Language

, [Against Her Will. Forced and Coerced Sterilization of Women Worldwide](#) *[1]*, Open Society Foundations, 2011

This Open Society Foundations fact sheet provides information on instances of forced sterilization of racial and ethnic minorities, poor women, women living with HIV, and women with disabilities in Chile, Czech Republic, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Hungary, India, Mexico, Namibia, Kenya, Peru, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Venezuela, the United Kingdom, the United States and Uzbekistan. It also provides recommendations for governments, medical professionals, UN agencies, and donors on how to end the practice of forced and coerced sterilization.

, [After the Arab Spring](#) *[2]*, Journal of Democracy, Vol. 26, 2015

This issue of the Journal published six articles assessing the regional uprisings. Michele Dunne 'After the Arab Spring: Caught in History's Crosswinds' suggests that despite difficulties in understanding the failures of the 'Spring' some lessons can be drawn; Michael Robbins 'After the Arab Spring: People Still Want Democracy' argues that data from the Arab Barometer suggested most Arabs still want democratic government; Marc Lynch, 'After the Arab Spring: How the Media Trashed the Transitions examines how the media that supported deposing dictators 'can make it harder to build democracy'; Charles Kurxzman and Didem Turkoglu 'After the Arab Spring: Do Muslims Vote Islamic Now?' assess whether Islamic parties have become more popular than they were before 2011, and Mieczslaw P. Boduszynski, Kristin Fabbe and Christopher Lamont, 'After the Arab Spring : Are Secular Parties the Answer?' examine sceptically whether the existing secular parties are equipped to play a positive role. (The sixth article on Tunisia is listed under [E.V.B.b.2. Tunisia](#) [3].)

Achcar, Gilbert, [The People Want : A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprisings](#) *[4]*, Berkley, CA, University of California Press, 2013, pp. 358

Achcar rejects the concept of a sudden 'Spring', arguing instead that there is a long term deep-seated revolution which will take many years to develop. Achcar's Marxist inspired analysis stresses the basic socio-economic changes required. He also covers the role of both the relatively tolerant monarchies of Morocco and Jordan and the 'oil monarchies' of the Gulf.

Achcar, Gilbert, [Sudan's Revolution at the Crossroads: A Year since Omar-al-Bashir's Fall from Power](#) *[5]*, Translated into English by Charles Goulden. Spanish and Arabic translations available., Le Monde Diplomatique, 2020

Achcar, a professor at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, assesses the prospects for a successful outcome in Sudan, and notes the parallels with the earlier uprising in Eygpt and the 2019 movement in Algeria. He also comments on the deteriorating economic situation and the added problems created by the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. But the outcome of the revolution depends largely on the very varied social and ideological groupings that fostered the revolution, and their present relationship with long established political forces. Achar provides an illuminating analysis. He also examines the different tendencies within the armed forces, whose role is crucial.

Achcar, Gilbert, ['From One Arab Spring to Another'](#) *[6]*, Radical Philosophy, 2020

In this article (partially adapted from an interview in *Marxist Left Review* 19, but rewritten and updated) Achcar begins by situating 2011 within a global crisis of the neoliberal stage of capitalism. He also notes the specific features of the region, and comments on the defeat of the workers' movement and the left in Egypt, and then turns to prospects in Algeria. Sudan, Lebanon and Iraq.

Al-Sharmani, Mulki, Feminist Activism, Women's Rights and Legal Reform [7], ed. Alpizar, Lydia [8], Duran, Anahi [9], Garrido, Anali Russo [10], London, Zed Books, 2013, pp. 200

Explores both attempts at legal reform and those reforms achieved in Islamic countries (Palestine, Yemen, Iran and Egypt) and problems of implementing reform, for example the domestic violence law in Ghana.

Allam, Nermin, Activism Amid Disappointment: Women's Groups and the Politics of Hope in Egypt [11], Middle East Law and Governance, Vol. 10, no. 3, 2018, pp. 291-318

The author investigates two questions: How did the politics of disappointment unfold among female activists after the 2011 Egyptian uprising and specifically under the current regime? What were the effects of the strong sense of emotional disappointment on women's activism and collective action? She argues that disappointment did not mark the end of politics and activism among women's groups in Egypt. Although the situation is complicated and activism is restricted in Egypt, in this research participants affirm that their experience in the uprising has changed them, and that "things cannot go back to the old days." A focus on hope and disappointment makes the experiences of activists central to the analysis. It allows researchers to reclaim the voices of female activists in explaining the challenges and opportunities that developed after the uprising, and how these developments influenced and shaped their experience, movement, and mobilization.

