life, it is somehow more developed now than before and this is because of the other countries interventions that had took place in the country , for instance the invasion of some countries like Britain and France many years ago had affected the economy as well as the political life in the country until this year. When the developed countries enter the non developed ones it starts changing its culture somehow that it starts taking the image of the developed culture where it starts changing the economy , religion , culture, traditions, political life in the country to start gradually moving to it's way. Development and technology had been enhanced in the country after these interventions had taken place , the introduction of the western countries to Egypt's had been an added value to the country and a slight move towards the post colonial theory. But we can never say that it reached actual democracy or post colonist because the rulers as well as the government had always been corrupted and not caring for the well being of the country at all. (Hashim, A .2001) ٦.

In the mid-nineteenth century and after the birth of the modern Egyptian state and its unpredictable successes under Mohamed Ali Pasha leadership, an interesting debate had existed. The debate of who was the source for such superficial modernity, the colonial powers or the Egyptians? Till the mid-twentieth century and the development of modern state institutions and bureaucracy, the question still existed. The colonial academic approach sees Egyptian as non-liberal, non-democratic and non-disciplined society. Therefore, the British crown represented itself as the responsible for the dramatic change in political and economic scene in Egypt, especially during the liberal era that witnessed democratic signs such as parties, elections, parliament, constitution and liberal press. It also witnessed advanced education and progressive cooperative business between Egyptian capitalists and the foreigner business men.

Post colonial is mainly how the western culture is applied to the non western ones , the difference between the two cultures is too huge ,

^٦ Hashim, A. (2011), The Egyptian Military, Part Two: From Mubarak Onward. Middle EastPolicy, 18:

the culture consists of the traditions, values, language, religion and the interests of a group of people or a society that is affected by their background and experience as a result of their living and way they had been behaving all their past years and through different generations. The culture of the non western or the eastern countries is somehow related to their religion the Islam religion is actually affecting their culture where they reject openness and the western culture as a whole has some aspects that are unaccepted completely to them. The western countries or the Western cultures is characterized to be open , free, democratic, developed , applying equity and equality , good economic growth and political stability that somehow leads to the limited rate of poverty , unemployment and illiteracy in the country as for the non Western countries or the Egyptian culture it's not open, no freedom, no equality , so social justice, poor economy and instable political situation as well as inexistence development leading to increase in rate of poverty , unemployment and illiteracy in the country. (FRANKEMA, E.2010) ^Y.

Since this phase of unrest refers to colonial history, it is important to examine the revolution which protested colonial rule. The 1919 Revolution has equal relevance in evaluating Egypt's 2011 and 2013 revolutions as it attempted at shackling colonial practices and speeches. The 1919 Revolution was stirred by the demand for 'constitutionalism' for two purposes. First, defy a circulated myth that the Ottoman constitutional experience cannot be applied to Egypt due to inferiority of Egyptians. Second, end concentration of power in the hands of few and enter an era of 'representation' (Lang, 2013) [^]. The position of Ottomans in rejecting Egyptians' aspiration for a constitutional experience shows that colonial discourse is not only restricted to Europe but the end-result of the relation of power and knowledge. The purpose for sustaining this image about Egyptian mentality as incompatible with democratic principles of representation and public decision-making was the same for Mubarak and Morsi as it was for Cromer and his precedents. Mubarak's regime relied on embedding power in him and paralysing his elite competitors by tying their interests to his power while using violence and police forces to oppress factions of lower classes to

^Y FRANKEMA, E. (2010), *The colonial roots of land inequality: geography, factor endowments, or institutions?*. *The Economic History Review*, 63: 418-451. doi: 10.1111/3.1468-0289.2009.00479.x

[^] Lang, A. (2013). From revolutions to constitutions: The case of Egypt. *International Affairs*. 89(2), pp. 345-363.

