

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Aburawa, Arwa. "Arab Spring Female Activist Wins Nobel Peace Prize." *Green Prophet*. Green Prophet, 7 Oct. 2011. Web. 11 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.greenprophet.com/2011/10/arab-female-wins-nobel-peace-prize/>>.

This is a photograph showing Yemeni activist Tawakkol Karman after winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011. I chose this photograph because it shows her recognition for her role in the Arab Spring.

Amamou, Slim. "Slim Amamou Speaks About Tunisia, Egypt and the Arab World." *Global Voices*. N.p., 11 Feb. 2011. Web. 4 Jan. 2012. <<http://globalvoicesonline.org/2011/02/11/tunisia-slim-amamou-speaks-about-tunisia-egypt-and-the-arab-world/>>.

The interview with Mr. Slim Amamou sheds light on how people from Tunisia and Egypt supported each other in this revolution. He shows how Internet helped people in getting organized. He also points out the role the Internet played in not just getting him out of the detention but also taking down Ben Ali regime.

Beaumont, Peter. "The Truth about Twitter, Facebook and the Uprisings in the Arab World." *Guardian* [London] 24 Feb. 2011: n. pag. *The Guardian*. Web. 14 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/25/twitter-facebook-uprisings-arab-libya>>.

This article by Peter Beaumont tries to answer the question whether social media really played a vital role in Arab spring. The author does say that although everything broadcast over social

media is not reliable, it did help the revolution in maintaining a critical level of visibility needed to succeed. Other mainstream media such as Al Jazeera had to solely rely on material smuggled out via Facebook, Twitter and YouTube for their material to broadcast on their network.

CNN Student News. CNN. HLN, n.p., 14 Dec. 2011. *CNN*. Web. Transcript. 4 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.cnn.com/2011/12/13/studentnews/sn-transcript-wed/index.html>>.

For this video I took a clip of the original CNN student news video. This video is important as it shows the first hand view of history in making. It also shows the proud faces of protesters in Egypt.

Curtis, Ben. Anti-government protester holding a sign that says “Game Over”. 2011. *AP Images*.

Web. 13 Feb. 2012. <<http://str8talkchronicle.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/egypt-victory.jpg>>.

I took this photograph from Tahrir Square. It was taken just before Mubarak was ousted. It also shows that people are no longer afraid of holding signs demanding ousting of a dictator.

Desouki, Khaled. *An Egyptian anti-government demonstrator*. 2011. Getty Images. *Getty*

Images. Web. 21 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/an-egyptian-anti-government-demonstrator-sleeps-on-the-news-photo/108905207>>.

This is a photograph taken at a scene of riots in Egypt. It shows an Egyptian anti-government protester sleeping under spray paint that reads “Facebook” and “Al Jazeera.” This shows the

connection between Facebook and Al Jazeera in the revolution.

Ghonim, Wael. *Revolution 2.0*. New York: Houghton-Mifflin Harcourt, 2012. Print.

This is a book written by Wael Ghonim, a Google executive who was kidnapped in Egypt during Arab Spring. He was responsible for call for protest on January 25 through a Facebook page called *Kullena Khalel Said* (we are all Khalel Said) in memory of Khalel Said, who was brutally murdered by Egyptian security forces. This book gives a detailed account of how a fear filled society toppled its ruler with the help of modern technology.

Karim, Sharif. Protester holding mockup of a Facebook friend request page. 2011. Reuters

Pictures. *The Washington Post*. Web. 26 Jan. 2012.

<http://voices.washingtonpost.com/blog-post/2011/02/clinton_internet_freedom_speech.html>.

This photo shows a protester in front of the Egyptian Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon. The sign she is holding is a mockup of the Facebook friend request page showing Ben Ali, the ousted president of Tunisia sending a friend request to Hosni Mubarak, former president of Egypt.

Karman, Tawakkol. Letter to Edit Schlaffer. 1 Feb. 2010. *Women without Borders/SAVE*. N.p.:

n.p., n.d. N. pag. *Women without Borders/SAVE*. Web. 9 Jan. 2012.

<<http://womenwithoutborders-save.blogspot.com/2010/02/letter-from-twakkol-karman-chairwoman.html>>.

I cited this letter from Tawakkol Karman, the chairwoman of Women Journalists Without Chains to Dr. Edit of Women Without Borders as it emphasizes the common views of both

organizations. They both stress that if women are involved in decision making process in Arab countries it will combat terrorism. They also agree on the importance of documentaries, radio and TV programs in challenging extremism and terrorism in these countries.

