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The Irony of the Arab Springs in Tunisia:  
Democratic Governance and Women's Rights

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**GS 401 Senior Capstone**

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**Key Words:** Secularists, Islamist Parties, Democratization, Women's Rights, Authoritarian

## **Abstract**

The Arab Springs were a series of revolutions that took place in the Middle East which first came about in the country of Tunisia. Tensions over governmental corruption, poor economic standings, unemployment, lack of political freedom, and little progress for women's rights. From the fall of the Ben Ali Regime to the rise of the Ennahda Islamist Party, it has truly impacted Women's Rights in such a unique way that has shaped a great revolution. These tensions also created a domino effect throughout the Arab World which affected countries such as Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria. The role of women in this movement ranged from protestors to organizers, and it involved women from a variety of backgrounds in Tunisian society. The 1950s was when the "Code of Personal Status (CPS) came about which was a kind of family law which set regulations towards marriage, child custody, divorce, etc. This law brought Tunisia to the forefront when it came to the progress of Women's Rights in the Arab World, yet activists have continued the fight for equality for women even after the fall of the Ben Ali. Through this paper, I take a closer look at how the Arab Springs came about, analyzing the Ben Ali Regime and the Ennahda Islamists, and paying close attention to the role that women played in this movement while also fighting for more rights and equality in an ever changing Tunisia.

## **Introduction**

The Middle East is predominantly Islamic, yet there are other religions within the Arab world, and about 20% of the world's Muslims live there. The origins of Islam dates back to around 570 CE in the time of the Prophet Muhammad who helped spread the teachings of Allah. Islam becomes a transnational community of believers thereby spreading throughout many

regions in the Middle East. Since the death of Muhammad, the religion has split into Sunni and Shia communities. This split was a result of the disagreement as to who should become the successor to Muhammad as a Caliph of the Islamic community.

In contemporary times, there have been single party regimes that have taken over most of the Middle East which has a dominant religious role in them. Religion plays a role in political decision-making in many countries across the Middle East. Having this way of government can lead to policies being molded in the religious direction instead of the direction of the people. This has led to corruption within the political system because of the lack of democracy and rights of citizens being oppressed. To find a balance you need to have “..a significant degree of institutional differentiation between religion and the state” (Stepan and Linz, p17). Tensions began to build with influences of internal and external factors which lead up to the revolution in Tunisia. Through the Ben Ali regime, he made it illegal to have Islamists and secular liberals in the country and sent many leaders into exile. Before the fall of Ben Ali, the secular liberals and Islamists met regularly in London over the span of eight years in order to decrease fears and come to terms about democratic governance while also gaining support throughout Tunisia. Although they were banned, they still promoted and gained support throughout the provinces of Tunisia. When focusing on Women’s Rights, there were oppressions towards women who were not elite women under the power of Ben Ali, and policies were made with the exclusion of poor women. There were achievements during the period of Ben Ali such as the expansions of “women’s rights in regard to marriage contraction, alimony, and custodial rights over children.” (Charrad and Zarrugh, 2)

## Literature Review

In early 2011, there was a series of revolutions that spread throughout the Middle East which mainly focused on anti-government protests and armed rebellions. The way the uprisings got the name of “Arab Spring” was because it was highly popularized within Western media after the first successful uprising in Tunisia which is the center of the Arab Spring. These revolutions reference the turmoil that occurred in Eastern Europe during the 80s when they were going against Communist regimes. During that time they began to fall under the pressure of protests in a domino effect which reflects what happened during the Arab Spring which occurred across the Arab world. When it comes to the Arab Spring, Tunisia played a huge part because the corruption of its’ government led to tension between its’ people which led to a sudden spark of a revolution

.In Tunisia, at the end of 2010, a man named Mohamed Bouazizi ,whom was a vegetable seller, set himself on fire in protest of unemployment within the country. Before this demonstration, he was being harassed by police for selling his vegetables on the street. His actions went viral around the world, especially all over Tunisia, and protests sparked over poor living conditions, unemployment, exploitation, women’s rights, and lack of political rights for women in society. All of these social issues were main components that created a domino effect which spread throughout the Arab World.

Leading up to the events that played out from the end of 2010 to 2012, governmental figures such as Ben Ali and Ennahda have really affected Tunisia pre-Arab Springs and post-Arab Springs especially in the way their leadership shaped the country. The Ennahda Islamists have been congregating with the secular liberals from different parties in order to go against Ben Ali eight years before his fall. Before Ben Ali there was Habib Bourguiba who installed fear

within his people which was carried on through Ben Ali whom claimed that islamist could rise within the country and are extremely fatal than any other terrorist. Ennahda as well as the secular liberalists had to maintain the fears that had been instilled within individuals while concurring objective of democratic governance.

