

# **The Arab Spring and the Digital Public Sphere**

**Ethan Zuckerman (@ethanz)**  
**MIT Communications Futures Program**  
**5.4.2011**



**EDSA 2 - January 2001**

# كيف تتشور بجدائنة

معلومات وتكتيكات  
هاممة

نرجو نشرها عن طريق البريد الإلكتروني والطباعة  
(والتصوير) فقط.

(Facebook و Twitter) مراقبان. حذاري وقوع هذه  
المعلومات في أيدي الشرطة أو أمن الدولة.

## How to Protest Intelligently

Important information  
and tactics

Please distribute through email  
printing, and photocopies ONLY!

Twitter and facebook are being monitored. Be careful not  
to let this fall into the hands of the police or state security.



MER Home » MER258 » The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution

## The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution



by Mona El-Ghobashy  
published in MER258

If there was ever to be a popular uprising against autocratic rule, it should not have come in Egypt. The regime of President Hosni Mubarak was the quintessential case of durable authoritarianism. "Our assessment is that the Egyptian government is stable and is looking for ways to respond to the legitimate needs and interests of the Egyptian people," said Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on January 25, 2011. [1] With these words, Clinton gave voice to a common understanding of Egypt under Mubarak. Government officials, pundits and academics, foreign and domestic, thought the regime was resilient -- not because it used brute force or Orwellian propaganda, but because it had shrewdly constructed a simulacrum of politics. Parties, elections and civic associations were allowed but carefully controlled, providing space for just enough participatory politics to keep people busy without threatening regime dominance.

Mubarak's own party was a cohesive machine, organizing intramural competition among elites. The media was relatively free, giving vent to popular frustrations. And even the wave of protest that began to swell in 2000 was interpreted as another index of the regime's skill in managing, rather than suppressing, dissent. Fundamentally Egypt's rulers were smart authoritarians who had their house in order. Yet they were toppled by an 18-day popular revolt.

Three main explanations have emerged to make sense of this conundrum: technology, Tunisia and tribulation. Technological analyses celebrate young people who employed new media to defeat a stolid autocrat. By the second day of the Egyptian uprising, CNN correspondent Ben Wedeman was calling it a "very techie revolution." In the following days, every major news outlet framed the uprising as the work of wired, savvy twenty-somethings awakening the liberating potential of Facebook, Twitter and the writings of American intellectual

LOGIN  
or  
SUBSCRIBE

- Back Issues**
- MER 257 - The Iran-Iraq War 30 Years Later
  - MER 256 - Red Sea Roiling





**Tunisian protesters with a Mohamed Bouazizi banner (AFP)**



**Tunisian president Ben Ali visits Mohammed Bouazizi (official photo)**



### Features

## How Tunisia's revolution began

From day one, the people of Sidi Bouzid broke through the media blackout to spread word of their uprising.

Yasmine Ryan Last Modified: 26 Jan 2011 14:39 GMT

 Email Article
  Print Article
  Share Article
  Send Feedback



Regions like Sidi Bouzid - where the uprisings began - were neglected by former Tunisian president Ben Ali, who tended to focus on developing the northern, tourist-rich regions of the country [Getty]

**Sidi Bouazid, Tunisia** - The people of Sidi Bouzid overcame heavy censorship and police repression to ensure that their uprising did not go unnoticed in silence.

Protesters took to the streets with "a rock in one hand, a cell phone in the other," according to Rochdi Horchani - a

### Top News

- Gaddafi loses more Libyan cities
- Live Blog - Libya Feb 24
- US mulls all options against Libya
- 'Gaddafi ordered Lockerbie bombing'
- Mass evacuations under way in Libya

### Features

- In search of an African revolution
- Breaking the sound barrier on Libya
- People's justice Mexican-style
- Climate: Putting people over money
- Northern Iraq's budding Chinatown

### What's Hot

- | Viewed                   | Emailed                  | 7 Days                   |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |



