

A (Working) 'Arab Spring' Reading List

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Overview

This list aims to compile academic resources (articles, special issues and podcasts) on the role of media and communication in the Arab Spring. The aim is to provide potentially relevant theoretical work (for example on the uses of ICTs for political action or on the media and activism), original empirical studies and/or parallel empirical studies that can be used for comparison (eg. the use of Twitter in Iran in 2009). It also welcomes NGO and government reports. Readings are divided by documents type (see below).

This document does not claim to be comprehensive. Instead, it is intended as an open resource for anyone interested in this topic. **If you know of an academic article that isn't listed below** please email [patrickmmccurdy \[at\] gmail.com](mailto:patrickmmccurdy@gmail.com) or [davidbrake \[at\] gmail.com](mailto:davidbrake@gmail.com), or Tweet to Patrick McCurdy ([@pmmcc](https://twitter.com/pmmcc)) & David Brake ([@drbrake](https://twitter.com/drbrake)). Additional contributions from Cheryl Hansen ([@lucyskyler](https://twitter.com/lucyskyler)) & Zeynep Tufekci. **If you want to help edit this reading list, you can! Get in touch via Twitter or email.**

Readings are compiled by [Patrick McCurdy](#), [David Brake](#), [Zeynep Tufekci](#) and Radamis Zaky [*any other editors, add your name here*]. The page was initiated after a conversation thread on the Facebook page of [David Brake](#).

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Note that [POMEPS](#) has recently established a database for Arab Spring readings however media and communication are not yet their own section ([this suggestion has been made to them](#)). So, for other readings on the Arab Spring, do see their [bibliography](#).

Zotero Group on Arab Spring Media

[David Brake](#) has migrated several of the academic articles mentioned below to a Zotero group which allows works to be tagged appropriately and commented on (and should make it easier for people with bibliographic software to import and export). Check out:

<https://www.zotero.org/groups/arabspringmedia/items>. Anyone who wishes to edit and add to that group - please ask David Brake. If you are adding nonacademic or para-academic works (non-peer-reviewed material or books from non-academic publishers) please tag them as "nonacademic".

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1. Academic Journal Special Issues/Sections

Issues of academic journals which are dedicated in part or in whole to the Arab Spring. Please note that not all of the articles in these special issues may be listed in Section below. If you want to rectify this, you are encouraged to help with the document.

1. [Journal of Communication - Volume 62, Issue 2 - April 2012 - Wiley Online Library](#) with multiple articles
2. [Contemporary Arab Affairs](#). Vol. 5, Issue 3, 2012. Taylor & Francis Online.
3. [Communication Review](#). (2011). Volume 14, Issue 3. [Special Issue: Twitter Revolutions? Addressing Social Media and Dissent](#).
4. [Globalizations](#). Volume 8, Issue 5. 2011. <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rglo20/8/5>
5. [Global Media Journal \(German Edition\)](#). Volume 2, Number 1. [Full PDF](#) Note: *Articles are in English*
6. [International Journal of Communication](#). (2011). Volume 5 Issue (2011). Note: Collection of articles under the title of *The Arab Spring & the Role of ICTs* [Open Access]
7. [Interface: a journal for and about social movements](#). (2012). Volume 4 (1): i - iv (May 2012). *The Season of Revolution: the Arab Spring*
8. [Suomen Antropologi](#). (2011). 36(4). Anthropology of the Arab Spring. [in English].

Academic/peer-reviewed journals whose chosen field means they will likely have multiple related articles:

1. [CyberOrient](#), (see especially vol 6, issue 1: The Net Worth of the Arab Spring)
2. [Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research](#)

2. Academic Peer-reviewed Articles & Academic Books

Peer reviewed articles published in academic journals or academic books (authored and edited). Note that not all articles published in journal special issues (above) may be listed here. If something is missing, add it! This also contains representative survey data and reports from

NGOs and governmental organizations of citable quality.

