



Building consent for counterterrorism: *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* tips for women tourists to revolutionary Egypt

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ABSTRACT

This article examines how the *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* to Egypt (2005–2015) depicted the sexual harassment of women tourists in a way that built consent for global counterterrorism practices. It examines guidebook tips for women travellers in the period surrounding the 2011 Egyptian revolution. These guidebooks represented poorer, more religious Muslim men as threatening to both Egyptian and Western women. Guidebooks suggested that, in response to harassment, women should alter their conduct to enhance their respectability and masculinised protections. This advice naturalised violent counterterrorism practices that protected 'respectable' women from poorer 'bad' Muslim men, positioning (white) masculinised subjects as saviours and reproducing the 'savages-victims-saviours triad'. Guidebooks thereby functioned to obscure and legitimise Egypt's repressive crackdown on anti-government dissent and women's public activism.

1. Introduction

In the years surrounding the 2011 Egyptian revolution (2005–2015), *Lonely Planet* guidebooks to Egypt warned women tourists that they were almost guaranteed to experience sexual harassment of some kind, including 'some verbal harassment at the very least' (2008, p.518; 2010, p.521; 2012, p.519; 2015, p.474). The *Rough Guide* described sexual harassment as 'rife in Egypt', citing survey statistics that '98 percent of foreign women visitors and 83 percent of Egyptian women have experienced it' (2010, p.53; 2013, p.44). During this same period, the Egyptian state used sexual violence both to suppress women's public activism and to justify its counterterrorism policies. On 25 May 2005, which became known as 'Black Wednesday', then-President Hosni Mubarak hired thugs, aided by police officers, to sexually assault female journalists and activists protesting the referendum on constitutional amendments. Throughout the 2011 uprising, the government paid thugs to sexually assault protestors and subjected women activists to forced virginity tests. At the same time, to build support for its counterterrorism measures, the state used incidents of sexual violence to paint poorer, more religious Muslim male protestors as dangerous. After current-President Abd al-Fattah al-Sisi's inauguration on 8 June 2014, he and other prominent figures called the mass sexual assaults that took place on that day a 'terrorist attack', blaming the government's main opposition group, the Muslim Brotherhood, which had by then been declared

illegal and banned as a terrorist group. In line with the Egyptian approach to disciplining dissent, Western counterterrorism policies at that time also naturalised repressive state responses by depicting 'bad' Muslim men as (sexually) threatening (Kapur, 2002; Bhattacharyya, 2008; Razack, 2008).

Scholars have identified the connections and even parallels between tourism and terrorism (Phipps, 1999; Wynne-Hughes, 2012; Lisle, 2013). They do not, however, focus on how the experiences of women tourists (re)shape the gendered, racialised and classed depictions of and reactions to terrorism. In response, this article offers an original analysis of the relationship between tourism and transnational counterterrorism discourses around the time of the Egyptian revolution by focusing on the representations of sexual violence in both. It argues that the *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* depicted the sexual harassment of women tourists to Egypt in a way that naturalised Western and Egyptian counterterrorism practices. These practices violently targeted 'bad' Muslim men and repressed dissent in the period surrounding the 2011 Egyptian revolution.

To carry out this study, I examined specifically the tips for women travellers from the *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* to Egypt from 2005 to 2015, focusing on the meanings (of subjects and practices) produced though these texts in relation to Western and Egyptian counterterrorism discourses. These guidebooks depicted poorer, more religious Egyptian men as a threat to both Egyptian and Western women. They offered

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women tourists tactics to respond to this harassment that enhanced their respectability and masculinised protections. Such depictions reflected counterterrorism policies in both the West and in Egypt, which represented 'bad' Muslim males as (sexually) dangerous to women and the Western world (Kapur, 2002; Bhattacharyya, 2008; Razack, 2008). Policies at the time had shifted away from terms like 'war on terror' and 'Islamic terrorism', along with 'boots on the ground' interventions, to 'counterterrorism' and tactics including drone-targeted extrajudicial killings, renditions, indefinite detentions and 'enhanced' interrogation techniques (Richter-Montpetit, 2014, p.47–8). Guidebooks functioned to build consent for these counterterrorism practices that repressed the poor and 'dangerous' both within Egypt and internationally.

More specifically, this article reveals how guidebook representations of sexual harassment helped reshape the 'savages-victims-saviours triad' identified by Makau Mutua with reference to dominant Eurocentric/colonial human rights discourses (Mutua, 2001), and developed by Caron Gentry in the context of gendered terrorism discourses (Gentry, 2015). The triad is made up of victims (brown/non-Western women), savages (brown men/non-Western cultures) and saviours (white men/masculine actors). Guidebook representations add a new dimension to this triad by drawing attention to (white) Western women as victims, further demonising 'bad' Muslim men. Western and Egyptian counterterrorism practices from 2005 to 2015 ultimately protected 'respectable' women from 'bad' Muslim men, positioning (Western) masculinised subjects as saviours. Guidebooks thereby functioned to obscure and legitimise Egypt's repressive crackdown on anti-government dissent and women's public activism.

This article begins with an outline of the literature to which it contributes, along with the methods employed. It proceeds to analyse how guidebooks articulated with counterterrorism policies, justifying violence against 'bad' Muslims in the name of women's respectability and masculinised protection. This article identifies how everyday tourism texts representing the experiences of Western women travellers to Egypt naturalised international/national counterterrorism practices that positioned (Western) masculinised actors as the protectors of women globally from 'bad' Muslim men.

2. Entanglements of tourism and terrorism

Tourism is entangled with terrorism in several significant ways. There are numerous parallels between tourism and terrorism, including their mutual reliance on modern technologies, media management and the manipulation of perceptions (Korstanje & Clayton, 2012), along with their locations 'in transit', attractions to death/danger and goals of invisibility (Phipps, 1999). Tourism and terrorism can both be seen as forms of locational violence which are also linked insofar as touristic landscaping can physically and culturally displace groups of people, some of which take violent (terrorist) action in response (Ness, 2005). Within a focus on tourism management, the impact of terrorism on tourism demand and connected livelihoods has been significant (Enders & Sandler, 1991; Sönmez, 1998). Responses to violence against tourists have included the securitisation of tourism and the production of risk in ways that reproduce classed and racialised exclusions (Wynne-Hughes, 2012; Lisle, 2013). Terrorist attacks have also been interpreted and commodified partly through dark tourism to sites like the 9/11 Memorial (Lisle, 2004; Potts, 2012). However, while some of the literature on tourism and terrorism examines race (de Waal, 2016), and certainly orientalist representations (Lisle, 2004; Wynne-Hughes, 2012), a gendered and more class-focused analysis has been largely absent from these studies. In contrast, tourism-focused scholars have examined ongoing links between touristic imagery and (gendered/classed) colonial ideas and practices in the Global South (Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Aichison, 2001; Mostafanezhad, 2013; Devine & Ojeda, 2017; Córdoba Azcárate, 2020; Becklake, 2021), with some focusing specifically on Egypt (Bryce, 2007; Jacobs, 2009). Researchers also critically analyse the sexual harassment of independent women tourists but, in contrast to

this article, have focused on tourists' violent/racialised on-the-ground responses (Lozanski, 2007), while others have uncritically reinforced an inherent connection between Islam and sexual threats to women (Brown & Osman, 2017).