disable public-space participation (Perkins, 2010)⁹. The fashion inherited from the colonial experience re-structures the state and organises its resources to benefit the ruler who confiscates power based on the knowledge produced by him. Similar to what Cromer achieved, Mubarak's regime accomplished a number of economic developments which are used by his regime to enforce the privilege of his rule compared to rule of inexperienced Egyptians. These developments were asserted to enforce the image of Mubarak and his state as the parent to Egyptians thus denying their political rights (El-Sherif, 2014)¹⁰. This imposed reality which Egyptians had to accept in the light of alleged economic developments was best summarised by Mubarak's Vice President Omar Suleiman. In order to pacify the masses protesting Mubarak, Suleiman re-affirmed Mubarak's image as a 'father' and controversially asserted that 'Egyptians are not ready for democracy' (Al Jazeera and agencies, 2011; Nordland, 2012)¹¹. Furthermore, Mubarak himself presented a dichotomy of 'chaos' versus 'stability' in his speech prior to his fall ("Mubarak's speech, 2011).

When the revolution had started in January 2011 it had been calling for the things that the post colonial is applying, people had been gathering and united together in order to ask for the same demands although they are from different classes and levels in the society. The main reason why they had been doing this revolution had been in order to apply the "post colonial approach" their country and to change completely its theory political and economical condition to become more modernized and much related to the western culture. Although it had been so unpredictable for the Egyptians to stand up against their rulers and government but they had actually succeeded to fight the old regime and let go of their president Hosny Mubarak along with his regime. People gathered in Tahrir square everyday without stopping asking for same calls and even with the rejection of the old regime and the suffering they had gone through

⁹ Perkins, A. (2010). *Mubarak's machine: The durability of the authoritarian regime in Egypt*. (Master's thesis, University of South Florida). Retrieved from <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/1737/>

¹⁰ El-Sherif, A. (2014). *Egypt's post-Mubarak predicament*. Retrieved from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace website: <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/01/29/egypt-s-post-mubarakpredicament/gzg2>

¹¹ Norland, R. (2012, July 19). Omar Suleiman, powerful Egypt spy chief, dies at 76. *The New York Times*.

from the police they did not stop because they believed in gaining their rights that they had not been taken for year. The corruption that the country had been going through had gone so bad the last years and the country had been getting worse , the Egyptians had been dreaming of having a better country that they can have their rights and freedom in. Moving from a non developed or a non democratic country to a developed ones needed a lot and cost a lot of youth their lives , its not an easy transmission but its something needed and wanted by everyone. After the old regime left the country had been ruled by The Muslim Brotherhood which had been too bad for the country and had a real negative impact on it and again the country had not been benefited at all by the contrary it had bee getting worse politically and economically so the revolution didn't actually stop at the departure of the old regime because the needs and demands required had not been met at all. (Newby, A.2012) ^{١٢}.

Again the Muslim brotherhood and the rulers after Mubark had left their positions and more revolutions had taken place aiming for better condition to the country. Applying post colonial approach is never easy when the country is being ruled by dictatorial people or by people who care for their personal interests more than the country's benefit and that is why it took 3 years for the Egyptians to protest and fight against the regimes that existed. The rulers that will rule after that will just know that not giving the Egyptians the freedom and democracy they need will end up with the same scenario so it's expected that the country will go through better era in the near future and a big change should happen that should be affecting positively the whole country. Post colonial is starting to take shape in the country where elections started being not fake, freedom of speech is now spreading and there is more media transparency that had never been there before .

The economy as well had gone better and the country is somehow better instability and all this is so promising to the country and the people living in it.(Wiener, M. J. 2013) ^{١٣}.

^{١٢} Newby, A. (2012), U.S. Civil Society Assistance to Egypt: Thinking Long Term. Digest of Middle East Studies, 21: 327-352. doi: 10.1111/j.1949-3606.2012.00165.x

^{١٣} Wiener, M. J. (2013), The Idea of "Colonial Legacy" and the Historiography of Empire. Journal of The Historical Society, 13: 1-32. doi: 10.1111/jhis.12000

As the Arab post-colonial republican regimes strove to consolidate their power, they faced indigenous. Economic classes that lacked the financial power or social coherence to pose an effective challenge to the state's dominance of its population. The military bureaucrats that now staffed the main institutions of the state were comparatively unrestrained by domestic interest groups as they attempted to transform society by unleashing what Ellen Trimberger aptly described as a 'revolution from above'. Applying post colonial approach to the Non Western countries actually benefit it economically and politically if it's done correctly and effectively and those simple things and cultures that are being rejected by the non Western cultures could be excluded as it won't be affecting the country by any mean.

