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## CONSCIENTIZATION & THIRD SPACE: A CASE STUDY OF A TUNISIAN ACTIVIST

**Key Words:** Amira Yahyaoui; Jasmine Revolution; cyberactivism; conscientization; third space; *al-bawsala* ; *marsad*; *marsad baladia*; participatory democracy

### Abstract

This article examines the role of a female cyber and social activist, Amira Yahyaoui, in the aftermaths of the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia through the lens of adult education. In this case study, the theoretical frameworks of conscientization and third space are utilized to describe Yahyaoui's development of the watchdog political organization, *al-bawsala*, for the purpose of transformative learning and knowledge transmission in regard to political practices toward democracy in Tunisia. The focus will be on platforms used by this non-governmental organization (NGO), *Al-Bawsala*, to educate and raise political consciousness; these participatory platforms are: *marsad* (parliamentary observatory), debates or town hall meetings between citizens and elected officials, and *marsad baladia* (municipal observatory).

### Introduction

In mid December of 2010, Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian street vendor, set himself on fire in protest of harassment, humiliation, and the confiscation of his wares by local government authorities; Bouazizi's act became the catalyst for the Tunisian revolution and more widely for the forthcoming Arab Spring revolts across the Middle East. At this time Amira Yahyaoui, a young female exiled Tunisian activist, was sending videos of the uprising received from her fellow Tunisian activists to the French media and lobbying newspapers to cover the demonstrations in her country. Amira Yahyaoui used Facebook to post videos, photos and testimonies from Tunisia that would inform the world of the Tunisian revolution, or now called

Jasmine Revolution, which was then in progress. When Ben Ali, the repressive Tunisian dictator of 23 years, departed for Saudi Arabia due to the street and cyber protests and calls for his ouster, Yahyaoui would be the first to announce it to journalists in France even before the official word from the Tunisian government.

Yahyaoui's influence within the collective movement led to regime change through her advocacy from her exile in France via social networks which encouraged people to take to the streets. With Ben Ali now gone, she returned to Tunisia. With her fellow activists, she would begin the hard work of transforming political systems and educating civil society about civic engagement and the need for governmental transparency – this would be educative work necessary in building a post revolutionary Tunisia.

Yahyaoui's mission, along with fellow activists, was to contribute to the building of post-revolutionary Tunisia through promotion of free and open elections for members of parliament, drafting of a new constitution as well as articles to the constitution that would insure its application such as a constitutional court to enable the separation of powers, and the respect for fundamental human rights. The opposition would need to move forward quickly and build in the face of the complex problems that led to the uprising: weak economy, economic inequality among Tunisians, youth bulge, low standard of living, and repressive government. Adult education and the concepts of conscientization and third space would play key roles.

Through a case study research project including a first-person interviews with Amira Yahyaoui and content analysis of social media communication, this article examines Tunisia's post-revolutionary civil society rebuilding and the adult political education practices and theories employed by focusing on one aspect of this rebuilding – the formation of the NGO, *al-bawsala*,

and how at its core it embodies the adult education theories of both conscientization and third space. Conscientization will be discussed in light of the specific context of Tunisia and Tunisian civil society as well as connecting it to third space theory. The article continues with a description of the case study research design and methods, an examination of conscientization and third space in light of *al-bawsala*, implications for adult education and educators invested in social justice, and final reflections. The article focuses on the platforms developed and now used by *al-bawsala* to educate and raise political consciousness: *marsad* (parliamentary observatory), debates or town hall meetings between citizens and elected officials at the initiative of *al-bawsala*, and *marsad baladia* (municipality observatory launched in 2014). These participatory and democratically driven platforms are discussed in the order in which they were developed and emerged following the revolution.

### **Conscientization and Third Space Frameworks**

The concept of conscientization through social movement learning has long been an adult education core theory and value (Cunningham, 1998; Mesirow, 1978; Lloyd, 1972; Freire, 1973). This process of awareness and transformative learning focuses on one's social reality and is developed through critical reflection and dialogue then culminating in action, or praxis, which is central to conscientization (Freire, 1970). Political and revolutionary praxis is crucial to this adult learning as it involves changes in one's reality and one's community and world. This kind of learning and transformative change is evident and seems to play a role in the relatively peaceful transition of power that Tunisia has experienced in contrast to its neighbors, Libya being one case in point. In this case study, conscientization praxis is evident in both the revolutionary change itself, but perhaps even more instrumentally in the elements of participatory democracy in the aftermath of the revolution.

