

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Primary Sources

Interview transcript/ Egypt Uprising: Hosni Mubarak Steps Down: Interview with Wael

Ghonim: 'The Egyptian People Are the Leaders and Heroes of This Revolution,'

<http://www.cnn.com>.

Interview Transcript/ Wael Ghonim and Egypt's New Age Revolution,

<http://cbnews.com>

Interview Transcript/ Founder of Egypt's April 6 Movement Weighs In, <http://npr.org>.

### Secondary Sources:

#### Books:

Alaa al Aswany, *On the State of Egypt: What made the Revolution Inevitable*, Vintage Books, New York, 2011.

Alex Nunns and Nadia Idle, *Tweets from Tahrir: Egypt's Revolution as it Unfolded, in the Words of the People who made it*, Or Books, New York, 2011.

Ashraf Khalil, *Inside the Egyptian Revolution and the Rebirth of a Nation: Liberation Square*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2012.

Azza Radwan Sedky, *Cairo Rewind: The First Two Years of the Egyptian Revolution (2011-2013)*, Friesen Press, Canada, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2013.

Carolyn M. Elliot, *Civil Society and Democracy: A Reader*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2003.

Charles River Editors, *The Muslim Brotherhood: the History of the Middle East's Most*

- Influential Islamist Group*, Charles River Editors, USA.
- Civicus, *Civil Society at the Millennium*, Replika Press Pvt. Ltd., India, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2005.
- Dan Zarrella and Alison Zarella, *The Facebook Marketing Book*, O'Reilly Media Inc., Canada, 2011.
- David Armstrong, Valeria Bello, Julie Gilson and Debora Spini, *Civil Society and International Governance: The Role of Non- State Actors in Global and Regional Regulatory Frameworks*, Routledge Politics, New York, 2011.
- Derrick Purdue, *Civil Societies and Social Movements: Potentials and Problems*, Routledge Publishing, Oxon, 2007.
- Doris A. Grabber, *Media Power in Politics*, Macmillan India Ltd., New Delhi, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 1994.
- Faizan Mustafa, *Constitutional Issues in the Freedom of Information: International and National Perspectives*, Kanishka Publishers Distributors, New Delhi, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2003.
- Gideon Baker, *Civil Society and Democracy: Alternative Voices*, Routledge Publishing, London, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2002.
- J. C. Johari. *Principles of Modern Political Science*, Sterling Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 1989.
- John Keane, *Global Civil Society?*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2003.
- Johnny West, *Karama: Journeys through the Arab Spring*, Quercus Publishing, Uk, 2011.
- Kenneth C. Killebrew, *Managing Media Convergence: Pathways to Journalistic*

*Cooperation*, Surjeet Publications, Delhi, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2005.

Laurel E. Miller, Jeffrey Martini, Stephen F. Larrabee, Julie E. Taylor, Twewodaj Mengitsu, *Democratization in the Arab World: Lessons from around the Globe*, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2012.

Noam Chomsky, *Powers and Prospects: Reflections on Human Nature and the Social Order*, Madhyam Books, Delhi, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 2002.

Manuel Castells and Gustavo Cardoso, *The Network Society: From Knowledge to Policy*, John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2009.

Rahab –El Mahdi and Philip Marfleet, *Egypt the Moment of Change*, Zed Books Ltd., London, 2009.

Rasha Abdulla, *Egypt's Media in the Midst of Revolution*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Publications Department, Washington, DC, 2014.

Robert Hassan, *Media, Politics and the Network Society*, Open University Press, England, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2004.

Robert Layton, *Order and Anarchy: Civil Society, Social Disorder and War*, Cambridge University Press, UK, 2006.

Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani, *Civil Society: History and Possibilities*, Cambridge University Press, UK, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2001.

Sung Ho Kim, *Max Weber's Politics of Civil Society*, Cambridge University Press, Uk, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition, 2004.

Suw Charman Anderson, *Making the Connection: Civil Society and Social Media*, Carnegie UK Trust, 2010.

Wael Ghonim, *Revolution 2.0: The Power of the People is greater than the People in*

*Power*, Harper Collins Publishers, London, 2012.

**Magazines:**

Anubha Bhonsle, *Better Journalism*, SPAN, Volume LIII, number 5, Public Affairs Section, American Centre, New Delhi, September/October, 2012,

Carrie Loewenthal Massey, *Tweets and Status Updates for a Cause*, SPAN, Volume LIV, number 6, Public Affairs Section, American Centre, New Delhi. November/December, 2013.

Michael Gallant, *Connecting Online and Casting Votes: New technologies reshape the face of American Elections*, SPAN, Volume LIII, number 5, Public Affairs Section, American Centre, New Delhi, September/October, 2012.