When understanding the increase of Islamist, Chamkhi discusses how the Arab Spring helped mobilize it and their commitment democracy, pluralism, and individual freedom. An important aspect he claims is that the rise of Islamist and Islamic parties which most of them were in fact in prison, exiled, or working underground. Which connects to how they were able to get into power and how they were able to become favorable assets to the communities around them.

Zaman discusses how Islamic parties are becoming a favorable asset to the country because, “they have strong membership bases and a presence in local communities and neighbourhoods, and leaders that are well known to the general public. They have been active in providing social services to the masses where their governments were lacking.” (3) There have been a high level of influence and electoral success of Islamist parties in politics, and also discussing the role of religion after the uprisings.

Looking from the fall of Ben Ali to the Rise of the Ennahda Islamists, the transition to a democracy was supposed to be significant yet faced many setbacks because of the lack of Islamic education that Ben Ali restricted and many restrictions in religious liberties of many Tunisians. Benhabib explains how while there isn't a model to combine both religion and democracy, she gives examples of how there is no way to define faith in the public square by looking at the United States and Germany. Showing that the youth could possibly teach new

ways to incorporate religion, democracy, faith, and the role of the military. Youth is a huge part of the revolutions around the Arab world even though media might not have perceived it to be.

The young who got involved with the revolutions, that sprung up around the Middle East, were a significant amount which contributed to demonstrations and rallying behind the movement. A significant amount of the Tunisian population and other Arab countries are under 30 in which have been affected by political decisions. There have been many factors that played in the part of the youth getting involved which one the main ones includes unemployment. This plays a major part because many university graduates were forced to drive taxis to survive and families struggling to provide for their children because of high unemployment rates and low living standards. The main outlook in society that I will be focusing on is the role women played in the Arab Spring and how policies pre-arab springs and post-arab springs had affected women's rights within society.

Before Ben Ali, Tunisia had a leader named Habib Bourguiba after they became independent from French rule in which he established progressive family law in 1956. This law, "encompassed rules and regulations concerning marriage, divorce, child custody, and inheritance, continues to be the site of the most fundamental differences in women's rights across the Middle East and North Africa." (Charrad and Zarrugh, 2) At the time it brought Tunisia to the forefront of the Arab World in regards to rights for women. The family law also followed a top-down policy which works from the higher officials and works its way down to the people which benefits mainly the individuals that occupy the top. In contrast, a bottom up approach would take the input from women and their outlook on their position in society and working it's way up to the top in order to produce a law more beneficial. Yet instead, the result of this came the Code of Personal Status (CPS) in which is a governmental made law that

“engages the community or facilitating the perspectives of the citizenry through popular referendum or other channels of popular expression.” (Charrad and Zarrugh, 2) During the rule of Ben Ali, there were reforms in order to be beneficial to women, yet there were still based off the top down policy because of this there were more women’s rights advocates in order to have their voices heard. Yet, these advocates were restricted when it came to taking action while also the main members of these groups were more elite and the poorest women didn’t have significant representation. Although there were misrepresentation and a lack of voice, there were still improvements under Ben Ali such as the minimum age in which one, men and women, were able to get married raised to 18 years instead of the previous of 15. In regards to the top down policy, it has been used within the government an excess amount which came to a halt once the collapse of Ben Ali occurred in 2011.

Women’s role in the Arab Spring ranged from professionals, students, and citizens all throughout Tunisia while also as organizers and demonstrators. Equality has always been a main point in Tunisian politics and the role women play in government especially when it came to the drafting of the constitution in 2011 as well as elections that were reshaping the government. Tunisian women fought to be included on party lists under the 2011 National Constituent Assembly (NCA) which was eventually incorporated into a law having it required to have women on party lists. Yet the law “did not specify how high on party lists women were to appear.” (Charrad and Zarrugh, 3) Consequently many parties found loopholes in the law and had women placed in the lowest positions in the lists yet women still ascended to positions within the NCA. Ennahda, the Islamist party, had 42 of 49 candidates win seats within the 217 member NCA. This held substantial ground when it came to the progress of women although it

brought attention to religion/secular binary as a lens in order to understand the the involvement of women in movements within Tunisia.

An explosion of concern erupted after the victories of Ennahda focusing on the power parties would hold in the case of religion being brought to the forefront of governance and decisions on behalf of the country. Fears of Tunisia becoming an Islamic State as well as the presence of, Islamist, women and their agenda when it came to the constitution drafting in 2011.