Amira Yahyaoui has been called a human rights advocate, watchdog journalist, cyberspace revolutionary but by definition she is also an adult educator in practice. Through the course of interviews with Amira, she did not specifically identify as an adult educator but spoke repeatedly about conscientization and the platforms that her and her revolutionary colleagues were creating to assure that the populace was educated around issues of participatory democracy. She repeatedly expressed concern that the Tunisian people would become aware of what their parliamentary and municipal leaders were doing and would have new knowledge that would transform Tunisia from the bottom up. Her repeated reference to conscientization as utilized in the *marsad*, *marsad baladia* and the town hall citizenship debates and community meetings which embody the ongoing processes of individual and collective critical reflection, efforts at transparency of political processes for all members of society, and the actionable design and development of platforms for voice and debate link Amira and her work to adult education and conscientization in particular.

Complimentary to and expanding of conscientization, this article argues that Yahyaoui's work exemplifies third space adult education practice as described by English (2003). Consistent with historic social movement learning, third space practitioners in international adult education employ discourses of dissent being both local and global and work "on the ground" on a daily basis practicing progressive and democratizing politics in the public arena for the purpose of justice over the "long haul." (English, 2003; Horton, 1998). Originally coined by Bhubba (2004), third space is a postcolonial sociolinguistic theory of identity and the hybridity of postcolonial identity and community which has been utilized more widely to apply to interdisciplinary fields including sociology, geography, and adult education. (Soja, 1996; Gutierrez, 1999; English, 2003).

From a postcolonial perspective, Tunisia became independent from France in 1956 and has been under authoritarian and autocratic rule despite strong ongoing movements supporting education and progressive women's rights maintaining relatively high literacy rates in comparison to its North African and middle eastern neighbors. Linguistically, Arabic is Tunisia's official language with French being the language of business and administration, Berber is spoken by a small minority of the population as well; many Tunisians are bi-lingual. (Saidi, 2014; McGuinness, 2002) According to Saidi, Tunisia "has not yet found itself, it is still struggling for its future" (2014, p. 286). It is within this third space of postcolonial identity and struggle in which Tunisia is situated.

Beyond this third space postcolonial positioning, Gutierrez has applied third spaces to look at hybrid and syncretic approaches to literacy and new media while Soja examines issues of spatial justice in relation to geographic and urban third spaces. Irving and English go on to remind us of adult education's long history of social movement learning and the more recent online learning, activism and indeed revolutionary agency of the internet (2011). It is from these frameworks that Yahyaoui and her colleagues' activism is examined arguing that their discourse of dissent and conscientizative dialogue exists in both cyberspace and in the work of *marsad & marsad baladis*, and the Tunisian town halls representing third spaces of informal adult education engagement.

### **Case Study Design**

The case-study is design includes three methods of data collection: phone interviews, extended email exchanges, and content analysis of facebook, twitter, *Al-bawsala* website and utube. The phone interviews and email exchanges with Amir Yahyaoui took place over a three

month period from February 2013 – April, 2013. The review of internet data sources began in early 2013 and continues to date.

Three phone interviews of between 1 to 2 hours in length per interview were conducted during the time period previously stated. These phone interviews with Amira were mostly conducted in French with some parts in Arabic. All interviews were recorded and then transcribed in French. The interviews were semi-structured based on thirty-eight questions initially developed by the lead author. The questions primarily focused on the revolution and the then active process of rewriting the Tunisian constitution. Additional questions surrounded the observing and monitoring of the constitutional assembly as well as the process of conscientization and the town hall meetings were the focus of the interviews.

In addition to the phone interviews, there were dozens email exchanges during this period of time. All exchanges were maintained for analysis and coding. Then the following internet platforms were additionally used as supportive data to the interviews and emails: Yahyaoui's facebook, twitter, and al-balawsala's website as well as several utube videos of interviews with Amira. Data from these internet sites were collected in French, Arabic and English.

Data analysis utilized a grounded theory approach (Glaser, 1992) both through manual coding and sorting and through coding for themes utilizing NVivo qualitative software as well as utilizing word frequency capabilities of NVivo. The following description of Yahyaoui's activism and development work post Jasmine Revolution is drawn from this grounded theory analysis.