Aboubaka, R. (2013). "Chapter 14: The Role of New Media in the Egyptian Revolution: Visuality as an Agent of Change" in [Popular Culture in the Middle East and North Africa: A Postcolonial Outlook](#) edited by Mounira Soliman, Walid El Hamamsy. Routledge: London. pg 231-246.

Ali, S.R. and Fahmy, S. (2013). "Gatekeeping and citizen journalism: The use of social media during the recent uprisings in Iran, Egypt, and Libya", *Media War & Conflict* 6(1), pp 55-69.

Alahmed, Anas (2014). ["Political Information, Political Power, and People Power: New Media and New Social Movements in the Arab Spring"](#), *Political Activism in the Information Age*. IGI Global.

Allagui, I., & Kuebler, J. (2011). The Arab Spring & the role of ICTs| introduction. *International Journal of communication*, (5), 1435–1442. Retrieved from <http://ijoc.org/ojs/index.php/ijoc/issue/view/6>

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Bernardi, Floriana. (2012). ["Open Fields. \(Social\) Networks. Revolutions and 'New Real-life Cyborgs'"](#). [Journal of the School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies of Cardiff University](#), UK. Issue 1, June 2012.

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Bruns, A., Highfield, T. and Burgess, J. (2014). "[The Arab Spring and Social Media Audiences English and Arabic Twitter Users and Their Networks](#)". [Cyberactivism on the Participatory Web. Routledge.](#)

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Christensen, C. (2011). [Discourses of Technology and Liberation: State Aid to Net Activists in an Era of "Twitter Revolutions"](#). *The Communication Review*. Volume 14, Issue 3, 2011.

Christensen, M. and Christensen, C. (2013). "The Arab Spring and Meta-Event and Communicative Space", *Television & New Media*, 14(3). <http://tvn.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/04/15/1527476413482989.abstract>

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Todd Landman, Dorothea Farquhar

http://www.donau-uni.ac.at/imperia/md/content/departement/gpa/zeg/dokumente/cedem12_conference_proceedings.pdf#page=220

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El-Nawawy, M., & Khamis, S. (2012). Political Activism 2.0: Comparing the Role of Social Media in Egypt's "Facebook Revolution" and Iran's "Twitter Uprising". *Cyber Orient*, 6(1). Retrieved from <http://www.cyberorient.net/article.do?articleId=7439>

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<http://wi.mobilities.ca/tweeting-out-a-tyrant-social-media-and-the-tunisian-revolution/>

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Zeinab Abul-Magd (2012). "[Occupying Tahrir Square: The Myths and the Realities of the Egyptian Revolution](#)". *South Atlantic Quarterly* 111(3): 565-572; doi:10.1215/00382876-1596290

3. NON-Academic Articles & Books

Articles which have been classified as non-academic are those which are comment/opinion pieces, or publications which are non-peer reviewed and published in non-academic books, newspapers, magazines or NGO and/or Institute Reports (though many of these may of course be written by academics and in an academic style). If you feel something has been misclassified, do get in touch.

Abdulla, R. A. (2011), "The Revolution Will Be Tweeted", Cairo: The Cairo Review, 1(3). Available at: <http://www.aucegypt.edu/gapp/cairoreview/Pages/articleDetails.aspx?aid=89>

<http://www.arabsocialmediareport.com/> - "Reports analyze data on Facebook and Twitter users in all 22 Arab countries, in addition to Iran, Israel and Turkey. They highlight a specific theme in each issue (ranging from general social media usage trends, to the impact of social media on civil movements, and the role of social media in Arab women's empowerment). "

Aday, S. Farrell, H., Lynch, M., Sides, J. and Freelon, D. (2012). *New Media and Conflict after the Arab Spring*. United States Institute of Peace. <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/PW80.pdf>

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Anderson, L. (2011, May/June). Demystifying the arab spring. *Foreign Affairs*, 90(2), 2-7. Retrieved from <http://www.ssrresourcecentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/Anderson-Demystifying-the-Arab-Spring.pdf>

Attia, A., Aziz, N., Friedman, B., & Elhousseiny, M. (2011). Commentary: The impact of social networking tools on political change in Egypt's "revolution 2.0". *Electronic Commerce Research and Applications*, 10(4), 369-374. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S156742231100024X>

Barata Mir, J., (2011) [*Political and media transitions in Tunisia*](#), Internews: Washington, D.C.