Lee, Trymaine. "Questlove of The Roots Sends Twitter Warning before Occupy Wall Street Raid." *Huffington Post*. TheHuffingtonPost.com, Inc., 15 Nov. 2011. Web. 17 Nov. 2011. <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/11/15/questlove-of-the-roots-se_n_1096012.html>.

This article is a good example of how social media is making it easy for common people to get involved in Occupy Wall Street Movement. Here Questlove, drummer of the Roots alerts his 1.76 million followers on Twitter to a massive gathering of police officers in riot gear close to Zuccotti park which is a headquarter for the Occupy Wall Street protests.

Maher, Ahmed. "Interview with Ahmed Maher, Co-founder of the April 6 Youth Movement." *Egypt's Transition*. N.p., n.d. Web. 7 Feb. 2012. <<http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2010/11/08/interview-with-ahmed-maher-co-founder-of-the-april-6-youth-movement>>.

I cited this interview of Ahmed Maher who is founder of the April 6 youth movement in Egypt for various reasons. He is a pioneer in using communication technology such as Facebook for political purposes. He also reiterates the point that reaching people who do not use Internet is much costlier than those who use Internet. Reaching people in old fashioned way is also dangerous for activists as it can lead to arrest as well as death of these people by oppressive regime.

Marks, Donnelly. Tawakkol Karman. [2011]. *Nobel Prize*. Web. 5 Jan. 2012.

<http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2011/karman.html>.

The photograph of Tawakkol Karman who is the Nobel Peace Prize winner for 2011 shows the importance the Nobel committee placed on her role in non violent struggle in Yemen. Tawakkol Karman , a Yemen resident has been very active in getting women involved in fighting oppression and injustice in her country in a nonviolent way.

Mohyeldin, Ayman. *The Tragic Life of a Street Vendor*. Al Jazeera, 2011. *Al Jazeera*. Web. 4 Jan.

2012. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2011/01/201111684242518839.html>>.

This is a video footage showing how and where these revolts started. Mohamed Bouazizi a street vendor set himself on fire after he was humiliated by local municipal officer. His act of protest started a chain of events that ultimately ended president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's 23 year rule. The video stresses that “Mohamed was the key to these revolts” as said by his mother.

Myre, Greg. “Timeline: The Major Events of the Arab Spring.” *NPR*. NPR, 2012. Web. 11 Jan.

2012. <<http://www.npr.org/2012/01/02/144489844/timeline-the-major-events-of-the-arab-spring>>.

I used this timeline on NPR to show the events of the Arab Spring in a chronological order. The images used in this article give a vivid description about the actual events that happened in the Arab Spring.

Nunns, Alex, and Nadia Idle. *Tweets from Tahrir: Egypt's Revolution as It Unfolded, in the Words of the People Who Made It*. N.p.: OR, n.d. Print.

Tweets From Tahrir is a book of Egyptian posts that records the history of the revolution in the middle east. Alex Nunns a British journalist collaborates with Nadia Idle, an Egyptian who was on the ground in Cairo during the protests. Tweets from Tahrir is noteworthy not only for chronicling the revolution in Egypt but also showing the important role played by social media in this revolution.

Occupy Wall Street tents in Washington, D.C. 17 Dec. 2011. Personal photograph by author.

This is a personal photograph that shows the Occupy Wall Street tents in Washington, D.C. I took this photograph during a trip to Washington, D.C.

Peralta, Eyder. "Occupy Wall Street: As Morning Rush Ends, Things Settle Down." *The Two-Way*. NPR, 17 Nov. 2011. Web. 17 Nov. 2011. <<http://www.npr.org/blogs/thetwo-way/2011/11/17/142456112/occupy-wall-street-as-morning-rush-ends-things-settle-down>>.

This article on the Two-Way blog by Eyder Peralta sheds light on different tactics used by New York police officers to control the crowd. One brilliant tactic used by police officers is barricading protesters by blocking different road intersections.

Piven, Frances Fox. E-mail interview. 26 Jan. 2012.

I interviewed Professor Frances Fox Piven for her views about the Occupy Wall Street Movement, the role of money in politics, and the role of technology and social media in bringing

fairness in reported coverage of events. Besides having an academic background, Professor Piven has been personally involved in the fight against injustice and inequality, most recently in the Occupy Wall Street Movement. Her activism in increasing voter registration was responsible for the passing of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993.

Quinn, Rob. "Saudi Prince Buys \$300M Stake in Twitter." *Newser*. Newser, LLC, 19 Dec. 2011.