### **Rebuilding Tunisian Civil Society: Conscientization and Third Space in Context**

So far, Tunisia is the only country, following the 'Arab Spring' that is relatively successful in its political transition most probably for a variety of contributing sociological

factors: a long history of political and union activism, a neutral army, and a resilient and educated civil society, including human rights activists (Stepan, 2012). One of the accomplishments of the Revolution was increase of freedom of association, following a law voted on January 14, 2011 which allowed non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and adult education organizations more liberty to exist and develop. Previously in 1992, Tunisia passed an associations law requiring all NGOs to obtain approval from the interior ministry, which could deny or permanently delay their license and all external funding had to pass through the state (Zunes, 2013) which prior to the revolution could be easily stymied.

This freedom of association furthered the process of building political change translating into a more dynamic civil society and allowed Tunisia to be the recipient of a 7 million-euro grant from the European Union to support the Tunisian civil society whereas before the Jasmine Revolution, Tunisian civil society was limited and under strict scrutiny. Most recently Tunisia received a similar promise of aid from the United States. ( )

Combined with the resolve of the freedom of association law, another important step in implementing a successful political transition was the organization of new elections. The emerging Constituent Assembly elections embody a new page in Amira Yahyaoui's life as an active member of the civil society in post-revolutionary Tunisia. Amira Yahyaoui had previously been forced from her Tunisian home to live in France for more than four years. Pre-revolution, she was forced to leave Tunisia because of police brutality directed toward her due to her political and cyber activism. Her decision to take part in the electoral process and then to put an end to her political exile in France by moving back to Tunisia after the elections manifest a desire to be part of history building, to shape the revolutionary narratives and to contribute to the rebuilding of Tunisian civil society. It is in the context of the parliamentary elections that Tunisia

saw a robust political and civil society activity focused on issues that would determine the country's future (Atzori, 2011). Yahyaoui shifted her use of Cyberspace from a site of public contestation during the revolt to a tool of political participation with the goal of impacting the citizen's everyday life, representing, hence, the new trend in embracing and practicing citizenship, activism, and informal adult education. Media-based protest networks shifted to media-based civil society and political organization networks (Melki & Mallat, 2014), hence mirroring Amira Yahyaoui's trajectory.

### ***Al-Bawsala: Embodiment of Civil Society***

The first elections in post-revolutionary Tunisia brought to power a conservative government lead by the Islamist party al-nahda. It is in this new political context where holders of secular values felt uncertainty, if not fear, that a new NGO --*al-bawsala* --was launched, headed by Yahyaou. *Al-bawsala's* creation was made possible through the new free association law and its mission was to make the working of the new government transparent and available to Tunisian citizens. It was created by Yahyaou and her colleagues to monitor the work and be the watchdog over the new government while educating the populace on the process of their fledgling democracy. The NGO's average employees' age is 25. Its members are described as "incorruptible" by the French daily *Le Monde*.(2013). The beginnings were not easy. For instance, some government assembly members tried to get Yahyaou banned from the assembly's building, arguing that Yahyaoui through *al-baswala* was offending parliamentary sovereignty. "Has he forgotten," she retorted through a televised hearing, "that this assembly is sovereign only thanks to the people it is supposed to represent?"(Cody, 2013)

*Al-bawsala* was created to promote democracy in Tunisia. Its mission, drafted in collaboration with Yahyaoui and its members, is three-fold as stated on the NGO's website:

“ To reposition citizens at the core of political action by offering them the means to stay updated with their elected representatives and by providing them ways to defend their fundamental rights; to build relationships with elected representatives and decision-makers in order to work towards the establishment of good governance practices and political ethics; to participate in defending the concepts of social progress and citizen empowerment.”

Changing society by changing mentalities and transforming political practices has been *al-bawsala*'s driving force. The first step in including citizens in the heart of the political arena is to inform them and raise their political consciousness through participation in dialogue and the education of the populace – adult education.

*Al-bawsala*, under the leadership of Yahyaoui, helped to create an emerging space for political change thus becoming invested with a newfound leadership role. Yahyaoui defines *al-bawsala*'s role inside the Constituent Assembly as a counter-power. The involvement of *al-bawsala* and its members is a good illustration of the “power of action” [*la puissance d'agir*] (Millerand, Proulx & Rueff, 2010).