The revolution against Mubarak in-2011 and its success in bringing about democratic elections did not necessitate the eradication of this representation. Although Morsi came into power through democratic procedures, his perception of Egyptians did not differ from colonisers or Mubarak's. The Constitutional Declaration Morsi announced in November 2012 commenced by positioning himself as the person in custody of saving and executing aims of the 2011 Revolution ("Constitutional Declaration", 2012). However, the Declaration was nothing but a violation of democracy as Morsi empowered himself by fusing legislative and executive branches of power. Post-colonial outlook on the relation of power and knowledge explains that in spite of conducting democratic elections and supposed transition to democracy, attempts fails as long as those in power hold unto creating realities and act accordingly disregarding the movements from below i.e. the actual reality.

Post-colonial forms of resistance

The principal objective of the two revolutions is to defy the artificially imposed representation on nature of Egyptians as immature and unfit for democracy, therefore, self-representation takes place. Post-colonial struggle takes the form of revolutionising the colonised mentality in order to realise their fallacy of superiority. Through cultural resistance, impact of representation is questioned and not kept to shape the future of citizens through forced co-optation (Rukundwa & Aarde, 2007)¹⁴. Ashcroft (2001) argues that in the light of representing

¹⁴ Rukundwa, L., & Aarde, A. (2007). *The formation of postcolonial theory*. Department of New

the colonised as children, the parental figure of those in power is challenged by self-representation manifested in cultural forms. The struggle to articulate self-representation is no longer in the form of armed struggles with opposing fronts but carried out as a daily practice in subtle forms such as 'mockery' and 'cartoons' (Abrahamsen, 2007) ^{1°}.

Mockery in the form of circulating jokes was the most dominant form of resistance under Mubarak. Spreading jokes is the realm Egyptians restored to in the absence of a democratic public-space or procedures to express their discontent. The jokes reveal the hatred owed to Mubarak by the public. Culmination of jokes for 30 years propositioned the possibility of an end to his rule, however, the when and how was not foreseen at the time (El Houdaiby, 2008; El Amrani, 2011) ^{1¹}. Jokes were almost the only form of mockery which went unpunished under Mubarak, criticism from writers or even cartoons by caricaturist were subject to sanctioning by Mubarak's regime. In an interview with the Egyptian caricaturist Ashraf Hamdy, he expressed his ability to do cartoons but to never touch on any Mubarak-related issues or figures (EI-Sabagh, 2014) ^{1²}. Morsi alleged democratic rule witnessed a transformation in the arena of mockery. Bassem Youssef, the satirist rising first by mocking Mubarak via Internet episodes then Morsi, moved mockery to TV reaching a wider audience. The challenge posed by transferring jokes and mockery from an untraceable level to TV contributes to easily exposing the essence of the ruling regime. Bassem Youssef was accused of "insulting Morsi and the Islamic faith" thus investigated (Beach, 2013) ^{1³}. The effectiveness of this form of resistance lies in reaching factions afraid of direct confrontation and its

Testament Studies, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa. Retrieved from <http://www.hts.org.za/index.php/HTS/article/view/237>

^{1°}Abrahamsen, R. (2007). Postcolonialism. In M. Griffiths (Ed.), *International Relations Theory for the 21st Century: An Introduction* New York: NY; Routledge

^{1¹}El Houdaiby, I. (2008, January 12). Laughing at dictatorship. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/jan/12/laughingatdictatorship>

^{1²}EI-Sabagh, M. (2014, January 14). Interview with caricature artist Ashraf Hamdy. *The Cairo Post*. Retrieved from http://thecairopost.com/news/73551/arts_and_culture/interview-withcaricature-artist-ashraf-hamdy

^{1³}Beach, A. (2013, March 31). A joke too far - top satirist Bassem Youssef arrested over insults to President Morsi. *The Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/a-joke-too-far--top-satiristbassem-youssef-arrested-overinsults-to-president-morsi-8555709.html>

consequences. Mockery and the awareness arising clarifies for majority of people the defects in rulers' claims of catering for their needs on the expense of their freedom.