AP, Palestinian-American brings #MeToo campaign to West Bank [12], Arab News, 2018

This article describes the initiative a young Palestinian-American took to confront patriarchy and sexism in the West Bank and the lack of protection for women, despite legal reforms formally taking place in its territories. Yasmeen Mjalli is the inventor of T-shirts, hoodies and jackets with the slogan 'I Am Not Your Habibti (darling)', an expression typically used for catcalling women and young girls. Sexual harassment is a taboo subject in Palestine, which is still dominated by a culture of victim blaming, like many other parts of the Arab World. It is moreover not considered a priority amongst Palestinians in comparison to the fight against Israeli occupation. The article also briefly cites minor reforms that occurred in Egypt, the Gulf Arab Region and Saudi Arabia.

Ashour, Omar, Egypt's Revolution amd the Transformation of Armed Islamist Movements towards unarmed activism [13], In Dudouet, Civil Resistance and Conflict Transformation – Transitions from Armed to Nonviolent Struggle [14] (A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements [15]), London, Routledge, pp. 173-189

Bamyeh, Mohammed, The Egyptian Revolution: First Impressions from the Field [16], Arab Studies Institute, 2011

BBC, Is a New Arab Spring Unfolding in the Middle East? [17], 2019

BBC Middle East editor briefly surveys the demonstrations in Lebanon and Iraq, notes attempted protests in Egypt, and discusses the frustration and rage of young people over educational failures and unemployment, as well as rampant corruption. He comments on the security forces firing on Iraqi demonstrators, and on reports that men in black (sometimes masked) who might be pro-Iranian militias were opening fire, Bowen also notes that some Iraqi soldiers have wrapped the national flag around their shoulders, suggesting sympathy for the protesters.

Bloomer, Fiona ; Pierson, Claire ; Estrada, Sylvia, Reimagining Global Abortion Politics: A Social Justice Perspective [18], Bristol and Chicago, Policy Press, 2020, pp. 176

This book uses case studies from a range of countries to provide a transnational and interdisciplinary analysis of trends in abortion politics, and considers how religion, nationalism, and culture impact on abortion law and access. It also explores the impact of international human rights norms and the role of activists on law reform and access to abortion. Finally the authors examine the future of abortion politics through the more holistic lens of 'reproductive justice'. The countries included are: Argentina, Egypt, Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, South Africa,

Uruguay and the US.

Bouffée, Monique, Catcalled in Cairo: Ending sexual harassment in Egypt *[19]*, The New Arab, 2018

The objectification of women pervades all aspects of Egyptian public and private life. This article illustrates the epidemic of sexual harassment that Egyptian women face and some initiatives taken to combat it.

Brown, Carrie ; Gielen, Uwe P. ; Gibbons, Judith L. ; Kuriansky, Judy, Women's Evolving Lives: Global and Psychosocial Perspectives *[20]*, ed. Alexander, Amy [21], Cham, Switzerland, Springer, 2018, pp. 296

This wide-ranging collection analyzes the status and progress of women both in a national context and collectively on a global scale, as a powerful social force in a rapidly evolving world. The countries studied?China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Cameroon, South Africa, Italy, France, Brazil, Belize, Mexico, and the United States?represent a cross-section of economic conditions, cultural and religious traditions, political realities, and social contexts that shape women's lives, challenges, and opportunities. Psychological and human rights perspectives highlight worldwide goals for equality and empowerment, with implications for today's girls as they become the next generation of women. Women's lived experience is compared and contrasted in such critical areas as: home and work; physical, medical, and psychological issues; safety and violence; sexual and reproductive concerns; political participation and status under the law; impact of technology and globalism; country-specific topics.

Case, Benjamin, Riots as Civil Resistance: Rethinking the Dynamics of "Nonviolent' Struggle *[22]*, Journal of Resistance Studies, Vol. 4, no. 1, 2018, pp. 9-44

Scholarly article challenging the dichotomy between violence and nonviolence, and arguing that civil resistance literature tends to focus on violence as warfare. The author suggests 'unarmed collective political violence' such as destruction of property and fights with police or opponents are frequently part of civilian resistance movements and that this reality should be examined. The article focuses in particular on unarmed violence in the January 2011 revolution against Mubarak in Egypt, and argues that it qualifies as civil resistance because of its civil character and that riots 'reacted dynamically' with more specifically nonviolent mobilization.

