Introduction – The New Arab Street:

Past, Presents and Futures in Dissent

FATIMA EL ISSAWI

Creative dissent in the Arab public sphere did not begin with the popular uprisings that swept the Arab region in 2010 against autocratic leaders and did not end in the streets, however successful or troubled their conclusion. The story of these uprisings and the painful struggles of their protagonists is, in many ways, the story of the power of agency in a time of constraints; the power of everyday acts of daring boosted by transformations in the Arab communication sphere, enabling ordinary citizens to challenge hegemonic media narratives in the framing and communication of their stories. It is definitely not an agency that was 'awakened' by popular uprisings but rather it was rooted in historical trajectories of dissent, diverse in their agendas and aspirations, and in their application of media as a means of communication. It is a resilient agency, able to challenge and survive the current raging counter-revolutions that are fiercely attempting to reduce the gains from movements for change that are

in no way unique in the history of the region. However, these daily acts of resistance would not have been as resilient without the revolution that transformed the communication sphere, spanning all platforms and shaking the very traditional, institutional media used for decades as the voice of autocratic regimes.

The uprisings unleashed an extraordinary sense of liberation, and hope for a fair and ethical new order. Whatever their outcomes, the mass protests, in which million poured onto the streets to reclaim power and agency from autocratic regimes, are the culmination of millions of small daily acts of creative resistance by ordinary people to subvert the powerful. Sociologist Assef Bayat brilliantly defines the daily resistance as the "art of presence":

> By "art of presence," I imagine a way in which a society, through the practices of daily life, may regenerate itself by affirming the values that deject the authoritarian personality, get ahead of its elites, and become capable of enforcing its sensibilities on the state and its henchmen. Citizens equipped with the art of presence would subvert authoritarian rules, because the state usually rules not as an externality to society; rather, it does so by weaving its logic of power—through norms, rules and institutions—into the fabric of society.[1]

This publication depicts the multiple forms and expressions of the creative culture of dissent that are deeply embedded in Arab culture and daily life as an articulation of independence, dignity and respect, in spite of the restrictions of deep-rooted autocratic structures, before and after the uprisings. As demonstrated in the contributions brought about by this volume, politics, as a subversive opportunity for creativity and defiance, is lived, regenerated and

reformulated by the ordinary and the elite alike, using all available opportunities and platforms to reclaim a voice in a process that blends the individual drive for freedom and the collective struggle for justice. The "everyday forms of resistance" against autocratic governance and rigid traditions and structures take multiple emancipatory forms that are difficult to summarize in one volume.[2] This publication provides an extraordinary contribution to our knowledge of these forms, their contexts and dynamics, while adopting a historical approach that considers the continuity of these expressions across the past, present and future.

"Everyday resistance" cemented the role of the Arab street as a powerful vehicle for the expression of share grievances:[3] "the collective sensibilities, shared feelings and public judgement of ordinary people in their day-to-day utterances and practices, which are expressed broadly in the public squares—in taxis, buses, shops, sidewalks, or more audibly in mass street demonstrations."[4] This was a function that was not 'awakened' by the popular uprisings of 2010 but rather embodied in a history of offline and online activism. These forms of resistance cannot be described as simple products of social and political action, but rather they are "multidimensional and [multimedia] ... created by and for their participants."[5] While revolutionary euphoria was still intact, the acts of resistance shattered the walls between the public and the private to allow unprecedented acts of daring. Who can forget the face of a young Egyptian woman who dared to tell the world about her experience as a victim of 'virginity tests', a widespread sexual abuse inflicted by the Egyptian security forces against female detainees. Speaking to foreign and regional media including CNN and Al Jazeera, Samira Ibrahim, a 25-year-old marketing professional, was not shy when spelling out details of the many abuses she suffered. In March 2011, she had been arrested with a group of female activists as they were protesting in Cairo's Tahrir Square. Like many others before them, they were beaten, given electric shocks, strip-searched and forced to submit to virginity tests in extremely humiliating conditions.

"The military tortured me, labelled me a prostitute and humiliated me by forcing on me a virginity test conducted by a male doctor where my body was fully exposed while military soldiers watched."[6] Samira described her abuse to CNN while fighting back tears in unprecedented act of bravery for an Arab woman shamed in such a fashion. In the same year, she won a legal case against the military junta, leading to a ban on such abuse of female detainees. Whether it was fully implemented or not, the legal order is testament to the capacity of the ordinary citizen to subvert hegemony in an unequal battle between a young woman and the military.