A major concern in the first draft of the Tunisian Constitution was concerning Article 28 which stated women as complementary to that of men, even with the numerous translations of the arabic term. In response to Article, there were women collaborating in demonstrations, petitions, and a call for reform to the constitution. Although there was an upheaval, many Islamist women supported the article and there was a debate of misunderstandings behind it which was the effect of misrepresentation of the contents when it came to the opposition parties. This urged a sense of clarification of “complementary” and “equality” from women’s organizations through debates on the post-arab spring Tunisia.

Through revisions the consistent topic of discussion was how to preserve the presence of Islam as the main religion of the state with limitations to expression while also being able to clarify women’s role in today’s Tunisia.

## **Research Question**

How do the policies of Tunisia after the 2011 Revolution affect the conditions of Women’s Rights in particular, and democratic governance?

## Theoretical Framework

Democratization Theory from Alfred Stepan and Juan J Linz, analyzes “the Muslim-majority countries; the character of hybrid regimes that mix authoritarian and democratic elements; and the nature of ‘sultanism’ and its implications for transitions to democracy”. (Stepan and Linz, 1) This theory allows me to break down the type of regimes that have been in place in Tunisia since its independence from France to the present day. They start to focus on how the role of Islam within the Arab Spring had brought upon new democratization concepts and a more updated data to be introduced.

While also diving into the relation of religion and state and what would be needed in order to cease the limitations to get the ball rolling towards democracy as well as further the development of it. Stepan and Linz analyzed what was needed to help democracy while also helping religion and it was to have a significant amount of difference between the two which they called “twin toleration”. The meaning of twin toleration is to where “religious authorities do not control democratic officials who are acting constitutionally, while democratic official do not control religion so long as religious actors respect other citizens.” (Stepan and Linz,17) There tends to be multiple secularisms that are produced through this type of structure while using the twin tolerations method that in which spreads out within democracies. They also mention how secularism in a variety of forms can be tolerated and work with democracy and alongside twin tolerations.

Taking this into account while observing Islam as a whole when it comes to democratization, Tunisia used key components from the Qu’ran with “consensus, consultation and justice to argue that democracy will be most effective and most legitimate if it relates to the specificities of its citizens’ histories in a particular state.”(Stepan and Linz, 18) During the

Ennahda regime, they frequently highlighted this concept since 2011 in order to embrace the history of how Tunisia has since been the leading country within the Arab World when it comes to the progression of a women-friendly family code. Although there are still restrictions towards women with the never changing men controlling society which oppresses women.

Stepan and Linz compare and contrast the changing situation in Tunisia and how it is less of secularism but shifting towards more of a civil state. To be classified as a civil state there needs to be respect between religion and democracy especially with creation of different laws. When reflecting the Tunisia in 2018 there is still a shift in the this because religion is still highly present and tends to dominate over government especially when it came to the proposal of banning the law which restricted women marrying outside their faith. Especially when dealing with criticisms of how women would maintain that type of marriage like a man can whom which have been allowed to marry outside their faith for years now.

This theory analyzes six types of regimes such as: democratic, authoritarian, totalitarian, post-totalitarian, sultanistic and authoritarian-democratic hybrid. Especially when comparing and contrasting multiple Arab countries alongside Tunisia. A democratic regime exercises a political power directly or indirectly through participating, competition, and liberty. Authoritarian regime consist of a government that concentrates its political power in an authority which is not responsible to the people which occurs oftenly in a one-party state. Totalitarian regime imposes a form of government that has authority over all aspects of life in which the individual is subordinate to the state. Yet a post-totalitarian regime is a complex and long term violation of society as well as self-violation of society. When looking at multiple Arab Countries there has not been one to utilize this type of regime not even Tunisia because of the fall of dictatorships within these countries. Sultanistic regimes are similar to authoritarian regimes but they are based

on personal ideology and personal favor to maintain the autocrat in power. Where there is also little ideological basis for the rule except personal power. Lastly, an authoritarian-democratic hybrid regime calls attention to the unusual condition of countries. In this case it tends to happen when key people believe they will “lose legitimacy and their followers”(Stepan and Linz, 20), support while also believing they must keep aspects of authoritarian controls in order to further their goals while maintaining supporters.

The types of regimes that have been used through the leadership of Tunisia have been a mixture of authoritarian, sultanic and a little bit of totalitarian regime styles because it has been one party base with the attributes of personal ideology and gain within the government.

Ben Ali had some sultanic aspects within the government by letting his wife and her family use the Tunisian economy as their personal property. While also having relied on police to do his dirty work and having the army remain professional enabled the “military as institution” to play a crucial role in bringing the dictatorship to a quick and nonviolent end.