See also: Craig S. Brown, "'Riots'' during the 2010/2011 Tunisian Revolution: A Response to Case's Article in JRS, Vol. 4 Number 1' in *Journal of Resistance Studies,* Vol. 4. No. 2, pp. 112-31.

Center, Global Legal Rese, Egypt: Sexual Violence Against Women *[23]*, Washington, DC, The Law Library of Congress, 2016, pp. 22

Describes the main legislative instruments protecting women from sexual violence in Egypt, up to 2016. These are: the Egyptian Constitution of 2014 and the Criminal Code of 1937 and amendments to it. The report also discusses suggestions which have been made for improving the legal system.

Chaban, Stephanie, Addressing violence against women through legislative reform in States transitioning from the Arab Spring *[24]*, In Lahai, John and Khanyisela Moyo (eds.) Gender in Human Rights and Transitional Justice, Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan,

The authors examine legal reforms relating to gender and violence against women in states emerging from the Arab Spring, such as Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Yemen. They argue that, while legal reform has been uneven, women's organizations and movements (particularly those that are feminist or feminist-oriented) are key, though not sufficient, to ensure positive legal reforms.

Cochrane, Logan ; Zeid, Yasmien ; Sharif, Raed, Mapping Anti-Sexual Harassment and Changing Social Norms in Egypt *[25]*, ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies, Vol. 18, no. 2, 0, pp. 394-420

According to available data, Egypt has higher than average rates of sexual harassment for the Middle East and North Africa region and many other countries in the Global South. This article explores how one organization, HarassMap, has mapped sexual harassment using crowd-sourced technology, engaged in anti-sexual harassment activities and sought to change social norms to promote an environment of zero tolerance. The authors highlight the evolving activism since 2010, and the lessons learned, within an environment influenced by restrictive political, religious and socio-cultural spheres. This article shows how anti-sexual harassment activities can occur in challenging contexts, using crowdsourcing mapping, when traditional methods are illegal or could lead to violence. The authors draw on these experiences to reflect on more effective forms of support that external actors can provide within restrictive environments.

See also Bernardi, Chiara (2018) 'HarassMap: The Silent Revolution for Women's Rights in Egypt' in Maestri Elena, Annemarie Profanter (eds.) *Arab Women and the Media in Changing Landscapes*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 215-227.

The author analyzes the role played by the independent organization HarassMap, run by Egyptian men and women, with the aim to "put an end to social acceptance of sexual harassment" in the country. HarassMap situates itself at the intersection of activism, digital media and semiotics. It is an interactive map that enables sexual harassment to become visible and "exposed" in a country where bystanders turn a blind eye to instances of harassment and even violence.

   Darhour, Hanane ; Dahlerup, Drude, [Double-Edged Politics on Women's Rights in the MENA Region. Gender and Politics](#) *[26]*, Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, pp. 311

The authors explore women's activism and political representation, as well as discursive changes, with a particular focus on secular and Islamic feminism. They also examine changes in public opinion on women's position in society in countries like Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Algeria and Jordan.

   Della Porta, Donatella, [Mobilizing for Democracy: Comparing 1989 and 2011](#) *[27]*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 384

Expert on social movements combines analysis of movements with theory of democratisation, and using comparative framework discusses causes and outcomes of 1989 movements in Eastern Europe with the Middle East and North Africa from 2011. Particular, but by no means exclusive, focus on GDR and Czechoslovakia and on Tunisia and Egypt.

   Democracy, Journal of, [The Upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia](#) *[28]*, Journal of Democracy, Vol. 22, no. 3 (July), 2011, pp. 3-48

This section includes three articles: Schraeder, Peter J. and Hamadi Redissa, 'Bem Ali's Fall', pp. 3-19; Howard, Philip N. and Muzammil M. Hussein, 'The role of the digital media', pp. 35-48, compares Tunisia and Egypt; Masoud, Tarek, 'The Road to (and from) Liberation Square', pp. 20-34, is primarily about Egypt.