The themes that Yahyaoui repeatedly stressed in our interviews revolved around the idea of spreading awareness of fundamental human rights. “We want people to become involved and to fight for their rights,” stated Yahyaoui. Raising political awareness among young people aims to build a new generation of active citizens able to lead a political life in a mature way. *Al-baswala*'s many challenges are to create a mechanism to encourage such political culture and to build a culture of democracy. *Al-bawsala* has contributed to changing the political culture in the country by implementing strategies in three major fields, as the website states: monitoring (by observing legislative and executive proceedings, and promoting transparency); advocating (by

defending fundamental rights and individual freedoms); and empowering (by assisting in the development of citizen's educational initiatives).

### **Marsad.tn: a Conscientization Instrument**

With the creation of *marsad.tn*, the voice of *al-bawsala*, Yahyaoui's most salient contribution to date is perhaps the close monitoring of the elected officials at the Constituent Assembly during the long process of drafting the constitution, which was finally adopted on January 14, 2014, three years after the revolution. Progressively, the process of democratization is taking root in Tunisia.

The web site *marsad.tn*, maintained by *al-bawsala*, makes rich information about the Constituent Assembly available to the general public through an interactive online platform. Citizens can follow almost in real time the activities of the Constituent Assembly and have a clear idea of the performance of the Chamber. *Al-bawsala*'s members see themselves as the observatory of the Assembly. Everyday, six employees arrive before the elected officials do and leave at the end of the last session. The NGO follows elected members and lobbies them to push for a maximum rights and freedoms.

*Al-bawsala* prides itself on monitoring the constitutional work of the assembly, gathering every piece of information at plenary meetings, publishing data in an objective and neutral way on the site of the observatory *marsad.tn*. This is a third space platform available to Tunisian citizens and as a third space its role is indeed monitoring of the new government but also a tool of adult education for the populace.

Additionally, *al-bawsala* must share some credit for helping to promote the drafting of the new Constitution which revived the hope raised by the Arab Spring. Another major change that *al-bawsala* through *marsad.tn* is bringing to the political culture and practices of Tunisia is the publication of the list of who attends parliament debates. The publication of attendance was an important step towards the process of voting for the constitution. The campaign against absenteeism that *al-baswala* led was necessary, according to Yahyaoui, to bring about a change in mentalities and the education of both the assembly members themselves as well as the general adult population.

An embarrassing example of this kind of conscientizative awareness as it regards the absenteeism of assembly members is as follows: out of 217 members, only about half show up on any given day. Yahyaoui clearly expressed her indignation in our interview: “Those people were going to write a new constitution, and they weren’t even there.” The website reports that the members of the parliament earn 10 times the minimum wage. “The level of absenteeism of the deputies who were supposedly voting without even showing up has become a joke,” says Abroughi: “They were paid without working. But now, people have learned to demand accountability from their representatives.” For instance, *marsad.tn* publishes even the details of votes which have forced the deputies to become more disciplined and to learn a new culture of work ethics. In one of her interviews, Yahyaoui explained that her colleagues caught on video a deputy voting three times. When confronted, the deputy denied until finally confessing and apologizing.

While publishing proceedings of the debates and commissions’ reports, *marsad.tn* keeps records of elected officials in terms of their vote, their attendance, their participation in debates and deliberations. “These documents are supposed to be public,” according to Yahyaoui. “This

work,' she laments, "should be done by the Assembly itself." However since it is not, *marsad.tn* is a space for transparency and a vehicle of conscientization. Another innovative tool introduced by *al-bawsala* is a classification of elected officials, based on their presence at the deliberations as well as the level of their involvement in the Assembly. The website publishes links to blogs of elected officials. In the name of transparency, *marsad.tn* goes as far as publishing elected officials' salaries and private assets when they agree to disclose them. Despite the work left before Tunisians, it is clear that the fight for more transparency in the political arena has already born some fruit.