Except once the Ennahda Islamist party took over, it contributed to a more authoritarian-democratic regime because it wanted to establish a more Islamic presence within the country while also establishing a democratic way to the country with elections and more participation from its’ citizens. In Tunisia today, using these structures of regimes, it has been shifting to a more democratic regime with the increase of people's involvement. Yet it has hindered the progression of women’s rights because of the highly influential Islamic views, and how women are still struggling with equality because of that establishment within the government.

## **Methodology**

My methodological approach utilizes qualitative research that explores through the governmental structure of Tunisia post-arab springs and how it reflects onto Women's Rights. Analyzing policy structure on laws with the main focus on women and how political figure used top-down policy rather than bottom-up. While also using democratization theory in order to dissect the governmental structuring Tunisia has seen over the years until today and how that has played with the process of furthering women's rights and the discussion in which has been produced. My research focused around the key terms such as women's rights, islamists, while taking a focus on democratization within Tunisia. The usage of keywords highly influenced the research I conducted and collected on the progression of women's rights post-arab spring.

## **Findings/Analysis**

Tunisia under the Ben Ali regime was very corrupt because it favored people who were closely associated with the family. Through this, there were laws tailored to allow these individuals as well as their companies to be able to get rich off the expense of the public. A perfect example of this is a Tunis car dealership called Ennakl which focused on importing foreign cars to the country. While under the Ben Ali regime, this dealership was able to import four times more than what they were able to before their connection to President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. This added to the regime encompassing sultanic features which includes financial exploitation. This regime didn't focus on Islam but instead the economy which was mainly controlled for over 23 years in which the World Bank analyzed over 220 firms that he owned while his time in control. The data shows that his firms outperformed any other company when it

came to employment, output, market share, profits, etc. These firms went against requirements and restrictions that focus on foreign direct investment.

All the corruption with the President's extended family had built up over time and people didn't have jobs, public funds were misused yet it was hard to see the corruption from the start because the economy had shown a steady growth under his rule. Although the growth in the economy, the unemployment rates of 23.4 percent amongst young people were extremely high prior to the revolution. Especially when it came to the rights of women in Tunisia, and how it changed from 'state-feminist' ideology to decentralized 'gender activisms' before and after the revolution.

During the Ben Ali regime, they continued reforms that were beneficial to women. Yet when it came to women's issues, many voices were not being heard and many policies were aimed towards elite women rather than those who were poor. During this time period, they had accomplished many things such as raising the minimum age for marriage to 18 for both men and women. As well as many reform that were initiated to deal with marriage contraction, alimony and custodial rights over children.

The built up frustration about unemployment, food inflation, corruption, lack of political freedom, and poor living conditions became the main issues that led to the revolution. The main event which sparked revolution in late 2010 was when Mohamed Bouazizi, a vegetable seller, set himself on fire in protest and this caused a chain reaction across the country with protesters demanding solutions to these problems. With protest sweeping the country, it brought Ben Ali to resign 28 days after the start of them as well as a stop to the policy making for women's rights in Tunisia. The army stopped the police from lethal force to protect Ben Ali but would not shield

him from protestors but would assure him safe passage to Saudi Arabia. The army supported the democratic transition instead of safeguarding its own power and perquisites.

When it came to Tunisian politics, women played a huge role in the multiple drafts of the constitution because the first draft stated women as “complementary to me” which didn’t sit right with many women’s organizations. This brought upon many drafts to get the correct understanding of women’s place in society.

The 2014 constitution clarified individual and political rights for women yet it has not initiated equal treatment in today’s society. Women played as much part within the revolution as men did yet the presence of it being sully a men’s issue and accomplishment was very adamant within Tunisia. Eltahawy states, “Women hear that their struggles are a distraction. In other words, women -who make up one half of our society- are low on the list of priorities- a list determined by men.”(2) The current president Beji Caid Essebsi, who was elected in late 2014, had proposed an inheritance equality for women back in 2017 which would be a big step because as of right now under the Islamic inheritance law typically gives men double that of women.

In 2017, Essebsi was able to lift the restrictions held on women from marrying outside their Muslim faith. Men were able to marry Jewish or Christian women if they wanted to do so yet women did not have that right, and it brought forth a stigma against women by if they married outside their religion it would enable their marriage to be stable.

There have been a huge backlash against Essebsi for furthering women’s rights because it doesn’t stand behind Islamic edicts and it was based solely on “foreign political agenda”. It has been seven years since the Arab Spring within Tunisia yet there is going to be a far line for improvement for women’s rights even in 2018.

The rise of controversy when it comes to women's equality reflects the religious sanctioned that the region upholds which often stems from misogynistic ways. Society has been highly critical to women and of the current President in which stating Essebi is pushing for a state imposed feminism in order to secure another term instead of actually focusing on women and their voiced opinions.