   Dudouet, Véronique, [Civil Resistance and Conflict Transformation – Transitions from Armed to Nonviolent Struggle](#) *[14]*, London, Routledge, 2014, pp. 262

Chapters on: Western Sahara, West Papua, Palestine, South Africa (in 1980s), the Zapatistas. Egypt, Nepal and on indigenous armed struggle and nonviolent resistance in Colombia.

   El-Ashmawy, Nadeen, [Sexual Harassment in Egypt: Class Struggle, State Oppression, and Women's Empowerment](#) *[29]*, Hawwa, Vol. 15, no. 3, 2017, pp. 225-256

Although sexual harassment is a worldwide phenomenon, it is noteworthy in Egypt, which recently occupied a top position on the map of sexual harassment on a world scale. In November 2013, Egypt was declared by the Thomson Reuters Foundation as the worst country for women to live in within the Arab World, when compared to

twenty-two other Arab countries, largely because of its female sexual harassment rates. The United Nations Population Fund declared Egypt as ranking "second in the world after Afghanistan in terms of this issue." In the years following the 2011 revolution, the nature of sexual harassment in Egyptian society was transformed from a hidden phenomenon to an overtly prevalent social epidemic. This study argues that the "weaponization" of sexual harassment is a common ground where class struggles, state policies, and women's empowerment intertwine in post-revolutionary Egyptian society.

el-Baghdadi, Iyad, Interview with Jan-Peter Westad [30], New Internationalist, 2020, pp. 52-54

Palestinian activist el-Baghdadi, based in Oslo, speaks about his role in providing news about the Arab Spring to the international media, and publishing his ideas about securing radical change in the longer term. He also explains why he now seeks to counter disinformation online and to campaign in particular against the autocratic model of Mohammed bin Salman in Saudi Arabia.

El-Mahdi, Rabab, Orientalising the Egyptian uprising [31], Pambazuka News, 2011

suggesting a non-western interpretation of events.

El-Mahdi, Rabab ; Marfleet, Philip, Egypt: The Moment of Change [32], ed. El-Mahdi, Rabab [33], Marfleet, Philip [34], London, Zed Books, 2009, pp. 186

Analysis of the Mubarak regime and its policies, the nature of political Islam, and (most relevant here) a chapter on 'The democracy movement: Cycles of protest', pp. 87-102, which provides background to Tahrir Square.

El-Rifae, Yasmin, What the Egyptian Revolution Can Offer #MeToo [35], Vol. The Nation, 2018

The author highlights the peculiarities of the 'MeToo' movement in the United States, and the differences between North American and Egyptian society. She then describes the origin and tactics of Operation Anti-Sexual Harassment and Assault (OpAntiSH), a women-led, feminist and civilian group combatting sexual assault in Cairo

Eltahawy, Mona, Headscarves And Hymens. Why The Middle East Needs A Sexual Revolution [36], London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2015, pp. 256

Human rights activist and journalist, Mona Eltahawy, contextualizes Middle Eastern women's repression in a net of political, cultural and religious forces that undermine the possibility of a new Arab Spring emerging as an organic revolutionary process for the upholding of human rights in the MENA region.

Eltantawy, Nahed, I Am Untouchable!" Egyptian Women's War Against Sexual Harassment [37], In Khamis, Sahar and Mili Amel (eds) Arab Women's Activism and Socio-Political Transformation, Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 131-148

This chapter discusses women's dual struggle in the context of the Arab Spring: the political struggle to secure civil rights and political rights, and the social struggle to secure gender equality. While the former can be enshrined in constitutions and enforced through the judicial branch, the latter is much harder to pin down, and even harder to enforce, because it deals with cultural mindsets and entrenched social norms. This chapter uses the example of Egypt to show how within the actual struggle for political rights, women experienced the worst forms of sexual violence, highlighting the long struggle ahead. It also stresses the efforts by Egyptian women to continue their parallel sociopolitical struggles, as evidenced in their tireless attempts to fight sexual harassment.

Eltantawy, Nahed, In Egypt, the Me Too Movement Is Falling Short [38], Fair Observer, 2019

Nahed Eltantawy discusses the influence 'MeToo' had on the anti-sexual harassment movement in Egypt and the

women-led initiatives that occurred consequently.

Feigenbaum, Anna ; Frenzl, Fabian ; McCurdy, Patrick, Protest Camps [39], ed. Edwards, Michael [40], Gaventa, John [41], London, Zed Press, 2013, pp. 272

Examines protest camps as key tactic of movements from Tahrir Square to Occupy Wall Street; includes Red Shirts in Thailand and teachers in Oaxaca.