The two revolutions through a Structuralist lens

The structuralist perspective views post-colonialism 'irrelevant' to day-to-day struggles of the 'poor and marginalised'. Since struggle of the poor and the marginalised entails a competition over resources and state control, post-colonial approach fails at grasping that this impediment is inherent in the international system due to the North-South sectionalism (Abrahamsen, 2007)¹³. North-South view of the international system places the North as centre of economic and political organisation mainly working to benefit the North through institutions it created to maximise use of available resources in the South. Some arguments to justify the role of such institutions go under the claim for promoting the South development (Fischer, 2012)¹⁴. The technological and organisational advancement of the North makes the policies it attempts in name of reforming the South further widens the gap between the two poles. This may reflect on the demands of the 2011 Revolution as protestors called for bread and social justice. While the policies Mubarak adopted from North institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) benefited his closest patrons, the public witnessed a major inequality in distributing benefits of these policies and poverty increased (Smith, 2013; Beinin, 2008)¹⁵. The two revolutions could be seen as a result of neoliberal economic changes advocated by the North. Reduced subsidies and prevailing poverty were the theme of of Mubarak's regime. Scepticism heightened as Morsi began his rule with a bargain on a loan from the IMF which announced to attempt major budget reduction and 'subsidies cuts' in order to satisfy regulations for the loan. The absence of such subsidises has an instant impact of disturbing the poor of

¹³Abrahamsen, R. (2007). Postcolonialism. In M. Griffiths (Ed.), *International Relations Theory for the 21st Century: An Introduction* New York: NY; Routledge

¹⁴Fischer, K. (2012). North-South Relations. *Online Dictionary Social and Political Key Terms of the Americas: Politics, Inequalities, and North-South Relations*.

¹⁵Smith, C. (2013). Democracy or authoritarianism? army or anarchy? First takes and later reflections on the Arab Spring. *Middle East Journal*, 67(4), 633-643.

Egypt (Gerbaudo, 2013) ^{xx}. From this perspective, structural-realism emphasises the impact of the international order and structural problems such as poverty as a cause for the two revolutions.

Actually, The notion of Orientalism in the post-colonial theory is of great importance to understanding the Egyptian crisis. This is because two important factors contributed to the revolution; one is police brutality which people wanted to end as a part of achieving their deserved human rights and the other is democracy that people wanted to establish as a means of holding officials accountable and controlling the amount of corruption that existed. These two factors are relevant to the concept of Orientalism because human rights and democracy are originally considered to be Western phenomena. However, the fact that human rights norms have become international and were a factor inspiring the revolution is proof of how Western ideology and culture is still dominant. It is because they are Western concepts that the West controls the world's view of how they should be enforced and practiced (Gelvin, 2012). The notions of the superior and the inferior are evident when we examine the Western world's initial response to the 25th of January revolution. At first, there was little to no significant signs to show approval and the United States continued to support Mubarak and yet once it became clear that the revolution was happening, they showed support for the will of the Egyptian people. Western intellectuals, such as Bernard Lewis, even went as far as to describe the revolution as a result of sexual suppression which is precisely the Orientalist perspective of the Middle East in the colonial and post-colonial era. The lack of education and initiative of the Egyptian people had always been used as a justification for the delay or lack of democracy in Egypt by Mubarak, and such ideas had always been supported by the West for example, former adviser to the U.S secretary of state Aaron David who concluded that Arabs are incapable of sharing power (Hashemi, 2013).

