



Language

, [After the Arab Spring](#) [1], 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 Kurzman 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 Mieczyslaw 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](#) [2].)

Achcar, Gilbert, [The People Want : A Radical Exploration of the Arab Uprisings](#) [3], 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.

Alexander, Christopher, [Tunisia: Stability and Reform in the Modern Maghreb](#) [4], New York, Routledge, 2010, pp. 160

Relevant for background to the events of 2011.

Bamyeh, Mohammed, [The Tunisian Revolution: Initial Reflections](#) [5], Arab Studies Institute, 2011

Part 2 of the article, published on 21 January 2011, is available at http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/472/the-tunisian-revolution_initial-reflections_part-2 [6].

Campbell, Horace, [Echoes from Tunisia and Egypt: Revolutions without self-proclaimed revolutionaries](#) [7], Pambazuka News, 2011

Caruso, Giuseppe, [Glimpses of the Tunisian revolution: The victory of dignity over fear](#) [8], Pambazuka News, 2011

Part 1, Part 2 is available at <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/72931> [9].

Chaban, Stephanie, [Addressing violence against women through legislative reform in States transitioning from the Arab Spring](#) [10], 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.

Darhour, Hanane ; Dahlerup, Drude, [Double-Edged Politics on Women's Rights in the MENA Region. Gender and Politics](#) [11], 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](#) [12], 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](#) [13], 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.

el-Baghdadi, Iyad, [Interview with Jan-Peter Westad](#) [14], 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.

ElHajjaji, Chouhaib, [Feminism in Tunisia: brutal hijacking, elitism and exclusion](#) [15], OpenDemocracy, 2018

Explores how the feminist movement in Tunisia has been a victim of brutal hijacking, exploitation, and politicization, which has fragmented its foundation.

Engler, Mark ; Engler, Paul, [This is an Uprising: How Nonviolent Revolt is Shaping the Twenty-First Century](#) [16], New York, Nation Books, 2016, pp. 368

The book examines how contemporary movements are using strategic nonviolent action to promote social change, covering a range of protests including climate change, immigrant rights, gay rights, Occupy and Black Lives Matter. The authors argue that nonviolent uprisings are becoming more common than violent rebellion, and look back to twentieth century antecedents in the Indian Independence and US Civil Rights movements, examine the nature of effective strategy and discuss organizational discipline. Their analysis includes the Arab Spring, but notes its discouraging implications.

Fisk, Robert ; Cockburn, Patrick, [Arab Spring Then and Now: From Hope to Despair](#) [17], 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.



Franceschet, Susan ; Krook, Mona Lena ; Tan, Netina, [The Palgrave Handbook of Women's Political Rights](#) [18], ed. [Ennaji, Moha](#) [19], [Sadiqi, Fatima](#) [20], [Vintges, Karen](#) [21], London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp. 784

Covers women's political rights across all major regions of the world, focusing both on women's right to vote and women's right to run for political office. The countries explored are Afghanistan, Armenia, Australia, Bolivia, Canada, Cameroon, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Israel, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, New Zealand, Myanmar, Niger, Nigeria, Poland, Russia, Rwanda, Slovenia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, South Korea, Slovenia, Switzerland, Taiwan, Tunisia, Turkey, the United States, Uganda, Uruguay, and Zimbabwe.

Glas, Saskia ; Spierings, Niels, [Changing Tides? On How Popular Support for Feminism Increased After the Arab Spring](#) [22], 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.

Khamis, Sahar ; Amel, Mili, [Arab Women's Activism and Socio-Political Transformation](#) [23], 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.

Masri, Sfawan, [Tunisia: An Arab Anomaly](#) [24], New York, Colombia University Press, 2019, pp. 416 pb

The author traces the history of Tunisia's politics back to the 19th century and early reforms relating to religion, education and women's rights, to explain the relatively liberal context in the 21st century. Masri therefore argues that Tunisia is not a model for other Arab states, but an exception, given the general role of Islam in shaping education and social and political agendas. The book draws on interviews as well as historical analysis and personal knowledge.

