IDENTITY CRISIS: HOW IDEOLOGICAL AND RHETORICAL FAILURES COST

EGYPTIANS THEIR REVOLUTION

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Abstract

The Egyptian uprising, which began on January 25, 2011, and ended on February 11, 2011, culminated in the ending of President Hosni Mubarak's 30-year reign as dictator. After free elections in which the Muslim Brotherhood ascended to power in the country, they were ousted in a military coup d'état only one year after their ascension to power and were replaced by former military general Abdul-Fattah el-Sisi. The symptoms which led the country to rise up against Mubarak continue to exist under el-Sisi today, indicating that no revolution really took place. This paper answers the question, "why did the revolution fail?", offering a rhetorical reason for the revolution's failure. The uprisings, which were billed as decentralized, offer unique opportunities for analysis of rhetorical strategy. This paper uses the reconstitutive-discourse model, a critical model which examines a rhetor's reconstitution of their audience's character, to examine the rhetoric of three different parties in the revolution. First, it examines the rhetoric of all protestors irrespective of source via Twitter and on the ground protestors; next it looks at the rhetoric of Wael Ghonim, who is credited with instigating the uprisings, and Mohammed ElBaradei, an influential figure who became interim vice-president in the aftermath of the uprisings. The study found that first, the uprisings were not really decentralized and indeed has leaders. Further, rhetorical failures on the part of its leaders caused the uprisings to fail in their goal of democratic revolution.

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"The essential, the identifying characteristic of democracy is that here the people rule." - Frederick Antczak

Chapter 1: Introduction

Kramnick (1972) defines revolution as, "a flagrant and abrupt change in the fundamental conditions of legality, understood in this sense of giving legitimacy or acceptability" (p. 182). Further, he limns the analogous nature of political revolution to scientific revolution, defining the latter as occurring when:

> . . .one paradigm is replaced with another, when a new highest-level conceptual scheme which governs all lower-level experimentation and theory replaces another. This does not occur through evolution. In terms of the old paradigm, the new appears absurd, unnatural, and impossible. It is a conception of the universe deemed illegal by the legitimizing canons of its immediate predecessor. The old and the new paradigm are utterly incompatible; the sudden change from one to another is the essence of scientific revolution.

Historically, revolutions have developed around a central figure or party. In Germany, it was Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party; in Russia, Lenin and the Bolsheviks; Che Guevara and the antiimperialist Cuban revolutionaries; or Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh. Each of these rhetors successfully reconstituted the identities of their audiences, upon whom they depended for meeting their political goals. Given this, the synchronicity between the goals of party and constituency has been paramount to the party's success.

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By contrast, the event known as the Arab Spring presents novel opportunities for rhetorical scholarship for two reasons: first, the Arab Spring is said to have been decentralized. Chalcraft (2012) explains that a decentralized movement refers to one instigated by multiple parties without a particular doctrine, where society is constructed deliberatively through consensus-based action. This contends with the established notion that a social movement relies on a leader with a focused vision for it to have a goal towards which to work (DeCaro, 2003). The next characteristic which renders the Arab Spring unique is that the uprisings are said to have been facilitated by social media (Al-Jenaibi, 2011; Scott, 2012; Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011; Iskander, 2011; Russell, 2011). The rhetoric of the revolution was shared online by its proponents, and the utilization of social media in reconstitutive discourse has never before been studied by rhetorical scholars.

1.1 Contextualizing the Arab Spring:

In the wake of the global decolonization which followed World War II, citizens of nations in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia Minor, and much of Africa and South America, which had newly gained their sovereignty, aspired to cement their national identities. Unfortunately, these newly-formed nations found themselves making necessary concessions involving the trading of social, political, and economic liberties for the promise of prosperity under government-centralized industries; and the regimes under which many of them found themselves were dictatorships. For many of these new sovereignties, the hope of democracy dwindled in the postwar period. As time went on, however, many of these post-colonial dictatorial regimes began to fail. Be it for reasons that were political, social, or economic in nature, or a mix of any of the three, their citizens once again aspired to the ideal of democracy, hoping that self-government would ameliorate the problems brought on them by dictatorships.

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Such hope for democracy blossomed in the Arab World in the final days of 2010 with a series of revolutions that became known as the Arab Spring. It began first in Tunisia; then in Egypt and Libya, until civil demonstrations occurred on some scale in a majority of countries spanning the Middle East and North Africa.

1.2 Contextualizing Egypt:

It is important to understand, however, that not every country which participated in the Arab Spring faced the same set of challenges, nor experienced the same outcome. Although there has been a tendency in popular media to discuss the events homogeneously, this is probably due to their geographic and temporal proximity, and the similar set of motivating factors which spurred the revolutions. However, it is important to study the context of each individual country in order to determine the specific challenges each faced during their own Arab Spring uprising, as well as to understand their outcomes (Anderson, 2011). Özekin and Akkaş (2014) denote five variables which ultimately shape the outcome of the uprisings: government response; role of security forces; foreign intervention; ethnic and sectarian makeup of society; and politico-institutional characteristics of state structure

In Egypt, the uprisings were motivated by strong sociopolitical and socioeconomic issues which plagued multiple strata of Egyptian society. It was against the regime of President Hosni Mubarak that the Egyptian people revolted. Mubarak had assumed power in 1981 after the assassination of his predecessor, Anwar Sadat. Like much of the Middle East, a conservatively governed post-colonial Egypt operated under the auspices of what Faria and McAdam (2015) refer to as the Arab "Social Contract," where autocracy was tolerated in the Arab world in return for economic stability and security as newly-independent states planned their growth. Despite initial periods of high growth and enhancing development in Egypt for a short time, however,

this system was inherently risk-averse and tended towards security and stability rather than investment in infrastructure. It also placed a large amount of economic control in the hands of the public sector, creating a system of patronage where basic necessities such as food, jobs, and public infrastructure were regulated by the state. In addition to this, practices hindering the competitiveness of the private sector by the state suppressed the sector's economic prowess (Amin, 2012). When an economic crisis loomed before a heavily indebted Egypt in the 1990's, Mubarak's government struck an economic reformation accord with the World Bank. According to Shehata (2011):

> Over the next two decades, the Egyptian government under took a series of structural adjustments to the economy that reduced spending on social programs; liberalized trade, commodity prices, and interest rates; suspended the longtime guarantee of government employment for university graduates; privatized a number of public-sector companies; and suspended subsidies for many commodities. As state expenditures declined, public spending on social services—including education, health care, transportation, and housing—stagnated, and the quality of these services deteriorated. (p. 27)

While this system worked for those in political power as well as their limited clientele, it did little to deliver prosperity or social justice to the large majority of the Egyptian people (Malik & Awadallah, 2013). Egyptians who had depended on the state to provide them their basic necessities were now bereft.

Parallel to its socioeconomic problems were Egypt's sociopolitical problems. Many Arab countries, including Egypt, were ruled by authoritarian regimes under a flimsy guise of representative democracy. Freedom of assembly or expression were often curtailed, and the widespread waves of democracy which had made their way into Latin America, Eastern Europe,

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and Eastern and Central Asia had barely made a ripple on Arab shores (UNDP, 2002). The actions of the police force went largely unchecked; the police often used torture and brutality as a means of extracting information from suspects. It was also used as a way of curbing demonstrations and protests (The Guardian, 2011). An overall feeling of repression, and a lack of personal safety and dignity permeated all but the topmost strata of Egyptian society (Al-Abed Al-Haq & Hussein, 2012). Corruption and injustice weighed down the Egyptian people, particularly the youth, who were keen on participating in a more democratic form of governance.

Thus, when Khaled Said, an Egyptian blogger, had been beaten to death by two police officers because of an incriminating video he had possessed and intended to upload online showing the officers divvying up cash and narcotics which had been seized during a drug bust (Bradley, 2010), the condition of the state finally pushed Egyptians across the threshold from compliance into dissidence. Critically, the death of Said had come on the cusp of the Tunisian revolution. Egyptians, heartened by Tunisia's successful deposing of Zine el-Abidine bin Ali, were awakened to the possibility of reassuming popular control of their government, and the death of Said had given them the cause behind which they would rally (Saikal, 2011; Anderson, 2011) .