**E-Books/Reports/ Thesis:**

Ahmed Fihaili, *The Impact and Role of Social Media Networks on Arab Spring: Egyptian Revolution Case Study*, Tomas Bata University in Ziln, Faculty of Multimedia Communications, February 2013, <http://www.digilib.k.utb.cz>.

Dubai School of Government, *Social Media in the Arab World: Influencing Societal and Cultural Change*, 2013, <http://www.arabsocialmediareport.com>.

Gideon B. Baker, *Civil Society and Democratisation Theory: An Inter- regional \ Comparison*, University of Leeds, 1998, <http://www.theses.whiterose.ac.uk>.

Kristina Kausch, *Defenders in Retreat- Freedom of Association and Civil Society in Egypt*, Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE), 2009, <http://www.fride.org>.

Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, *Social Media Revolutions: Hype or*

- New Reality?*, Princeton, New Jersey, Spring 2011,  
<http://www.wws.princeton.edu>. Madeline Storck, *The Role of Social Media in Political Mobilisation: a Case Study of the January 2011 Egyptian Uprising*, University of St Andrews, Scotland, 2011,  
<http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org>.
- Maisoon O. Al-sebaei, *Egyptian Diasporas, Social Media, and the 2011 Egyptian Revolution: How Egyptians Living in Saudi Arabia used Social Media during the Revolution*, Grand Valley State University, April 2013,  
<http://www.scholarworks.gvsu.edu>
- Nadia Oweidat, Cheryl Denard, Dale Stahl, Walid Kidani, Edward O' Connel and Audra K. Grant, *The Kefaya Movement: A Case Study of a Grassroots Reform Initiative*, RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA, 2008, <http://www.rand.org> › Published Research › Monographs.
- Simone Chambers and Jeffrey Kopstein, *Civil Society and the State*, The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory, Oxford University Press, 2009 – 2011,  
<http://www.polisci.uci.edu>
- The American University in Cairo, John D. Gerhart Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement, *Youth Activism and Public Space in Egypt*, 2011,  
<http://www.schools.aucegypt.edu>.
- UNDP, *Supporting Civil Society Organisations in Promoting Citizen Participation (Project Report)*, 2006, <https://info.undp.org/docs/pdc/>.
- World Economic Forum, *The Future Role of Civil Society*, 2012.  
[www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_FutureRoleCivilSociety\\_Report\\_2013.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_FutureRoleCivilSociety_Report_2013.pdf).

## **E- Articles:**

Ann Marie van den Hurl, *New Dynamics in Social and Crisis Communications*, May 9, 2013, <http://www.quepublishing.com/articles/article.aspx?p=2041296&seqNum=5>.

Anne Alexander, *Egypt's Muslims and Christians join hands in protest*, 10 February 2011, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12407793>.

Antony Mayfield, *What is Social Media?*, p. 5, <http://www.iCrossing.com/ebooks>.

Bence Kollanyi, Szilard Molnar and Levente Szekely, *Social Networks and the Network Society*, Bhudapest, July 2007, p.15, <http://www.ittk.hu/netis/>.

Brad Stones and Brooks Barnes, *MGM to Post Full Films on YouTube*, November 9, 2008, <http://www.nytimes.com>

Caul Miki kittilson, Russel J. Dalton, *The Internet and Virtual Civil Society: The New Frontier of Social Capital*, Center for the Study of Democracy, UC Irvine, 2008, <http://eprints.cdlib.org/uc/item/2cj1c67k>.

Christian Fuchs, *Some Reflections on Manuel Castells' Book Networks of Outrage and Hope. Social Movements in the Internet Age*, <http://www.triple-c.at/tripleC/article/download>.

Cristina Flesher Fominaya, *Collective Identity in Social Movements: Central Concepts and Debates*, <http://www.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00287.../>.

David Lewis, *Civil Society in Non- Western Context: Reflections on the 'usefulness' of a concept*, 2001, [http://www.eprints.lse.ac.uk/29052/1/CSWP13\\_web.pdf](http://www.eprints.lse.ac.uk/29052/1/CSWP13_web.pdf).

Eduardo Canel, *New Social Movement Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory: The*

*Need for Integration*, [www.inp.uw.edu](http://www.inp.uw.edu).

Fatima el Issawi, *Egyptian Media Under Transition: In the Name of the Regime....In The Name of the People?*, <http://www.lse.ac.uk>.