Whenever there are critical assessments of the push for equality of women, one tends to forget that women make up a third of Tunisia's parliament and because of this they helped pass a law that serves to protect women of domestic violence and sexual harassment. There used to be a law where women had to marry their rapist but that as well had been overruled yet there is still laws around the Arab world that allows this. The cycle of oppression of men and women by the state adds to the oppression of women by men and it adds to the trifecta of misogyny that Tunisia has been experiencing throughout the regime of Ben Ali, Ennahda, and now the current President Essebsi.

This report analyzes women's rights during Tunisia after their independence from France to today under the Presidency of Essebsi while breaking down the structures of government and religion. While also how these factors into the reflection of women's equality and progression within the formation of laws in this region.

## **Conclusion**

Through my research, I have found that the governmental structure of Tunisia has had mixture of authoritarian, sultanic and a little bit of totalitarian regime styles through Ben Ali and his predecessors then transformed to a more authoritarian-democratic regime through the Ennahda Islamist Party. Through all these forms of governmental structures, the rights of women have

progressed minimally. From the establishment of the CPS, raised the age of marriage, brought more women into political positions, and more recently have outlawed the marrying of ones rapist. There was also a law put in place on November 10th, 2015 that allowed women to travel with their children without having to consult their husbands or the father of the child for permission.

These have been huge steps for women yet there is still battles that are being fought currently in 2018 which is the ability to marry out of their religion in which the president Essebsi supports but have been receiving a great amount of criticisms. Before there has always been a top-down policy approach when it came to laws involving women and you can see that currently in the criticisms towards this proposal. The main observation is that if it doesn't benefit men in the region it is not supported by men especially when it goes against the male perspective of women with the influence of Islam present in these perspectives. While also straying away from top-down policy making and moving towards bottom-up policy making. Using that structure you can fully evaluate what women need and want and shaping laws to reflect that.

In my opinion there is an urge to redefine women's place especially when you want to take in account of religion and the information that is present in the Qu'ran. Women occupy a significant amount of the world's population and it is time to stop oppressing them and strive to create an equal and safe society. Within democratic governance, women need to be allowed to acquire more power and positions within agencies in order to enact those factors. These positions would alter the top-down policy structure because they will be able to connect to women more efficiently and be able to apply the bottom-up policy which is essential.

Overall, there is still a need for separation between religion and state in order to fully affect the progression of laws aimed towards women. Yet the negative outlooks from majority

male perspectives criticize the advancements even when there is the initiation of change. Taking the fact that Tunisia was a key player in women's rights within the Arab World does give room for voices to be heard and for women to be taken seriously. As well as allowing them to be put into more high power positions as well as agencies.

Even though all of this may take a significant amount of time, it is still highly plausible especially in this day in age where women are achieving rights and banning laws that were thought to be impossible. The role of women in Tunisia will never be forgotten or overlooked but there will be a need for acceptance or there will be a resistance like we saw in the Arab Springs. there is still a barrier that will affect this.

## **Annotated Bibliography**

Al-Anani, Khalil. "Islamist parties post-Arab spring." *Mediterranean Politics* 17, no. 3 (2012): 466-472.

This article take a look at how the rise of Islamist parties has been a main factor of political landscape in the Middle East today. While he views that the Arab Springs has opened doors of power for Islamist parties because they have excelled in elections since the uprisings that took place in early 2011. There is a significant tie that is linked between the Arab spring and Islamist Parties and how there wouldn't have been an Arab Spring without the impact it had on the parties. While it has also reshaped the ideas and views of the parties. He also goes into talking about the end of how parties used to be and how they are now, new dynamics as well as actors, and touching base on Islamists' foreign policy. This article is relevant and helpful to my research because it gives me an outlook on how both religion and politics contributed to the Arab Spring and the outcomes it had on each other.

AlSayyad, Nezar, and Mejgan Massoumi. "Religious fundamentalisms in the city: reflections on the Arab spring." *Journal of International Affairs* (2012): 31-42.

This article Alsayyad and Massoumi explain how we are experiencing 'new forms of organization, grassroots mobilization, activism, and popular uprisings, all seeking democratic change and social justice'. While looking at how different parts of the Arab world dealt with the

series of uprisings which contribute to the Arab Spring. The aim of the article is to observe religious movements and how it may reshape cities. This goes onto breaking down the occurrences of governments being overthrown from Tunisia to Saudi Arabia. As well as explaining the demonstrations that have taken place on a Friday which have been called "Day of Rage". They go on to explaining religion and the city, modernity, religiosity, fundamentalism, urbanism, etc. The relevance of this article to my capstone is that it gives a background on how religious practices have impacted cities as well as the journey they have gone through the series of uprisings.