Web. 14 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.newser.com/story/135702/saudi-prince-alwaleed-bin-talal-buys-300m-stake-in-twitter.html>>.

This is a photo of Saudi prince Alwaleed bin Talal. The prince bought a \$300 million stake in Twitter. Many people think this was a preemptive strike to control social media and prevent a revolution in Saudi Arabia.

Suriya, Mariya. "INTERVIEW: Activist Mariya Suriya Speaks on the Arab Spring." Interview by

Kirthi Jayakumar. *IQ4News*. IQ4News, 4 Jan. 2012. Web. 9 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.iq4news.com/delta-women/interview-activist-mariya-suriya-speaks-arab-spring>>.

The Arab Spring has pivoted around the youth in Arab countries. This interview shows youngsters like Mariya Suriya from Syria are not scared of torture or even death.

Syria Unrest: Activists Say 20 Killed in Homs. *BBC*. BBC, 2 Nov. 2011. Web. 3 Nov. 2011.

<<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15571427>>.

This video footage that has been shot in Homs shows tanks bombarding residential areas of the city. This shows Syrian president Assad is not serious about honoring the terms of the deal

proposed by the Arab League.

Wael Ghonim, Google Executive, Missing following Egypt Protests. N.p., 31 Jan. 2011. Web. 11 Feb. 2012. <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/01/31/wael-ghonim-google-executive_n_816434.html>.

I used this snapshot of Wael Ghonim's Facebook page. Wael Ghonim, a Google executive, was found missing following his tweet about the government planning a crackdown on protesters in Egypt. This shows the importance of social media in the Arab Spring and how the oppressive regimes of the countries involved reacted towards the use of social media.

Weblog post. *We Are the 99 Percent*. N.p., 9 Feb. 2012. Web. 13 Feb. 2012.

<<http://wearethe99percent.tumblr.com/post/17311144220/i-am-26-with-a-ba-in-communication-that-put-me-30k>>.

I took this picture from a blog of the 99 percent. Here a college student writes about her student loan. She also talks about she feels hopeless. She also writes about her father with a graduate degree but without any job. I feel that these blogs are giving people an outlet to vent their frustrations.

Secondary Sources:

Clancy, Tom. "Did Saudi Prince Alwaleed Just Kill Twitter?" *Minyanville*. Minyanville Media, Inc., 28 Dec. 2011. Web. 14 Feb. 2012.
<<http://www.minyanville.com/businessmarkets/articles/Twitter-investment-investor-Prince-Alwaleed-twitter/12/28/2011/id/38593>>.

This is a latest controversy involving Saudi prince buying 300 million stake in Twitter. The author of this article wonders whether this undermines or validates the platform. Saudi Arabia as everybody knows is not a democracy , so naturally they are worried when their neighboring countries are undergoing revolution because of empowerment of people by social media. No wonder Twitter came with the news that they will follow the rules of the nation where they operate. This means they can block anything that goes against the law of the nation where they operate.

CNN Student News. CNN. HLN, n.p., 7 Oct. 2011. *CNN*. Web. Transcript. 7 Oct. 2011.

<<http://www.cnn.com/2011/10/06/studentnews/sn-transcript-fri/index.html>>.

CNN Student News shows how Occupy Wall Street has been largely inspired by the Arab Spring. It also explains the advantages of using social media in these revolutions.

Cohen, Noam. "In Unsettled Times, Media Can Be a Call to Action, or a Distraction." *New York Times* 28 Aug. 2011: 1+. *NYTimes.com*. Web. 8 Jan. 2012.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/08/29/business/media/in-times-of-unrest-social-networks-can-be-a-distraction.html?_r=2&pagewanted=all%3Fsrc%3Dtp&smid=fb-share>.

This article shows that social media might actually delay revolution. This can happen because social media can send a message of caution, delay, or confusion, thus making people watch the revolution from a distance instead of actually participating in it.

“Egypt: Anti-military Chants at Protesters’ Funeral.” *The Daily Star*. The Daily Star, 21 Oct.

2011. Web. 12 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2011/Oct-12/151009-egypt-anti-military-chants-at-protesters-funeral.ashx>>.

This article shows that Egypt's problems are not over after ousting of Hosni Mubarak in a peaceful protest. The military government that has come to rule Egypt is responsible for deaths of innocent civilians.

Gladwell, Malcolm. Interview by Fareed Zakaria. *Fareed Zakaria GPS*. CNN. 27 Mar. 2011.