Further evidence of Orientalism and cultural hegemony is the refusal

^{xx}Gerbaudo, P. (2013). The roots of the coup. *Soundings: A journal of politics and culture*, (54), 104-113

of the Western world to accept the 30th June revolution as a popular revolt and the insistence on labeling it a coup despite the complexity of the situation. Although Mohamed Morsi was clearly becoming an authoritarian leader, evident in his constitutional declaration, the United States supported his regime with only few weak public statements about the dangers of his actions. Their cultural influence in the world far surpassed Egypt's many claims that the second revolution was necessary to return to the path of democracy. In addition, this disapproval did not go without consequences; to name one is the almost direct effect on the Egyptian tourism industry that proves that even the most valuable Egyptian export is heavily reliant on the circumstances of global politics in which Egypt's role is inferior to that of the Great powers (Shama, p.219-228, 2014).

In addition to this, the crisis of the 30th June revolution in 2013 was the result of Egyptians electing Muslim Brotherhood member Mohamed Morsi as their president. It could be argued that this was another attempt at returning to tradition and the true Egyptian identity which post-colonialism would explain. However, in his book that discusses how the Arab Spring symbolizes the end of post-colonialism, Hamid Dabashi explains that the Egyptian revolution delegitimizes post-colonial and Orientalist theories and that it marks the beginning of a new era. What that means for this paper is that post-colonial theory is not relevant to our understanding of the current Egyptian crisis.

One important point that must be made in order to assess his claim is that Dabashi argued that the "new order" following the revolution is characterized as "cosmopolitan worldliness" where there is no longer the significant rivalry between Islam and the West. He argues that the post-colonial era has ended and this is proven by the desire of Egyptians (and all Arabs) to achieve democracy while simultaneously shifting and becoming open to non-Islamic thinking (pp. 12-15, 2012). Although there is little truth to this argument, it is highly elitist and did not consider fully the political culture of the masses that did not in fact change all that radically after the first revolution and evidently in the presidential elections that brought Morsi. Therefore, the post-colonial approach remains dominant in its successful analysis of Egypt's events.

Conclusion

Post-colonial approach challenges traditional IR theories both on ontological and epistemic bases. The criticisms of post-colonial approach arise from the same assumptions which post-colonialism attempts at clarifying its invalidity due to its biased origins. The impact of colonial discourse and practices in Egypt is evident. Mubarak has legitimated himself in the father figure in compliance with colonial depiction of Egyptians as children and similarly justified hoard of power. Although Morsi came into power through democratic procedures reflecting will of the public, however, residue of colonial discourse influenced his decisions and practices. The threat of this conduct lies in presenting rulers in images which does not meet reality. Rulers are imposed as parental figures caring for their offspring and taking decisions on their behalf to help them. The rationale presented to the public follows the colonisers' logic of asserting how the natives are not capable yet of managing their own country_ The state becomes the hoard of a few associated to the ruler and empowered by public offices and equally maintain this image to sustain benefit of blind submission to Western policies without taking public consent or being accountable. However, due to rising Egyptian consciousness of their ability to represent themselves capable to self-governance and adopt democracy, revolution is the reaction even for the autocratic conduct of democratically-elected Morsi. Associating revolutionising consciousness and subtle forms of resistance as in mockery is crucial in understanding how the public achieved self-representation. In fact, mockery in the case of Egypt has proven to not only catalyses the revolution but directly challenge rulers' authority and legitimacy. The structuralist criticism of post-colonial approach in interpreting the revolution is relevant. Mubarak and Morsi attempted by approaching Western institutions which in a re-creation of the colonial era assert to help development of Egypt while the only benefactor is the West itself. However, post-colonial approach stresses that these institutions are designed and function according to the reality they created, any dichotomy of superiority and inferiority, developed and underdeveloped, etc is the underlying episteme for such order. Post-colonialism is valuable in understanding the struggle for_ Egyptians to challenge the injustice committed against them due to a false imposed representation.