Gendered and classed analyses of terrorism, on the other hand, are plentiful but largely ignore the role of tourism. Research examines how responses to Islamic terrorism (from governments and certain feminists) positioned poorer Muslim men as threats to Muslim women and to Western civilisation, both of which required protection from benevolent masculinised actors (Bhattacharyya, 2008; Razack, 2008; Khalid, 2011; Pratt, 2013; Gentry, 2015). Nicola Pratt argues that counterterrorism representations mirror imperial ones where 'the colonial protection of native women, or what Gayatri Spivak has termed "white men saving brown women from brown men" (Spivak 1988, p.92)' was concerned less with the situation of 'brown women' and more with 'ensuring the superiority of "white men"' (2013, p.328). Western actors thereby maintain the 'savages-victims-saviours triad' (Mutua, 2001; Gentry, 2015) by politically prioritising international terrorism as a threat to women/the West and representing themselves as liberal, white masculinised saviours of (Muslim) women in the Global South. In so doing, they ignore everyday violences or 'everyday terrorism' in the West, like domestic violence, mass shootings and rape culture, which might disrupt the (white/male) West's saviour status (Gentry, 2015, p.363–4). Such approaches to terrorism have rarely examined the role of tourism, which offers a new angle on these issues.

Guidebooks to Egypt depict the 'everyday terrorism' of street harassment in a non-Western context. Their representations of such everyday violences can become another means to vilify Muslim men and reinforce counterterrorism discourses. However, for guidebooks it is not only Muslim women who are victims, but also (white) Western women, evoking the modern colonial period when the protection of white women legitimised violences against the colonised and enslaved (Phipps, 2021). Guidebook representations of sexual harassment in Egypt allow us to rethink Mutua's 'savages-victims-saviours triad', within which 'savages and victims are generally non-white and non-Western, while the saviors are white' (Mutua, 2001, p.207). Gentry retheorises the 'savages-victims-saviours triad' in the context of Islamic terrorism. She disrupts the idea of 'white' saviours by pointing out "white" savages and "white" victims' of 'everyday terrorism' in the Global North (2015, p.369). She does not, however, explore how representations of 'white' victims can further emphasise the threat from 'bad' Muslim men in the Global South. Women were at the heart of justifications for the 'war on terror', but tourism has yet to be examined as an everyday practice that reinforces the racialised inequalities and gendered violences of counterterrorism. This article contributes to our understanding of how tourism representations paralleled and naturalised global responses to Islamic terrorism with reference specifically to their racialised, gendered and classed aspects; namely, the positioning of 'bad' Muslim men, Muslim/Western women victims and their masculinised protectors.

3. An intertextual discourse analysis of the *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* to Egypt (2005-2015)

To conduct this study, I analysed the representations of sexual harassment in the *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* to Egypt during the transition period surrounding the 2011 Egyptian revolution. From the early 2000s, mass public protests in Egypt increased in response to the US invasion of Iraq, Israeli attack on Lebanon and opposition to then-President Muhammad Hosni Mubarak. In 2005, during the constitutional referendum and presidential election campaigns, protests from groups like the Egyptian Movement for Change (Kefaya), and later the April 6 Youth Movement and El-Mahalla workers' movements in Egypt escalated. Demonstrations in Egypt from 25 January 2011 called for 'bread, freedom and social justice', and President Mubarak resigned after 18 days of nationwide protests. Following this, a democratic

transition was overseen by the Supreme Council of Armed Forces, resulting in the election of the Freedom and Justice Party (Muslim Brotherhood) and President Muhammad Morsi in June 2012. Opposition grew to President Morsi based on fears he was trying to monopolise power and expand the rule of Sharia law. A new movement called Tamarod ('rebellion') arose, culminating in protests against President Morsi across Egypt on 30 June 2013 by millions of Egyptians demanding his resignation and early elections. When Morsi refused, an Egyptian army coalition led by its commander-in-chief (and Minister of Defence) General Abd al-Fattah al-Sisi eventually removed Morsi from power on 3 July. Al-Sisi was elected president in June 2014.

To study guidebooks representations during this crucial period, I examined the *Lonely Planet* guidebooks to Egypt from 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2015, and the *Rough Guide* from 2005, 2007, 2010 and 2013. I analysed the *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* exclusively because they are the most popular, bestselling Western guidebooks. They are written for 'independent' tourists who coordinate their own travels rather than for package tourists who are organised/secured by tour operators. Several authors have studied the specific discourse of independent guidebooks. They highlight, for example, how the *Lonely Planet's* humanitarian ethical posture produces responsible independent travellers (detached from politics) but ultimately smuggles in colonial logics that foster modern colonial tourist gazes, relations and practices (Bhattacharyya, 1997; Lisle, 2008; Wynne-Hughes, 2012). To identify this sample of guidebooks, I examined several other examples from this time including *Fodor's*, *Eyewitness*, *National Geographic Traveller*, *Globetrotter* and *Footprint*. These guidebooks depicted aspects of 1) women travellers' experiences; 2) contemporary Egyptian culture; and 3) Egypt's political/economic situation. However, they rarely represented all three of these aspects together. They therefore reinforced aspects of the argument made in this article but not with the same breadth and level of detail as the *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* series which became the focus of my study.