Fisk, Robert ; Cockburn, Patrick, Arab Spring Then and Now: From Hope to Despair [42], London, Mango Media, 2017, pp. 292 pb

This book sponsored by *The Independent* newspaper is written by its two major Middle East reporters and cover the events of 2010-11 and the aftermath. Both correspondents have extensive expertise on their area, and have tended to diverge in their assessments from much mainstream western reporting.

Ghonim, Wael, Revolution 2.0: The Power of the People is Greater than the People in Power [43], London, Fourth Estate, 2012, pp. 308

Memoir of activist who works for Google and focused particularly on promoting the revolution online. He anonymously ran the Facebook page demanding justice for Khaled Said, a young man beaten to death by police in Alexandria in June 2010, and promoted brief demonstrations, for example a 'silent stand' by people wearing black and holding hands to express their anger at the lack of justice for Khaled. The Facebook page attracted over 350,000 members.

Glas, Saskia ; Spierings, Niels, Changing Tides? On How Popular Support for Feminism Increased After the Arab Spring [44], In Double-Edged Politics on Women's Rights in the MENA Region. Gender and Politics, Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 131-154

The authors studied the impact of feminism in some Arab countries following the Arab Spring uprising across North Africa in 2011. They assessed the specific forms of the uprisings. They also examined whether pre-existing anti-Western value and gender relations influenced the visibility and resonance of feminist norms.

Jayawardena, Kumari, Feminism And Nationalism In The Third World [45], London and New York, Verso, 2016, pp. 304

By demolishing the myth that feminism originated in the West, Kumari Jayawardena presents feminism as it originated in the Third World, erupting from the specific struggles of women fighting against colonial power, for education or the vote, for safety, and against poverty and inequality. Gives particular attention to Afghanistan, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Turkey, and Vietnam.

To look at a brief extract of the book see also https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/4018-feminism-and-nationalism-in-the-third-world [46]

Jaywardina, Kumari, Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World [47], London, Zed Press (Third World Books), 1986, pp. 288

Study of women's rights movements in Middle East and Asia from 19th century to 1980s, covering Egypt and Turkey, China, India, Indonesia, Korea and the Philippines. Argues feminism was not an alien ideology but indigenous to these countries.

Jin, Zhixin, How Do Anti-abortion and Abortion Rights Groups Deploy Ideas About Islam in Their Activism Regarding Abortion [48], Journal of Politics and Law, Vol. 12, no. 1, 2018, pp. 38-47

Abortion is a hotly debated topic among Muslim communities. In this paper, the author examines how both anti-abortion and abortion rights groups deploy ideas about Islam. She analised the language used by these groups when describing Muslim communities and Muslim views and found that a majority of them did not include arguments from both sides. Almost all the Anti-Abortion Websites included generalizations about the Muslim community, and also used the conservative elements in Islamic Religion to persuade more Muslims to join their stance on abortion.

Kandil, Hazem, Mubarak's Overthrow [49], New Left Review, no. 68 (March/April), 2011, pp. 17-56

Interview in which Kandil analyses the revolt brewing under the surface and the role of six distinct groups, the nature of the Mubarak regime, the events of the first month of revolution and prospects for the future.

Kandil, Hazem, Soldiers, Spies and Statesmen: Egypt's Road to Revolt [50], London, Verso, 2012, pp. 256

Analysis by political sociologist depicting the revolt as a power struggle between the military, the security services and the political leadership in the context of the previous six decades. Challenges the widespread assumption that after the popular rebellion the military continued to control the political developments.

Khamis, Sahar ; Amel, Mili, Arab Women's Activism and Socio-Political Transformation [51], Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 288

This book illustrates how Arab women have been engaging in ongoing, parallel struggles before, during, and after the Arab Spring. It focuses on three levels: 1) the political struggle to pave the way to democracy, freedom, and reform; 2) the social struggle to achieve gender equality and combat all forms of injustice and discrimination against women; and 3) the legal struggle to chart new laws which can safeguard both the political and the social gains. The contributors argue that while the political upheavals often had a more dramatic impact, they should not overshadow the parallel social and legal revolutions, which are equally important, due to their long-term impacts on the region. The chapters shed light on the intersections, overlaps and divergences between these gendered struggles and unpacks their complexities and multiple implications, locally, regionally, and internationally.