1.3 A Democratic Ideology

The demonstrations in Egypt were manifestations of calls for a democratic system of governance voiced by its citizens (Saikal, 2011). Democratization theory, which describes the conditions under which society turns to democracy as a viable political solution to current problems, explains this phenomenon. Inglehart and Welzel's modernization theory of democratization (2009) establishes that:

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Modernization is a syndrome of social changes linked to industrialization. Once set in

motion, it tends to penetrate all aspects of life, bringing occupational specialization,

urbanization, rising educational levels, rising life expectancy, and rapid economic

growth. These create a self-reinforcing process that transforms social life and political

institutions, bringing rising mass participation in politics and –in the long run—making

the establishment of democratic political institutions increasingly likely. Today, we have

a clearer idea than ever before of why and how this process of democratization happens.

According to this theory, which inextricably links modernization and the eventual establishment

of a democracy, Egypt was ripe for democratic revolution. The Middle East and North Africa

(MENA) region had begun to enjoy longer life expectancies (World Bank, 2016), and had placed

strong emphasis on education beginning in the 1960's (World Bank, 2014). Further, in 2010,

43.0% of Egypt's population lived in urban areas (Central Agency for Public Mobilization and

Statistics, 2018). Pre-revolutionary Egypt seemed to meet many of the criteria laid out in the

modernization theory of democratization: the working-age youth in Egypt were plentiful, and

they were educated, but critically, they were also unemployed (World Bank, 2009). Rising life

expectancy and education levels, as well as mass urbanization, were critical components of

Egyptian society preceding the revolution. A younger and more well-educated Egypt had led to

greater political awareness and proclivity for political discussion by its citizens (Kuhn, 2012;

UNDP, 2010).

Sarihan (2012) uses Huntington's (1991, 1993) theory of third wave democratization to more

specifically contextualize Egyptian democratization. Huntington's theory holds that between

1974 and 1990 there occurred a third wave of democratization which resulted in 30 countries

establishing themselves as democracies. The chief characteristics of the third wave are that,

unlike first and second wave democratization, countries experience internal pressure towards democratization, usually resulting from opposition groups. The other chief characteristic is that the political systems which are turned democratic should be military regimes, personal dictatorships, one party systems, or a combination of these. He argues that the movement towards democratization can occur either by reformists establishing a democracy or by collapsing the current autocratic regime.

While this theory endeavors to explain the process of democratization, as well as the conditions which tend to create a push for democratization, it neither defines what a democracy is, nor does it guarantee that the changing system precipitates a democracy. Indeed, in his analysis of the Arab Spring, Sarihan (2012) concedes that neither was he able to conclusively place the Arab Spring within the third wave of democratization, nor would participation within the third wave of democratization necessarily lead to the establishment of a truly democratic regime. In fact, the situation against which he warns in his conclusion, the allowance of a military takeover of the government, transpired exactly in this way in Egypt. One year in the wake of the revolution, the military organized a coup after the election of the Muslim Brotherhood to the presidency under the auspices of a new constitution. They jailed the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, outlawed the party, and assumed control of the government, placing former military general Abdel-Fattah el-Sisi in power.

1.4 Present-Day Egypt:

Sisi's ascension to the presidency has seen many of the factors which led the Egyptian people to the point of revolution continue to exist within the country under the post-revolutionary regime. On August 14, 2013, the military committed what has come to be known as the Rabaa massacre, in which at least 817 people protesting Abdel-Fattah el-Sisi's ascension to the

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presidency were killed by the military. In addition to this, there is documentation of various other killings committed by the Egyptian military (Human Rights Watch, 2014). Police brutality is still rampant in the country, with protestors and dissidents still being held indefinitely and, in many cases, tortured without charges being brought against them (El Sirgany, 2016). Poverty has continued to climb in Egypt (UNICEF, 2017), and unemployment numbers have also increased in the post-Mubarak period, with 2017 being the first year these figures have seen a decline rather than an increase since the revolution (World Bank, 2018).

Thus, given Kramnick's (1972) definition of revolution, it is clear that no revolution really took place in Egypt. This paper offers a rhetorical answer to the question, "why did the Egyptian revolution fail?". Answering this question will involve examining why Egypt was unable to have a truly democratic revolution, who was responsible for implementing the ideology that governed the protestors, and whether or not that ideology took root.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Despite overwhelming interest in studying the Arab Spring, few academics have analyzed the actual discourse exchanged during the uprisings. Van Dijk (1993) defines critical discourse as involving:

> . . .that we presuppose a serious analysis of the very conditions and modalities of inequality, e.g. in terms of social power, dominance, and their reproduction. In a critical study, such an analysis is not limited to a sociological or political-scientific account of dominance or patterns of access to social resources. Rather, positions and perspectives need to be chosen. . .Such choices influence virtually all levels of theory and method.

According to van Dijk, critical discourse analysis can be done in many ways using a variety of methods. However, the chief characteristic of critical discourse analysis involves a thorough analysis of the strata of social power within a society and the dominance and inequality which results from the positions and perspectives on each stratum.

Alaimo's (2015) work, which conducts a content analysis of the discourse between Wael Ghonim, the creator and original administrator of the "We Are Khaled Said" Facebook group, and the group's followers, touts the revolution as a success for the Egyptian people's successful deposing of President Hosni Mubarak. However, no mention is made with regards to the aftermath of the Arab Spring; further, the resulting Egyptian political, social, and economic infrastructure is not taken into account in the author's analysis. Critically, however, Alaimo credits Ghonim for triggering the revolution in Egypt. Her study analyzes the posts made by Ghonim and 100 of each post's earliest commenters in order to ascertain the role played by the Facebook group in "catalyzing and sustaining" (p.5) the protests. According to the author, the

findings demonstrate that substantive discourse was issued by Ghonim, mainly including his "softening" of his followers to the idea of participating in civil protests, further educating them on the specific grievances brought on the Egyptian people by the Mubarak regime, and positing ideas for the reconstitution of the country's government. Alaimo concludes that social media can be used as a platform for meaningful discussion. However, this work constitutes a content analysis of the discourse, and the author employs no specific critical rhetorical methodologies in their analysis.

Al Masaeed (2013) conducts a critical discourse analysis of the slogans of the revolution. He concluded that Egyptians had adapted language into powerful slogans which had served to challenge the status quo, and by doing so had successfully challenged an oppressive regime. Once again, however, the scope of his paper is extremely limited, and the conclusions presented are limited and vague. Although a critical methodology was implemented to analyze the revolutionary rhetoric of the Egyptian uprising, the sample size collected, composed of only four examples of revolutionary slogans, was too small for any definitive conclusion to have been made.

Eltantawy & Wiest (2011) utilize resource mobilization theory, a social mobilization theory, to further lend credence to the notion of the internet as logistical tool. In their work they discuss the internet as a resource for disseminating information amongst the revolutionaries. Resource mobilization theory holds that the use of a resource depends on its availability as well as the means to use it. By the time of the Egyptian revolution, Egypt had been experiencing one of the highest rates of internet usage per capita in the world. Realizing that the internet could be used to facilitate the revolution would have been innately logical to Egyptian revolutionaries, who had only just seen its usefulness in aiding the revolution of their Tunisian neighbors.

Critically, this also means that within the messages sent amongst each other, Egyptian revolutionaries found the motivation to go out into the streets and begin their revolution. Unlike most examples of revolutionary rhetoric, this means that face-to-face communication was not the preliminary nor primary means of facilitating the revolution. Although there are scholars who would argue over the extent of the role played by the internet, it is impossible to make claims about whether or not the revolution would have happened without it. The fact is that the internet was used as a means of facilitating the revolution.

Other works further cite the logistical role played by the internet. Lotan et al. (2011) conduct an analysis of Twitter, which not only includes the communication exchanges between revolutionaries, but tracks the flow of news and other information during the revolution. They note that different group types interacting with one another tended to generate more or less audience interaction on Twitter (in the form of retweets). For example, they note that interactions between journalists and activists generated the most prominent reactions from Twitter audiences, indicating that interested parties included those who would be affected by the events of the revolution, mainstream media trying to keep viewers up-to-date with current events, and general readers who wished to know about events as they happen. While their study looks at audience reactions to specific interactions, it does not qualitatively examine the conversations being had on Twitter, and thus makes no analysis of them. It does not examine how audiences were affected by the information shared with them on Twitter, only that they indicated interest in it.