Ardic, Nurullah. "Understanding the Arab Spring: Justice, Dignity, Religion and International Politics." *Afro Eurasian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2012): 8-52.

This article focuses on how the Arab Springs came to be such a significant event in history while arguing it is the result of external and internal influences. While also affecting economy of countries and cultural backgrounds. Nurullah sets out to explain this through looking at immediate factors, background factors which include international politico-military and the impact of religion. As well as looking to clarify the Arab Awakening and the use of ICT's which could play a huge part in understanding the social movements and revolutions of such countries. The article also touches base on distinguishing whether or not the Arab Spring was a Rebellion or Revolution, youth and their part in this. This gives a look on internal and external factors that might not always be easy to process which can help my research in understanding the connection of politics that affected decisions that have been made.

Ajami, Fouad. "Arab Spring at One: A Year of Living Dangerously, The." *Foreign Aff.* 91 (2012): 56.

This article explains the surge throughout social media such as Twitter and Facebook of the Arab World and its people wanting to overthrow regimes especially the youth. They were in search of political freedom and such a scale that ignited something unbelievable. Showing how it came from two generations of democracy which spread across the regions such as latin america, africa, etc. Yet it finally touched the Middle East because of accusations of terrorism, terrible leaders in place, and it all became too much to handle. Ajami explains how Arabs themselves believe that the United States had unleashed such a wave of imposing change that they couldn't wait it out. A domino effect set out across the region and that sparked the revolt called the Arab Spring. The article helps set out the events that took place before the revolts started and how the early stages played out.

Bayat, Asef. "The Arab Spring and its surprises." *Development and Change* 44, no. 3 (2013): 587-601.

This article looks at the speed and spread of the revolutions that were throughout the Arab world as well as the attributions in them. Seeing the ideologies and political trajectory that were behind them. Bayat discusses the main characteristics of the revolution while looking at how they were significant. This gives me a sight of not how they came about but more on the side of what factors played in them. Unlike the previous articles, this is more about the ideology rather than the revolution itself.

Benhabib, Seyla. "The Arab Spring: Religion, Revolution, and the Public Sphere." *The New Significance* 11 (2011).

Benhabib focuses on how the Arab world has been experiencing a mass democratic movement and how Islamic fundamentalist could affect this process. By changing over to a westernized democracy, it could overshadow the historical background that encloses this region. Within the texts, she gives a closer look at a new order of freedom, modernism of the democratic movement, isolation of radical islamists, and much more. A main part of the text is when she looks at Islam and democracy and how there were multiple models in reconciling it. While there isn't a model to combine both religion and democracy. She then gives examples of how there is no way to define faith in the public square by looking at the United States and Germany. Showing that the youth could possibly teach new ways to incorporate religion, democracy, faith, and the role of the military. This article helps me see the role of youth in transforming a region that has been high off tradition in these new times.

Bradley, John R. *After the Arab Spring: How Islamists Hijacked the Middle East Revolts*. Macmillan, 2012.

This book starts with explaining what the Arab Spring was giving us a first person view of it and how the media portrayed it as a step in the direction of democracy. Giving us an insight of what happened in Tunisia which was the center of the Arab Spring and how it went on to other countries. Explaining how the country was ruled by a secular regime and it was socially liberal as well as progressive out of all the Muslim countries. Overall he takes multiple perspectives how the revolution has left islamist in power and how it will affect countries like Egypt while also taking in account what has happened in southeast asia.

Chamkhi, Tarek. "Neo-Islamism in the post-Arab Spring." *Contemporary Politics* 20, no. 4 (2014): 453-468.

This article takes a look at how the Arab Spring showed the increase of Islamists along with their commitment to democracy, pluralism, and individual freedom. Chamkhi gets us to understand how Islamist view themselves while giving a background on modern islamist. This can also

reflect how they choose to get involved in politics and society while determining what is most needed for their societies. Topics that are discussed are features of Islamist political parties, neo-Islamism, and much more. An important aspect he claims is that the rise of Islamist and Islamic parties which most of them were in fact in prison, exiled, or working underground. This gave them a chance to emerge and were able to take control while the uprisings were taking place. The article gives insight on how even though Islamists weren't at the forefront of the revolutions, they were still able to get in control because societies focus was not on them.

Dabashi, Hamid. "The Arab Spring: the end of postcolonialism." (2012): 287-289.