Fred Schmidt, *Citizen Participation: An Essay on Applications of Citizen Participation to Extension Programming*, 1998, <http://ag.arizona.edu/>

Frederic Lardinois, *YouTube Partners with ABC News to Offer its First- Ever Live Stream of the U.S Presidential Debates*, 1 October, 2012, <http://www.techcrunch.com>.

Gregory Claeys, *Thomas Paine: Social and Political Thought*, Washington University, <http://www.thedivineconspiracy.org/Z5227D.pdf>.

Jennifer Preston, *Movement Began with Outrage and a Facebook Page that gave it an outlet*, 5<sup>th</sup> February, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com>.

Jennifer Preston, *Social Media Gives Wall Street Protests a Global reach*, <http://www.nytimes.com/blogs/mediadecorder/2011/10/15/social-media-gives-wall-street-protests-a-global-reach>.

Jeroen Van Laer and Peter Van Aelst, *Cyber-protest and civil society: the Internet and action repertoires in social movements*, p. 248, <http://www.eclass.uoa.gr/file.php?MEDIA118>.

Krishna Hachhethu, *Civil Society and Political Participation*, [www.democracy-asia.org/.../krishna/Civil%20Society%20and%20Polotical%20Participation.pdf](http://www.democracy-asia.org/.../krishna/Civil%20Society%20and%20Polotical%20Participation.pdf).

K.M. Seethi, *Civil Society- State Discourses: From Liberalism and Marxism to Neo-Marxism and Neo- Liberalism*, School of International Relations and Politics, Mahatma Gandhi University, Kerela, 2007, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/4008532/Civil->

Society-PDF.

Mark R. Beissinger, “*Conventional*” and “*Virtual*” Civil Societies in Autocratic Regimes, Princeton University, p.1, <http://www.princeton.edu>.

Mark Beissinger, Amaney Jamal, and Kevin Mazur, Princeton University, *Who Participates in Democratic Revolutions? A Comparison of the Egyptian and Tunisian Revolutions*, <http://www.aihr-resourcescenter.org>.

Mark Sweney, *YouTube confirms worldwide deal for live Indian Premier League cricket*, 20 January, 2010, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2010/jan/20/youtube-live-india-premier-league>.

Micheal, E. Millakovich, *The Internet and Increased Citizen Participation in Government*, E Journal of Democracy, JeDEM 2(1), 10-09, 2010, p.3, <http://www.jedem.org>.

Norman Wengret, *Citizen Participation: Practice in search for a Theory*, [http://www.lawlibrary.unm.edu/nrj/16/1/02\\_wengert\\_citizen.pdf](http://www.lawlibrary.unm.edu/nrj/16/1/02_wengert_citizen.pdf).

Paul J. Gough, *CNN’s YouTube debate draws impressive ratings*, July 25, 2007, <http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSN2425835220070725?irpc=932>.

Peter Dahlgren (2005) *The Internet, Public Spheres, and Political Communication: Dispersion and Deliberation, Political Communication*, 2006, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10584600590933160>.

Paul R. La Monica, *Google to buy YouTube for \$1.65 billion*, October 9, 2006, <http://www.money.cnn.com>.

Pierre André, Patricia Martin and Georges Lanmafankpotin, *Citizen Participation*, <http://www.dictionnaire.enap.ca>.

- Rama Halaseh, *Civil Society, Youth and the Arab Spring*, <http://www.um.edu.mt>.
- Rasha A. Abdulla, *The Revolution will be Tweeted*, 2011, *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*, p. 42, <http://www.thecairoreview.com>.
- Richard Alleyne, *YouTube: Overnight success has sparked a backlash*, 31 July, 2008, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/newsuknews/2480280>.
- Rita Safranek, *The Emerging Role of Social Media in Political and Regime Change*, March 2012, p.3, <http://www.csa.com/discoveryguides/discoveryguidesmain.php>.
- Robert C. Post and Nancy L. Rosenblum, *Civil Society and Government*, <http://www.press.princeton.edu/chapters/i7214.html>.
- Sahar Khamis, Paul B. Gold and Katherine Vaughn, *Beyond Egypt's "Facebook Revolution" and Syria's "YouTube Uprising." Comparing Political Contexts, Actors and Communication Strategies*, <http://www.arabmediasociety.com>.
- Shane Richmond, *YouTube users uploading two days of video every minute*, 26 May, 2011, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/google/8536634/YouTube-users-uploading-two-days-of-videos-every-minute.html>.
- Stephen Coleman, *The Network-empowered citizen: How people share civic knowledge online*, University of Oxford, p. 1, <http://www.ippr.org>.
- Simone I. Flynn, *Resource Mobilization Theory*, <http://www.wiki.zirve.edu.tr/groups/.../wiki/0edb9/.../8e38e/Flynn%20.pdf>.
- Vipulashan, *Social Contract Theory*, March 2013, <http://www.studymode.com/essays/Social-Contract-Theory-1511007.html>.
- Henrik Berglund, *Civil Society in India: Democratic Space or the Extension of Elite Domination?*, Stockholm University, Department of Political Science, 2001,

<http://www.sasnet.lu.se/EASASpapers/34HenrikBerglund.pdf>.