While the literature has an apparent tendency to examine the function of the internet as a logistical tool, at least in context of the Arab Spring, Aouragh & Alexander (2011) discuss the critical difference between the internet as a space and as a tool. They explain the internet as a "space…in which it is possible to articulate an intellectual challenge to dominant ideas about the

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social and political order". They note that online platforms, particularly social media, functioned as "spheres of dissidence" which allowed for the formation of opinions, and then as a logistical tool for establishing places or times for future meetings or protests. What is singularly absent is any note about the nature or subject of the opinions formed: were people swayed to protest in order to oust the Mubarak regime or in order to establish Egypt as a democracy? Like analyses of Egyptian democratization, critical details concerning the content of the rhetoric of the revolution seem to be missing from their analysis.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

There has been a limited amount of critical discourse analyses conducted by rhetorical scholars with regards to the Egyptian Arab Spring uprising. In contrast to its magnitude in affecting the political infrastructure of the country, this indicates that there is an opportunity for more thorough analysis to be conducted on the discourse exchanged during the events of the uprising. This paper uses Hammerback and Jensen's (2003) reconstitutive-discourse model to offer a rhetorical explanation for the failure of the revolution. Reconstitutive discourse theory traces its roots to theories of rhetorical criticism which hold that "the clearest access to persuasion (and hence to ideology) is through the discourse used to produce it. . .ideology in practice is a political language, preserved in rhetorical documents, with the capacity to dictate decision and control public belief and behavior" (McGee, 1980). Solomon (1988) adds that there exists:

> A relationship between specific ideologies and their inherent rhetoric. Clearly, one's ideology constrains the arguments one uses and colors the presentation of those arguments. Some ideologies are also inherently more attractive to particular audiences and, thus, present fewer rhetorical problems for their advocates (p. 184).

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In the simplest terms, reconstitutive rhetoric occurs when a rhetor attempts to redefine their audience into a "new person." As such, it requires the rhetor to employ specific rhetorical means to meet this goal (Hammerback, 2001).

The reconstitutive-discourse model is a critical model for analyzing the dissemination of an ideology from a rhetor to an audience. The model operationalizes not just persuasion towards, but the very enactment of an ideology, through its discourse. It achieves this by dividing a rhetoric into three elements for critique: the first persona, or how an audience perceives the rhetor; the second persona, or how a rhetor personifies the audience in their message; and thirdly, the substantive message itself, comprising of goals, implicit or explicit behavioral cues, evidences, and validations for the audience.

The operationalized reconstitutive-discourse model was built on Antczak's (1985) claim that an audience's identification with a rhetor imbues that rhetor with authority over their audience. Antczak writes:

> Americans identified with, granted authority to those like them; in the full capabilities and virtues his discipline gave him, an Emerson or Twain or James could be representative of them – like them, only more so. The audience, by being drawn to his character, was drawn to the thought that clearly helped make him. The reconstitutive power of this rhetoric lay in the identification of thought and character.

The rhetor's success lies in their ability to merge both thought and character, such that their audience's identification with the rhetor draws them to that rhetor's thoughts. The identity of the rhetor conveyed to the audience by the rhetor constitutes the first step in reconstitutive discourse, known as the first persona. Antczak's rhetorical interpretation of the first persona expands on the

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ideas of literary critic Wayne Booth that the character of an author exists entirely within the text and can be fabricated by the author. It draws strongly on the ethos of the rhetor and is exemplified most directly by direct comparison. First persona rhetoric is exemplified, for instance, in a politician running for election in a mining town citing that they also "used to work in the mines." The first persona can take into account either textual or non-textual sources, such as the rhetor's actions, family history, and ethos. Further, while the author has a means of formulating their character for their audience, there are, crucially, elements they cannot control. For example, the author cannot control their audiences' subconscious precepts. That notwithstanding, the key to a rhetor's success lies in the rhetor's ability to convey a persona with which an audience not only identifies, but who represents the utmost in those characteristics such that the audience aspires towards the thoughts (ideologies) which made the rhetor.

In the next step of successful reconstitutive discourse, the second persona mirrors the first persona in that it refers to the implied auditor, or implied audience, of a text, rather than the implied author. Hammerback and Jensen (2003) draw on the work of Edwin Black (1970), who states that the second persona is a version of the author's audience that the author creates. It may be communicated to the audience by the rhetor either explicitly, in the form of being given a directive; or implicitly, by citing personality traits necessary for the movement to reach its goal. The second persona reinforces the reconstitutive power of a rhetoric and clarifies for the audience the actions they must take in order to most completely identify with a rhetor and their message, and thus more wholly become the idealized person with whom they are identifying. For instance, in his (1994) analysis of the fascist rhetoric of Jose Antonio, Hammerback demonstrates the utilization of both first and second persona by the rhetor in Antonio's creation of a necessity for specific characteristics in a Spanish leader (second persona), and then the

fulfillment of those characteristics within himself (first persona). The strategic brilliance of this move is made evident in the understanding that Antonio's call for a leader with specific characteristics makes him the intended auditor of his own rhetoric, while also drawing the attention of the Spanish public to his fulfillment of these expectations for a leader.

Both the first persona and the second persona are communicated to the audience via a substantive message which incorporates "themes, arguments, explanations, and evidence" (Hammerback & Jensen, 2003) into the author's work. This augments the personas cast onto the audience by the author; it may also articulate the objectives of a movement. The author may propound ideas, behaviors, and goals necessary for the success of a movement and claim that they themselves embody them, or convey that they embody them through behaviors, mannerisms, language, and appearance. Referring to Antczak (1985), if an audience identifies with a rhetor, they are also inclined to identify with the rhetor's message. By doing this, the rhetor creates an argument in which their audience attempts to realize in themselves the character they believe the rhetor to be. The substantive message is crucial in the reinforcement and validation of the character presented to the audience to embody, affording them the tools they need in order to successfully embody and defend the personas.

Multiple rhetorical scholars have utilized the reconstitutive discourse model to assess the effects of reconstitutive rhetoric on an audience. It is critical to note, however, that only centralized, interpersonal examples of reconstitutive discourse have ever been recorded by scholars. Two particular hallmarks of the Egyptian uprising differentiate it from past revolutions: according to Chalcraft (2012), the Egyptian uprising was decentralized in nature, which in this case refers to a movement instigated by multiple parties without a particular doctrine, where society is constructed deliberatively through consensus-based action. The other feature which

distinguishes it from other mass uprisings is the proliferation of its rhetoric online (Al-Jenaibi, 2011; Scott, 2012; Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011; Iskander, 2011; Russell, 2011). This provides new opportunities for ascertaining whether or not reconstitutive discourse can occur outside of currently-recorded contexts. In Hammerback and Jensen's (2003) work on the rhetorical career of Cesar Chavez, Chavez "aimed for nothing else than the rhetorical reconstitution of listeners and readers who would then act out their new definitions by working with him to reach his goals" (p. 44). Understanding that the goals set by a rhetor in their discourse is paramount to the success of the movement cannot be understated in studies of reconstitutive rhetoric. Without goals towards which to work, the purpose of a rhetoric is completely changed from operationalizability to something else entirely. This point has been understated in current studies of reconstitutive discourse, but is perhaps its most important facet, providing an end for the rhetoric. Chavez, who was faced with the task of organizing and unionizing American farm workers, utilized a strong rhetorically reconstitutive approach in order to meet his goal. He wished to turn a group of individual farmers and supporters into "a vibrant movement capable of defeating entrenched agricultural interests in and beyond California" (p. 62).

DeCaro (2003) furthers the theory, drawing upon an important facet of reconstitutive discourse: cultural distinctions and comprehension. In his work, *Rhetoric of Revolt: Ho Chi Minh's Discourse for Revolution*, he describes the importance of Vietnamese nationalism as well as cultural heritage to the success of Ho Chi Minh's rhetoric during Vietnamese independence. Further, he notes that the Western inability to understand this nationalist movement in Far East Asia ensured that the constituency of the revolution would not be swayed by external pressures (p. 51).