Within these guidebooks, I focused on the 'Women Travellers' sections in the *Lonely Planet's* 'Survival Guide' or 'Directory' chapter and in the *Rough Guide's* 'Basics' chapter. I also analysed other relevant sections, including the *Lonely Planet* sections/subsections in the 'History', 'Culture' or 'Understand Egypt' chapters that discussed politics, culture, religion and women in Egypt. In the *Rough Guide*, I examined the History and Islam sections in the 'Contexts' chapter. In general, guidebook representations followed similar trends in editions prior to and after the revolution, which is why this article does not focus on their comparison. If not otherwise indicated, the pre/post revolution versions of the guidebook are the same. By focusing on guidebooks as primary texts, I examined the 'site of the image [or text] itself', rather than the sites of production, circulation and audiencing (Rose, 2016, p.24-25). While there are debates about which site is most important, the site of the image/text merits its own analysis as it produces specific meanings that differ from those produced within other sites, and indeed an image/text 'may have its own effects that exceed the constraints of its production (and reception)' (Rose, 2016, p.33).

To understand how tourism practices produced consent for counterterrorism policies, I conducted a discourse analysis of the *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* to Egypt (2005–2015). 'Discourses' refer to socially constructed and historically contingent systems of signification. Tourism and counterterrorism are two such systems. These systems provide rules that give meaning to and position elements within the social world (Foucault, 1972; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). What I am examining in this article is how the meanings attributed by guidebooks to the experiences of women travellers in Egypt shape the way that we understand and respond to certain subjects (women tourists, Egyptian men and women) and practices (tourism, sexual harassment). These meanings articulate with – or are interpreted through and reshape (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Doty, 1993; Weldes, 1999) – the way that we understand and respond also to the subjects of counterterrorism discourses, (the 'savages-victims-saviours triad') in a way that comes to

appear common sense or 'true'. To carry out this discourse analysis, I immersed myself in the *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* to Egypt from the period in question, reading them in tandem with the literature on Western and Egyptian counterterrorism policies. I identified the way that subjects and practices within these guidebooks and counterterrorism policies were given meaning (how they were characterised) and positioned in relation to each other (e.g., in opposition, similarity, hierarchy) (Doty, 1993; Milliken, 1999). In so doing, I accounted for dominant themes as well as paying attention to the significance of silences and contradictions.

These articulations of tourism and counterterrorism meanings do not occur randomly; subjects are never interpreted and interacted with in isolation. Ideas associated with tourism and terrorism in the Middle East, for example, occur in the context of the way that knowledge of the Middle Eastern 'other' made possible Western colonial domination and authority over this region and its peoples (Said, 1978). 'Intertextuality' refers to the way that the constituent parts of texts are made intelligible through the meanings produced by previous and concurrent texts (Van Veeren, 2009, p.364) and their gendered, racialised and classed logics. This article studies how the intertextual articulation of counterterrorism and tourism discourses naturalised certain understandings of subjects (Western women tourists, 'bad' Muslim men, 'respectable' Egyptian women, masculinised 'saviours') and practices (tourism, sexual harassment, terrorism, political demonstrations, protection), making possible very specific relations between and responses to them.

Tourism is therefore productive and political, not in the sense that governments directly draw on tourism guidebooks to develop their ideas and practices, but because they share and reinforce each others' logics and intertextually reproduce a particular set of subject positions and practices. Like other forms of popular culture, tourism provides a 'background of meanings' that can help to naturalise dominant political ideas, producing public consent for corresponding domestic and foreign policies (Doty, 1993; Weldes, 2003; Van Veeren, 2009, p.6-8).

At the same time, tourism is also a site where common sense is negotiated, resisted and re-theorised. Through an intertextual analysis of guidebooks to Egypt, I found that that the articulation between tourism and counterterrorism discourses naturalised and (re)produced consent for violence against those subjects seen as threatening to ('respectable') women, which included men/women engaged in public dissent. This article will proceed to discuss how guidebook representations of sexual harassment in Egypt articulated with counterterrorism discourses to depict specific subjects as dangerous and under threat.

4. Depicting dangerous and imperilled subjects

4.1. Muslim men, Muslim women and Western women tourists

Guidebook representations positioned certain Egyptian men as sexually threatening to women in a way that was connected to Egypt's conservative culture. Guidebooks made a direct connection between Islam and Egypt's conservative culture when they stated that Islam 'permeates' Egyptian life and society at every social level, even in the 'subconscious' (Richardson and Jacobs, 2005, p.831–833; 2007, p.78; 2010, p.617; Firestone, O'Neill, Sattin, & Wlodarski, 2008, p.63; 2010, p.64–67; O'Neill, Benanav, Lee, & Sattin, 2012, p. 480–483; Sattin & Lee, 2015, p.451–2;). In short, when guidebooks mentioned Egyptian culture, they inferred that it was shaped by Islam. More specifically, guidebooks discussed how Egyptians' religious conservatism influenced how they perceived and responded to Western women's behaviours. The *Rough Guide* argued that,

the biggest problem women travellers face in Egypt is the perceptions that Egyptian men have. Unless accompanied by husbands, women tourists are seen as loose, willing to have sex at the most casual opportunity, and – in Egyptian social terms – virtually on par with prostitutes. While Hollywood films are partly to blame for this

view, the root cause is the vast disparity between social norms in Islamic and Western countries (p.90, 2005).

The *Lonely Planet* explained that 'a large number of Egyptians just see Western women as sex-obsessed and immoral' (2008, p.69, p.518; 2012, p.69), 'reinforced by the distorted impressions gained from Western TV and by the clothing worn by some female tourists' (2010, p.521; 2008, p.518). The *Rough Guide* argued further that the perception that women tourists are 'loose' is reinforced by their doing things 'that no respectable Egyptian woman would consider: dressing "immodestly", showing shoulders and cleavage, sharing rooms with men to whom they are not married, drinking alcohol in bars or restaurants, smoking in public, even travelling alone on public transport without a relative as an escort' (2005, p.90; 2007, p.60; 2010, p.54-5). Guidebooks therefore implied that Egyptian men prey on unaccompanied, 'liberated' women, largely based on misunderstandings shaped by Egyptians' religious conservatism. Guidebooks partly contradicted this point, however, by arguing that most Egyptian women also experience sexual harassment (Firestone et al., 2008, p.519; 2010, p.523; Richardson & Jacobs, 2010, p.53; Richardson, 2013, p.44; Sattin & Lee, 2015, p.474).