Kirollos, Mariam, 'The Daughters of Egypt are a Red Line [52], Sur, Vol. 13, no. 24, 2016, pp. 137-153

This paper identifies the impact of rampant sexual harassment on Egypt's legal culture. As it had been vaguely defined in Egyptian laws and largely condoned by the society and justice system, sexual harassment increased over the years in both the frequency and in the intensity of its violence. As a result, legal initiatives and grassroots movements arose attempting to criminalise sexual harassment and end its social acceptability. With the fall of Mubarak, the human rights movements optimistically continued to call for an anti-sexual harassment law, but due to the continuing political turmoil, the struggle was more arduous than expected. Three years after the uprising, sexual harassment was finally criminalised and efforts to change public attitudes towards it continue, but the will of the state to enforce the law, beyond statements and promises, is yet to be proven.

Lahai, John ; Moyo, Khanyisela, Gender in Human Rights and Transitional Justice [53], ed. Khamis, Sahar [54], Amel, Mili [55], Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 294

The authors challenge the (dominant) one-sided representations of gender in the discourses on human rights, and also transitional justice (involving new approaches to redressing recent major suffering and oppression). They examine how transitional justice and human rights institutions, as well as political institutions, impact the lives and experiences of women with references to Argentina, Bosnia, Egypt, Kenya, Peru, Sierra Leone, and Sri Lanka. They focus especially, in a variety of contexts, on the relationships between local and global forces.

Mamdani, Mahmood, An African reflection on Tahrir Square [56], Pambazuka News, 2011

Mamdani, Mahmood, 'Walk to work' and lessons of Soweto and Tahrir Square *[57]*, Pambazuka News, 2011

Middle East Institute, Revolution and Political Transformation in the Middle East *[58]*, ed. Middle East Institute, [59], Agents of Change, Vol. 1, Washington DC, Middle East Institute, 2011, pp. 45

Middle East Institute, Revolution and Political Transformation in the Middle East *[60]*, ed. Middle East Institute, [59], Outcomes and Prospects, Vol. 3, Washington DC, Middle East Institute, 2011, pp. 32

Middle East Institute, Revolution and Political Transformation in the Middle East *[61]*, ed. Middle East Institute, [59], Government Action in Response, Vol. 2, Washington DC, Middle East Institute, 2011, pp. 36

Mobilization, Mobilization *[62]*, ed. Mobilization, [63], Mobilization, Vol. 17, no. 4 (December), 2012

contains an overview by Charles Kurzman. 'The Arab Spring Uncoiled', and articles on Egypt, Iran, and Syria.

Naib, Fatma, Egypt: Women of the Revolution *[64]*, Pambazuka News, 2011

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson, Nonviolent Struggle: Theories, Strategies, and Dynamics *[65]*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 264

Designed as a textbook, it covers history, theoretical developments and debates about the results of nonviolent movements. It categorizes nine types of nonviolent action, which are illustrated by case studies. A separate chapter explores key issues of why and when sections of the armed services defect from a regime challenged by a nonviolent movement.

Ottaway, Marina ; Ottaway, David, The New Arab Uprisings: Lessons from the Past *[66]*, Middle East Policy Council, Vol. 27, no. 1, 2020

The authors look back to 2011 and the varied outcomes in four different contexts which shaped the possibility of and the reactions to mass protest. These are: the Maghreb (Tunisia and Morocco); Egypt; the Levant (Syria and Iraq) - states created out of the Ottoman Empire and then dominated by the colonial powers Britain and France; and the Gulf Arab monarchies. They then discuss 'whither the second wave?' in relation to Sudan, Algeria, Labanon and Iraq and draw some provisional conclusions.

Popovic, Srdja ; Miller, Matthew, Blueprint for Revolution: How to Use Rice Pudding, Lego Men, and Other Nonviolent Techniques to Galvanise Communities, Overthrow Dictators, or Simply Change the World *[67]*, Melbourne and London, Scribe, 2015, pp. 282

Popovic, an activist against the Milosevic regime in Serbia in the 1990s, went on to find CANVAS, which has offered advice and nonviolent training to activists in former Soviet states and other parts of the world, including Egypt before Tahrir Square and Syria. The book emphasizes the role of CANVAS (but does not address criticism of its role) and foregrounds the author's own experiences and interpretation of nonviolent action. It covers many varied campaigns with examples of how to mobilize successfully and use humour and imaginative forms of protest. It also addresses how to make oppression 'backfire' and the need to persevere in one's effort after apparent success. Written for activists rather than for scholars of nonviolence.