However, decades before this young woman had the courage to challenge the abuse of power of those in authority, the eminent Egyptian feminist and writer Nawal El Saadawi challenged the most prominent social and religious taboo by publishing her 1969 book—*Women and Sex*[7]—in which she tackled the important topic of female genital mutilation, a practice to which she herself had been subjected. In her later novel, *Woman at Point Zero*, Nawal tells the story of a female prisoner incarcerated, and later hanged, for murder in Qanatir Prison, the largest women's prison in Egypt.[8] "I wanted to use this novel to deal with female subjugation, circumcision, and the extent of women's freedom in a patriarchal society" Nawal comments in her dialogue with Nabila Ramdani in this publication (see chapter three).

In the same way that politics cannot be understood only as it manifests itself in the mainstream, the arts, in the variety of their expressions, cannot remain apolitical--the power of the arts to promote change and elevate human suffering is a deeply political process. For instance, Hisham Aidi recounts how Gnawa music in Morocco transcended its traditional use as a healing agent to appease the evil spirit inhabiting the possessed, to become a global language of the oppressed to protest against injustice. Conceived first as a means of apolitical expression, the music transformed into a political conduit for Pan-African and Third World movements' causes: channeling the demands of the youth and a call for the emancipation of women (see chapter six). In the same vein, a politically engaged Arab theater arose driven by pressing questions about the future of the region. Tawfiq al-Hakim's play, *The People of the Cave* (1933), reflected upon Egypt's struggle with the country's journey to modernity and the intricate question of reconciling the future with the past. In chapter four, Anna Della Subin discusses Tawfiq Al-Hakim the play inspired by the sixth-century Christian myth of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus which also appears in the eighteenth sura of the Qur'an. Subin describes the sleepers as "uniquely able to juxtapose two eras in time and compare them" thus becoming "the ultimate social critic" of the present reality. Zachary Wright, in his chapter five, sees historical cultivation of dissident voices as a form of independence from ruling dynasties, even within the religious establishment. Individuals who mediated the polarity between religion and the state

In the same way that politics cannot be understood only as it manifests itself in the mainstream, the arts, in the variety of their expressions, cannot remain apolitical--the power of the arts to promote change and elevate human suffering is a deeply political process.

Creative expressions of dissent evidently utilized multiple tools and venues to challenge hegemony, even the most traditional ones such as religious institutions.

have been recorded in print, and from their writing we can understand them as the 'whistle-blowers' of their era. He cites the example of medieval Cairo, which was often shackled by massive street demonstrations that included Azhari students and led public opinion against those currently in power (see chapter five).

Creative expressions of dissent evidently utilized multiple tools and venues to challenge hegemony, even the most traditional ones such as religious institutions. However, cyberspace granted dissenting voices the opportunity to bypass restrictive traditional structures and bond in 'imagined solidarity', linking atomized individuals through combined active/passive networks, allowing them to connect through shared symbols.[9] Opportunities afforded by this type of contact are infinite. For instance, the Internet enabled politically engaged Arab cinema to evade censorship when tackling 'sensitive' topics. In chapter seven, William Higbee and Stefanie Van de Peer present a detailed profile of this type of political cinema emerging from the margins of society, empowered by the Internet to mock the powerful and unveil what conservative societies and repressive regimes want to conceal. An example of this development is the documentary *My Makhzen & Me* (2011) by Moroccan director Nadir Bouhmouch, which explores the struggle of the pro-democracy movement of February 2011 in Morocco, shot clandestinely on concealed digital cameras and then freely distributed online, reaching millions. Equally, the film Normal! (2011) by Merzak Allouache, shot using digital cameras and tackling issues of censorship and political expression in contemporary Algeria, reached a wide audience. Not only does digital filmmaking aim to expose undemocratic behavior, it also explores issues of gender and equality. The period following the uprisings saw the expression of feminist dissent driven by Arab female directors whose status and recognition steadily grew. An example is the latest film by Kaouther Ben Hania—*La Belle et La Meute* (2017)—in which the so-called advancement of women's rights in Tunisia is called into question by exposing the corruption and abuse embedded in the police that inhibits or actively undermines women's rights.