Barata Mir, J. (2012), [*The new Tunisian legislative framework: a focus on press and audiovisual media*](#), Internews: Washington, D. C.

Bauman , Z. (2011, December 28). 2011 – the year of people on the move. *Social Europe Journal* <http://www.social-europe.eu/2011/12/2011-the-year-of-people-on-the-move/>

Bauman , Z. (2012, June 4). The Egyptian revolution – on a human tsunami and thereafter. *Social Europe Journal* . [Online.](#)

Bauman , Z. (2012, June 24). Do Facebook and Twitter help spread democracy and. *Social Europe Journal* , Retrieved from <http://www.social-europe.eu/2012/05/do-facebook-and-twitter-help-spread-democracy-and-hum>

[an-rights/](#)

Beckett, C. (2011). After Tunisia and Egypt: towards a new typology of media and networked political change. *POLIS*, journalism and society think tank. Accessed July 16, 2012, and available from <http://www.charliebeckett.org/?p=4033>

Bortot, M.S. (2011). Egyptian cyberactivist focuses on women and minorities. Accessed July 16, 2012, and available from <http://www.america.gov/st/democracyhr-english/2011/March/20110329115205m0.3554499.html?CP.rss=true>

Boyter, J. (2012). "Revolutionary Images: The Role of Citizen Photojournalism, the Citizenship of Photography and Social Media in the Iran Green Revolution and Arab Spring" Masters Thesis. Dalhousie University. Available from: <http://dalspace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/15268>

BRASSEUR, A. council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly. (2012). *Political transition in tunisia* (12790). Retrieved from website: <http://assembly.coe.int/ASP/Doc/XrefViewPDF.asp?FileID=18736&Language=EN>

Channel 4 News. (2011, Feb 11). Arab revolt: social media and the people's revolution. <http://www.channel4.com/news/arab-revolt-social-media-and-the-peoples-revolution>

Christensen, C. (2009). [Iran: Networked Dissent?](#) Le Monde Diplomatique (online). July 2009.

Cottle, S. (2011). [Media and the Arab uprisings of 2011: Research notes](#). Journalism, 12(5): 647- 659. [Alternative link](#)

Cultural Anthropology "Hot Spots: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Egypt a Year after January 25th" <http://www.culanth.org/?q=node/484>. **Note:** This is a collection of online reflections.

Dahlgren, Susanne (2011) [What is a Revolution?: and other Anthropological Questions on the Arab Spring](#). Suomen Antropologi (Journal of Finnish Anthropological Society), 36(4):73-76.

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Faris, David (2010) "Revolutions Without Revolutionaries? Social Media Networks and Regime Response in Egypt." PhD dissertation, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania. <http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1195&context=edissertations>

Geiger, K. and Masri, F. 2012. THE RED LINE: PRESS FREEDOM IN POST-MUBARAK EGYPT. [Online]. Available at <http://www.gwu.edu/~imes/assets/docs/Capstone%20Papers%20-%202012/Geiger.%20Masri.pdf>

Ghannam, J. (2011). Social media in the Arab world: Leading up to the uprisings of 2011. A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance. Retrieved July 16, 2012, from <http://cima.ned.org/publications/social-media-arab-world-leading-uprisings-2011-0>

Gladwell, M. (2010) Small Change: Why the Revolution will not be tweeted, The New Yorker, October 4, 2010: http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2010/10/04/101004fa_fact_gladwell

Goldman, L. (2012, August 25). "The Egyptian Twittersphere, 18 Months Into the Revolution", Techpresident, Available from <http://techpresident.com/news/22772/egyptian-twittersphere-18-months-revolution>