### Opinion

**Yasmine Ryan**  
**1/26/2011**

*Marshallah*



cc photo by ya/sin





**“Thank you, Facebook, Al Jazeera” - Tahrir Square, (Mona Sosh)**

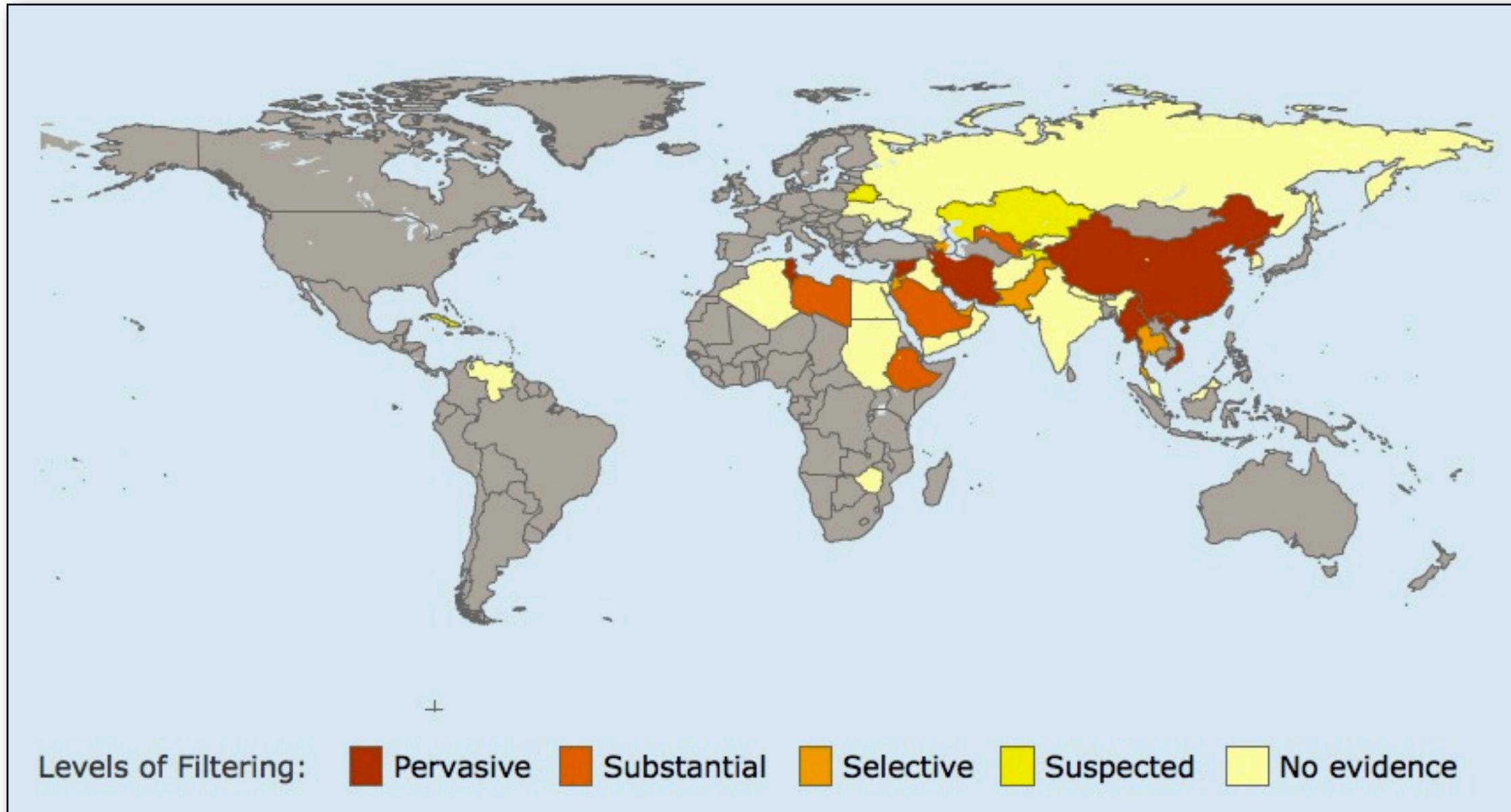




**John Gilmore**

**“The net interprets censorship  
as damage and routes around it.”**

**December 1993**



## Open Net Initiative, 2010

### Political filtering

## **Danny O'Brien of CPJ on state internet control:**

**broad-based