CNN. Web. 8 Jan. 2012.

<<http://www.cnn.com/video/#/video/bestoftv/2011/03/27/gps.facebook.tech.revolution.cn>>.

Malcolm Gladwell gives examples where there was much less communication between people using technology, but revolution still took place. In East Germany, only 13% of people had a telephone, but there was still a revolution. He tries to analyze if social media actually played any role in the Arab Spring, or if it was just people's perception.

Gladwell, Malcolm. “Small Change.” *The New Yorker*. Condé Nast Digital, 4 Oct. 2010. Web. 13

Feb. 2012. <http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/10/04/101004fa_fact_gladwell>.

In this New Yorker article author Malcolm Gladwell gives some counterexamples about social media being the main cause for modern revolutions. One example he talks about is Iran where people who were twitting where mostly non Iranians.

Goldstone, Jack A. "Modern Revolutions?" *Harvard International Review* (2008): 1-5. *Harvard International Review*. Web. 1 Oct. 2011. <<http://hir.harvard.edu/modern-revolutions?page=0.0>>.

This paper from the Harvard International Review tries to analyze modern revolutions and how they compare to classic revolutions like the French Revolution. Jack A. Goldstone comes to the conclusion that although modern revolutions have the necessary elements to be classified as a revolution, the path of the revolution is different from classic revolutions.

Hardaker, David. "How TV and the Internet Are Changing Arab Politics." Lowy Institute for International Policies. *FORA.tv*. Web. 28 Jan. 2012. <http://fora.tv/2008/10/15/How_TV_and_the_Internet_are_Changing_Arab_Politics#David_Hardaker_on_Egypt's_Facebook_Girl>.

This video clip shows David Hardaker of the Lowy Institute for International Policies, an Australian think tank, giving a speech about how the Internet affects Arab politics. In this clip, he talks about Esraa Abdel Fattah, also known as the "Facebook Girl" of Egypt, getting 17,000 people to join protests in only a few days.

Haviv, Ron. *Egyptian Protests*. N.d. "How a Pentagon Program and a Hacker Assisted a Revolution." By Lucas Pollock. *Popsi* 30 July 2011: n. pag. *Corbis Images*. Web. 8 Feb. 2012. <<http://www.popsi.com/technology/article/2011-07/how-pentagon-program-and-hacker-assisted-revolution>>.

This article gave me pictures of protesters as well as an account of how Jacob Applebaum taught activists in the middle east how to use Tor, a program that allows anyone to communicate

anonymously on the Internet. During the Arab Spring protest there was huge increase in the use of Tor. People in Arab countries felt secure using it as it gave them privacy and protection from atrocious rulers.

“Internet Helps Small Voices Spark Revolution.” In the Papers. France 24. 15 Feb. 2011. France 24. Web. Transcript. 28 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.france24.com/en/20110215-Internet-helps-small-voices-spark-revolution-neda-mohammed-bouazizi-wall-street-journal-iran>>.

Here the reporters talk about an article in the Wall Street Journal, “Internet Helps Small Voices Spark Sweeping Revolution.” They talk about Mohammed Bouazizi, Wael Ghonim, and Nedā Āghā-Soltān.

Karam, Zeina. “Women, Children Killed in Violence-torn Syria City.” *Yahoo! News*. Yahoo! Inc., 27 Jan. 2012. Web. 12 Feb. 2012. <<http://news.yahoo.com/women-children-killed-violence-torn-syria-city-124812446.html>>.

This news article shows that Arab Spring has no longer remained non violent. The video from Syria shows that in Homs, Syria there has been massacre of innocent civilians by armed forces. Although Syrian uprising began with largely peaceful protests, it has grown increasingly violent in recent months.

Lieberman, Joe. “The Arab Spring’s First Democratic Election.” *Wall Street Journal* [New York] 20 Oct. 2011: n. pag. *The Wall Street Journal*. Web. 3 Nov. 2011. <<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204346104576637291577418566.html>>.

The report in Wall Street Journal by Joe Lieberman goes to the source of the Arab Spring, which is Tunisia. Tunisia, although not as prominent as Egypt or Libya, paved the way for a successful demonstration leading to a democratic election for a new ruler.

Manhire, Toby. *Arab Spring: Rebellion, Revolution, and a New World Order*. N.p.: Random, 2012. Print.

I chose this book because it summarizes the Arab Spring very well. It explains how it started with a fruit vendor from Tunisia setting himself on fire. It also explores the role that different sources like Wikileaks might have played in the Arab Spring.