Hochheimer, J and Al-Emad, M. (2013). ["Social Media in the Arab Spring: Hope and the Spiral of Voice"](#). *5th Global Conference on Hope: Probing the Boundaries*. March 2013, Lisbon, Portugal

Howard, P, Duffy, A, Freelon, D, Hussain, M, Mari, W, Mazaid, M (2011) Opening Closed Regimes? What was the role of social media during the Arab Spring? Working Paper, Project on Information Technology and Political Islam http://dl.dropbox.com/u/12947477/reports/ITPI_datamemo_2011.pdf or <http://pitpi.org/index.php/2011/09/11/opening-closed-regimes-what-was-the-role-of-social-media-during-the-arab-spring/>

Hounshell, Blake, ed. (2011). Revolution in the Arab World: Tunisia, Egypt, and the Unmaking of an Era. Marc Lynch, Blake Hounshell and Susan Glasser, eds. <http://observationofalostsoul.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/revolution-in-the-arab-world.pdf>

Idle N. and Nunns A. (Eds.) (2011). [Tweets from Tahrir: Egypt's Revolution As It Unfolded, in the Words of the People Who Made It](#). New York: OR Books.

Juliette Harkin, Kevin Anderson, Libby Morgan, Briar Smith (2012, March). [Deciphering User-Generated Content in Transitional Societies: A Syria Coverage Case Study](#). Report by the Center for Global Communication Studies, Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania. Available from: http://www.internews.org/sites/default/files/resources/InternewsWPSyria_2012-06-web.pdf

Jurgenson N. (2012) When Atoms Meet Bits: Social Media, the Mobile Web and Augmented Revolution. Future Internet. 4(1):83-91. Available from: <http://www.mdpi.com/1999-5903/4/1/83>

Kerckhove, F. (2012, May 8). Gender equality and the arab spring – if only anyone paid any attention *I politics* , Retrieved from <http://www.ipolitics.ca/2012/05/08/ferry-de-kerckhove-gender-equality-and-the-arab-spring-if-only-anyone-paid-any-attention/>

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Lagos, Taso (2013). [“Parallel Polis and the Arab Spring: The Internet as Layer, Difference, and Engine of Democratic Renewal”](#) in Gabriel R. Ricci (ed.) *Culture and Civilization: Cosmopolitanism and the Global Polity - Volume 5* Cosmopolitan and the Global Polity. Transaction Publishers: New Jersey. Pgs 161-180.

Lamer, W. (2012). “Twitter and Tyrants: New Media and its Effects on Sovereignty in the Middle East” *Arab Media & Society*. Issue 16, Fall. <http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=798>

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Lawson, George (2012). *After the Arab Spring: power shift in the Middle East?: the Arab uprisings: revolution or protests?* Available from: [http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/43455/1/After%20the%20Arab%20Spring_the%20Arab%20uprisings\(lsero\).pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/43455/1/After%20the%20Arab%20Spring_the%20Arab%20uprisings(lsero).pdf)

Lust, Ellen & Jakob Wichmann. (2012, July 24). [Three Myths About the Arab Uprisings: As Arab turmoil continues, analysts can't afford to exaggerate the root causes](#). *YaleGlobal: A Publication of Yale Center for the Study of Globalization*. .

Nunes, R. (2012, June 07). *The lessons of 2011: Three theses on organisation*. Retrieved from <http://www.metamute.org/editorial/articles/lessons-2011-three-theses-organisation>

Parker, E (2012) Syria uprising, Twitter and social media revolution fatigue, *Slate*, 24 February http://www.slate.com/articles/technology/future_tense/2012/02/syria_uprising_twitter_and_social_media_revolution_fatigue_.html

Project on Middle East Political Science (2012). *Arab Uprisings: New Opportunities for Political*

Science. June 12, 2012. POMEPS Briefing. Direct download here
[:http://www.ssrc.org/workspace/images/crm/new_publication_3/%7B385d8996-e6be-e111-bb1a-001cc477ec84%7D.pdf](http://www.ssrc.org/workspace/images/crm/new_publication_3/%7B385d8996-e6be-e111-bb1a-001cc477ec84%7D.pdf) . Note: This is a 60 page collection of conference "memos" by 20 academics.