This book focuses on local, national, and regional political transformations that are taking over the Arab World. Dabashi explains that the world is changing fast and how the Arab Spring brought the death of postcolonialism. Discussing how the "west" is not as meaningful as it used to be and is celebrating the Arab Spring and how it has overcome colonial and postcolonial times. He also goes on to address "delayed defiance" which he looks at as a rebellion that goes against tyranny as well as globalized disempowerment. He goes on to use a Marxist perspective when it comes to looking into breaking down the revolution. Also explaining the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic ideologies after the fall of the regimes in Tunisia.

Hoffman, Michael, and Amaney Jamal. "Religion in the Arab spring: Between two competing narratives." *The Journal of Politics* 76, no. 03 (2014): 593-606.

This paper goes on to tackle the role of religion during the series of protests while also taking into account the relationship of religious belief and how that played into people's likeness in participating in those protests. They tend to look closely at Tunisia and Egypt for their source of research and the individuals who would be drawn to protest. They go on to suggest that religion did spark a sense of motivation for their involvement. They came to conclude that it is hard to identify protesters as well as predicting what direction these countries will be heading. They did come to seeing how individual piety was a huge factor amongst individuals in finding the motivation to get involved. This article helps me see the kinds of people who were involved and why they got involved.

Kirk, George E. *A short history of the Middle East: from the rise of Islam to modern times*. Routledge, 2016.

This book focuses on the history of Middle East and how that term has been used to identify the entire Arab World. While also analyzing the rise of Islam and how it has affected the Modern Era of that region. Kirk goes into the breakdown of growth in agricultural civilizations to the new developments that came across during the Industrial Revolution. While also discussing the

shift of power through the church and how it held a corrupt bureaucracy. The book tends to transition from the expansion of the Arab EMpire to the Middle East economic resources. Basically shaping what is the Middle East and its history.

Korany, Bahgat, and Rabab El-Mahdi, eds. *Arab Spring in Egypt: revolution and beyond*. American University in Cairo Press, 2012.

This article focuses on Egypt and how the revolution has affected the country and where it is headed after the fall of the head of the authoritarian regime. They go into the patterns that were involved in all the revolutions especially when it comes down to politics. While identifying the protest as milestones that have separated what occurred in the past to what is occurring now. This lead to individuals to consider the framework that holds up the middle east and to compare the collapse of the Soviet Union to this. Connecting power to corruption, repression, and resistance and how this lead to the spark of everything. While showing the the government was over controlling politics as well as social life of the country.

Liolos, John. "Erecting New Constitutional Cultures: The Problems and Promise of Constitutionalism Post-Arab Spring." *BC Int'l & Comp. L. Rev.* 36 (2013): 219.

Liolos article goes into explaining how constitutions have two elements to them which includes functional and aspirational. Functional is what establishes the institution which includes state and governance while aspirational consists of the nation's commitment and ideals. Giving an insight of what a full functioning state consists of both in balance while a state that isn't doing well the governance and rule of law are at risk of failure. He shows that for countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya they have a chance for a new form of constitution which can lead the countries in the right direction while also can affect them in the long wrong. This article takes us down the path of looking into the ideas of constitutional theory and how it is applied.

Lust, Ellen, Gamal Soltan, and Jakob Wichmann. "After the Arab Spring: Islamism, Secularism, and Democracy." *Current History* 111, no. 749 (2012): 362.

This article touches base of the fears of the Arab Spring becoming an Islamist winter and the relationship of religion and state which contributes to an Islamist secularist divide. Gives a background of how Islamist parties gained popularity in the 70s even though there was a call for democracy. While also touching base on the conflict between secularists and islamists and the issue of religion. Looking at fundamental consequences that deal which the transition to democracy and how the Arab word is mainly shaped by religious politics and not ethical ones. When it comes to Tunisia and Egypt, it is hard to separate the two because they are deeply rooted in both countries and the separation of religion and state will not be an easy one. The authors

discuss how even though the division of secularists and Islamists may be a difficult one, it is not impossible but it will take time to accomplish.

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson. "Mutiny and nonviolence in the Arab Spring Exploring military defections and loyalty in Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria." *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 3 (2013): 337-349.

This text looks into the kinds of factors that have possibly impacted military defections when it comes to nonviolent conflict. Mainly focusing on whether troops receive economic or political gain from regimes and if they believe the regimes are fragile. Nepstad goes on to argue that the ones who receive benefits are ones to remain loyal to the regimes and those who don't are more likely to go against the regimes. Yet there is a possibility that even those who don't get benefits may stay especially if the regime is one to handle uprisings. He goes into observe Egypt, Bahrain, and Syria because they have seen loyalty to the regime as well as defect. Overall the more insight that is given the more knowledge of the dynamics of nonviolent regimes and how they change.