“The ‘Occupy Wall Street’ Movement Is Gaining Ground.” *France 24*. 10 May 2011. *France 24*. Web. 8 Jan. 2012. <<http://www.france24.com/en/20111005-occupy-wall-street-movement-gaining-ground>>.

This blog talks about how Occupy Wall Street movement is using Internet to spread their message. One way they are doing this is by providing live feed via Internet. They also have a blog where people can express their frustration with the system, upload photos of the protest and share their personal accounts.

Orr, Angela. “Revolution 2.0: Wael Ghonim Thanks Mark Zuckerberg for His Part in the Egyptian Revolution.” *Technorati*. Technorati, Inc, 11 Feb. 2011. Web. 1 Feb. 2012. <<http://technorati.com/politics/article/revolution-20-wael-ghonim-thanks-mark/>>.

This is an article about a CNN interview in which Wael Ghonim, a leading Egyptian activist, thanks the Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg for Facebook's role in the Egyptian revolution. He

stresses the point that the revolutions started online on Facebook. He also emphasizes that this is Revolution 2.0, as everybody actively participated in the revolution.

Ramírez, Gloria Muñoz. *The Fire and the Word: A History of the Zapatista Movement*. San Francisco: City Lights, 2008. Print.

The Fire and the Word is a detailed account of how Mexican people got together to wage a war against the Mexican government. In fact, before the advent of Arab Spring, the Zapatista Movement was one of the first revolutions to use the Internet to garner support among non government organizations and solidarity groups.

Sander, Thomas. "Twitter, Facebook and YouTube's Role in Arab Spring (Middle East Uprisings)." *Social Capital Blog*. N.p., 2 Feb. 2012. Web. 7 Feb. 2012.
<http://socialcapital.wordpress.com/2011/01/26/tweblog_post_we_are_the_99twitter-facebook-and-youtubes-role-in-tunisia-uprising/>.

This article author analyzes about the exact role of social media in Arab countries. Whereas in countries like Tunisia and Egypt there was heavy usage of social media, in Yemen there was less penetration of Internet and in Libya there was less reliance on it because of effective crackdown by Libyan authorities.

Shah, Addel, Sheheryar Sardar, and Benish Shah. *Sandstorm: A Leaderless Revolution in the Digital Age*. N.p.: Global Executive Board, 2011. Print.

The book shows how social media became a critical tool in these revolutions once it reached the hands of global generation. It is an analysis of how the digital age changed the dynamics of

revolution.

Siddique, Haroon. "Libya, Tunisia and Middle East Unrest." *Middle East Live*. Guardian News and Media Limited, 28 Oct. 2011. Web. 3 Nov. 2011.

<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/middle-east-live/2011/oct/28/libya-tunisia-middle-east-unrest>>.

The video footage of the destruction done in Syria actually corroborates the eyewitness accounts given to Reuters. It shows how the peaceful revolutions are getting converted into violent demonstrations with loss of property and life.

Tufekci, Zeynep. Skype interview. 14 Feb. 2012.

I personally interviewed Professor Zeynep Tufekci from the University of North Carolina on Skype. Professor Tufekci has both technical and social sciences background. The interview shed light on the questions I had about technology and its impact on current wave of revolutions.

Tufekci, Zeynep. "Social Media and the Arab Spring." Interview by Marco Werman. *PRI's The World*. PRI's The World, 16 Dec. 2011. Web. 12 Feb. 2012.

<<http://www.theworld.org/2011/12/social-media-and-the-arab-spring/>>.

This is an interview of Professor Zeynep Tufekci from the University of North Carolina by Marco Werman. I chose this interview because it shows that even 20-year-olds used Twitter and other social media to coordinate relief efforts during the riots in Egypt. Her research revolves around the interaction between technology and social, cultural and political dynamics. She is particularly interested in collective action and social movements, complex systems, surveillance,

privacy, and sociality.

Tufekci, Zeynep. "Why the "how" of Social Organizing Matters and How Gladwell's Latest Contrarian Missive Falls Short." *Technosociology*. N.p., 4 Feb. 2011. Web. 7 Feb. 2012. <<http://technosociology.org/?p=305>>.

In this blog post, Zeynep Tufekci tries to refute Malcolm Gladwell's point about the Internet not playing a major role in the Arab Spring. She shows that the "how" of social organizing is important, as means of connectivity impact the nature of the movement and the chance for its success. She also talks about how social media ensured that the movement was broad-based, involving the masses.