Nonetheless, guidebooks compared Western women's freedoms with the restrictions placed on Egyptian women's conduct, linking these restrictions with the country's failure to tackle sexual harassment. The *Lonely Planet* explained that 'the issue of sex is where the differences between Western and Egyptian women are most apparent. Premarital sex (or, indeed, any sex outside marriage) is taboo in Egypt' in order to protect women and their 'reputation from the potentially disastrous attentions of men' (2008, p.69, p.518; 2010, p.521-2). The post-revolution versions of the *Lonely Planet* argued that Egyptian women's 'social restrictions' resulted in 'dampening discussions of sexual abuse and harassment, as the social costs of a woman being perceived in a sexual way are quite high' (2012, p.486; 2015, p.453).

Moreover, the *Lonely Planet* indicated that, based on Egyptian interpretations of Western women, some local men seek connections with tourists to bypass the restrictions placed on Egyptian women before marriage, stating that 'the presence of foreign women presents, in the eyes of some Egyptian men, a chance to get around local cultural norms with ease and without consequences' (2008, p.518; 2010, p.521). Guidebooks therefore attributed tourists' sexual harassment to Egyptian women's lack of sexual freedoms and the consequent predatory sexuality of frustrated Egyptian men. After the uprising however, the *Lonely Planet* pointed out that there had been changes: 'the 2011 revolution has since shifted gender dynamics a bit, as young urban women were very visible in the street. As with so many aspects of Egyptian culture after the revolution, the role of women is in flux as well' (2012, p.486). However, the *Lonely Planet* underscored how social restrictions remained through 'the continuing restrictions of women under personal-status laws, which, for example, deny the freedom to travel without permission' (2012, p.441). This restriction on Egyptian women was highlighted as a key reason that Western women received 'lots of [unwelcome] attention' as 'travelling alone as a female...is unfathomable to many Egyptians' (2015, p.474). The *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* thereby identified a sharp contrast between Western women's freedoms and the (religiously defined and imposed) restrictions and strict gender roles assigned to Egyptian women, with the inference that Western women are harassed by Egyptian men in an attempt to circumvent these restrictions. Guidebooks implied that Western women pay the price for Egypt's conservative attitudes towards women, while Egyptian women are victims within their conservative culture.

Guidebook depictions of Islam as restricting women's freedoms and Muslim men as predatory paralleled and reinforced counterterrorism representations that held culture and religion responsible for the mistreatment of women in Muslim communities. Scholars argued that Muslim men were associated in the 'war on terror' discourse with a 'barbaric' culture that was patriarchal and misogynistic towards women (Kapur, 2002; Razack, 2008). Within this discourse, the West presented

itself as tolerant of difference, individuality and open to sexual freedom in opposition to Islam's sexual dysfunction, leading to a 'sexualised conception of an enemy threat' (Bhattacharyya, 2008, p.6-16). The British media also depicted Western countries as built on individual rights, secularism and democracy, with citizens' loyalty being primarily to the state (Poole, 2002; Richardson, 2004), despite the 'established' position of Christianity in its state structure (Modood et al., 1998, p.6). The UK and Western world thereby absolved themselves of responsibility for the motivations behind terrorist actions (Wynne-Hughes, 2012). Indeed, counterterrorism discourses ignored past and contemporary forms of imperialism, which have oppressed Muslim women (Khalid, 2011, p.22-3), not to mention the problem of 'everyday terrorism' in the West itself - gendered violence, domestic violence, sexual harassment - allowing the West to remain in its position as superior ('white' saviour) within counterterrorism discourses (Gentry, 2015).

In addition, guidebooks drew attention to the specific threat from Muslim men to (white) Western women, reflecting practices in the modern colonial period (Phipps, 2021). At this time, white women's 'protection' 'became key to the deadly disciplinary power that maintained racialised and classed regimes of extraction and exploitation' (Phipps, 2021, p.85). Indigenous, colonised and enslaved men were maimed and killed after allegations of rape made by bourgeois white women, 'sanctioned victims', while black women were seen as rapeable. Within guidebooks, brown women were not seen as rapeable, but were represented, along with white women, as victims of Muslim men. Guidebooks positioned 'liberated' Western tourists as culturally superior to Egyptian women (who need saving) and predatory Egyptian men (from whom all women must be protected), reshaping Mutua's 'savages-victims-saviours triad' which, as mentioned earlier, did not account for the way that 'white' victims play into this metaphor (Mutua, 2001, p.231). Sherene Razack argued that these same positions - the 'dangerous Muslim man' the 'imperilled Muslim woman' and the 'civilized European' under siege - dominated 'the social landscape of the "war on terror" and its ideological underpinning of a clash of civilisations' (2008, p.5). Egyptian women's sexual restrictions and women tourists' sexual harassment as presented in tourism guidebooks thereby functioned as further evidence of the misogyny and restrictiveness of Islam, underscoring women's societal position as the measure of modernity (Bhattacharyya, 2008; Razack, 2008).

4.2. Dangerous 'bad' Muslims

The *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* implied that the social restrictions on Egyptian women were more prevalent in one extreme of society, and that it was Egyptians within that extreme that were most threatening to Western tourists. I argue in previous work (2012) that guidebooks to Egypt connected the more conservative branch of Islam to Egypt's economic underdevelopment and hostility towards the West, manifested in terrorist attacks against tourists. The *Lonely Planet* also differentiated between these extremes of society based on the restrictions placed on women's conduct in each, explicitly describing how,

on the one hand there's traditional conservatism, reinforced by poverty, in which the diet is one of *fuul*, *ta'amiyya* and vegetables; women wear the long, black, all-concealing *abbeyya* and men wear the gownlike *galabiyya*; cousins marry cousins; going to Alexandria constitutes the trip of a lifetime; and all is "God's will". On the other hand, there are sections of society whose members order out from MacDonald's; whose daughters wear slinky black numbers and flirt outrageously; who think nothing of regular trips to the USA; and who never set foot in a mosque until the day they're laid out in one. The bulk of the Egyptian populace falls somewhere between these two extremes (2008, p.63-4; 2010, p.64; 2012, p. 480-1; 2015, p.449).

The *Lonely Planet* thereby connected one extreme of society with higher levels of (Islamic) religiosity, more restrictions on women and

lower socioeconomic status (indicated by their limited diet and mobility), while on the other extreme women were more sexually liberated, wealthy, secular and pro-Western. The *Lonely Planet* also linked religious conservatism with class and women's roles when it argued that women who worked as mothers and in the household were found especially among the working classes which adhered most to tradition, while there were 'thousands of middle- and upper-middle-class professional women in Egypt who, like their counterparts in the West, juggle work and family responsibilities' (2008, p.485; 2010, p.521). In addition, it confirmed that wealthier Egyptians were more sexually liberal when it stated that women were expected to be virgins when they marry, 'with the possible exception of the upper classes' (2008, p.69; p.518; 2010, p.521–2).