Yahyaoui in her interview commented that she had the privilege of "witnessing a paradigm shift in the mentalities of elected officials", transformative learning, who became aware of the importance of transparency in politics. The presence of *al-bawsala* inside the Constituent Assembly was not easy at the beginning because elected officials did not like to see their words and acts being scrutinized. However, two and half years later (2013) Yahyaoui explains that the greatest success of the *al-bawsala observatory* is its acceptance among elected officials. Initially hostile to the observatory and the observers, some of elected officials eventually complied with principles of good governance and transparency and accepted that their absences and contradictions would be in the public domain. Consequently, Yahyaoui became the muse, the face of political transparency and *marsad.tn*, a watchdog.

Yet, another accomplishment of *al-bawsala*—which continues to act as a counterweight to corruption and malpractice—is the suggestion that elected deputies look more to their constituents' needs. According to Yahyaoui, the practice of reaching out to the citizens/constituents is a long learning process: "For a year, they had a free week every month to go in the regions and reach out to their constituents. The overwhelming majority never used it,"

said Yahyaoui. The NGO was finally successful in organizing the first “field trips” to expose members of the parliament to the living conditions of citizens in remote areas.

### **Political Adult Education: Debates and Town Hall Meetings**

Day after day, Yahyaoui and her team strive to implement a political action characterized by citizens’ engagement aiming at a direct participation of citizens in public debates, locally and nationally. Through assembly member field trips to meet with Tunisian citizens, the task of involving a vast majority of citizens and informing them about their rights, educating them about political assertiveness and exposing them to the existence of monitoring mechanisms such as *marsad.tn* was begun. *Al-bawsala*, as its website states, organized four town-hall debates between elected members of the Constituent Assembly and citizens in 2013. Over seven meetings were organized in various parts of the country. **How is the going now? 2014? 2015?** This practice is new and allows citizens to learn the basics of political debates and negotiations. These meetings reflect the participatory democracy that *al-bawsala* and its members, including Yahyaoui, are trying to instill in Tunisian society. Citizens are offered the possibility to interact with elected officials, ask them questions and express their grievances, in the local dialect. Because of the diglossic situation in Tunisia, matters related to politics and law are discussed in modern standard Arabic --that is not spoken in the daily life-- and accessible to educated people only. This process cuts off both rural and Berber contexts. **Explain language situation here.** As such, it involves a limited percentage of the population, given also the high rates of illiteracy, above all among women. Therefore, as part of *al-bawsala*’s strategy of proximity, these debates and discussions in the local dialects aim to make the political realm more accessible to disenfranchised citizens. How successful these processes are still remains to be seen.

In addition to face to face town-hall field trips and local debates in both urban and rural communities, *al-bawsala* reaches out to the general public through online campaigns and through the use of new technologies, such as Twitter and Facebook. On the website's video introducing and promoting *al-bawsala*, the narrative stresses ideas of democracy, governance, transparency and citizen empowerment, themes that became widely debated in post-2011 Tunisia. (blog) "We practice participatory democracy," reiterated Yahyaoui during our interview (February 2013). It looks as if the increasing visibility of regular citizens -not affiliated with political parties- in the political arena is providing new political opportunities to Tunisian citizens and providing participatory adult learning forums for free speech dialogue in post-revolution Tunisia.

### **Participative Democracy: *Marsad Baladia***

Recently, as of January 2014, *al-bawsala* launched "Marsad Baladia", or the Municipality Observatory. Its goal of this new project financed by Oxfam is to "monitor municipal activity through access to information (...), strengthen the link between the municipality and citizens, through understanding the local context, and the effective participation in the decision-making process."

After two years of monitoring the work of the National Constituent Assembly, *al-bawsala* launched an electronic watch (Marsad Baladia) in order to cover municipal operations by providing information relating to municipal finance, human resources, real and personal property, the municipal council and its activities and finally investment projects. The objective of this project is to enable citizens to understand the reality of the municipalities in terms of resources and development plans, and monitor the activities and municipal projects. Marsad

Baladia is an interactive web interface aggregating various information about municipal operations.

Following the Revolution in January 2011, municipalities in Tunisia have undergone several changes. The first is the dissolution of all municipal councils. In preparation for municipal elections, and in an effort to contribute to the implementation of a decentralization policy, *al-bawsala* started to observe the activity of municipalities. Using (invoking?) the right of access to information, the NGO gathers information and transmits it to the citizens in a clear and updated updated manner, with the goal of conducting a comprehensive assessment of the reality of the municipalities before the next municipal elections.