While politically engaged cinema and theater may draw some inspiration from the street, it is the art of comedy that really stems from everyday urban life. As Lina Ghaibeh explains in chapter eight, here creativity involves daring, as comics display a blend of political radicalism and assertion of individual self. The Syrian revolution was fertile terrain for such creativity generating the *Comic4Syria* phenomenon and *Abou Moussa al Madsous* (Abou Moussa the Infiltrator) comics, to name but a few. Comic4Syria was an example of one of the first times that Facebook was used to depict the regime's abuses through the vehicle of dark humor.[10] Abou Moussa Al Madsous utilizes the famous word *madsous* or *mundass* (infiltrator) employed by Assad to denigrate members of the opposition, turning the word into a tool with which to denigrate the dictator. Syrian cartoonist Ali Farzat, who turned his popular cartoons into criticisms of Assad, suffered brutal retaliation from the regime's *shabiha* (thugs), forcing him to leave the country. His cartoons, sarcastically depicting the regime's brutality, found their way to a global audience, relayed by international media including the British newspaper, the *Guardian*.[11] Moroccan artist Khalid Guaddar had to endure imprisonment for his satirical portrayal of the king in his web series *Mohamad VI: l'homme qui ne voulait plus être roi*.[12] These comics and their development in to the digital realm are not solely political in nature: Deena Mohamad created a female superhero she named *Qahera*[13] (Cairo) to unveil and mock sexual harassment against women in the streets of the capital. Moroccan artist Hicham Habchy denounces the draconian restrictions imposed during the fasting month of Ramadan[14] in his online series *Ramadan Hardcore*.[15]

The Internet has empowered ordinary people to create subversive narratives to counteract a regime's monopoly over the storytelling of their lives and struggles, allowing people a say in the process of creating meaning. However, careful analysis of these counter movements or acts demonstrates the importance of media platforms' interconnectedness in empowering subversive forms within the realm of the "hybrid media system"[16]—the boundaries between old and new media are not realistic in this new media logic. The flourishing of a transnational 'hypermedia space', rooted in the complex interconnections between various platforms, empowered citizens to express irreverence to the powerful through social and political humor, as Marwan Kraidy explains in chapter nine. In Egypt, the Laughing Cow parody (comparing President Mubarak to the red cow which appears on this brand of cheese wedges, portrayed as an apathetic and rather stupid animal), enjoyed high visibility as it was created and recreated across several media platforms in a multitude of forms, ranging from verbal jokes, graffiti, comics, blogs and YouTube videos, to Facebook posts. The parody, used as a revolutionary symbol in the popular protests of Tahrir Square, also crossed from online to offline. The cow became a vehicle

of creative humor, reflecting Egyptians' passion for laughing at their problems and opening up a plethora of opportunities to mock Mubarak and his regime.

Another example of this media interconnectedness is the way in which the Internet helped street graffiti to gain permanency by archiving it and preserving it from physical destruction. Beyond celebrating oppositional views, these forms of creativity serve as coping strategies. As discussed in chapter ten by Christiane Gruber and Liane Al Ghusain, it can be a collective form of therapy: a place where victims of trauma can express grief, thus reclaiming voice and agency. Works on the importance of graffiti as an archive of suffering are plentiful. In Cairo following the January 2011 uprising, graffiti became "spaces of visual narratives with unfolding plots between the enemies and the defenders of the revolution" acting as "memorial spaces" for remembering the dead and the injured, explains sociologist Mona Abaza.[17] These expression of defiance in the face of regimes' despotism act as "a way through which citizens have reclaimed public space, and have freely expressed sentiments that before could only be expressed obliquely," according to researcher Lina Khatib.[18] For political science scholar Charles Tripp, the public presence of graffiti encourages the creation of a common language, solidarity among people, and a collective memory of important events/crises.[19] Increased access to popular media within the digital realm impacts how we carve our identity and define who we are as humans, beyond the simple exchange of ideas. It also makes the question of place, belonging, and exile more pertinent. As noted in this publication's discussion between Safia Elhillo and Arash Saedinia in chapter fourteen, Safia asks, "I am Sudanese, but what is Sudan? Which Sudan? There are now, formally, two Sudans, and so many Sudans within those Sudans, so what is it exactly that I am gone from, that I ache to return to?"