Guidebooks also indicated that working-class, less educated Egyptians were more likely to be a threat to women tourists. The *Rough Guide*, for instance, connected Egyptians' economic class and 'education' about the West, with their levels of acceptance for the 'liberated' behaviours of Western women, arguing that 'while well-educated Egyptians familiar with Western culture can take these in their stride, less sophisticated ones are liable to assume the worst. Tales of affairs with tourists...are common currency among Egyptian males' (2005, p.90; 2007, p.60). The *Rough Guide* implied that 'less sophisticated' Egyptians (as it calls them) had more negative or exaggerated understandings of Western women's conduct than their more educated counterparts. The *Lonely Planet* suggested that working class Egyptians were more likely to be sexual threats as they cannot afford to marry (and have sex) as early. It argued that 'marriage is an expensive business, so men must often put it off until well into their 30s. This leads to a frustration that can often seem palpable in the streets' (O'Neill et al., 2012, p.486; Sattin & Lee, 2015, p.453).

Guidebooks aligned the more religious branch of Islam with the Muslim Brotherhood, connecting the organisation's anti-Western stance with its sexual conservatism. The *Rough Guide*, for example, described how Sayyid Qutb, the Muslim Brotherhood's second leader, converted to radical Islam and became pro-Sharia Law, following two years in the USA 'where he was appalled by American women, the "animal-like" mixing of the sexes and jazz music' (2007, p.788; 2010, p.616; 2013, p.614). Both the *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* linked the Muslim Brotherhood to terrorist attacks over the years, whether in Egypt or in the West, by pointing out connections between them and the Islamic groups responsible. The *Lonely Planet* went as far as to blame violence against Western tourists in Egypt on the Muslim Brotherhood, as it identified the terrorists involved as a 'splinter group' of the Muslim Brotherhood or 'members of the same pro-Islamist family' (2008, p.44–45; 2010, p.45), while the *Rough Guide* linked the Muslim Brotherhood with Al Qaida and the 9/11 attacks (2005, p.827–833; 2007, p.788–9; 2010, p.616; 2013, p.617). Finally, the *Lonely Planet* connected religiosity and social class when it argued that the growth of more conservative Islam was 'a political response to harsh socio-economic conditions' in Egypt, stating that Egyptians turned to Islamist groups like the Muslim Brotherhood as their only hope for change (2008, p.44; 2010, p.44–45; 2012, p.458; 2015, p.427).

Guidebooks highlighted that, since the revolution, these two extremes of Egyptian society were struggling for power, with the Islamist extreme offering worsening conditions for women. They argued that 'protestors' and 'liberals' who managed to peacefully overthrow Mubarak faced a choice 'between two evils' (Richardson, 2013, p.610; O'Neill et al., 2012, p.441–2). Guidebooks explained that the choice between Ahmed Shafiq (Mubarak's last prime minister) and Muhammad Morsi (the Muslim Brotherhood candidate) meant that many liberals abstained from voting and Islamists (including the Muslim Brotherhood and Salafi groups) therefore triumphed (O'Neill et al., 2012, p.441–2; Richardson, 2013, p.610). Guidebooks suggested that the status of women worsened with Islamists in power and improved after they fell. For example, the *Rough Guide* stated that 'the rise of religious fundamentalist parties since the revolution means there is now less pressure to enforce the ban on FGM, and one Salafist MP has already called for it to

be re-legalised' (2013, p.44). Meanwhile, the *Lonely Planet* highlighted how, after Morsi's fall and al-Sisi became president, sexual harassment was made a criminal offence (2015, p.474). The *Rough Guide* did discuss, however, the darker side of al-Sisi's regime, describing how, after the fall of Mubarak in 2011, the Supreme Council of Armed Forces arrested women activists and subjected them to 'forced "virginity tests"', which was a 'foretaste of what lay ahead, as suspicions of SCAF grew' (2013, p.609). Generally though, guidebooks failed to mention state-sponsored harassment (outlined below) and they connected sexual violence to Islamic culture. The religious, poorer, anti-Western extreme of society, associated with the Muslim Brotherhood, was therefore depicted as responsible for the repression of women, while the other extreme was aligned with women's freedoms.

By holding one extreme of Egyptian society responsible for harassment, guidebook discourses paralleled Western counterterrorism discourses which distinguished 'the good Muslim from the evil Muslim, and the civilised Muslim from the barbaric Muslim' (Kapur, 2002, p.216). Guidebook representations specifically reinforced Western counterterrorism discourses circulating in the period surrounding the Egyptian revolution. For example, UK Prime Minister David Cameron's 2011 speech on post 'war on terror' muscular liberalism depicted the threat posed by radicalised 'young men who follow a completely perverse, warped interpretation of Islam' in contrast to 'modern', 'moderate' Muslims (Cameron in Basham & Vaughan-Williams, 2013, p.516). Western governments also engaged in the 'culturalisation of class' insofar as Islam was seen as the source of poverty and therefore of terrorism (Wynne-Hughes, 2012; Jackson, 2017).

Guidebook representations that explicitly connected the more religious extreme of Egyptian society with the Muslim Brotherhood also paralleled Egyptian government representations (Amar, 2011a). Political Islam and the Muslim Brotherhood in particular have long been depicted as an 'enemy' by the Egyptian regime, used by former-President Mubarak to repress domestic opposition, maintain Western alliances and justify a top-down securitised approach to national stability. In 2015 President al-Sisi equated the Muslim Brotherhood with the Islamic State, arguing – in line with guidebook depictions – that all modern Islamist extremist movements originated from the Muslim Brotherhood (van de Bildt, 2015, p.272). After the mob sexual assaults on al-Sisi's inauguration day, al-Sisi and other prominent figures accused the Muslim Brotherhood of orchestrating them, calling them a 'terrorist attack' (Masr, 2014).