Middle East Institute, [Revolution and Political Transformation in the Middle East](#) [25], ed. [Middle East Institute](#), [26], Outcomes and Prospects, Vol. 3, Washington DC, Middle East Institute, 2011, pp. 32

Middle East Institute, [Revolution and Political Transformation in the Middle East](#) [27], ed. [Middle East Institute](#), [26], Government Action in Response, Vol. 2, Washington DC, Middle East Institute, 2011, pp. 36

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson, [Nonviolent Struggle: Theories, Strategies, and Dynamics](#) [28], 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](#) [29], 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, Lebanon and Iraq and draw some provisional conclusions.

Raqib, Jamila, [Case Study: The Tunisian Uprising and Protests, December 2010-January 2011](#) [30], In Sharp, [Sharp's Dictionary of Power and Struggle: Language of Civil Resistance in Conflicts](#) [31] (A. 1.a.ii. Theories of Civil Disobedience, Power and Revolution [32]), New York, Oxford University Press, pp. 34-52

Review, Swiss Political, [Swiss Political Science Review](#) [33], ed. [Review, Swiss Political](#) [34], 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](#) [35], 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](#) [36], Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 360

After a general overview 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](#) [37], ed. [Sadiki, Larbi](#) [38], 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.

Schäfer, Isabel, [Youth, Revolt, Recognition: The Young Generation During and After the 'Arab Spring'](#) [39], Berlin, MIB, 2015, pp. 107

Schäfer, Isabel, [Youth, Revolt, Recognition: The Young Generation during and after the 'Arab Spring'](#) [40], ed. [David, Isabel](#) [41], [Toktamis, Kumru F.](#) [42], Berlin, MIB (Mediterranean Institute Berlin), Humboldt University, 2015,



pp. 110

Sebystyen, Amanda, [Voices from the Tunisian Revolution](#) [43], Red Pepper, no. May, 2011, pp. 43-43

Sebystyen, Amanda, [Tunisia: Another country](#) [44], Pambazuka News, 2011

Discusses the involvement of activists in the revolution in preparations for elections.

Serres, Thomas, [Understanding Algeria's 2019 Revolutionary Movement](#) [45], Middle East Brief, Brandeis University, no. 129, 2019

The article argues that the Hirak is a revolutionary movement that connects with the 1954-62 independence struggle, uniting diverse social groups in a movement seen as 'the People' versus 'the System'. It also combines nationalist themes with the strategy of nonviolent resistance. The analysis draws parallels with 2011 in Tunisia, and notes the attempts to launch a similar nonviolent resistance movement in Algeria in January 2011 were successfully deflected by the regime. It then examines the record of the Boutifleka government over 20 years, which led to the Hirak.

Solomon, Clare ; Palmieri, Tania, [Springtime: The New Student Rebellions](#) [46], ed. [Snow, David A](#) [47], [Della Porta, Donatella](#) [48], [Klandermans, Bert](#) [49], [McAdam, Doug](#) [50], London, Verso, 2011, pp. 256

Focuses on the widespread student protests in Britain in 2010, but also extends to Italy, France, Greece and the USA, as well as the beginning of the Arab uprisings in Tunisia. Includes texts from the past and reminders of 1968, as well as coverage of contemporary events, and political and theoretical commentaries from established and new voices.

Spierings, Niels, [Democratic Disillusionment? Desire for Democracy after the Arab Spring](#) [51], 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 responses from different groups in society: Sunnis in Lebanon and the very poor in Tunisia.

Stepan, Alfred, [Tunisia's Transition and the Twin Tolerations](#) [52], Journal of Democracy, Vol. 23, no. 2 (April), 2012, pp. 89-103

Discusses transition to democracy and possibility of demonstrating how religion, society and the state can be satisfactorily balanced.

Stephan, Rita ; Charrad, Mounira M., [Women Rising: In and Beyond the Arab Spring](#) [53], 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](#) [54], 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](#) [55], 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’.

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