The interconnectedness of media platforms and forms of communication has allowed projects such as BuSSy to survive multiple acts of censorship in a time of closed public spaces in Egypt. The testimony of Sondos Shabayek on this unprecedented platform for performing arts, giving voices to untold stories of gender abuse, discussed in chapter eleven is fascinating. Conceived as a place of healing and a safe space in which women (and men) are able to talk about their experiences through storytelling, the project suffered multiple pressures from the official censorship mechanisms, forcing them to perform in alternative spaces such as outdoor gardens and bookshops. Ultimately the wave of public space closures and police harassment forced the project to move online—allowing women who live in remote areas or within restrictive households to interact with stories of fellow women but also to submit their own stories anonymously, gaining agency over their lives. Similarly, Jennifer Nish's discussion of the Pixel Project is another powerful undertaking using new technology to empower social change. The Pixel Project, a global, volunteer-led, non-profit body which has leveraged a participatory archive to connect to the wider public, aiming to raise awareness about violence against women worldwide.

In an era of counter-evolutions, the notion of cyberspace as a tool to be used by the weak against the powerful is contested.[20] The Internet is a disputed

As noted in this publication's discussion between Safia Elhillo and Arash Saedinia in chapter fourteen, Safia asks, "I am Sudanese, but what is Sudan? Which Sudan? There are now, formally, two Sudans, and so many Sudans within those Sudans, so what is it exactly that I am gone from, that I ache to return to?"

space, fought over by activists and regimes; the latter having accumulated expertise on how to manipulate it through large investments aimed at creating sympathetic public opinion, or at least the appearance of it. Regimes have invested in tough clampdowns on online forms of dissent through blocking of sites and services, censorship, and surveillance. In her detailed appraisal of how social movements play chess with authority, Wafa Ben-Hassine describes the sophisticated tools used by regimes to discourage online dissent. These range from traditional Internet filtering of sensitive political content to blocking websites and phishing.[21] However, those who are on the weaker side of this struggle are also resorting to original forms of resistance such as the use of Signal, a secure messaging application, or the practice of domain fronting that disguises web traffic to enable blocked websites to evade country-level bans.

In this era of war against dissent, the word 'resistance' is more important than ever. Spaces for mocking the hegemony are shrinking, leaving a narrow window for fresh air in the Arab world. In Egypt, the latest voice of satire to have fallen silent is that of the puppet turned TV host 'Abla Fahita' and her show *Live from the Duplex*. Formerly aired on the Egyptian channel CBC, it featured social and political satire; it was recorded in Cairo though some episodes took place outside of Egypt, such as in Dubai during the annual film festival in 2015. Egypt's Supreme Council for the Administration of the Media, a recently formed regulatory governmental body, complained to the host channel about so-called 'sexual references' in the program's content. However, the real motive behind its suspension was to put an end to the tradition of irreverent humor that exploded on social media feeds and also spread into traditional broadcast media

after the revolution. Frustratingly for the authorities, the identity of the actor behind the famous satirical character in the show remains unknown.[22]

The list of attacks against expressions of humor, criticism and mockery via social media is long. In the United Arab Emirates, academic Nasser Bin Ghaith received a ten year prison sentence for his tweets that allegedly ridiculed, criticized or defamed the government.[23] A report issued by the Egyptian law firm Freedom of Thought and Expression (AFTE) lists at least 496 websites that were blocked between May 2017 and February 2018.[24] The clampdown extended to Lebanon despite the country's reputation for greater tolerance for expressions of dissent. Human Rights Watch has recently denounced a pattern of increasing harassment based on a catalog of defamation charges against expressions of humor through social media that mocks the president and his son-in-law, who is also a minister.[25] In Morocco, the regime retaliated against activists who led the recent protest movement in the northern Rif region by jailing most of them for up to 20 years on charges such as undermining public order and threatening national unity.[26] The Al Hoceima demonstrations in Morocco, calling for improvements in the economic and social conditions in the region, have been the most recent widespread movement since the pro-democracy actions of 2011.

This publication presents a message of hope for the vitality of the Arab public sphere and its political street, exploring public expression of dissent in and across multiple media platforms in its historical journey. Gathering together prominent contributors from multiple fields, from inside the region and outside, this edition of *Voices and Conversations* examines the everyday intricate forms of struggle between voices of change and structures of the status quo.