The state account of these mob assaults served to erase its own role in the development of sexual violence as a political weapon. The state has a history of perpetrating sexual violence to punish female protestors both physically, psychologically and reputationally, deterring women from public political participation and exerting control over the public sphere. Tactics have included hiring thugs to sexually assault protestors, arresting them as prostitutes, publicly stripping demonstrators and performing virginity tests on female protestors (Amar, 2011a; Zaki & Alhamid, 2014). Under Mubarak, the Supreme Council of Armed Forces, Morsi, Mansour and now al-Sisi, the issue of sexual violence has been addressed and perpetrators prosecuted only when the government could achieve some political gain, usually when enemies of the government could be blamed for assaults. Otherwise, sexual violence has been ignored or blamed on women, offering perpetrators de facto immunity (Farid, 2014; Langhor, 2014; Zaki & Alhamid, 2014). Blaming the Muslim Brotherhood served at the time to conceal how sexual violence has been mobilised by political leaders when it is to their political advantage and is otherwise ignored. Guidebooks that linked the Muslim Brotherhood with women's restrictions and praised al-Sisi's good track record on sexual harassment articulated with al-Sisi's attempts, after ousting President Morsi, to conceal state-orchestrated sexual violence and demonise the Muslim Brotherhood.

Tourism and state representations that connected the religious extreme of society with poverty and sexual violence also paralleled popular Egyptian and government discourses of 'the working-class

sexual predator' (Amar, 2011b, p.61). Zaki & Alhamid, 2014 argue that there is broad acceptance by the Egyptian middle class that working class men do the harassing: the middle classes 'approach the explosion of sexual harassment as on the one hand, yet another manifestation of social decline in Egypt, and on the other, an indicator of what the poor will do if they are not deterred by aggressive state security', ignoring that sexual violence occurs all over the country and across all social classes. Moreover, the aforementioned tactic of politically motivated sexual assault has been employed over the years to tar poorer male protestors with responsibility for such attacks. For example, many Egyptians continued to demonstrate against the regime and to demand economic inclusions after the fall of Mubarak. The state, via the Ministry of Interior, has a history of recruiting thugs to mix with protestors and shout extremist slogans, wreaking havoc by perpetrating violence on civilians, demonstrators and property. In so doing, the regime resignifies protestors 'as crazed mobs of brutal men, vaguely "Islamist" and fiercely irrational' (Amar, 2011a, p.308). Both before and after the fall of Mubarak in 2011, the discourse of sexual harassment and insecurity were used to discredit especially more religious and poor demonstrators and to deter women from protesting. Guidebook representations that associated the more religious, economically marginalised extreme of society with sexual harassment thereby naturalised Egyptian government discourses that demonised working-class 'bad' Muslims, obscuring the historical use of sexual violence by the state to repress dissent.

5. Recommending responses and protectors

5.1. Women's responsibility for their respectability

Based on their representation of women travellers' experiences, guidebooks also offered tourists advice on how to respond to threats in ways that connected with and naturalised global and Egyptian counterterrorism practices. They suggested that women alter their conduct to enhance their respectability and masculinised protections. The *Rough Guide* stated that women travellers are responsible for protecting themselves, advising that they take a few steps that won't involve 'compromising freedom too much' (2008, p.53). The *Rough Guide* indicated that 'the most important and obvious is dress: loose opaque clothes that cover all "immodest" areas (thighs, upper arms, chest) and hide your contours are a big help, and essential if you are travelling alone or in rural areas (where covering long hair is also advisable)' (2005, p.90; 2007, p.60; 2010, p.54-5). The *Lonely Planet* recommended that 'if you're in a rural area and all the women are in long, concealing dresses, you should be conservatively dressed. If you're going out to a hip Cairo nightclub, you're likely to see middle-and upper-class Egyptian girls in the briefest designer gear and can dress accordingly – just don't walk there' (2008, p.518; 2010, p.522). The distinction between working class/rural areas and middle/upper class urban areas emphasises the connection made by guidebooks between class and cultural conservatism. Guidebooks explicitly left it up to women to avoid harassment by modifying their own behaviour, chiefly through more modest clothing, though the *Lonely Planet* stated that this 'by no means guarantees you'll be left alone' (2008, p.519; 2010, p.523).

Guidebooks also offered women tourists tactics to avoid sending the wrong signals that might attract harassment. Both the *Rough Guide* and *Lonely Planet* encouraged women travellers to steer clear of any interactions with Egyptian men they did not know, which might be interpreted as a 'come on' or 'flirtation', suggesting that women avoid direct eye contact with them by wearing dark/mirrored sunglasses (Richardson & Jacobs, 2005, p.90; Richardson & Jacobs, 2007, p.61; Firestone, Benanav, Hall, & Sattin, 2010, p.53-4). Both guidebooks advised that women be careful in public places (including some cafes and bars, crowds and public transport) and that they ask women rather than men for directions or to 'guide you around' (Richardson & Jacobs, 2005, p.90-1; 2007, p.61-2; 2010, 53-4; Firestone et al., 2008, p.519; 2010, p.522; O'Neill et al., 2012, p. 520; Sattin & Lee, 2015,

p.475). The *Lonely Planet* (2015), however, included a subsection called 'adopting the right attitude', which stated that 'as the majority of Egyptians who work in tourism are male, you'll miss out on some great local interactions if you're too scared to talk to them' (2015, p.75). For the most part though, guidebooks recommended that women protect themselves from harassment by avoiding Egyptian men.

In response to harassment, guidebooks advised that women ignore verbal harassment (Richardson & Jacobs, 2005, p.90; Richardson & Jacobs, 2007, p.61; Firestone et al., 2008, p.519; Firestone et al., 2010, p.522). When it came to physical harassment like groping, both guidebooks recommended that using responses in Arabic like 'don't touch me' or 'behave yourself' 'will shame any assailant in public and may attract help' from bystanders (Richardson & Jacobs, 2005, p.90; Richardson & Jacobs, 2007, p.61; Firestone et al., 2008, p.519; 2010, p.522; Sattin & Lee, 2015, p.475). The *Rough Guide* also stated that 'some women find that it occasionally helps to clout gropers, if only to make themselves feel better' (2005, p.90; 2007, p.61). The post-revolution versions of the *Lonely Planet* suggested that women appeal to civil society organisations if they experienced sexual harassment. For instance, they encouraged texting incidents to 'HarassMap' for documentation purposes (2012, p.519-20; 2015, p.475), or contacting 'El Nadeem Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture' and 'Nazra for Feminist Studies' for help, counselling and legal advice. Guidebooks made clear, however, that it was mainly up to women tourists themselves to respond to harassment.