McGee (1980) provides a useful means of understanding these notions of cultural distinction by understanding the political audience. McGee discusses "ideographs," or political slogans which hold a specific meaning to the particular society within which they exist. There are two critical points he brings up in his work: first, that these ideographs hold real meaning for the people who enact them. On this, he says:

> The important fact about ideographs is that they exist in real discourse, functioning clearly and evidently as agents of political consciousness. They are not invented by observers; they come to be as a part of the real lives of the people whose motives they articulate. (p. 7)

McGee stresses that ideologies hold sway over not only those who are the subjects of political expressions of power, but over those who enact those expressions as well. In the Egyptian revolutionary scenario, this translates to their own belief in the ideologies expressed in their rhetoric, as well as their desire to persuade other Egyptians to those beliefs. In addition, he stresses the lack of "pure" definitions for ideographs, positing instead that their meanings are constantly changing, derived from their specific applications over time. On putting forth an applicable definition for an ideograph, he argues that:

> . . .we are forced to make reference to its history by detailing the situations for which the word has been an appropriate description. Then, by comparisons over time, we establish an analog for the proposed present usage of the term. Earlier usages become precedent, touchstones for judging the propriety of the ideograph in a current circumstance (p. 10).

Extrapolating his words to the Egyptian revolutionary context, this alleges that any political slogan or rhetorical device used for persuasion during the revolution is a concept understood

from previous applications of that concept. Thus, Egyptian calls for "democracy" must come from their collective understanding of democracy. It would be reasonable to assume, given the high rates of Egyptians on the internet, and the state of globalization, that the majority of Egyptians were tantalized by western governments, primarily the United States, which they viewed as truly democratic, or at least far more democratic than their own.

Thus, if the Egyptian revolution was indeed decentralized, then is the reconstitutive discourse method applicable? It is precisely to this question that this paper intends to contribute an answer. Historically, identities of audiences have been precipitated by rhetors who acted as catalysts. By studying the rhetoric of the Egyptian revolution, this paper conducts the first examination of whether or not an audience can reconstitute itself from within. And so, by utilizing the reconstitutive discourse model, and examining all relevant extant Egyptian revolutionary rhetoric from the Arab Spring, I hope to offer a rhetorical explanation for the results of the 2011 Egyptian uprising.

Chapter 3: Methodology

When examining the reconstitutive discourse from a decentralized standpoint, the rhetoric must first be divided into that of the revolution and that of the regime. "Rhetoric" for the purposes of this study is defined as any actionable or ideological political language. This paper focuses only on the rhetoric of Egyptian revolutionaries between the dates of January 25, 2011 to February 11, 2011 via two platforms: the decentralized, organized masses, whose rhetoric exists online on Twitter and Facebook (Al-Jenaibi, 2011; Scott, 2012; Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011; Iskander, 2011; Russell, 2011) and the slogans chanted in mass protests on the street (Al-Abed Al-Haq & Hussein, 2012; Al Masaeed, 2013). The constituency of this group is viewed as anyone participating via either of these media. Revolutionary discourse on Twitter is assessed by taking a sample of the fifteen latest posts every 6 hours containing the "#jan25" hashtag. This was the most popular hashtag used during the days of the uprising (Wilson & Dunn, 2011). The sort order of a post is determined by Twitter's "Latest" posts function, which organizes posts chronologically in descending order from latest to earliest. Further, search filters are used to isolate the timeframe of a tweet. The slogans are those found in extant academic works, as well as those available through textual and visual/audio documentation of the protests. However, a limitation of studying such a broadly segmented group limits the specificity of the analysis. Despite the revolutionaries collectively striving to instill a new paradigm, the nature of the paradigm to be instilled differs depending on the specific ideologies of each individual revolutionary.

Classically, however, those who espoused the revolution and are considered its leaders are also studied. Alaimo (2015) and Howard and Hussain (2011) stress the significance of the part played by Wael Ghonim in the uprising. They claim that Ghonim, who was the creator and

original administrator of the "We Are All Khaled Said" Facebook page is responsible for triggering the revolution. Alaimo's contention that the substantive nature of Ghonim's discourse in disseminating ideological as well as inspirational rhetoric warrants the study of said discourse. Ghonim's Facebook posts from his "We Are All Khaled Said" Facebook page are assessed; however, because several of the posts he made were deleted, some of the deleted posts are taken from his book, *Revolution 2.0: The power of the people is greater than the people in power: A memoir* (2012). The data collected is from those posts which were generated between January 25, 2011, and February 11, 2011.

The third and final party whose rhetoric is studied is Mohammed ElBaradei, the 2005 Nobel Peace-Prize winner who served as interim vice-president of Egypt after the ouster of Hosni Mubarak. ElBaradei boasted enormous popularity amongst many Egyptian citizens. He had previously served as chief of the United Nations' International Atomic Energy Agency and had been a proponent for a more democratic Egypt since at least 2004 (Iskander, 2011). ElBaradei had begun reaching out to Egyptian youth to inspire hope for a change in the Egyptian political system in 2009, gradually becoming more of an antagonist towards the Mubarak regime. In 2010 he established the National Movement for Change, a collective of intellectuals and politicians that called for democracy in Egypt (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011). Although ElBaradei is heavily active on social media, he either did not contribute much online content during the revolution, which seems unlikely, especially given that he was not actually in Egypt at the time of the revolution; or his content was deleted following the ouster of Mubarak. Given this, any extant textual or audio/visual content of ElBaradei's referring to the 2011 uprising is analyzed. This includes primary sources such as remaining Tweets; as well as secondary sources such as newspaper articles.

The reconstitutive-discourse model is used to examine each of a rhetor's body of rhetoric for cohesiveness in the portrayal of a persona embodying a specific ideology for their audience to adopt. The success of the rhetoric assessed in this paper is measured by the adherence of a body of rhetoric by a rhetor/party to a specific ideology, as well as the adoption of that ideology by the rhetor's audience.

Chapter 4: Results and Analysis

4.1 Decentralized Groups

No significant data was collected with regards to this group utilizing the definition of rhetoric and the data collection method specified in this paper. The collected data shows that most of the messaging espoused by this group was composed of relayed logistical information for the protestors, messages of support for the uprising, and political conjecture in the form of speculating the outcome of the uprising (see Appendix A). Further, it appears that the two-step flow of information phenomenon developed by Katz & Lazarsfeld (1955) is evidenced here in the utilization of Twitter as a medium for social communication, as influencers begin to emerge from whom the brunt of the Twitter populace receives their information (Lotan et.al., 2011). During live protests, the slogans chanted by the protestors called for the ouster of the regime and included such phrases as "the people demand the overthrow of the regime!" or "The people and the army are one hand!" (Srage, 2014). Interestingly, an examination of the slogans changed by the decentralized masses seems to demonstrate a merger of first persona and second persona. The protestors embodied characteristics they believed represented the revolution in the form of political slogans, such as calls for democracy, and imposed those characteristics on their fellow protestors.

Examining the slogan, "the people demand the application of God's law!" (Srage, 2014) however, reveals another interesting facet of a so-called "decentralized" body of protestors. Although all apparent slogans chanted by the protestors denote a total enactment of anti-regime ideology, this particular slogan was chanted only by conservative Islamists. This denotes a difference in the ideology being applied between smaller subdivisions of protestors, and further corroborates the notion that the rhetoric espoused among the revolutionaries was not aimed at the

establishment of a democracy. This seems to affirm DeCaro's (2003) notion that a revolution must have a strong leader from whom the revolutionary ideology is espoused and embodied. Future study should examine whether these revolutionary leaders may emerge "internally" from an uprising as its constituency begins to embody its ideology. For instance, could a movement precipitate a leader who might not necessarily be the progenitor of the movement?

A "decentralized" revolution is one from which no leaders emerge and where the constituency is self-governed through consensus and deliberative policymaking. This was not the case in Egypt, where leaders such as Wael Ghonim (Alaimo, 2015; Howard & Hussain, 2011) and Mohamed ElBaradei emerged as leaders of the movement. This facilitates further room for inquiry into whether or not an uprising can be defined as decentralized or whether leaders always emerge to guide their audiences towards particular ideologies.