Prawitz, Jan ; Leonard, James, A zone free of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East: A political project *[68]*, Pacifica Review: Peace, Security & Global Change, Vol. 11, no. 3, 1999, pp. 257-271

This paper describes the Middle East Nuclear Weapons Free Zone's proposal, originally advanced by Iran and Egypt in 1974, as well as the extension of the concept in 1990 to include all weapons of mass destruction.

Red Pepper, African Awakenings *[69]*, Red Pepper, no. Dec/Jan, 2012, pp. 27-32

with articles by Firoze Manji, 'Hope for the Future'; Justin Pearce, 'Aspiring to Tahrir' and Tommy Miles 'After Gaddafi'.

Review, Swiss Political, Swiss Political Science Review *[70]*, ed. Review, Swiss Political [71], Swiss Political Science Review, Vol. 17, no. 4 (December), 2011, pp. 447-491

dedicates a section with articles from leading US-based social movement theorists, including Mario Diani, William Gamson, Jack Goldstone, and Jeff Goodwin – 'Why we were surprised (again) by the Arab Spring', pp. 452-6 – with Sharon Erickson Nepstad on 'Nonviolent Resistance in the Arab Spring: The Critical Role of Military-Opposition Alliances', pp. 485-491.

Roberts, Adam, The Fate of the Arab Spring: Ten Propositions *[72]*, Asian Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, Vol. 12, no. 3, 2018, pp. 273-289

Roberts discusses the 2011 uprisings in their broader historical context of the breakdown of empires and problems of creating order, and then summarizes the key events in the Arab Spring, with a particular emphasis on the role of civil resistance.

Roberts, Adam ; Willis, Michael J. ; McCarthy, Rory ; Garton Ash, Timothy, Civil Resistance in the Arab Spring: Triumphs and Disasters *[73]*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 360

After a general overviews of politics and resistance in the region, experts on individual countries explore the immediate impact of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Libya, Yemen and Syria, and the subsequent developments, discussing the reasons for reassertion of repression on Bahrain and later Egypt; political breakdown in Libya and civil war intensified by external interference in Yemen and Syria. There are also chapters on the monarchical response to pressure for reform in Jordan and Morocco, and why the Arab Spring did not ignite massive resistance in Palestine. Adam Roberts provides a concluding assessment of the problems of using civil resistance in the Arab Spring, the difficulties of democratization, and the lessons to be learned.

Sadiki, Larbi, Routledge Handbook of the Arab Spring *[74]*, ed. Sadiki, Larbi [75], London, Routledge, 2015, pp. 688

Includes a wide range of experiences and viewpoints discussing the context and range of the Arab uprisings, and focusing on topics such as women and the Arab Spring, agents of change and the technology of protest and the impact of the Arab Spring on the Middle East. Highlights developments in Egypt.

Saleh, Mariam, The role of online and social media in combating sexual harassment in Egypt *[76]*, Vol. Master of Arts, Cairo, American University , 2018, pp. 153

In Egypt, research shows that a large number of women have been harassed at least once in their lifetime. The Egyptian Government, international organizations and non-governmental organizations have been working for several years to combat sexual harassment. With the widespread use of online and social media in Egypt, these have become an effective and easily accessible means of conveying combating sexual harassment. The study is based on the Social Ecological Model, and seeks to identify how online and social media could be used to combat harassment through social change, social mobilization, and advocacy. The study is based on a case study of HarassMap – an Egyptian NGO working on combating sexual harassment through online and social media. Findings of the study show that online and social media could be used following a social change and social mobilization approach to: (1) encourage sexual harassment survivors to respond to harassment through changing

beliefs, increasing self-efficacy, and changing behavior through social prompting; (2) encourage bystander intervention through changing beliefs, increasing bystander-efficacy, and changing behavior through social prompting; (3) change society's attitudes and beliefs when assigning responsibility and attribution of sexual harassment and increase the society's collective-efficacy to fight acceptability of harassment; (4) argue for organizational change to have sexual harassment-free workplaces/educational institutions through targeting the organization and its surrounding environment; and (5) campaign for more stringent sexual harassment law/law enforcement.