Bibliography

- "English text of Morsi's constitutional declaration". (2012, November 22). *Ahram Online*. Retrieved from <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/58947.aspx>
- "Hosni Mubarak's speech: full text". (2011, February 02). *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/02/president-hosni-mubaraकेgypt-speech>
- Abrahamsen, R. (2007). Postcolonialism. In M. Griffiths (Ed.), *International Relations Theory for the 21st Century: An Introduction* New York: NY; Routledge.
- Al Jazeera and agencies. (2011, February 03). Suleiman: Mubarak is our father. *Al Jazeera*. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/02/2011231756869465.html>
- Beach, A. (2013, March 31). A joke too far - top satirist Bassem Youssef arrested over insults to President Morsi. *The Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/a-joke-too-far--top-satiristbassem-youssef-arrested-overinsults-to-president-morsi-8555709.html>
- Beinin, J. (2008). Underbelly of Egypt's neoliberal agenda. *Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)*, Retrieved from <http://195.246.60.17:2066/mero/mero040508>
- Cain, P. (2006). Character and imperialism: The British financial administration of Egypt, 1878-1914. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. 34(2), pp.177-200. DOI: 10.1080/03086530600633405
- Dirlik, A. (1994). The postcolonial aura: Third world criticism in the age of global capitalism. In D. Brydon (Ed.), *Postcolonialism: critical concepts in literary and cultural studies* (Vol. 1, pp. 207-236). New York, NY: Routledge.
- El Amrani, I. (2011, January 2). Three decades of a joke that just won't die. *Foreign Policy*. Retrieved from http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/01/02/three_decades_of_a_joke_that_just_wontdie
- El Houdaiby, I. (2008, January 12). Laughing at dictatorship. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/jan/12/laughingatdictatorship>
- El-Sabagh, M. (2014, January 14). Interview with caricature artist Ashraf Hamdy. *The Cairo Post*. Retrieved from http://thecairopost.com/news/73551/arts_and_culture/interview-withcaricature-artist-ashraf-hamdy
- El-Sherif, A. (2014). *Egypt's post-Mubarak predicament*. Retrieved from Carnegie Endowment for International Peace website: <http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/01/29/egypt-s-post-mubarak-predicament/gzg2>

- Fischer, K. (2012). North-South Relations. *Online Dictionary Social and Political Key Terms of the Americas: Politics, Inequalities, and North-South Relations*. Retrieved From http://elearning.uni-bielefeld.de/wikifarm/fields/ges_cias/field.php/Main/Unterkapitel1142
- Gerbaudo, P. (2013). The roots of the coup. *Soundings: A journal of politics and culture*, (54), 104-113. Retrieved from http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/soundings_a_journal_of_politics_and_culture/v054/54.gerbaudo.pdf
- Lang, A. (2013). From revolutions to constitutions: The case of Egypt. *International Affairs*. 89(2), pp. 345-363.
- Mak, L. (2011). More than officers and officials: Britons in occupied Egypt, 1882-1922. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*. 39(1), pp. 21-46, DOI: 10.1080/03086534.2011.543794
- Norland, R. (2012, July 19). Omar Suleiman, powerful Egypt spy chief, dies at 76. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/20/world/middleeast/omar-suleiman-exegyptian-vice-president-dies-reports-say.html?_r=2&
- Perkins, A. (2010). *Mubarak's machine: The durability of the authoritarian regime in Egypt*. (Master's thesis, University of South Florida). Retrieved from <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/1737/>
- Rukundwa, L., & Aarde, A. (2007). *The formation of postcolonial theory*. Department of New Testament Studies, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa. Retrieved from <http://www.hts.org.za/index.php/HTS/article/view/237>
- Smith, C. (2013). Democracy or authoritarianism? army or anarchy? First takes and later reflections on the Arab Spring. *Middle East Journal*, 67(4), 633-643. Retrieved from http://195.246.60.17:2098/journals/the_middle_east_journal/v067/67.4.smith.html
- Warzeski, J. (2002). Mapping the unknown: Gendered spaces and the oriental other in travelogues of Egypt by U.S. women, 1854-1914. *History and Anthropology*. 13(4), pp. 301-317. DOI: 10.1080/0275720022000046760