Recent events confirm that this struggle remains unfinished despite the tough counter-revolutions raging in the region and the multiple media platforms now available. In late 2018, Jordanians took to the streets in their thousands to protest against rising prices and subsidy cuts, leading to the forced resignation of Prime Minister Hani al-Mulki. The heart of the demonstrations—the fourth 'arrondissement' in which the offices of the governments are based—became the symbol of a deeply political popular movement pushing for economic reform.[27] In Morocco, activists devised a strategy to defy the clampdown on street protests by implementing a widespread economic boycott of influential companies perceived as oligopolies close to 'al-Makhzan'—the royal establishment. This anonymous campaign forced the company Centrale Danone, a subsidy of the French food company Danone, to issue a profit warning after suffering a serious downturn in sales.[28] In Tunisia, as its unique democratic model held firm after the uprisings, the youth-led movement known as *Fech Nestannew* (What Are We Waiting For?) drove mass protests in 2018 against tough austerity measures including tax hikes and cuts in food subsidies. This new youth movement has invoked the spirit of Tunisia's Jasmine Revolution by employing slogans referencing bread and dignity, the basic needs and conditions for human survival.[29]

Online or offline, these forms of collective solidarity continue to provide a space for both voicing grievances and for healing. In her book *Dancing in Damascus*, miriam cooke beautifully documented how Syrian people responded to the extreme violence of the regime by participating in a sort of cultural therapy using mockery, visual arts, theater, street dance and other forms at the intersection of the real and the virtual.[30]

This publication is an important contribution to the debate on the multiple creative forms of the Arab political street.[31] In his seminal book *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power*, Professor of Political Science Andrew Chadwick wrote: "The hybrid media system is based upon conflict and competition between older and newer media logics but it also features important pockets of interdependence among these logics."[32] The chapters in this volume depict the subtle and creative connectedness between multiple media forms and platforms, online and offline, which boosts subversive creativity and its ability to resist oppression. The dynamism of the Arab communication sphere allowed this resistance to flourish. The following chapters defy the illusion of an Arab creative resistance that was 'awakened' by a single event. Instead, they illustrate the cyclical nature of social struggles and the new identities these struggles assume as they evolve, along with the creative media platforms they develop and/or benefit from. By looking at how the past has informed the present, chapters highlight the pattern of this creativity, moving between pasts, presents and futures, and investigating the intricate links between agency and its social and historical contexts. Discussions also unpack the complex interplay between media in its interconnected forms, and the ability of these forms of daily resistance to evolve in times of political upheaval.

It is difficult to adequately capture the torrent of creativity that was galvanized by the 2011 uprisings. However, the following chapters and dialogs strive to site this extraordinary ingenuity within its historical context and, despite gloomy conditions, to focus a spotlight on its continuing role within the public political arena, considering past and future dynamics. This publication is, first and foremost, a journey through the immense pleasures and the painful trials of resistance, as lived by those who refuse to give up. ■

NOTES

1 Bayat, 314.
2 For greater discussion, see Scott, 1985; Scott, 1992.
3 Scott 1985.
4 Bayat, 212.
5 Gruber,120.
6 Fahmi, n.p..
7 Nawal El Saadawi's novel *Women and Sex* was first published in 1969, in Arabic, by Dar al-Kitab.
8 Saadawi novel *Woman at Point Zero* was first published in 1975 by Dar al-Adab in Arabic. It was published in English for the first time in 1983 by Zed Books.
9 Bayat, 23–26.
10 See Facebook page facebook.com/Comic4Syria/.
11 Stelfox, n.p.
12 See the blog Bakchich; bakchich.herokuapp.com/international/2009/01/18/mohammed-vi-le-roi-qui-ne-voulait-plus-etre-roi-xiii-54520.
13 See the comic's page qaherathesuperhero.com/tagged/qaherainenglish.
14 The holy month of Ramadan, is a month in the Islamic calendar when Muslims fast every day from dawn to sunset. Many governments in Muslim majority states in the Arab world such as Egypt and Bahrain, enforce laws to restrict eating and drinking in public spaces during Ramadan. Those who are found in violation of these laws can be fined or detained.
15 See Facebook page facebook.com/RamadanHardcore/.
16 Chadwick, 207.
17 Abaza, n.p.
18 Khatib, 153.
19 Tripp, 261–279.
20 For greater discussion, see Scheweller, 2006; Nye, 2010
21 Phishing is a tactic to steal personal information by targeting members of civil society and tricking recipients into clicking a faulty link, usually sent via email.
22 Fathi, n.p.
23 Freedom House, n.p.
24 Freedom of Thought and Expression Law Firm, n.p. The AFTE site includes links to quarterly updates on blocked sites and communication surveillance.
25 Human Rights Watch, n.p.
26 *Al Jazeera*, n.p.
27 Abu Sneineh, n.p.
28 Saleh, n.p.
29 Wood-Donnelly, n.p.
30 cooke.
31 See for further discussions Hamdy & Karl; Halasa, Omareen & Mahfoud; Elansary; de Ruiter.
32 Chadwick, 207.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abaza, M. (October 7, 2013) 'Mourning, Narratives and Interactions with the Martyrs through Cairo's Graffiti', *E-International Relations*. Retrieved from: e-ir.info/2013/10/07/mourning-narratives-and-interactions-with-the-martyrs-through-cairos-graffiti/.