4.2 Wael Ghonim

The rhetoric contributed to the events of the uprising by Wael Ghonim is indisputably critical to the way the uprising transpired. Ghonim, triggered the uprising with the creation of his "We Are All Khaled Said" page on Facebook (Alaimo, 2015; Howard & Hussain, 2011). He launched an effective social media campaign with extensive reach into the demographic to which his rhetoric appealed. Ghonim's rhetoric is laden with first persona characteristics. "I wanted to ask every one of you what you wish for, because I'm sure our problems are different even if their causes are one. . .I am tired of feeling that my vote does not matter" (Ghonim, 2012, p. 150). Ghonim establishes his political grievances, whether they are similar to that of his audience or not, because the actual subject matter of the grievance is irrelevant. What is important here is the shared establishment of grievances all emanating from the same source. Once again, his messaging utilizes the probable ubiquity of experience to breed empathy within his audience. In

another example, Ghonim claims that, "I don't want to go to a ballot center and be told by a laughing thug, 'It's okay—we have already voted on your behalf'" (Ghonim, 2012, p. 150). Further examples of implicit utilization of the first persona by Ghonim include his choice to write his posts in an Egyptian dialect rather than using formal Arabic, which is the standard for written communication in that language (Alaimo, 2015). The use of Egyptian Arabic as a means of establishing empathy echo DeCaro's (2003) idea that reconstitutive discourse is affected by a cultural dimension. This is due to the strong nationalistic and cultural associations between people who share specific Arabic dialects. Ghonim's ability to parley with his audience in a dialect personal to them creates paralinguistic (what Hammerback calls 'implicit') first-persona characteristics of identification, wherein he establishes unspoken facets of his character recognizable to his audience. Use of formal Arabic would have conveyed an air of politicization or glibness to his posts; his use of the Egyptian dialect rather than formal Arabic reduces the social distance between him and his followers across all strata.

His discourse also utilizes substantial conveyance of second persona characteristics. For instance, he says "We must reach out to the helpless layman who only cares about finding his loaf of bread. . .Let's refrain from elitist sophisticated talk so we don't end up only 1,000 or 2,000 on the street. . ." (Ghonim, 2012, p. 141). Drawing on the powerful parallel of the Tunisians who had just ousted their own president, Ghonim establishes that elitism in the form of sophisticated political ideology divides the protestors along class lines. It is unclear as to whether or not Ghonim was aware of the level of socioeconomic stratification of his audience, however, his rhetoric flattens these layers, calling for his audience to enact one specific trait: humility. Ghonim's audience, which was substantial in size, grew to 1.2 million followers of his Facebook

page at the end of the uprising (Howard & Hussain, 2011), and had successfully adopted Ghonim's idea of a peaceful uprising rather than one of violence.

Thus, there is strong evidence to support the idea that Ghonim was successful in reconstituting the character of his audience. His use of reconstitutive rhetoric embodied within himself the suffering of his fellow Egyptians, and his reasoning for establishing a peaceful protest was successfully adopted by his audience, to whom he stressed the importance of the characteristics of empathy and humility. However, his messaging also contains further evidence of the limited extent to which his messaging facilitated reconstituting the character of his audience towards a democratic ideology. His messaging frequently calls for his audience to "demand their rights" (Ghonim, 2012) from the regime. This seems to conflate with other messages that he has disseminated which call for the ouster of the current regime. This conflation is symptomatic of the underlying problems within Ghonim's rhetoric: its apparent lack of a clear goal.

4.3 Mohammed ElBaradei

Mohammed ElBaradei, who assumed the interim vice-presidency in the vacuum left by Mubarak's ouster, was extremely popular in Egypt. He is mentioned by name in much of the data reviewed online as the clear candidate to lead the country by a large, specific subset of Egyptians. Currently, his Twitter page boasts slightly over 6.1 million followers. Strangely, ElBaradei's Twitter account shows no activity between January 27, 2011, and February 9, 2011. Since it is unlikely that he would have not participated in an uprising he had been calling for since at least 2004, and the seemingly perfect platform in which he could have conveyed his rhetoric for Egyptian democracy, it seems as though the content from that period was deleted by ElBaradei himself, someone with access to his account, or by Twitter. This forced me to examine

other the data available which documents his rhetorical activity, which consisted of the remaining posts on Twitter from January 25, 2011 to January 26, 2011 until February 10, 2011 onwards. Any extant data which could be found which referred to ElBaradei's political ideology was analyzed in order to determine his rhetorical strategies during the Egyptian uprising.

What is immediately striking is that ElBaradei, in contrast to Wael Ghonim, writes in formal Arabic. Where Ghonim was concerned with marshaling supporters to protest Mubarak's government, ElBaradei writes about steps Egypt must take in order to transition from Mubarak's government to a new system entirely. For instance, in one of his Tweets (see Appendix B), he discusses the need for a new constitution over holding temporary elections. His use of formal Arabic indicates eloquence, a character trait ElBaradei, who ran in the presidential elections held later that year, intends to convey as an implicit quality of leadership. In other Tweets, ElBaradei cites random provisions from Egypt's current constitution, for which his rhetoric also calls for the abolishment. Critically, this creates a conflict in ElBaradei's messaging. Further, he seems to take a more passive stance with his messaging, forming it as directives to the regime which call for specific rights for the Egyptian people. ElBaradei is in fact making his audience the recipients of his messaging since they are directly receiving his Tweets, however, he structures the messages with the regime in mind.

ElBaradei's rhetoric heavily conveys the need for a more democratic system of governance. In multiple speeches given during the events of the revolution, ElBaradei once again addresses the need for a more democratic constitution (AlMasry Alyoum, 2013; PBS NewsHour, 2012). However, in the speech, he fails to mention who is drafting the constitution, as well as how it would represent the totality of Egyptian people. In an interview with CNN (2011), ElBaradei calls for a "new Egypt" but again, fails to specify what his goals for what this would

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look like. During the uprisings, ElBaradei delivers a speech to a crowd of protestors where he claims that "today, we are all different Egyptians" (Ecadforum, 2011). It appears that the rhetoric espoused by ElBaradei attempts to instill the idea of a change in paradigm in the protestors, attempting to convert the momentum from the protests into the larger goal of establishing a democracy. Although not heavily laden with identification, ElBaradei's rhetoric attempts to substantiate that a democracy ameliorates the problems brought on by Mubarak's dictatorship.

However, ElBaradei seems to also within the system currently in place and change it piecemeal from within. When Egypt held elections in 2012 after Mubarak's ouster, ElBaradei withdrew from the race, contending that the country was still being run by the previous regime, indicating that military generals had been running the country (Lee, 2012). Further, he cited that the Egyptian youth would suffer if no alternative means of implementing a government would be put forth (The Telegraph, 2011). In the aftermath of these events, ElBaradei says that he will only run under the conditions of "a real democratic system," (Lee, 2012). This seems to conflate with ElBaradei's earlier role as a leader who was calling for his audience to uphold the ideals of democracy. This version of ElBaradei seems to call for someone else to establish democracy within the country. This conflation leaves confusion in the wake of ElBaradei's rhetoric, making his goals unclear.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

No democratic identity as defined by the protestors can be ascertained to have been rhetorically reconstituted by any of the three parties examined in this paper. It seems as though the Egyptian political identity cultivated during the uprisings was aimed at ousting the current regime, more than it sought to re-establish itself as a democracy. At the very least, no steps seem to have been taken towards establishing a democratic system beyond the ouster of the regime. In fact, this is the very idea which led Mohammed ElBaradei to withdraw his candidacy for the presidency during the post-uprising elections. The irony is that it was ElBaradei himself who called for the establishment of a democracy but did not convey the means by which to do so beyond vague calls for a democratic constitution. Wael Ghonim is guilty of the same rhetorical folly. An analysis of their rhetoric seems to expand on Solomon's (1988) idea that ideologic rhetoric must offer a mechanism for change, adding to it that the mechanism must include a means by which this mechanism can be put into action. A good example to illustrate this idea looks at the elections which took place within Egypt after the uprising ended, in which the Muslim Brotherhood won the vote and assumed power. According to Trager (2016), the Brotherhood benefitted from being a tightly organized, hierarchical group with a deeply committed membership. In contrast, ElBaradei, whose rhetoric espoused a democratic ideology, had in fact failed to follow through with an outline similar to that of the Muslim Brotherhood of how this was to be accomplished. No details are given with regards to the democratic constitution he desires, especially with regard to what it would provide the Egyptian people, nor who would be drafting it. This denotes that the ideology which governs the country is not one which was imposed on it by the regime of Hosni Mubarak but goes further beyond that. Further, the differentiation between the rhetorical strategies pursued by both Ghonim and ElBaradei, led

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them to utilize different messages to convey to their audiences. This, as well as the different platforms used by each rhetor may have segmented their audience such that rhetorical reconstitution towards any specific goal would have been inefficient. Because of the cultural dimensions involved with successful revolution noted by DeCaro (2003) and those involved with political ideology noted by McGee (1980), any Egyptian seeking democracy must embody the ideals they define as part of that ideology and reconstitute the identity of the Egyptian towards that ideology. The particulars associated with how this is to be accomplished should be noted as part of the reconstitutive process and is beyond the scope of this paper to determine.