Pamela Rutledge, *Positively Media*, <http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/positively-media/201010/four-ways-social-media-is-redefining-activism>.

### **E- Journals:**

Aleksander Smolar, *From Opposition to Atomization*, *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 7, Number1, 1996, <https://muse.jhu.edu>.

Alexander Borodin, *How the presence of a vibrant civil society triggers democratization*, Essex student research online, Vol 5 (2), 2013, <https://www.essex.ac.uk/journals/estro/documents/>.

Bakry M. El Medni, *Civil Society and Democratic Transformation in Contemporary Egypt: Premise and Promises*, *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 3, No. 12 Special Issue – June 2013, <http://www.ijhssnet.com>.

Dr. Sahar Khamis and Katherine Vaughn, *Cyberactivism in the Egyptian Revolution: How Civic Engagement and Citizen Journalism Tilted the Balance*, *Arab Media & Society*, Issue 14, Summer 2011, <http://www.arabmediasociety.com>.

Emand El- Din Shahin, *The Egyptian Revolution: The Power of Mass Mobilization and the Spirit of Tahrir Square*, *Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 3:46–69, 2012, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/21520844.2012.669452>.

Hamdy A. Hassan, *Civil Society in Egypt under the Mubarak Regime*, *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences* Volume 2, No. 2.2 Quarter II 2011, ISSN 2229 – 5313,

<http://www.onlineresearchjournals.com>.

Miriyam Aouragh, Anne Alexander, *The Egyptian Experience: Sense and Nonsense of the Internet Revolution*, International Journal of Communication 5 (2011), Feature 1344-1358, p.5, <http://www.icjoc.org>.

Nahed Eltantawy, Julie B. Wiest, *Social Media in the Egyptian Revolution: Reconsidering Resource Mobilization Theory*, International Journal of Communication 5 (2011), Feature 1207–1224, <http://www.ijoc.org>.

Norman Wangert, *Citizen Participation: Practice in Search of a Theory*, Natural Resources Journal, Vol. 16, <http://www.lawlibrary.unm.edu>.

Maha Taki, Lorenzo Coretti, *The Role of Social Media in the Arab Uprisings- Past and Present*, Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture, volume 9, Issue 2, April 2013, p.5, <http://www.westminister.ac.uk>.

Marcia A. Weigle and Jim Butterfield, *Civil Society in Reforming Communist Regimes*, *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 25, No. 1. (Oct., 1992), JSTOR Archive, <http://www.jstor.org>.

Mark Beissinger, Amaney Jamal and Kevin Mazur (Princeton University), *Explaining Divergent Revolutionary Coalitions: Regime Strategies and the Structuring of Participation in the Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions*, *The Journal of Comparative Politics*, Volume 48, Number 1, October 2015, <http://www.jcp.gc.cuny.edu>.

Michael E. Milakovich, *The Internet and Increased Citizen Participation in Government*, *A Journal of Democracy*, JeDEM 2(1): 01-09, 2010, <http://www.jedem.org>.

Mohammed El- Nawawy and Sahar Khamis, *Cyberactivists Paving the Way for the Arab*

*Spring: Voices from Egypt, Tunisia and Libya*, CyberOrient, Vol.6, Iss.2, 2012,  
<http://www.cyberorient.net/article.do?articleId-7994>.

Robert Brym, Melissa Godbout, Andreas Hoffbauer, Gabe Menard and Tony Huiquan Zhang, *Social media in the 2011 Egyptian uprising*, *The British Journal of Sociology*, Volume 65, Issue 2, 2014,  
<http://www.projects.chass.utoronto.ca/brym/bjs3>.

Roberto Jorquera, *Protest at the Speed of Light: Social Networking the Revolution*, May 8, 2013, *Links: International Journal of Socialist Renewal*,  
<http://www.links.org.au/node/3334>.

Tim Eaton, *Internet Activism and the Egyptian Uprisings: Transforming Online Dissent into the Offline World*, Volume 9, Issue 2, April 2013, p.7,  
<http://www.westminsterpapers.org>.

**Websites:**

<http://about.twitter.com>.

<http://about.twitter.com/company>.

