

**Funder Learning Visit to the Arab Region  
Tunis  
8-10 May 2012**

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Democracy:

1. [Carothers, Thomas and Marina Ottaway, "Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005](#): A collection of older essays that still offer some interesting insights into the MENA region. The essays in Part One analyze the state of politics in the Arab World in 2005, including an examination of the impact of the invasion of Iraq. Parts Two and Three explore the possible elements of a democracy promotion strategy for the region.

Islamism:

1. [Khouri, Rami, "Why Islamists Will Keep Winning," Middle East Online, 28 February 2012](#): A discussion of the success that Islamist parties have had across the Middle East and North Africa in recent elections. Khouri argues that this success is likely to be for a transitional period only and that we will start to see that, "incumbency transforms Islamism and effectively ends its life as an assertive opposition movement."
2. ["Put Faith in Writing: Islamists Handle Constitutional Matters Differently in Egypt, Tunisia and Syria," The Economist Online, 31 March 2012](#): A comparative look at the processes of drafting the constitutions (or principles for a future constitution in the case of Syria) in Egypt, Tunisia and Syria and how Islamists in each country are seeking to influence that process.
3. [Wright, Robin, "The Islamists Are Coming: Who They Really Are," United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC: 2012](#) (*Select chapters available online*): Robin Wright's new book provides a survey of the rise of Islamist groups in the wake of the Arab Spring.

Philanthropy:

1. [Alliance Magazine, "Focus on: Responding to the hopes of the Arab Spring," Alliance Magazine, Vol 16, No. 4, December 2011](#) (*Available to those with a subscription to Alliance Magazine*): Several articles by authors (including a few of our speakers: Barbara Ibrahim, Atallah Kuttub and Fateh Azzam) examining the state of philanthropy in the Middle East in the wake of the Arab Spring, which look at the role of both local and international donors.

2. [Hamid, Shadi, "Civil Society in the Arab World and the Dilemma of Funding," Brookings Institution, October 2010](#): A concise and practical overview of the challenges and limitations of funding civil society organizations in the MENA region.
3. [Mustafa, Yousry, "Donors' Responses to Arab Uprisings: Old Medicine in New Bottles?" IDS Bulletin, Volume 43, No. 1, January 2012](#): A look at how Western donors have responded to the Arab uprisings by one of our speakers.

### Women's Rights

1. [Eltahawy, Mona, "Why Do They Hate Us? The Real War on Women is in the Middle East" Foreign Policy, May/June 2012](#): Interesting and provocative piece on the status of women in the Middle East by Mona Eltahawy, an Egyptian-American columnist. In November 2011, Egyptian police sexually assaulted and beat her, breaking her left arm and right hand. [A number of responses can be found in the following issue of Foreign Policy](#).
2. [FIDH's resource hub on women's rights in the Arab Spring](#) (including information broken down by country).
3. [Hilsum, Lindsay, "Is This What We Fought for? Gaddafi's Legacy for Libyan Women," Inclusive Democracy, 6 April 2012](#): Women played a largely unreported role in last year's revolution in Libya. Hilsum argues that they have to fight both Islamist and secular men if they are to have any influence in the "new Libya."
4. [Sholkamy, Hania, "The Jaded Gender and Development Paradigm of Egypt," IDS Bulletin, Volume 43, No. 1, January 2012](#): A look at gender and development in Egypt in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.
5. ["Women and Islam: A Debate with Human Rights Watch," The New York Review of Books, 23 February 2012](#): A debate on women's rights and political Islam in the Arab region between Kenneth Roth of Human Rights Watch and a group of international women's rights organizations and activists calling on HRW to promote separation between religion and state rather than engagement with Islamist-controlled governments.

### MENA Region:

1. [Hassan, Kawa, "Regional Perspectives on the 'Dignity Revolutions,'" Hivos, Policy Paper 3, November 2011](#): From one of our participants, this study addresses the conceptualization of the "Arab Spring", the role of new social media in the uprisings, and the collapse and sustenance of several 'fear factors'. The study is based on accounts and opinions voiced by activists from Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Iraq, Morocco and Syria.
2. [Khouri, Rami, "Four Arab Worlds Meet in Baghdad This Week," Middle East Online, 27 March 2012](#): Khouri examines the emerging complexities and nuances of the MENA region in the wake of the Arab Spring, dividing the region into "four Arab worlds."