However, what Kramnick's (1972) definition of revolution makes clear is that revolutions cannot be counted as successes or failures. There is revolution, or there is no revolution. The paradigm shift necessary for Egypt to have executed a successful revolution would have been the implementation of a system which ameliorated the symptoms of the dictatorship they blamed for the state of the country at the time of the uprisings. Those symptoms were self-described by Egyptians. Again, McGee (1980) posits that ideographs (politico-linguistic expressions of an ideology) are defined by the people who embody them. By the Egyptian peoples' definitions, democracy is incompatible with dictatorship. Given this, and in light of Kramnick's contention that a successful revolution entails a new paradigm whose very nature makes so that it cannot exist within the old paradigm, there was no revolution, but in fact a maintenance of the status quo. Despite Ghonim's apparent success in conveying an ideology for his audience to embody, as well as ElBaradei's discourse which argued for a specifically democratic ideology, they failed in reconstituting the character of their audiences into one which would embody the ideals of their self-defined democracy; or at least any other political ideology which would render the Egyptian

paradigm of dictatorship impossible to exist. If democracy was indeed the goal of their rhetoric, then it is a goal that was not achieved by it.

However, it is not to say that there are *aspects* of the Egyptian uprising which were not successful. I would not argue that the ouster of Mubarak was not successful: it is self-evident that this is not the case. In terms of democratization theory, this at least brought the Egyptian people *closer* to the ideal of democracy. The fate of Egypt and its citizens lies in the ability of its citizens wishing change to cohesively adopt a paradigm which ameliorates the problems that stirred the uprising in the first place. Whether this can be done via a decentralized, consensus-based revolution is yet to be seen. History teaches us otherwise: that revolutions have predominantly centered around a leader. What is clear is that the rhetorical means by which Egypt attempted to alter the current paradigm have clearly not worked in accomplishing its democratic goal.

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Appendix A

Samples of Tweets by protestors:

Mona Eltahawy ● @monaeltahawy · 24 Jan 2011
RT @Wa7damasrya #Egyptians in #Paris are doing a demonstration tomorrow #Jan25 at 5 PM at Saint Michel

○   ↻ 3   ♡   ✉

Amnesty International ● @amnestyusa · 24 Jan 2011
#Jan25 demonstrations to mark new direction for #Egypt? http://ow.ly/3JowE

○   ↻ 120   ♡ 5   ✉

Mona Eltahawy ● @monaeltahawy · 24 Jan 2011
Youth r solution, not problem:Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Morocco all must b liberated. ElGENERAL FEAT MR SHOOMA_ http://on.fb.me/enEHjB #Jan25

○   ↻ 3   ♡ 1   ✉

Mona Eltahawy ● @monaeltahawy · 24 Jan 2011
Dedicated to #Egypt w love. Fight The Power #NYC style http://bit.ly/bWbLS4 and #Tunisia style http://on.fb.me/enEHjB #Jan25

○   ↻ 2   ♡ 1   ✉

Wael Ghonim ● @Ghonim · 24 Jan 2011
Despite all the warnings I got from my relative and friends. I'll be there on #Jan25 protests. Anyone going to be in Gam'et Dewal protest?

○   ↻ 4   ♡ 11   ✉

Waleed | و ل و @RunWaleedRun · 24 Jan 2011
I wouldn't be surprised if the internet or facebook goes down in Egypt tomorrow #Jan25

○   ↻ 4   ♡   ✉

Mona Mahfouz @monamahfouz · 24 Jan 2011
Cynical used-2-disappointments me has nothing 2 say bout #Jan25.Hope 4 the best,so who knows,maybe in 5 yr Egypt becomes an option 2 live in

○   ↻ 1   ♡   ✉

Asa Winstanley ● @AsaWinstanley · 24 Jan 2011
All eyes on #Egypt tomorrow. http://bit.ly/hXYB3C #jan25 #intifada

○   ↻ 9   ♡   ✉

Mahmoud Salem ● @Sandmonkey · 24 Jan 2011
So, I guess I am gonna be going tomorrow. Gonna Park the car in Zamalek. Safest place in town. #Jan25

○   ↻   ♡   ✉

Jack Shenker ● @hackneylad · 24 Jan 2011
Mubarak regime braced for nationwide protests in 'day of revolution' - The Guardian http://bit.ly/hXYB3C #jan25

○   ↻ 6   ♡   ✉

Jack Shenker ● @hackneylad · 24 Jan 2011

41

benwedeman ✔ @bencnn · 25 Jan 2011

Madness in #Cairo. Restraint thrown to the wind. Complete crackdown on all protesters. Blasts from multiple directions. #Jan25 #Egypt

💬   🔁 149   ♡ 1   ✉

Wael Ghonim ✿ @Ghonim · 25 Jan 2011

Now in Tahrir situation is out of control. Prevented 2 angry guys from throwing a huge metal on police cars from top of the bridge! #Jan25

💬   🔁 32   ♡ 3   ✉

Jacob Appelbaum @ioerror · 25 Jan 2011

What other sites do people need tested in Egypt? #january25 #Egypt #jan25

💬   🔁 16   ♡ 1   ✉

Shadi Hamid ✔ @shadihamid · 25 Jan 2011

Good roundup from @nickbaumann on today's protests in #Egypt http://bit.ly/hgL0zX #jan25

💬   🔁 15   ♡ 2   ✉

benwedeman ✔ @bencnn · 25 Jan 2011

Exchange heard in Cairo tonight: What do you think Pres. Mubarak is thinking tonight? Reply: He's probably on tranquilizers." #Jan25 #Egypt

💬   🔁 38   ♡ 2   ✉

Gigi Ibrahim @Gsquare86 · 25 Jan 2011

Tahrir got broken up by police using tear gas, rubber bullets, water hoses, & rock-throwing..ppl r still marching in DT #Jan25..I'm home

💬   🔁 10   ♡   ✉

benwedeman ✔ @bencnn · 25 Jan 2011

Cairo echoing with blasts, ambulance sirens. Tear gas wafting down corniche toward tv bldg. panicked drivers going wrong way. #Jan25

💬   🔁 51   ♡ 1   ✉

Shadi Hamid ✔ @shadihamid · 25 Jan 2011

On #Egypt, US should consider creative initiatives, such as a 'reform endowment' which I discuss here http://bit.ly/eIVL5O #Jan25

💬   🔁 3   ♡   ✉

Shadi Hamid ✔ @shadihamid · 25 Jan 2011

US, at very least, needs to start distancing itself from Mubarak, by stepping up public criticism of repression #Egypt #jan25

💬   🔁 27   ♡   ✉

Alshaheed @Alshaheeed · 25 Jan 2011

Special thnx 2 US government 4 supporting our corrupt dictator supplying him with tear gas to attack us. US public is supporting us. #Jan25

💬   🔁 29   ♡ 1   ✉

Ayman Mohyeldin ● @AymanM · 31 Jan 2011
#aje crew was released & will be covering million man rally 2mrw #feb1 #Egypt
#jan25 (via phone)

💬 1   🔁 187   ♡ 10   ✉

Travel · State Dept ● @TravelGov · 31 Jan 2011
#Egypt: We have safely evacuated over 1,200 U.S. citizens from #Cairo at this
time. #Jan25

