Contents

	List of Figure	xii
	Acknowledgements	xv
PART I	Introduction	
1	Understanding Social Movements in the Context	
	of Communication	13
	Overview	13
	What Are Social Movements?	14
	The Role of Communication in Social Movements	18
	Hirschman's Perspective of Voice	19
	Tarrow's Perspective of Contentious Social Movements	20
	Lohmann's Perspective of "Informational Cascades"	23
	Informational Cascades and Icons of Outrage	25
	Conclusion	26
2	Creative Protests	31
	Pakistan	33
	"Kholo BC": A Movement Against Online Censorship	35
	Egypt	38



	Ramy Essam: The Singer of the Egyptian Revolution	38
	Tunisia	40
	Hamada Ben Amor: Rais Lebled—the Anthem	
	of the Mideast revolution	40
	Conclusion	42
3	The Pivotal Role of Al Jazeera	47
	Al Jazeera and Pakistan	48
	Al Jazeera and the Middle East	49
	Al Jazeera as Politico-Cultural Catalyst	52
	Unification of Arab Citizens	52
	Controversial News from the Arab Regions	53
	Al Jazeera and the "Other" Opinion	54
	Al Jazeera, a Counter-hegemonic Channel	54
	Arab Governments and the Arab League	56
	The "Arab Street"	58
	Al Jazeera's Role as Informational Cascade	59
	Conclusion	61
PART II	Pakistan	
4	Supreme Court Chief Justice Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry	69
	Judiciary & Military Coups of Pakistan	70
	Iftikhar Chaudhry: Pakistan's Icon of Outrage	72
	Icons of Outrage	74
	Conclusion	75
5	Social Movements in Pakistan	79
	Rebellion of 1857 (Indian Subcontinent's First War	
	of Independence)	80
	Second Wave of Resistance Movements in British Controlled	
	Subcontinent	82
	Social Movements after the Inception of Pakistan	82
	The Lawyers' Movement	83
	Azadi March (Freedom March)	84
	The Balochistan Liberation Army (BLA), A Militant	
	Movement in Balochistan	85

	Conter	nts ix
	Women's Action Forum (WAF), A Social Movement	
	for Pakistani Women	86
	Conclusion	87
6	Politico-Cultural Context of Pakistan	91
	Constitutional Framework of Free Speech in Pakistan	93
	Anti-blasphemy Laws in Pakistan	94
	Political & Cultural Landscape of Pakistani Media	96
	Privatization of Electronic Media in the Wake of 9/11	97
	Mobile Communication as Another Avenue of Freedom	
	of Speech	98
	PEMRA Ordinance	99
	The Emergence of Social Media in Pakistan	100
	Laws That Regulate the Internet in Pakistan	103
	Conclusion	104
PART III	Egypt	
7	"We Are All Khaled Said"	111
	Khaled Said Sets the Stage for Citizen Journalism in Egypt	113
	Wael Ghonim: "We are all Khaled Said"	114
	Torture-Disfigure Face of Khaled Said: Egypt's Icon of Outrage	116
	Conclusion	117
8	Social Movements in Egypt	121
	History of Social Movements in Egypt	122
	The 1952 Revolution	122
	The Muslim Brotherhood Movement	123
	Kifaya & the April 6 Youth Movements	124
	The National Association for Change	126
	Revolutionary Youth Coalition (February 2011–July 2012)	128
	The <i>Tamarud</i> -Rebel Movement (2013)	128
	The Egyptian Popular Current (EPC)	130
	Conclusion	131
9	Politico-Cultural Context of Egypt	135
	Constitutional Framework of Free Speech in Egypt	136

A Brief History of the Media Situation in Egypt

x | Contents

	Nature of Pre-revolutionary Regime	142
	Conclusion	145
PART IV	Tunisia	
10	Catching Fire	151
	Bouazizi: Tunisia's Icon of Outrage	156
	Celebrity	156
	Prominence	157
	Frequency & Transposability	157
	Profit	157
	Fame of Subjects	158
	Importance of Events	158
	Metonymy	159
	Primordiality and/or Cultural Resonance	159
	Outrage	159
	Conclusion	160
11	Social Movements in Tunisia	163
	Labor Activism in Tunisia	164
	Tunisian Bread Riots of 1984	165
	Unemployed Demonstrators in Redeyef 2008	167
	Anti-Censorship Protests of 2010	168
	The Kamour Movement and Civic Protests of April 2017	169
	Manich Msemah Anti-corruption Campaign	171
	Conclusion	171
12	Politico-Cultural Context of Tunisia	175
	Ben Ali's Business Empire & WikiLeaks Contribution to	
	the Jasmine Revolution	176
	Ben Ali's Control over the Judiciary	178
	Controlled Privatization of Media under Ben Ali	179
	Tunisians Distrust over the Country's Traditional Media	180
	Constitutional Framework of Free Speech in Tunisia	181
	Tunisian Media before & after the Revolution	184
	Tunisian Internet Agency (ATI)	186
	Conclusion	188

PART V	What Happens Now?	
13	Collective Memory: The Rise of Global Memories	195
	Revisiting the Concept of Collective Memory in	
	Global Context	196
	V Masks as Global Memory Icons	199
	Collective Memory on Digital Platforms	202
	The Formation of Collective "We"	204
	The Formation of "Connective" Memory	204
	Recent Political Uprisings as the Part of a Global Movement	205
	Conclusion	206
14	Aftermath of Online Activism in Pakistan, Egypt & Tunisia	211
	Part One: Comparative Analysis of Social Movement	
	Themes in the Three Countries	212
	Similarities of Themes Among Three Countries	212
	English Language, Violence and Emotions	
	as Political Opportunities	223
	Cultural and Ideological Frames of the Three Social Movements	227
	Presence of Religious Slogans	228
	Presence of Strong Nationalistic Symbols	229
	Part Two: Uprisings of 2019	230
	Sudanese Political Uprisings & Women as the Leading	
	Face of Protests	230
	Aurat [Women's] March of Pakistan	233
	The Algerian Spring	233
	Morocco, An Active Volcano for Political Uprisings	234
	Moving Forward: Flash Social Movements	235
	Conclusion	239
	Contribution to the Scholarship	240
	Index	247