Guidebook representations that held women responsible for avoiding and responding to harassment aligned with messages from the Egyptian government and media that blamed women for the sexual violence they experienced during this transition period. Reflecting tourism guidebooks that suggested women avoid certain people/areas and dress appropriately, the Muslim Brotherhood and Supreme Council of Armed Forces blamed women for the violent sexual attacks they experienced based on their presence and inappropriate clothing at protests (Langhor, 2014). Following mass sexual assaults after the fall of Mubarak, the government and news media stated that women were responsible for their rapes as they chose to participate in male-dominated 'public spaces' (Guirguis, 2013; International Federation for Human Rights, 2015; Mecky, 2018, p.99). At the time, an anonymous army officer justified 'virginity tests' to the CNN by arguing that 'the girls who were detained were not like your daughter or mine. These were girls who had camped out in tents with male protestors in Tahrir Square' (Langhor, 2014, p.22). These responses reflect the way that incidents of sexual violence have been dealt with in Egypt, where the Egyptian state has explicitly demanded that 'women take care to monitor their own clothing and behaviour in public spaces to avoid misunderstandings' (Zaki & Alhamid, 2014). Holding women individually responsible for avoiding sexual harassment, in both tourism and government/popular discourses, functions to limit women's participation in the public sphere. In the Egyptian context specifically, blaming women for sexual violence was another means of deterring and suppressing their public political dissent.

5.2. Representing (masculinised) protectors

Guidebook representations also advised that, to avoid harassment, women signal that they are married or under a man's protection. The *Rough Guide* recommended, for example, wearing a wedding ring to 'confer respectability' (2005, p.90; 2007, p.61). The *Lonely Planet* stated that 'a wedding ring sometimes helps, but it's more effective if your "husband" (any male travel companion) is present. Most effective: travel with a child' (2012, p.519). Both guidebooks suggested that it was better for women to say that they were married to a man they were travelling with than that they were 'just friends' (Firestone et al., 2008, p.519; 2010, p.522; Richardson & Jacobs, 2005, p.90-91). This guidebook advice was in line with their representations of Egypt's conservative (Islamic) culture: to avoid harassment, women needed to signal appropriate connections with and protection from men, within a traditional

family structure. Guidebooks implied that men were the culprits but could also be the source of women's security, and that women were responsible for maintaining and broadcasting their (masculinised) protection.

The way that guidebooks shaped responses to threats reinforced global and Egyptian counterterrorism narratives that held masculinised subjects (leaders, states, alliances) responsible for protecting women and by extension Western civilisation (Kapur, 2002, p.214–216). Global counterterrorism practices invoked the language of protecting and indeed liberating women to justify militarised and often illegal interventions of various kinds (Kapur, 2002, p.214–216; Pratt, 2013, p.327). For example, one of the goals of the post-9/11 Afghanistan intervention, according to the US and British governments, was to 'save' Muslim Afghan women by rescuing them from the oppressive Taliban (Kapur, 2002; Battacharyya, 2008; Razack, 2008; Sanghera & Bjorkert, 2012, p.592–3). During the period of the Egyptian revolution, the 'rights of women and girls' was still key and indeed became a national security objective within the US National Security Strategy of 2010, which saw women's rights and a country's level of peace (and by extension global peace) and prosperity as linked (Pratt, 2013, p.327; Gentry, 2015, p.364, p.370). Ultimately, the 'war on terror' worsened the economic and security situation of women in many of the countries where interventions occurred (Pratt, 2013, p.327). Guidebooks which indicated that women required (Western) male protectors, thereby helped to naturalise the aforementioned 'savages-victims-saviours triad' (Mutua, 2001; Gentry, 2015), which represented the West as the progressive, white masculinised saviour of brown women victims from savage brown men (Gentry, 2015, p.364, p.368). Insofar as guidebooks also positioned (white) Western women as victims, they connected with counterterrorism discourses to further demonise and justify violence against 'bad' Muslim men.

Post-revolution editions of guidebooks saw President al-Sisi and his security apparatus specifically as protecting women from harassment. Guidebooks tips, for example, indicated that women could appeal to the state security apparatus, and the police in particular, to protect them from harassment. For example, the 2010 version of the *Rough Guide* recommended scaring harassers away by trying to gain the attention of the security services and shouting 'shorta! (Police!)' (p.54). The *Lonely Planet* stated that, after the sexual assaults during his inauguration 'in June 2014, newly elected President al-Sisi pushed the issue into the limelight when he went to visit a rape victim in hospital to apologise on behalf of the nation' (2015, p.453), going on to make sexual harassment a criminal offence (2015, p.474). The guidebook notion that al-Sisi and his regime were the protectors of women during the transition period reinforced ideas within state and popular Egyptian discourses at the time. Al-Sisi represented himself as the masculine protector of women, personally apologising to the woman who had been assaulted at his inauguration and to 'all Egyptian women', promising to take measures against the issue and, as indicated by the *Lonely Planet*, soon afterwards criminalising sexual harassment (Mecky, 2018). In so doing, he capitalised on years of Egyptian women's organising around this issue. His comments not only ignored the state's history of systematic sexual violence, but, apart from the publicised trial of seven men accused of the mob assault on al-Sisi's inauguration, no further trials have been held for mob assaults (despite 500 cases recorded between June 2012–2015), indicating the opportunistic nature of this response (International Federation for Human Rights, 2015; Mecky, 2018, p.98).

Meanwhile, the International Federation for Human Rights (2015) argued that the use of sexual violence as a political weapon only increased under al-Sisi's rule. This is why many activists and academics were sceptical of al-Sisi's post-inauguration plans to combat sexual violence (Langhor, 2014; Zaki & Alhamid, 2014). Miriam Mecky states that al-Sisi's rhetoric in response to the mob assaults on his inauguration day 'suggested that ["respectable"] women are in need of masculine male protection, unlike those female protestors who were deemed as "violable bodies"' (2018, p.100–101). Indeed, al-Sisi himself had

defended the virginity tests carried out in 2011 when he was the Minister of Defense, claiming that the tests were to 'protect the girls from rape' and defend the Supreme Council of Armed Forces from accusations that they had raped women in custody (Guirguis, 2013; Zaki & Alhamid, 2014). Mecky argues that the 'the state has been drawing on rhetoric of morality and patriarchal norms to maintain the political and social status quo', thereby consolidating 'masculine state power over any agents of transformation' (Mecky, 2018, p.102). Al-Sisi at best ignored and at worst legitimised the sexual violence against female protestors, while he 'protected' Egyptian women who followed the norms of female respectability.