filtering (Iran)**

**precision censorship (Belarus)**

**denial of access to computing resources (Cuba)**

**infrastructure control (Ethiopia)**

**attacking dissident-run sites (Burma, Vietnam)**

**targeted malware (China)**

**state cybercrime (Tunisia under Ben Ali)**

**killswitch (Egypt under Mubarak)**

**detention of bloggers (Syria)**

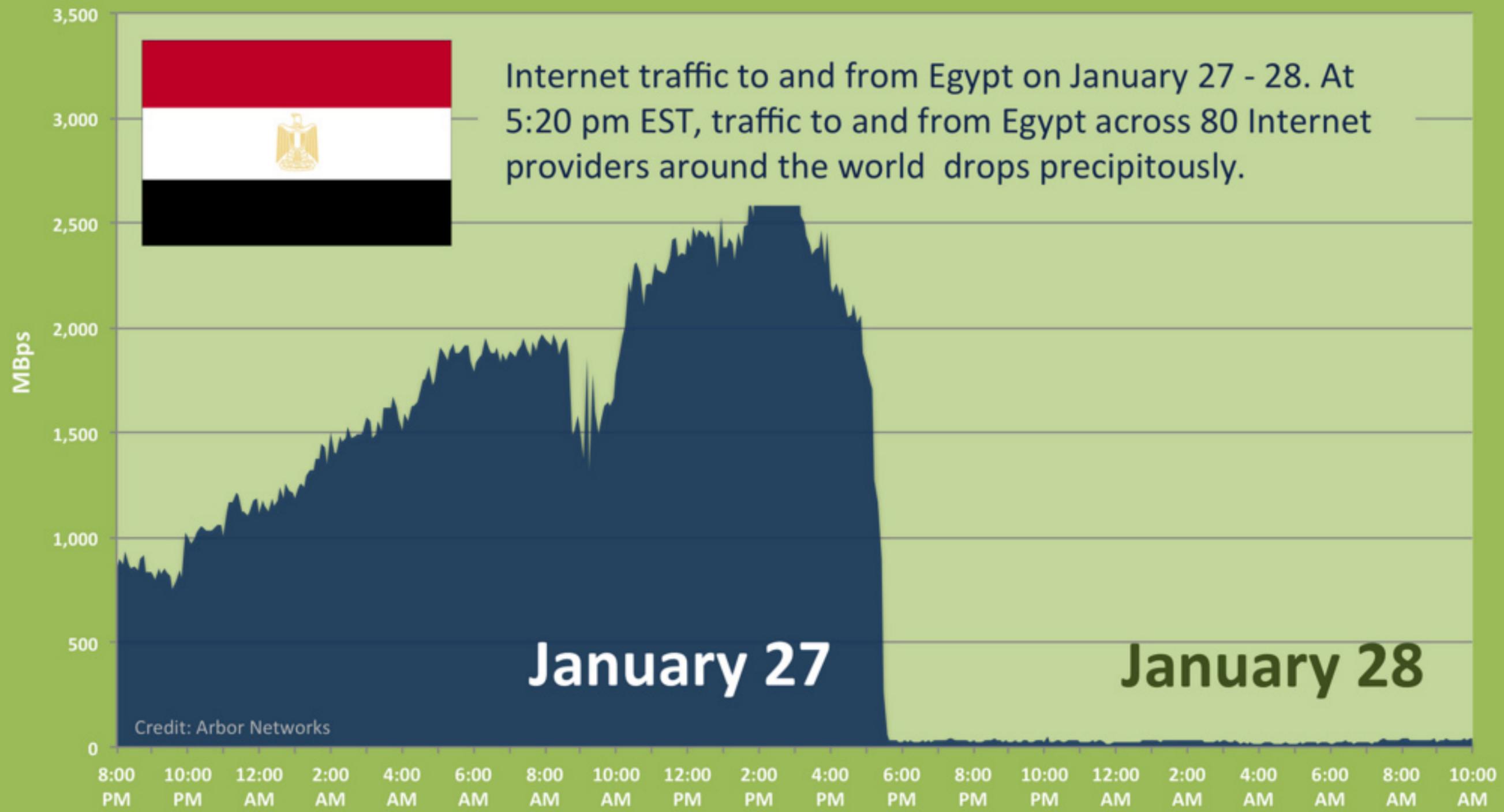
**violence against bloggers, journalists (Russia)**