## Country-specific:

### *Algeria*

1. [Driessen, Michael, "Elections and Algerian Islamisms," Religion and Politics Blog, 23 February 2012](#): A look at the character of Algeria's Islamism movement ahead of Algeria's parliamentary elections in May of this year.
2. [Parks, Robert, "Arab Uprisings and the Algerian Elections: Ghosts From the Past?" Jadaliyya, 10 April 2012](#): A look at the political scene in Algeria ahead of elections in May.

### *Bahrain*

1. [Adrawi, Munira, "\(Un\)Historic Errors: Bahrain One Year On," Jadaliyya, 14 February 2012](#): A Bahraini activist's look back at why the opposition in Bahrain failed to achieve any real or lasting successes despite their attempts over the last year.
2. [Lulu, Tahiyya, "Abdulahdi al-Khawaja and Bahrain's Political Prisoners," Jadaliyya, 11 April 2012](#): A look at the wide-ranging violations of prisoners' human rights committed by the Bahraini government. Bahraini-Danish activist Abdulhadi al-Khawaja has been on hunger strike since February 8th to protest his life-imprisonment sentence after participating in peaceful protests in Bahrain last year. Seven other activists have also been sentenced to life imprisonment for similar acts.

### *Egypt*

1. [Cook, Steven, "Being Fazya Abounnaga," Council on Foreign Relations, 12 March 2012](#): An examination of the competing interests at play in Egypt and possible motivations for putting NGO activists on trial.
2. [Hamid, Shadi, "Beyond Guns and Butter: A U.S.-Egyptian Relationship for a Democratic Era," Brookings Institute, Number 22, April 2012](#): Hamid argues that while anti-Americanism is a useful political tool for both the military and the Islamists, there is still an opportunity to reset the relationship based on common interests. Key to this is U.S. engagement with the Muslim Brotherhood and a reexamination of the way in which Washington distributes aid.
3. [Hassan, Bahey el-din, "Why Tunisia Succeeds While Egypt Fails," Al Masry Al Youm, 2 November 2011](#): One perspective (from the Director of the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies) on the differences between the situation in Tunisia and Egypt and why the revolution in Tunisia has been more successful than in Egypt.
4. [Human Rights Watch, "Egypt: Military Impunity for Violence Against Women," Human Rights Watch, 7 April 2012](#): A human rights analysis of the recent acquittal of the military officer tried for conducting "virginity tests" on female protesters during the Egyptian revolution last year.
5. [Tadros, Mariz \(ed.\), IDS Bulletin: The Pulse of Egypt's Revolt, Vol 43, No. 1, January 2012](#): A collection of articles on the revolution in Egypt.

### *Jordan*

1. [Sweis, Rana, "Jordan Girds for Influx of Syrian Refugees," New York Times Online, 21 March 2012](#): A look at the situation of thousands of Syrian refugees who have crossed into Jordan in the wake of the Uprising in Syria.

### *Lebanon*

1. [Barnard, Anne, "Loyalty to Syrian President Could Isolate Hezbollah," New York Times Online, 5 April 2012](#): The potential impact of Hezbollah's continued support of the Syrian regime in the face of violent crackdowns on the Syrian population.

### *Libya*

1. [Anderson, Jon Lee, "Letter from Libya: King of Kings: The Last Days of Muammar Qaddafi," The New Yorker, 7 November 2011](#): An excellent article with a great deal of Libyan history detailing Qaddafi's rise to power, his evolving relationships with Western powers and the early days of the Libyan revolution.
2. [Kirkpatrick, David, "Libya Militias Turn to Politics, a Volatile Mix," New York Times Online, 2 April 2012](#): An examination of the role of militias in upcoming elections in Libya, which is now resembling a "patchwork of semi-autonomous fiefs."
3. [Mahfud, Gada, "A Tale of Two Cities: Misurata and Tawergha," The Tripoli Post, 18 March 2012](#): An examination of the struggles between these two Libyan cities as a result of the Libyan uprising, which offers insight into the continuing turmoil in the country as a result of the policies of the Qaddafi regime.
4. [Shadid, Anthony, "Libya Struggles to Curb Militias as Chaos Grows," The New York Times, 8 February 2012](#): A description of the chaotic and difficult situation that persists in Libya post-revolution. This was *New York Times* reporter Anthony Shadid's final article before his death in February 2012 while covering the uprising in Syria.