Guidebooks depicted al-Sisi as not only the protector of women but also indicated that 'the army was seen as the protector of the revolution' and the democratic transition (O'Neill et al., 2012, p.460; Richardson, 2013, p.608–609). As mentioned earlier, guidebooks connected the Muslim Brotherhood with the more religious, working-class extreme of society responsible for sexual harassment and terrorism. This connection reinforced Egyptian government and media discourses that depicted the Supreme Council of Armed Forces as the 'new' Egypt's best source of protection from the Muslim Brotherhood's sexual and terrorist violences. Al-Sisi painted sexual violence, which he blamed on the Muslim Brotherhood, as an 'alien phenomenon', disconnected from Egypt (Mecky, 2018, p.100–101). It did not take long, once the Supreme Council of Armed Forces was in power, to crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood: in September 2013 the Muslim Brotherhood was banned and by December it was declared a terrorist group. Many of its members, including Morsi, were charged with 'terrorism and plotting with foreign militants against Egypt' and eventually given a life sentence (van de Bildt, 2015, p.257). Meanwhile, Egyptian women were expected to be grateful for to their leader as the media promoted 'an image of the loyal female subject who unconditionally supports the military-backed regime of al-Sisi as "the only alternative" to Islamic parties and their threat to women's rights' (Allam, 2019, p.377; see also van de Bildt, 2015, p.254).

Also, as mentioned above, guidebooks that blamed poorer more religious Egyptians for sexual harassment paralleled Egyptian discourses that painted all 'post-revolution' protestors as threatening to women and the nation. The Western media's images of revolutionaries as elite subjects who removed Mubarak through peaceful means articulated with the government's branding of those who did not fit this image as deviant or 'thugs', and legitimised brutal crackdowns on continued demonstrations by more religious and working-class Egyptians (Wynne-Hughes, 2021). Van de Bildt argues that 'with its discourse of the "war on terror", the Egyptian state has sought to create a carte blanche to suppress the Muslim Brotherhood and other political opponents, making virtually no distinction between peaceful and violent protestors and equating political dissent with terrorism' (2015, p.258). Working class men were depicted as 'sex-crazed, uncontrolled subjects of terror and the only sources of violence', requiring the state to police them and preserve public morality and stability (Mecky, 2018, p.99–101). The International Federation of Human Rights (2015) confirmed that the government used sexual harassment and assaults as an excuse or tool to crackdown on its opponents. The crackdown on dissent widened in late 2013 and 2014 to include arrests of prominent activists, scholars, journalists and public figures who spoke out, and involved a new Protest Law effectively banning protests. The repression of those who wanted to change the political and economic status quo was facilitated by the image of protestors as terrorists who harassed women and threatened the state.

Despite their image as protectors of women, state attempts to address Egyptian women's concerns have at best been ineffective and at worst have damaged women's grassroots organising against sexual violence. Nermin Allam argues that al-Sisi's regime has employed the practice of state-sponsored feminism which co-opts the women's rights agenda into its nationalist discourse, offering limited advancements to women's rights in exchange for restricting (and sometimes criminalising) the

work of independent feminist initiatives and women's rights organisations through laws surrounding NGOs (Allam, 2019, p.366, p.375). Such laws, along with security tactics to quash protests, have demobilised most forms of street-level organising, including by groups which had intervened to protect women in mob assaults when the state failed to act (Langhor, 2014). In particular, the Law 70 Regulating the Work of Associations and Other Institutions Working in the Field of Civil Work, passed in 2017, means that the activities of civil society groups are overseen by a national board with members from security and intelligence agencies. HarassMap, Nadeem and Nazra (mentioned by guidebooks as sources of support for those who have experienced harassment) have been paralysed through increasing government control and crackdowns on their activities. Guidebook representations functioned to build consent for counterterrorism policies which worked to 'protect' women from 'bad' Muslim men, whilst obscuring the violent crackdown on dissent that was thereby legitimised and which negatively affected even groups working to combat sexual harassment.

6. Conclusion

This article examined the most popular Western guidebooks to Egypt in the period surrounding the 2011 revolution to understand how tourism paralleled and built consent for global counterterrorism policies with reference specifically to their racialised, classed and gendered aspects: namely, the positioning of poorer 'bad' Muslim men as threats, Muslim/Western women as victims and (white) masculinised protectors as saviours. It offers an original contribution to research examining the entanglements of tourism and terrorism, focusing on how guidebook representations of sexual violence drew attention to (white) Western women as victims of poorer 'bad' Muslim men within the 'savages-victims-saviours triad' of counterterrorism discourses. In particular, this article underscores the entanglements between the 'savages-victims-saviours triad' and modern colonial dynamics in a way that has been rarely examined in the feminist literature on terrorism, thereby contributing to critical analyses of the racialised/classed/gendered hierarchies and violences naturalised through Western and Egyptian counterterrorism discourses and their intertextual resonances.

My analysis found that the *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* to Egypt (2005-2015) identified two extremes of Egyptian society, differentiating them based on the status of women in each. Guidebooks linked the more extreme form of Islam with poverty, social restrictions on Egyptian women and the sexual harassment of Western women tourists who were seen as 'easy' in contrast. This connection reinforced the idea that poorer more religious Muslim men were a threat to women, a notion that circulated at the time in both Western and Egyptian counterterrorism discourses. This idea, along with guidebook advice that women should safeguard their respectability and seek masculinised protection from harassment, helped to naturalise violent counterterrorism responses that protected 'respectable' women from 'bad' Muslim men, positioning (white/Western) subjects as saviours. Guidebook discourses also paralleled Egyptian counterterrorism discourses that concealed and justified the violent repression of 'less respectable' women and poorer, more religious men who publicly resisted the post-transition regime.

A limitation of this analysis is that it focuses solely on the site of the text/image itself. Examining guidebook sites of production, circulation and reception are avenues for future research. This would mean studying how research is conducted to write these guidebooks, what the author and companies' intensions are, as well as how these texts are interpreted and acted upon in practice in complex ways. Guidebooks should also be examined as sites where common sense ideas and practices are negotiated, resisted and re-theorised, through both their production and consumption. Future research could also study more recent iterations of the 'savages-victims-saviours triad', which can be found in representations of the 'migrant crisis' that function to 'defend white bourgeois order' through the notion that Arab/Muslim migrants are responsible for (among other things) sexual violence against (white)

women in Europe (Danewid, 2022).

Nevertheless, this article helps us to understand the significance of tourism practices beyond touristic sites themselves, studying how *Lonely Planet* and *Rough Guide* tips for women travellers to Egypt reinforced and naturalised violent and exclusionary counterterrorism responses at different (local, national, global) scales.

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