## **Danny O'Brien of CPJ on state internet control:**

- \* broad-based filtering (Iran)**  
**precision censorship (Belarus)**
- \* denial of access to computing resources (Cuba)**
- \* infrastructure control (Ethiopia)**  
**attacking dissident-run sites (Burma, Vietnam)**  
**targeted malware (China)**  
**state cybercrime (Tunisia under Ben Ali)**
- \* killswitch (Egypt under Mubarak)**  
**detention of bloggers (Syria)**  
**violence against bloggers, journalists (Russia)**
- \* methods have broad economic consequences**



Internet traffic to and from Egypt on January 27 - 28. At 5:20 pm EST, traffic to and from Egypt across 80 Internet providers around the world drops precipitously.

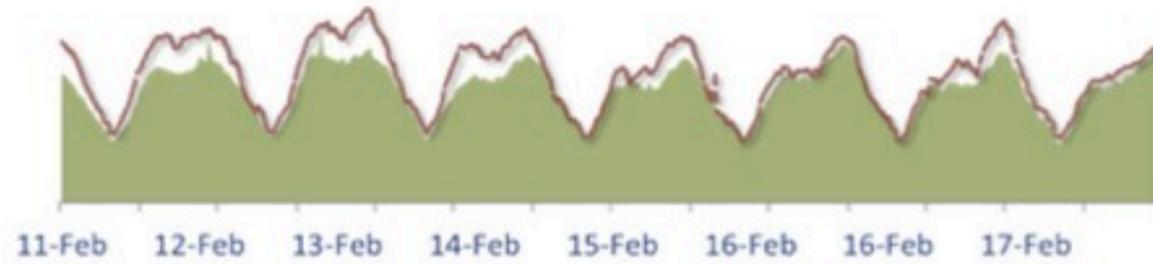


Credit: Arbor Networks

## Iran



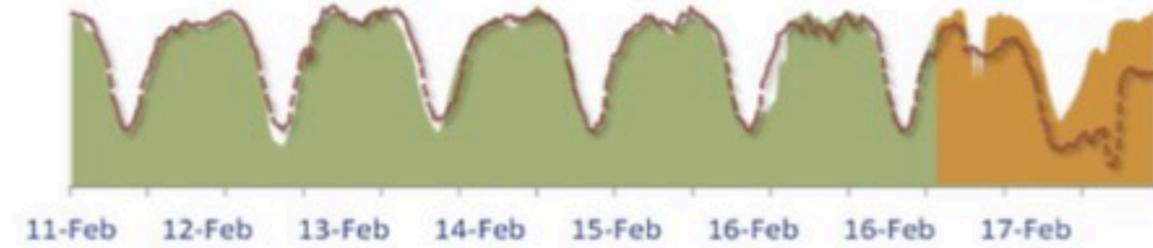
While Iran aggressively filtered Internet access during past unrest, Iranian traffic showed little significant change over the last two weeks.



## Libya



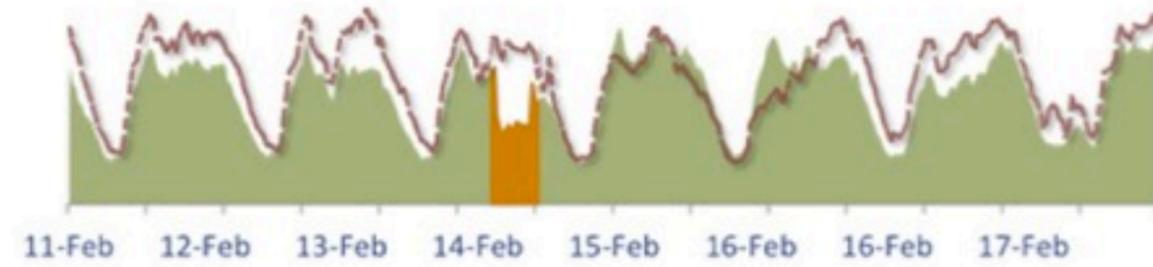
A traffic slow down beginning late last week culminated in the abrupt loss of all Internet traffic on February 18<sup>th</sup>.