This project comes as a first step towards active public participation at the local level, either directly, through its involvement in the decision-making process, or indirectly, through its participation in municipal elections. 24 municipalities were observed in three governorates through more than 14 field visits. The three regions constituting the project start were chosen because of their remoteness from the center of decision making and their geographic and economic characteristics. Field visits have helped to learn about the reality of the municipalities, and therefore the difficulties they face in carrying out their activities, such as deficiency in terms of financial means. The team of "Marsad Baladia" also noted that these factors could also be a barrier to the transmission of information to the citizen.

The team of "Marsad Baladia" adopted a uniform method for the collection of information from municipalities. A transparency index was adopted for each municipality. Each information requested from the municipality is equal to a point on the transparency index.

The idea born "during the debates between elected representatives and citizens that we [*al-bawsala*] had organized in the regions, we found that the impact on the daily lives of citizens was

at the local level and that there was a real need at this level," said Ons Ben Abdelkarim , Secretary General of al-bawsala (**Ben Hamadi, 2014**). At the heart of this initiative is to involve citizens at the local level in matters related to their daily life. "Citizens do not necessarily understand how the system works and how the decisions are made, what are the prerogatives of the municipality. Answering these questions provides citizens with the knowledge necessary to participate." This is a powerful example of adult political education: Marsad Baladia aims to generate a need for more information by providing basic data. In other words, citizens are encouraged to hold their local representatives accountable just as *al-bawasla's* work with the observatory is keeping the Tunisia's national assembly accountable. The rationale is what better way of holding local representatives accountable than arming the citizens with the necessary knowledge to question an elected member on a given project with relevant and concrete data.

### **Final Reflections**

Monitoring the work of elected officials in the national Tunisian assembly chamber is a revolution in itself. Yahyaoui is part of a grassroots movement that has acted as a drive for change; she epitomizes the transition from cyberactivism to civil society. By establishing herself as an agent of political change through her involvement in civil society, Yahyaoui has become an important figure in Tunisian civil society and serves as an impetus for other Tunisians to engage in activism. The strategic and slow process of adult education -- the educating citizens -- *al-bawsala* is engaging in long-term and broad outreach activism. More recently on February 21, 2015, the NGO took an active part in organizing a local event in the town of Monastir, as part of

a global action called International Open Data Hackathon.( ) This leadership initiative aims to inform citizens about ways to put pressure on local and national government to release data. In addition to networking with activists and citizens, the event allows citizens to voice their opinion and share their ideas. One of the participants was Chaima Bouhlel, a close associate of Yahyaoui, who presented the role and actions of *marsad baladia*. Clearly, the growing team of al-bawsala is contributing to educating and shaping, at the local level, a new political culture where citizens are taught how to become informed about their rights and asserted about expectations from elected officials. The work goes on.

Amira Yahyaoui and her colleagues work during the revolution and in the several years following demonstrate deliberate, intentional and systematic creation of third space sites of conscientization that can be recognized as sites of adult education praxis. Although Amira may not call herself a formal adult educator, her continued deliberate and critically reflective collaborative development of third space sites through *al-bawsala* on both the internet and in town hall and debate local settings as well as the national and local assembly monitoring activities are clearly evidence of informal adult education at work.

Furthermore, it is the assertion of the authors that Yahyaoui's adult education activism played a pivotal role in the relatively peaceful and steady transition of power, revision of Tunisia's constitution, and culture of dialogue that Tunisia experienced post revolution. This is in stark contrast to many of Tunisia's North African and Middle Eastern neighbors following their Arabic Spring revolts. Clearly Tunisia is unique in its over high literacy rates, educated middle class, and progressive stance toward women's rights prior to the revolution, yet Yahyaoui's work and other conscientizative activism seems to have provided platforms for Tunisian citizens to have the freedom to voice and express their anger and to verbalize their needs through other

means than violence. Al-bawlsala's strategies in the creation of the town halls and debates as well Marsad and Marsad balsala were ingenious in their educative power and opportunities for citizen empowerment through dissemination of information and civil dialogue.

This educative and social activist work warrants further examination and perhaps replication with the understanding the each context is unique in its history, language, and disorienting dilemmas. Nevertheless, Amira's life and work in the context of Tunisia clearly warrants further study especially as it informs adult education theory and practice. Her work and the work of other Tunisian revolutionaries perhaps demonstrate most clearly the importance of conscientization and adult learning in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.