Öniş, Ziya. "Turkey and the Arab Spring: between ethics and self-interest." *Insight Turkey* 14, no. 3 (2012): 45-63.

This article looks into the connection of the Arab Spring and Turkey and how it went against the geographical security that surrounded it. The series of revolutions challenged the regimes that were located in the country as well as its foreign policy strategy. Discussing how the strategy was mainly to support regimes not to prioritize democracy which was one of the main focuses of the revolutions. The main point of the article is that Turkey could have a bigger impact in the region and could take a detached stance through controlled activism. While also working along with the United States and Europe.

Owen, Roger. *State Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. Routledge, 2002.

This book looks at establishment and consolidation of the various modern Middle Eastern states and the remaking of them in the 90s. Owen goes on to explaining how state has two meanings which refers to sovereign political entities and the set of institutions and practices which contains administrative, judicial, rule-making and coercive powers. He later goes onto looking at single party regimes and how they weren't able to abandon Islam. While also going into the remaking of the political systems within the middle east as well as the pattern of inter-state relations.

Pupcenoks, Juris. "Democratic Islamization in Pakistan and Turkey: lessons for the post-Arab Spring Muslim world." *The Middle East Journal* 66, no. 2 (2012): 273-289.

This article compares and contrasts democratic Islamization in Pakistan and Turkey. It makes the case that democratic Islamization can be best understood through three-fold approach focusing on Islamization of educational systems, economies, and social policies. While looking closely at conflicted repressive Islamization of Pakistan and subtle Islamization of Turkey. Giving the outlook that Turkey's model is the one that should be followed and serve as inspiration to the rest of the countries within the middle east.

Rosiny, Stephan. "The Arab spring: Triggers, dynamics and prospects." (2012).

This article focuses on the outbreak of the Arab Spring, the dynamics of the protests, the demands, symbolism, and prospects for the future. Analyzing the initial spontaneity and lightness in which called for the regimes into question. As well as the triggers, progression and intensity of the protests from country to country. Rosiny discusses how most Arab regimes suffered from massive legitimacy deficits, and the citizens are demanding to finally be able to participate more fairly in political, economic and societal events. Which contributed to the revolutions that were occurring across the middle east. This has lead to an increase in strength of moderate Islamist parties. The demand for participation in politics, business, and society have also increased within Arab countries as well as the freedom to decide which worldview they want to follow for their lives.

Stepan, Alfred, and Juan J. Linz. "Democratization Theory and the" Arab Spring"." *Journal of Democracy* 24.2 (2013): 15-30.

This article analyzes the democratization theory while focusing on three main topics such as the relationship between democracy and religion focusing on muslim majority country, characteristics of hybrid regimes, and breaking down sultanism and how it affects the transition to democracy. The crucial point in this article is that Stepan and Linz are highlighting that there are multiple forms of secularism and can actually benefit democracy. Alfred and Linz look closely at the Muslim world's newly established democracies while also taking into account the Islamic based political theory.

Tessler, Mark. "Islam and democracy in the Middle East: The impact of religious orientations on attitudes toward democracy in four Arab countries." *Comparative Politics* (2002): 337-354.

This article examines the influence of Islam on attitudes toward democracy using public opinion data collected in Palestine, Morocco, Algeria, and Egypt. While also looking at democracy and political culture, religion and politics, data and measures. Tessler discusses how Islam should

not be reified when it comes down to explaining Arab political orientations and it offers evidence that support for democracy isn't need. Especially when it comes to individuals with the strongest Islamic attachments. A finding that was significant was that relationships that are and are not statistically significant are important.

Totten, Michael J. "Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?." *World Affairs* 174, no. 5 (2012): 23-43.

This article observes the political upheavals that have swept through Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria. Taking a focus at the similarities and differences between each country and how it contributed to the turmoil that was going on. These nations differed dramatically from each other before the region wide upheaval began, so it logically follows that the revolutions themselves, not to mention their conclusions and aftermaths, should also differ dramatically. Looking at the popularity of Islamist parties in each country and how they are favored is an important focus of the article as well.

Zaman, Mohammad. "The role of religion in the Arab spring." *E-International Relations* (2011).

This article focuses on the role of religion when dealing with the Arab Spring and how it plays in the political system. While discussing the reasons why Islamic parties are becoming a favorable asset to the countries. They have strong membership bases and a presence in local communities and neighbourhoods, and leaders that are well known to the general public. They have been active in providing social services to the masses where their governments were lacking. Zaman discusses how the problem is that the role of religion is a largely marginalised one in the wider academic study of international relations, where it is seen as being privatised and having little to do with political life.