## Yemen



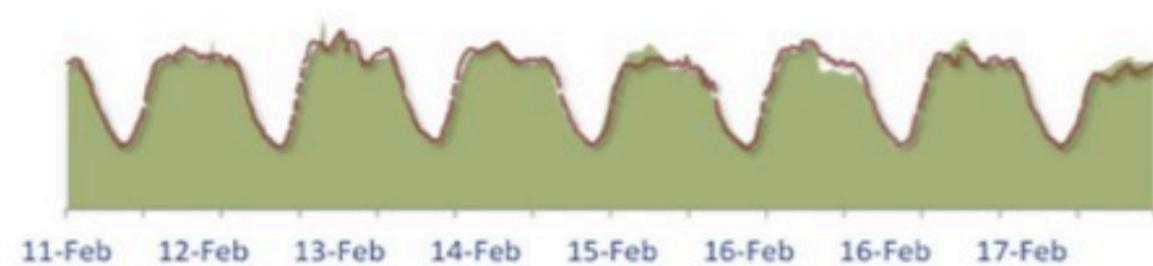
After traffic drops earlier in the month possibly related to added filtering, Internet traffic was higher than average last week.



## Algeria



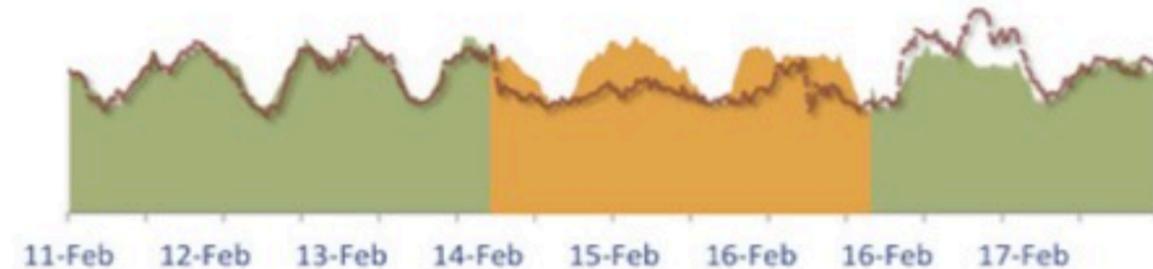
Traffic remained remarkably constant over last several weeks. No sign of added filtering.



## Bahrain



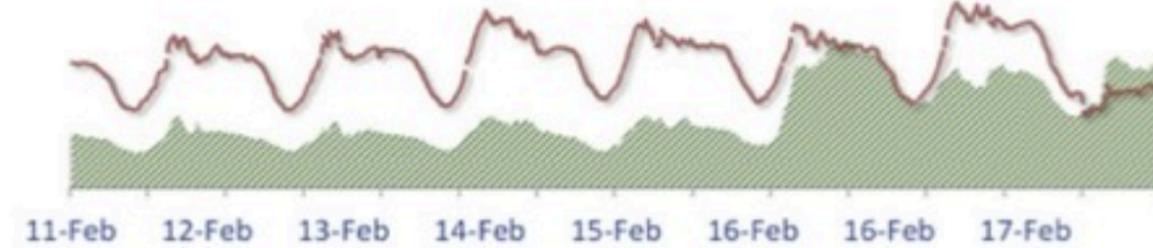
Pronounced drop in traffic during the mid-part of last week. Government blamed the slow-down on "overwhelmed Internet circuits".



## Egypt



After a week of near complete loss of Internet, Egypt returned to the net last week with normal traffic volumes.