Owen, Roger (2012). The Arab 'demonstration' effect and the revival of Arab unity in the Arab Spring. *Contemporary Arab Affairs*. Vol. 5, Iss. 3, 2012.

Peys, C. (2012). The Narrative Nature of Twitter: 'Tweeting' the Arab Spring. *Potentia No 4, Fall 2012*.
<http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn/Digital-Library/ISN-Insights/Detail?lng=en&ots627=fce62fe0-528d-4884-9cdf-283c282cf0b2&id=153358>

Radsch, Courtney C. (2012) "Unveiling the Revolutionaries: Cyberactivism and the Role of Women in the Arab Uprisings." PhD dissertation, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University.
<http://www.bakerinstitute.org/publications/ITP-pub-CyberactivismAndWomen-051712.pdf>

Raouf, Ramy. (2011). "Egypt: Timeline of Communication Shutdown during the Revolution"
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/ramyraouf/5814392791/>

Saletan, W. (n.d.). *Is the internet driving the revolutions of the arab spring?*. Retrieved from
<http://facultyfiles.deanza.edu/gems/kaufmancyntia/Saletan.pdf>

Stepanova, E. (2011). The Role of ICTs in the Arab Spring: Implications beyond the region. *PONARS Eurasia*. Available from:
http://www.gwu.edu/~ieresegwu/assets/docs/ponars/pepm_159.pdf

Vila, S. (2011). South By Southwest Arab Spring Panels put final nail in the Twitter Revolution coffin. *Movements.org*. Accessed July 16, 2012, and available from
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Watkins, S. Craig (2011) Social Movements in the Age of Social Media: Participatory Politics in Egypt. Electronic document. <http://www.theyoungandthedigital.com>, accessed July 12, 2011.

Wojcieszak, Magdalena. Smith, Briar and Mahmood Enayat (2012). "[FINDING A WAY - How Iranians reach for news and information](#)" . Iran Media Program, a project of the Annenberg School for Communication's Center for Global Communication Studies (CGCS). Available from: <http://cgcs.asc.upenn.edu/fileLibrary/PDFs/FindingaWay.pdf>

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York, J. (2011a). How are protesters in Egypt using social media? Retrieved July 16, 2012 from <http://jilliancyork.com/2011/01/27/how-are-protestors-in-egypt-using-social-media/>

York, J. (2011b). Critique of media coverage of Egypt is a strong case for Twitter. Retrieved July 16, 2012, from <http://jilliancyork.com/2011/02/04/critique-of-media-coverage-of-egypt-is-a-strong-case-for-twitter/>

York, J. (2011c). Egypt: a voice in the blackout, thanks to Google and Twitter. *Global Voices*. Retrieved July 16, 2012, from <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2011/02/01/egypt-a-voice-in-the-blackout-thanks-to-google-and-twitter/>

X. Zhuo, Wellman B., Yu J. (2011). Egypt: The First Internet Revolt? PeaceMagazine.org. <http://www.peacemagazine.org/archive/v27n3p06.htm>

4. PodCasts of Academic Talks and Sessions

Please provide us with more suggestions!

Abdulla, R. A. (2011), "The Invisible Republic of the Internet," Personal Democracy Forum, Personal Democracy Media, New York City. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qDeOdEtmE70>

Abdulla, R. A. (2012), "Tweeting the Revolution: How Social Media Helped Bring Down a Dictator." Provost Lecture. The American University in Cairo. Available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LcnFtwo8gjE&feature=related>

City/ State/ Resistance: Spaces of Protest in the Middle East and Mediterranean. December 1, 2011. Interdisciplinary workshop from Royal Holloway University. Sponsored by The British Academy. Available from <http://backdoorbroadcasting.net/2011/12/city-state-resistance-spaces-of-protest-in-the-middle-east-and-mediterranean/>

5. TV and Documentary Films

The Green Wave. Released September 30th, 2011. Note: Looks at how social media was used

in the 2009 Green Revolution in Iran. See: <http://dogwoof.com/films/The-Green-Wave>

Husain, Mishal (Presenter). (2011). How Facebook Changed the World: The Arab Spring. BBC. Links for [CBC](#) (Canada), [BBC](#), [Youtube](#).