Schäfer, Isabel, Youth, Revolt, Recognition: The Young Generation During and After the 'Arab Spring' *[77]*, Berlin, MIB, 2015, pp. 107

Schäfer, Isabel, Youth, Revolt, Recognition: The Young Generation during and after the 'Arab Spring' *[78]*, ed. David, Isabel [79], Toktamis, Kumru F. [80], Berlin, MIB (Mediterranean Institute Berlin), Humboldt University, 2015, pp. 110

Shenker, Jack, The Egyptians: A Radical Story *[81]*, London, Allen/Penguin, 2016, pp. 528

Account of the revolt against Mubarak by a *Guardian* journalist, based on first hand contact with activists, but also people in slums and factories and those living outside Cairo, and covering earlier development of the workers' activism and unionism and also village revolts against landowners. It includes wider-ranging historical analysis of Egypt's political and economic relations with the West.

Sherry, Dave, Occupy! A Short History of Worker Occupations *[82]*, London, Bookmarks, 2010, pp. 157

Covers campaigns in Argentina, Chicago (USA), France, Ukraine, Turkey, Egypt, South Korea and China.

Sowers, Jeannie ; Toensing, Chris, The Journey to Tahrir: Revolution, Protest and Social Change in Egypt, 1999-2011 *[83]*, ed. Sowers, Jeannie [84], Toensing, Chris [85], London, Verso, 2012, pp. 320

Begins with the uprising centred on Tahrir Square and then examines the Mubarak regime, the economic trends, and the growing protests by workers, and by democracy, anti-war, social and environment activists.

Spierings, Niels, Democratic Disillusionment? Desire for Democracy after the Arab Spring *[86]*, International Political Science Review, 2019

This article examines the impact of the uprisings on popular attitudes, using 45 public opinion surveys across the region to test his theoretical framework of a consequence-based approach that includes the concept of deprivation. When the data are combined to provide a country by country analysis they suggest that countries like Egypt and Morocco where initial protest had rapid political results but failed in the longer term, disillusionment was highest. Conversely a lack of major protest (Algeria) or of initial reform (Yemen) maintained desire for democracy. Results for Lebanon and Tunisia showed very different respomnses from different groups in society: Sunnia in Lebanon and the very poor in Tunisia.

Stephan, Rita ; Charrad, Mounira M., Women Rising: In and Beyond the Arab Spring *[87]*, New York , New York University Press, 2020, pp. 432 (pb)

This comparative study of 16 countries documents women's political resistance during and since 2011, with essays by both activists and scholars. The book stresses the diversity of the social groups and attitudes of the women involved, and gives a voice to often marginalized groups such as housewives and rural women. After an introductory chapter 'Advancing Women's Rights in the Arab World', the book is divided into five parts: What They Fight For; What They Believe; How They Express Agency; How They Use Space to Mobilize; and How They Organize.

Svetlova, Ksenia, Rising from ashes of Arab Spring, women lead a first Muslim feminist revolution *[88]*, Times of Israel, 2019

Highlights important challenges that women face in the Kurdish part of Syria; Tunisia; Morocco; Egypt; and the Persian Gulf in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.

West, Johnny, Karama! Journeys through the Arab Spring *[89]*, London, Heron Books, 2011, pp. 387

West is a former Reuters correspondent in Egypt and now works for the UN in the Middle East. Lively personal account and analysis – a further subtitle on the cover is 'Exhilarating encounters with those who sparked a revolution'. Focuses on Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. 'Karama' means honour and dignity, and West stresses its role in sparking and maintaining the revolts, quoting a Tunisian revolutionary from Sidi Bou Zid: 'This is a revolution of honour'.

Zakarriya, Jihan, Public Feminism, Female Shame, and Sexual Violence in Modern Egypt *[90]*, Journal of International Women's Studies, Vol. 20, no. 7, 2019, pp. 113-128

This paper connects aspects of public sexual violence against women generally, and politicized sexual violence in 21st-century Egypt in particular, arguing that successive political regimes in Egypt have produced and maintained a spatial culture of humiliation and subordination as a political tool to silence and oppress women and prevent opposition. This paper assesses the successes and failures of public feminism in Egypt in addressing this culture of female humiliation and isolation in public spaces, with a particular focus on fighting politicized forms of sexual violence directed against women since 2011. It also argues that sexual violence against women, and the repression of public feminism in Egypt, are parts of the failure of the processes of democratic transition.

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