**Middle East Internet Scorecard**  
**Arbor Networks**



## Is the Tunisian internet censorship regime shutting down?

Posted 13 January 2011 20:41 GMT

Categories: [Advocacy](#), [Feature](#), [Tunisia](#), [regulation](#)



Written by  
**Ben Wagner**

 This post also available in:

[Malagasy](#) · [Naato ve ny sivam-panjakana amin'ny aterineto Toniziana?](#)

Following persistent widespread protests in Tunisia in recent days and the impending general strike tomorrow, Tunisian President Ben Ali held a speech on the state television chanel Tunisie7 this evening with a long list of highly unusual concessions. Among other points he announced that he will not seek presidency for life, a lowering of the prices of basic foodstuffs, that police and soldiers will stop using live ammunition, and that media and internet censorship will be halted.

Since this speech there have been multiple independent reports that previously blocked internet sites such as YouTube or the OpenNet Initiative are now accessible without receiving the typical '404 messages. Nevertheless further tests are required to ascertain whether the Tunisian regime follows through on Ben Ali's statements.

 Recommend 6

 Tweet 21

 reddit this!



 Print version

Search



More stories about Tunisia

[MENA Journalists & Cyber Activists: In the Line of Fire](#)



[How Much Does Internet Access Matter?](#)



[Is the Tunisian internet censorship regime shutting down?](#)



[Tunisia : Blogger, Global Voices contributor, Slim Amamou arrested today](#)



[More »](#)

Major Funders

I CAN HAS  
INTERNETS?



image by Glenn O'Neill

- Everything
- Images
- Videos
- News
- Shopping
- Realtime
- More

Williamstown, MA  
Change location

- Any time
- Latest
- Past 24 hours
- Past week
- Past month
- Past 3 months
- Past year
- Custom range...

- All results
- Related searches
- More search tools

▶ [BAHRAIN: Protesters shot as government seeks to smother protests ...](#)

Feb 19, 2011 ... Internet videos show peaceful **protesters** in **Bahrain** coming under fire as reports surface that the government used live ammunition Friday to ...  
[latimesblogs.latimes.com/.../bahrain-video-protest-khalifa-violence-shoot.html](#) - Cached

[Bahrain Protest Graphic Video - Bahrain | Mediaite](#)

Feb 19, 2011 ... The **protests** in **Bahrain**, just one in a series of nations that have been inspired by the revolt in Egypt to host their own anti-government ...  
[www.mediaite.com/.../graphic-video-shows-bahraini-protesters-being-shot-as-they-march-through-street/](#) - Cached

[New shocking video of Bahrain Army shooting protesters with ...](#)



4 min - Feb 21, 2011 - Uploaded by RussiaToday  
(Warning: RT's exclusive **video** contains graphic scenes of violence) Last Friday, at least 50 people have been injured as security forces in ...  
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=UEw3E3POc7Y](#)

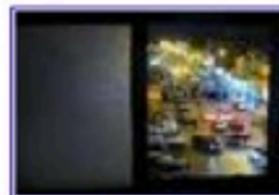
[Violent response to Bahrain protest](#)



3 min - Feb 17, 2011 - Uploaded by AlJazeeraEnglish  
[WARNING: This **video** contains images that some viewers may find disturbing] Troops and tanks have locked down the **Bahraini** capital of ...  
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=B6RCBOC-MAM](#)

[More videos for bahrain video protesters »](#)

[News for bahrain video protesters](#)



[Bahrain worshippers protest death sentences](#)  
3 days ago  
Thousands denounce death sentences for anti-government **protesters**, and solidarity ... He was referring to **video** footage that **Bahraini** authorities have ...

帐号:

密码:

下次自动登录

[登录](#)

[忘记密码?](#)



看看哪些朋友注册了人人网

手机登录 <http://3g.renren.com>

下载手机客户端

省时间, 省流量, 多积分

下载人人桌面2.6

小窗查看不留痕

下载游戏助手 帐号多开

NEW

官方软件

**提示: 禁止利用互联网  
等从事违法活动**



人人网, 中国**最真实、最有效**的社交平台, 加入人人网, 找回老朋友, 结交新朋友。

电子邮箱:

设置密码:

真实姓名:

性别:  男  女

生日:  年  月  日

[为什么要填写我的生日?](#)

我现在:  (非常重要)



[看不清换一张?](#)

验证码:

[立即注册](#)