💬   🔁 82   ♡ 4   ✉

Mona Eltahawy ● @monaeltahawy · 31 Jan 2011
Message to #Mubarak you've shut down practically all there is to shut down in
#Egypt but you can't shut down the will for freedom. #Jan25

💬   🔁 225   ♡ 11   ✉

Octavia Nasr أوكتافيا نصر 🎭 ● @octavianasr · 31 Jan 2011
The Muslim Brotherhood explained on @npr's 'The Takeaway' by @shadinamid
http://bit.ly/i0pMTg #Jan25 #Egypt

💬   🔁 4   ♡ 4   ✉

Brian Conley @BaghdadBrian · 31 Jan 2011
Do you speak english and arabic fluently? want to help translate voices from
#egypt? @ or DM me #jan25 #pharaoh @speak2tweet

💬   🔁 29   ♡   ✉

Bill Gross ● @Bill_Gross · 31 Jan 2011
Internet down in #Egypt. No problem. Google, Twitter, SayNow have a way you
can call a number & do voice-to-tweet.http://is.gd/DCjC9S #Jan25

💬   🔁 21   ♡   ✉

Danny Sullivan ● @dannysullivan · 31 Jan 2011
very cool from google & twitter way for egyptians to tweet by phone, voicemail
turned into tweets http://bit.ly/e4A5jS #jan25

💬   🔁 27   ♡ 1   ✉

Noah Shachtman ● @NoahShachtman · 31 Jan 2011
Mubarak's Going to Saudi Arabia, CIA-Funded Forecasters Say
http://wrd.tw/hMWYNq #jan25 #egypt

💬   🔁 29   ♡ 4   ✉

Jan25 Voices @Jan25voices · 31 Jan 2011
Doubly confirmed: Egyptian TV showing pictures of Pro Mubarak demonstrators
at TV building.   #Tahrir #Jan25

💬   🔁 23   ♡   ✉

Mathew Ingram ● @mathewi · 31 Jan 2011
CNN says that Egypt's Information Ministry plans to take cell networks offline now
as well http://is.gd/y8xUn7 #egypt #jan25

💬   🔁 6   ♡   ✉

43

lyse doucet ✓ @bbclysedoucet · 6 Feb 2011

Ran into 2 old friends, veteran Mideast correspondents, tonite. Both said this is the biggest story they've covered #egypt #jan25

💬   🔁 23   ♡ 2   ✉

Al Abed @ahmedinho1 · 8 Feb 2011

Israel bombing #Gaza now with F16s to ease the pressure on #Mubarak and divert attention from #Tahrir, many dead RT #jan25 #Egypt

💬   🔁 6   ♡   ✉

Nevine @NevineZaki · 8 Feb 2011

Is the white house bipolar? #jan25 #Egypt

💬   🔁 14   ♡ 4   ✉

Shadi Hamid ✓ @shadihamid · 8 Feb 2011

My new piece for the NY Times on US policy & the illusion of stability in Egypt http://nyti.ms/h6uTfj #jan25 #Egypt

💬   🔁 33   ♡ 9   ✉

Democracy Now! ✓ @democracynow · 8 Feb 2011

"The heroes are in the street," says jailed @google exec & #Facebook admin @Ghonim of #Egypt protests. http://ow.ly/3SyDE #jan25

💬   🔁 33   ♡ 4   ✉

أبو كارل @Sarahcarr · 6 Feb 2011

A letter received by our agony aunt http://bit.ly/hv9Z7W #jan25

💬   🔁 11   ♡ 3   ✉

Ahmed Alfi ✓ @AOAlfi · 8 Feb 2011

Government working on a new plan to cancel Fridays instead of internet #Egypt #jan25 #Tahrir

💬   🔁 29   ♡   ✉

Mona Eltahawy ✓ @monaeltahawy · 8 Feb 2011

RT @ShereefAbbas Epic pic RT @jzeelaG: Wael Ghonim holding Khaled Said's mother http://twitpic.com/3xsvbq #Jan25 #Egypt

💬   🔁 49   ♡ 8   ✉

Zeinobia @Zeinobia · 8 Feb 2011

Live ammunition was used in cracking down the protests at New Valley protests spread #Jan25

💬   🔁 68   ♡ 3   ✉

عمو حسام 🇵🇸 ✓ @3arabawy · 8 Feb 2011

New post: #Jan25 Protesters attack police stations in several provinces http://bit.ly/eT6B2G

💬   🔁 30   ♡ 1   ✉

Slate ✓ @Slate · 8 Feb 2011

Dalia Ziada ● @daliaziada · 10 Feb 2011

Protesters are on their way to #Mubarak's Palace! They are very close now! #Egypt #Jan25

🗨   ♻ 31   ♡ 1   ✉

عمرو حسام 🇵🇸 ● @3arabawy · 10 Feb 2011

Omar Suleiman's speech really reminds me of the 1960s govt rhetoric. The entire junta belongs to another obsolete century. #jan25

🗨   ♻ 55   ♡ 2   ✉

Naseem Tarawnah @tarawnah · 10 Feb 2011

#mubarak might be in denial but US just as worse 4 thinking it still has a say in #egypt events. The youth have taken over, bitches. #jan25

🗨   ♻ 7   ♡ 1   ✉

Egyptocracy @Egyptocracy · 10 Feb 2011

CNN: Reports of 1000s of protesters marching to the well guarded Presidential Palace. #Egypt #jan25 #Tahrir #Mubarak

🗨   ♻ 12   ♡   ✉

EmmaDaly ● @EmmaDaly · 10 Feb 2011

@HRW #Mubarak's speech didn't break with abusive system of 30 years. US and EU should use aid to foster reform #jan25 http://bit.ly/gKeAcL

🗨   ♻ 13   ♡ 3   ✉

Foreign Policy ● @ForeignPolicy · 10 Feb 2011

RT @joshrogin White House silent after Mubarak shocker http://bit.ly/igzjal #Jan25 #Egypt

🗨   ♻ 19   ♡ 2   ✉

Wael G. Youssef @WaelGuirguis · 10 Feb 2011

"In a revolution, as in a novel, the most difficult part to invent is the end." Alexis de Tocqueville #jan25 #tahrir #egypt

🗨   ♻ 11   ♡ 1   ✉

Alshaheed @Alshaheeed · 10 Feb 2011

Protesters marching to Presidential Palace are saying they have NO intention to be violent at all. It's peaceful #Jan25 #Egypt

🗨   ♻ 45   ♡ 3   ✉

Reem Abdellatif · ريم عبداللطيف ● @Reem_Abdellatif · 10 Feb 2011

Protesters at army HQ in #Alexandria: http://goo.gl/acctl chant "Are you protecting the people or the dog [mubarak]" #egypt #tahrir #jan25

🗨   ♻ 6   ♡   ✉

Slate ● @Slate · 10 Feb 2011

Hosni Mubarak has dug in his heels. What's next for Egypt? A coup? A revolution? A crackdown? http://slate.me/he3Ukk #Egypt #Jan25

🗨   ♻ 23   ♡ 7   ✉

45

Wael Ghonim ✔ @Ghonim · 11 Feb 2011

Soon the ugly face of the regime will be supported by documents and evidences. #Jan25

💬   🔁 238   ♡ 42   ✉

Jim Sciutto ✔ @jimsciutto · 11 Feb 2011

It's 2am in Tahrir. #Egypt, do you know where your children are? Here. #Jan25

💬   🔁 20   ♡   ✉

Tarek Fatah ✔ @TarekFatah · 11 Feb 2011

Here is a question no one is asking: Will #Mubarak still dye his hair jet black now that he has had his face blackened? #Egypt #Jan25

💬   🔁 5   ♡   ✉

John King ✔ @JohnKingCNN · 11 Feb 2011

Egypt ambassador to US tells @JohnKingUSA no idea if #mubarak will leave sharm el sheikh, no contact with US govt re assets. #jan25 #egypt

💬   🔁 10   ♡   ✉

Samar D Jarrah ✔ @SamarDJarrah · 11 Feb 2011

The illegal Mahmoud Abbas regime should be toppled in 18 hours! #jan25 #palestine #Abbas

💬   🔁 11   ♡   ✉

Amnesty UK ✔ @AmnestyUK · 11 Feb 2011

Got to love this photo message: http://bit.ly/fPnkOY #egypt #jan25 #tahrir #feb12global