Abu Sneineh, M. (July 6, 2018) 'In Struggling Jordan, Grassroots Movements Are Demanding Political Change', *Middle East Eye*. Retrieved from: middleeasteye.net/news/Jordan-protest-king-Abdullah-political-change-Dhiban-Arab-Spring.

Al Jazeera (June 27, 2018) 'Morocco: Rif Protest Leader Nasser Zefzafi Sentenced to 20 Years'. Retrieved from: aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/morocco-rif-protest-leader-nasser-zefzafi-sentenced-20-years-180627085028471.html.

Bayat, A. (2013) *Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East*, second edition. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Chadwick, A. (2013) *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

cooke, m. (2017) *Dancing in Damascus: Creativity, Resilience, and the Syrian Revolution*. New York: Routledge.

de Ruiter, A. (2015) 'Imaging Egypt's political transition in (post-) revolutionary street art: on the interrelations between social media and graffiti as media of communication', *Media, Culture & Society* 37(4), 581–601.

Elansary, H. (September 1, 2014) 'Revolutionary Street Art: Complicating the Discourse', *Jadaliyya*. Retrieved from: jadaliyya.com/pages/index/19033/revolutionary-street-art_complicating-the-discourse.

Fahmi, M. F. (December 27, 2011) 'Egyptian Court Rules against Virginity Tests'. Retrieved from: edition.cnn.com/2011/12/27/world/meast/egypt-virginity-tests/.

Fathi M. (March 13, 2018) '"It's All about Sex": Why Egypt's Abla Fahita Is in Hot Water', *Raseef 22*. Retrieved from: raseef22.com/en/life/2018/03/13/sex-egypts-abla-fahita-hot-water/.

Freedom House (2017) 'United Arab Emirates Country Report', *Freedom on the Net 2017*. Retrieved from freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-net/2017/united-arab-emirates.

Freedom of Thought and Expression Law Firm (May 2, 2018) 'Occasionally by Decree... Update on the Block of Websites in Egypt'. Retrieved from: afteegypt.org/digital_freedoms-2/2017/12/05/13659-afteegypt.html?lang=en.

Gruber, C. (2018) 'Introduction', Special Issue: Creative Dissent: Visual Arts of the Arab World's Uprisings, *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 11(2), 117–121.

Halasa, M., Omareen, Z., & Mahfoud, N., eds. (2014) *Syria Speaks: Art and Culture from the Frontline*. London: Saqi.

Hamdy, B. & Karl, D., eds. (2014) *Walls of Freedom: Street Art of the Egyptian Revolution*. Berlin: From Here to Fame Publishing.

Human Rights Watch (January 31, 2018) 'Lebanon: Pattern of Prosecutions over Free Speech'. Retrieved from: hrw.org/news/2018/01/31/lebanon-pattern-prosecutions-free-speech.

Khatib, L. (2012) *Image Politics in the Middle East: The Role of the Visual in Political Struggle*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Nye, J. S. (2019) *Cyber Power*. Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School. Retrieved from: belfercenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/files/cyber-power.pdf

Saleh, H. (June 7, 2018) 'Morocco's Biggest Businesses Hit by Online Boycott Campaign', *Financial Times*. Retrieved from: ft.com/content/1ed8370a-6979-11e8-b6eb-4acfcfb08c11.

Schweller, R. L. (2006) *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Scott, J. C. (1985) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Scott, J. C. (1992) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Stelfox, D. (August 19, 2013) 'Ali Ferzat's Cartoons—in Pictures', *The Guardian*. Retrieved from: theguardian.com/world/gallery/2013/aug/19/ali-ferzat-cartoons-in-pictures.

Tripp, C. (2013) *The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wood-Donnelly, C. (January 22, 2018) 'Why Tunisians Have Once Again Taken to the Streets in Protest', *New Statesman America*. Retrieved from: newstatesman.com/world/2018/01/why-tunisians-have-once-again-taken-streets-protest.

Section 1:

Early Visionaries and Their Legacies