Fredrik Stanton (2012). Uprising. A documentary about the revolution in Egypt. Trailer available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P4o-P3IGobo>

6. Supporting Background Reading

This section is for supporting literature on Arab Spring Countries or online and transnational activism
Background on Egypt

Al-sayyid, M. (2006). Kefaya at Turning point . *Cairo Papers in social science* , 29(2-3), 6-19.

Ghonim, W. (2012). *Revolution 2.0. The power of the people is greater than the people in power. A Memoir*. London: Fourth Estate.

Hassid, Jonathan (2012). Safety Valve or Pressure Cooker? Blogs in Chinese Political Life. *Journal of Communication*. (pages 212–230). [Online](#)

Howard, Phillip. (2012). The Digital Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Information Technology and Political Islam. Oxford University Press. ([free for download](#) under Creative Commons licence)

Hopkins, N. (2006). Preface: Political and social protest in Egypt. *Cairo Papers in social science*, 29(2-3), 1-5.

Juneau, Th. (2012). Competing visions of the state. Political and security trends in the Arab world and the Middle East (conference report). Ottawa: Canadian Security intelligence Service and International Development Research Centre. Link: https://www.csis.gc.ca/pblctns/cdmctrch/MiddleEast_ENGLISH_REPORT.pdf

Leenders, Reinod and Steven Heydemann (2012) Popular Mobilization in Syria: Opportunity and Threat, and the Social Networks of the Early Risers. *Mediterranean Politics* 17(2):139-159.

Marc Lynch, Blake Hounshell and Susan Glasser, eds. (2011) [*Revolution in the Arab World: Tunisia, Egypt, And the Unmaking of an Era.*](#) (ebook from Foreign Policy)

Morozov, E. (2011) *The Net Delusion: how not to liberate the world*. London: Allen Lane (Chapters 1 & 2).

Shirky, C. (2009). The Net Advantage. *Prospect Magazine*, 165. Retrieved February 4, 2011, from <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/2009/12/the-net-advantage/>

Shirky, Clay (2011). [*The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change.*](#) *Foreign Affairs* 90:(1) 28.

Springborg, R. (2006). Protest against a hybrid state: Words without meaning?. *Cairo Papers in*

social science , 29(2-3), 6-19.

Srebeny, A., & Khiabany, G. (2010). *Blogistan: the internet and politics in Iran*. London: I. B. Tauris

Tilly, Charles (1978) [*From Mobilization to Revolution*](#). Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Background on Online Activism

Bakir, V. (2010) *Sousveillance, Media and Strategic Political Communication*, London: Continuum

Bennett, W. L. (2003) "Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and Vulnerabilities of Networked Politics", *Information, Communication & Society*, 6 (2), pp. 143-168.

Chadwick, A. and P. Howard (eds), *The Handbook of Internet and Politics* (Routledge: London).

Jennifer Earl, Katrina Kimport, [*Digitally Enabled Social Change: Activism in the Internet Age*](#), The MIT Press: Cambridge, MA, 2011 ISBN0262015103

Hands, J. (2011) *@is for Activism: Dissent, Resistance and Rebellion in a Digital Culture*, Polity: Cambridge

Lievrouw, L (2011) *Alternative and Activist New Media* Cambridge: Polity Press

Nisbet, E. C., Stoycheff, E., & Pearce, K. E. (2012). Internet Use and Democratic Demands: A Multinational, Multilevel Model of Internet Use and Citizen Attitudes About Democracy. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 249-265. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01627.x>

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