💬   🔁 4   ♡ 1   ✉

Elazul @Elazul · 11 Feb 2011

Apparently tomorrow is the day of Rage in Algeria . They have my support. GO ALGERIA! #Freedom #Algeria #Freedom #Jan25 #FuckYeah

💬   🔁 22   ♡ 4   ✉

Boing Boing ✔ @BoingBoing · 11 Feb 2011

YouTube showcasing "citizen videos" of Egypt on day of Mubarak's ouster #Jan25 #egypt http://bit.ly/fsLDmt

💬   🔁 9   ♡ 3   ✉

Alyaa Gad, MD ✔ @AlyaaGad · 11 Feb 2011

Swiss freeze Mubarak family bank accounts #Egypt #Jan25 http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/f5c8422e-3631-11e0-9b3b-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1DhE5rUVz

💬   🔁 4   ♡ 2   ✉

Jeff Jarvis ✔ @jeffjarvis · 11 Feb 2011

NPR: let's send him RT @acarvin: I must go to Tunisia and Egypt. I must go to Tunisia and Egypt. I must go to Tunisia and Egypt. #jan25

46

Appendix B

Samples of Tweets from Mohammed ElBaradei:

Mohamed ElBaradei @ElBaradei · 11 Feb 2011

Egypt Today is a free and proud nation. God bless

💬 2   🔁 1.9K   ♡ 254   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei @ElBaradei · 11 Feb 2011

مصر اليوم حرة. بارك الله فى شعب مصر

🌐 Translate Tweet

💬 7   🔁 488   ♡ 127   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei @ElBaradei · 11 Feb 2011

Entire nation is on the streets. Only way out is for regime to go. People power can't be crushed. We shall prevail. Still hope army can join

💬   🔁 832   ♡ 71   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei @ElBaradei · 11 Feb 2011

أدلي كان وما يزال الشعب. التظاهر والإضراب هي حقوقنا الأصلية وأقوى وسائلنا المتاحة لإسقاط النظام. فلنصمد ولتتحد قوى الحق فوق الذوة. سننتصر

🌐 Translate Tweet

💬 20   🔁 492   ♡ 67   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei @ElBaradei · 10 Feb 2011

Egypt will explode. Army must save the country now

💬 10   🔁 2.6K   ♡ 163   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei @ElBaradei · 10 Feb 2011

أطالب الجيش التدخل الفوري لإنقاذ مصر. مصداقية الجيش على المحك

🌐 Translate Tweet

💬 150   🔁 1.4K   ♡ 143   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei @ElBaradei · 10 Feb 2011

أتابع الموقف عن كثب. ساعة النصر اقتربت بسواعد كل مصري. الحق فوق القوة #Jan25

🌐 Translate Tweet

💬 17   🔁 310   ♡ 58   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei @ElBaradei · 10 Feb 2011

I am closely following the situation. We are almost there #Jan25

💬 1   🔁 582   ♡ 40   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei @ElBaradei · 26 Jan 2011

We shall continue to exercise our right of peaceful demonstration and restore our freedom & dignity.Regime violence will backfire badly

💬   🔁 1.2K   ♡ 150   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei @ElBaradei · 26 Jan 2011

ستواصل ممارسة حقنا فى التظاهر السلمي بالكامل وسنستعيد حريتنا و كرامتنا. الحق معنا والله معنا

🌐 Translate Tweet

💬 33   🔁 481   ♡ 97   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei @ElBaradei · 26 Jan 2011

يوم تاريخي http://twitpic.com/3tm870

🌐 Translate Tweet

💬 1   🔁 83   ♡ 40   ✉

48

Mohamed ElBaradei 🔵 @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

دستور مؤقت + مجلس رئاسي من العسكريين والمدنيين + حكومة وحدة وطنية : كلها من ضرورات الانتقال السلس للسلطة.

Translate Tweet

💬 22   🔁 283   ♡ 73   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei 🔵 @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

الفترة الانتقالية والتي تعتبر محورية لمصرنا الجديدة مازالت تتسم بالغموض. قلق من أن الثورة يتم تحويل مسارها. الجيش يجب أن يفتح على المجتمع

Translate Tweet

💬 10   🔁 172   ♡ 41   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei 🔵 @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

Do not paint this as a "youth " revolution :youth were the spark but all Egyptians embraced it and turned it into a glowing fire

💬 1   🔁 222   ♡ 27   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei 🔵 @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

Urgent need for independent media :Without free media there are no free elections.

💬   🔁 250   ♡ 26   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei 🔵 @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

Political detainees should be released immediatley.

💬   🔁 145   ♡ 14   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei 🔵 @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

Rushed transition period would only benefit organized existing parties & groups ; outcome will be an unrepresentative & lopsided election

💬   🔁 135   ♡ 18   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei 🔵 @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

Repeal of emergency law, right to establish parties . one year transition are prerequisites for representative , free & fair elections

💬   🔁 116   ♡ 22   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei 🔵 @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

Provisional constitution. presidential council of army & civilians, national unity government : indispensable for smooth transition.

💬 1   🔁 109   ♡ 22   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei 🔵 @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

Transitional period key to New Egypt yet so far opaque and not inclusive. Concern Revolution is being derailed. Army needs to reach out.

💬   🔁 192   ♡ 21   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei 🔵 @ElBaradei · 14 Feb 2011

حوار مع إبراهيم عيسى على الجزيرة عاشر الساعة 2 بعد الظهر بتوقيت القاهرة

Translate Tweet

💬   🔁 112   ♡ 29   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei 🔵 @ElBaradei · 14 Feb 2011

A live interview with Ibrahim Issa on Al Jazeera Mubasher at 2:00 pm

💬   🔁 61   ♡ 13   ✉

49

Mohamed ElBaradei ● @ElBaradei · 20 Feb 2011

الرئيس سقط والنظام قائم بأركانه جداً عن الإلتفاف على الثورة

Translate Tweet

💬 64   🔁 768   ♡ 145   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei ● @ElBaradei · 18 Feb 2011

Peoples' demands for a fresh start are crystal clear & should not be derailed.Let us not repeat the blunders of the past.

💬   🔁 180   ♡ 22   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei ● @ElBaradei · 18 Feb 2011

الشعب مصدر السلطات. مطالب الشعب واضحة وصريحة. الإستجابة الصادقة والفورية لها هى بداية لإعادة بناء الوطن. لا يجب أن نكرر أخطاء الماضى.

Translate Tweet

💬 6   🔁 172   ♡ 39   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei ● @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

Egyptians awaiting list of those banned from leaving the country and are under investigation. Transparency is essential !

💬   🔁 167   ♡ 30   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei ● @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

أين قائمة فلول النظام السابق الممنوعين من السفر والمطلوبين للتحقيق؟ الشفافية مطلوبة

Translate Tweet

💬 6   🔁 167   ♡ 31   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei ● @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

لايجب إختزال الثورة فى أنها "ثورة شباب" فقط. الشباب كانوا الشرارة التى أشعلت الثورة واكن جميع المصريين إحتضنوها وحولوها إلى نار مشتعلة.

Translate Tweet

💬 7   🔁 195   ♡ 44   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei ● @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

هناك حاجة ملحة لإعلام مستقل. بدون إعلام حر ومستقل لا توجد إنتخابات حرة.

Translate Tweet

💬 1   🔁 155   ♡ 26   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei ● @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

يجب الإفراج فوراً عن المعتقلين السياسيين.

Translate Tweet

💬 8   🔁 149   ♡ 27   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei ● @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

فترة إنتقالية قصيرة لن تفيد سوى الأحزاب والمجموعات القائمة حالياً والنتيجة ستكون إنتخابات غير ممثلة لآراء الأغلبية الصامتة

Translate Tweet

💬 1   🔁 128   ♡ 29   ✉

Mohamed ElBaradei ● @ElBaradei · 17 Feb 2011

إلغاء قانون الطوارىء + حرية تكوين الأحزاب + فترة إنتقالية امدة عام =كلها من متطلبات إنتخابات حرة ونزيهة ممثلة لكافة قوى الشعب.

Translate Tweet

💬   🔁 166   ♡ 33   ✉