[http:// about.twitter.com/milestones](http://about.twitter.com/milestones).

<http://dev.twitter.com/we/follow-button>.

<http://edition.cnn.com/2013/04/03/opinion/ireport-awards-hawkins-gaar/>.

<http://m.cnn.com/id/100575883>.

<http://occupywallst.org/about/>.

<http://support.twitter.com/articles/49309-using-hashtags-on-twitter>.

<http://support.twitter.com/articles/77606-faqs-about-retweets-rt>.

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/2011251533487490.html>.

<http://www.anhri.net/en/reports/2005/pr0223.shtml>.

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-12327995>.

<http://www.businessinder.com/the-30-biggest-advertisers-on-facebook-2012-9?>

<http://www.change.org/p/tll-bank-of-america-no-5-debit-card-fees>.

<http://www.edition.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/1102/11/bn.02.html>.

<http://www.egyptindependence.com/news/egyptian-suicide-rate-rise>.

<http://www.elshaheed.co.uk/home-khaled-said-full-story-background-truth-what-happened-torture-in-egypt-by-egyptian-police/>.

[http://www.en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/social\\_networking\\_service](http://www.en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/social_networking_service).

[http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012\\_Delhi\\_gangrape](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012_Delhi_gangrape).

<http://www.facebook.com/about>.

<http://www.facebook.com/elshaheed.co.uk>.

<http://www.hrw.org/news/2011/02/08/Egypt-documented-death-toll-protests-tops-300>.

<http://www.icnl.org/research/monitor/egypt.html>.

[http://www.libpro.cts.cuni.cz/charta/docs/declaration\\_of\\_charter\\_77.pdf](http://www.libpro.cts.cuni.cz/charta/docs/declaration_of_charter_77.pdf).

<http://www.m.youtube.com/watch?v=mpEjjXRszY>.

<http://www.mcit.gov.eg>.

[http://www.mcit.gov.eg/ict\\_Strategy](http://www.mcit.gov.eg/ict_Strategy).

<http://www.mcit.gov.eg/indicators/indicators.aspx>.

<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/mobilize>.

[http://www.mohamedrashad.com/internet\\_history\\_egypt.html](http://www.mohamedrashad.com/internet_history_egypt.html).

<http://www.mofo.com/sociallyaware>.

<http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2014/03/turkey-facebook-youtube-twitter-blocked>.

<http://www.nevo.org.uk>.

<http://www.newsroom.fb.com/company-info/>.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/15/world/15aid.html>.

<http://www.oakshirefinancial.com/tag/nysegm/page/3/>.

[http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/revolution-in-cairo/inside-april6-movement/..](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/revolution-in-cairo/inside-april6-movement/)

<http://www.pcadviser.co.uk/news/internet/9772/google-launches-youtube-france/>.

<http://www.s3.amazonaws.com>.

<http://www.searchcio.techtarget.com/definition/ICT-information-and-communication-technology-or-technologies>.

[http://www.slate.com/articles/technology/future\\_tense/2011/07/tahrir\\_square\\_was\\_a\\_foreseeable\\_surprise.html..](http://www.slate.com/articles/technology/future_tense/2011/07/tahrir_square_was_a_foreseeable_surprise.html)

<http://www.socialmediasm.wordpress.com/2012/10/30/network-society-manuel-castells/>.

<http://www.socialmediasun.com/impact-of-social-media-on-society>.

<http://www.support.google.com/youtube/answer/2498474?hl=en>.

<http://www.techopedia.com/definition/27973/cyberactivism>.

<http://www.tintup.com>.

<http://www.theguardian.com/media/2006/mar/14/newsmedia.studentmediaawards>.

<http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2011/jan/28/egypt-cuts-off-internet-access>.

<http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/jul/23/facebook-earnings-beat-expectations-ad-revenues>.

[http://www.unicef.org/cbsc/index\\_42347.html](http://www.unicef.org/cbsc/index_42347.html).

<http://www.wagingnonviolence.org/feature/egypts-revolution-began-long-before-2011/>.

[http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2012/17/glQA4WY16P\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2012/17/glQA4WY16P_story.html).

<http://www.wearesocial.net/blog/2014/01/social-digital-mobile-worldwide-2014/>.

<http://www.whatis.techtarget.com/definition/social-media>.

<http://www.wired.com/2011/02/egypts-revolutionary-fire/>.

[http:// www.worldanimal.net/.../4\\_Movements\\_for\\_Social\\_Change.pdf](http://www.worldanimal.net/.../4_Movements_for_Social_Change.pdf).

<http://www.youtube.com/yt/about/>.

<http://www.youtube.com/yt/press/statistics.html>.