### *Morocco*

1. [Ahmed, Akbar & Harrison Akins, "Waiting for the Arab Spring in Western Sahara," Al Jazeera English, 14 March 2012](#): Western support for the autonomy of the Western Sahara region of Morocco increases, but the concerns of the 165,000 Sahrawi refugees in Algeria remain incompletely addressed.
2. ["Morocco Protest Against Rape-Marriage Law," BBC News, 17 March 2012](#): A recent case involving the suicide of a 16-year-old rape victim who was forced to marry her attacker has prompted protests calling on the government to repeal the law that enables rapists to avoid prison time if they marry their victims.

### *Qatar*

1. [Chulov, Martin, "Qatar Crosses the Syrian Rubicon: 63m GBP to Buy Weapons for the Rebels," The Guardian, 1 March 2012](#): The previously unarmed Syrian political opposition movement, the Syrian National Council, forms a military council and there is evidence that the government of Qatar is funneling weapons and funds to them.

2. [Seale, Patrick, "Deciphering the Qatar Enigma," Gulf News, 2 March 2012](#): One author's take on Qatar's more prominent role in global diplomacy and in particular their support of opposition movements in the Arab Spring.

#### *Saudi Arabia*

1. ["Out of the Comfort Zone: Growing Unemployment and Political Tensions are Buffeting the Kingdom," The Economist, 1 March 2012](#): An overview of the sources of discontent within Saudi Arabia and the current situation in the state.

#### *Syria*

1. [Gresh, Alan, "Deadlock over Syria," Le Monde English Edition, 3 April 2012](#): A nuanced look at the current situation in Syria and what other regional and international actors have at stake.
2. [Hill, Jess, "Syria's Propoganda War," The Global Mail, 12 April 2012](#): As the threat against foreign journalists has increased in Syria, so has the media's reliance on opposition activists on the ground. But amid the growing fog of war, it's becoming harder to tell the difference between truth, rumor and spin.
3. [Landis, Joshua, "The Syrian Uprising of 2011: Why the Asad Regime is Likely to Survive to 2013," Middle East Policy Council, Spring 2012, Vol. XIX, No. 1](#): An excellent (but lengthy) summary of the current situation in Syria. Landis argues the Asad regime will be able to remain in power due to four factors: Asad remains strong militarily; the opposition is weak and fragmented; the international community is unlikely to intervene; the Syrian economy is falling apart yet large income gaps and high rates of unemployment persist.
4. [Sayigh, Yezid, "The Syrian National Council Wins Recognition Abroad But May Lose Out At Home," Carnegie Endowment, 5 April 2012](#): A closer look at the Syrian National Council now that the "Friends of Syria" recognize them as a legitimate representative of the Syrian people.

#### *Tunisia*

1. [Fahim, Kareem, "Tunisia Says Constitueion Will Not Cite Islamic Law," New York Times Online, 26 March 2012](#): Tunisia's Islamist party, Ennahda, which has a plurality in the parliament, said that the country's new constitution will not mention Islamic law as a source of legislation, signaling a break with ultraconservatives who have been demanding an Islamic state.
2. [Hassassi, Hend, "Violent Crackdown Causes Outrage in Tunisian Civil and Political Society," Tunisia Live, 10 April 2012](#): A look at the violent crackdown after protesters broke the recently instituted protest ban on Avenue Habib Bourgiba on Martyrs' Day.

3. [“Tunisia: The New Face of Social Media,” Global Voices, 13 March 2012](#): A discussion of a sampling of thousands of Facebook pages and websites operated by Tunisian citizens, nonprofits, and politicians.

#### *Yemen*

1. [Finn, Tom, “Voting Saleh Out,” Foreign Policy, 22 February 2012](#): A look at the current situation in the various regions in Yemen in the wake of the recent one-candidate Presidential election.