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Media and the Arab Spring
The Story of Egypt between CNN and Aljazeera

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IN THE NAME OF ALLAH
THE GREAT BENEFICENT
THE MOST MERCIFUL
Dedication

I dedicated this dissertation to my loving mother and father;

their invaluable prayers are one

of the keys to my success
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I always express my deepest sense of gratitude as well as all praise to the omnipotent Allah who enabled me to accomplish this Master dissertation without any delay and within a minimum period of time. Second, I’m truly thankful to my advisor Mr. Filalli for his invaluable insights, encouragement, understanding, and guidance. Last but not least I am also grateful from the core of my heart to my parents for always encouraging me to pursue my education, my teachers for their academic support during my studies at the university, and my colleagues and friends for their support and advice throughout my graduate studies.
Abstract

In December 2010, the self-immolation of a Tunisian fruit seller fueled what has come to be known as the ‘Arab Spring’. This term stands for the series of protests that has shaken the existence of the ruling regimes across the Arab world mainly the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region. Moreover, the recent years are also characterized by an extraordinary development and advance in ICT therefore in media technologies. For that reason, this dissertation aims to achieve three essential goals. First of all, it tries to figure out the different reasons and results of the Arab Spring in general and the Egyptian Revolution in particular. Second, it also aims at answering the question: what is the role of media in sparking the Arab Awakening? Finally and most importantly, this dissertation examines as well as compares and contrasts the coverage of the Facebook Revolution by the popular channels in the world which are Aljazeera and CNN to find out in the end that each one’s reporting is different from the other since they represent two contradictory views (Arabs vs. Westerners).
Résumé:

En Décembre 2010, l’auto-immolation d’un vendeur de fruits tunisien a alimenté ce qui est venu à être connu comme le « printemps arabe ». Ce terme désigne la série de protestations qui a secoué l’existence des régimes au pouvoir dans le monde arabe principalement de la région MENA (Moyen-Orient et Afrique du Nord). En outre, ces dernières années se caractérisent également par un développement extraordinaire et avance dans les TIC donc en technologies des médias. Pour cette raison, cette thèse veut essentiellement trois objectifs. Tout d’abord, il essaie de comprendre les différentes raisons et les résultats du Printemps arabe en général et la révolution égyptienne en particulier. Deuxièmement, il vise également à répondre à la question: quel est le rôle des médias dans le déclenchement du printemps arabe? Enfin et surtout, cette thèse examine ainsi compare et met en contraste la couverture de la Révolution Facebook par les chaînes populaires dans le monde qui sont Aljazeera et CNN pour savoir en fin de compte que les rapports de chacun est différent de l’autre, car ils représentent deux points de vue contradictoires (Arabes contre les Occidentaux).
ملخص:

في ديسمبر 2010، قام بائع فواكه تونسي بالتصديق بنفسه فأدى هذا إلى تغذية ما أصبح يعرف باسم "الربيع العربي". هذا المصطلح يرمز إلى سلسلة من الاحتجاجات التي هزت وجود الأنظمة الحاكمة في العالم العربي بشكل عام و بشكل خاص في مناطق الشرق الأوسط و شمال إفريقيا. بالإضافة إلى ذلك فإن هذه السنوات الأخيرة قد تميزت بتطور غير عادي وتقدم ملحوظ في مجال تكنولوجيا المعلومات والاتصالات و بالتالي تطور تكنولوجيات وسائل الإعلام. لهذا السبب، تسعى هذه الاتجاهات إلى تحقيق ثلاثة أهداف. أولها هو أن ت⚽ أعرف معرفة مختلف أسباب ونتائج الرياح العربي عامة والثورة المصرية على وجه الخصوص.

ثانيا، تهدف أيضا هذه الاتجاهات إلى الإجابة على السؤال: ما هو دور وسائل الإعلام في إشعال الصحو العربي؟ أخيرا والأهم من ذلك، تبحث هذه الاتجاهات عن إيجاد ملحوظ أوجه الاختلاف و الاختلاف بين تغطية قناة الجزيرة و قناة السي إن إن للثورة المصرية، لتجد في الأخير بأن التقارير التي قدمتها كل قناة مختلفة عن الأخرى نظرا لأن كلتا القناتين تمتلكان وجهها نظر متناقضين (العرب ضد الغرب).
List of Acronyms

- **CNN**: Cable News Network
- **CYR**: Coalition of the Youth of the Revolution
- **GDP**: Gross Domestic Product
- **H.Q.**: Head Quarter (headquarter)
- **ICG**: International Crisis Group
- **ICT**: Information and Communication Technologies
- **MB**: Muslim Brotherhood
- **MENA**: Middle East and North Africa
- **NAC**: National Association for Change
- **NATO**: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- **NDP**: National Democratic Party
- **NTC**: National Transitional Council
- **PDMC**: Popular Democratic Movement for Change
- **SCAF**: Supreme Council of the Armed Forces
- **UGTT**: Union Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens
- **UN**: United Nations
- **YJF**: Youth for Justice and Freedom
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General Introduction
General introduction:

Between the end of 2010 and the beginning of 2011, a sequence of demonstrations began to rise in the Arab world. These protests have developed into what is called the ‘Arab Spring’ which was sparked by the self-immolation of the Tunisian Mohamed Bouazizi who inspired not just the Tunisian people but also millions of people around the Arab world. People suffered for a long time from many problems mainly political, economic and social ones. As a result, people took the streets as a stage for demanding an end to totalitarianism and their right to choose their government. They also asked for their civil and political rights which were ignored by the regimes since a long time ago. So, the unrest started in Tunisia on December 17, 2010, and then it spread to other countries in the MENA including Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Syria and Kuwait. But, one of the most important reasons that helped in speeding up the Arab Spring to reach the rest of the Arab world was by no mean the media.

The spread of technology attached with the speed of communications has made the globe a “twenty-four-hour news theatre”. In fact, computers have improved dramatically in speed over the last decade; satellites have facilitated clearer and cheaper communications. Electronic novelties have brought in smaller, lighter and cheaper media tools allowing more speedily program, report production and transmission. But, there is only one organization that takes advantage of all those developments in the field of ICT which is the media (Hulme 10). Actually, this made the media more powerful since it affects and reaches people more than ever before. Moreover it may also cover any events at any time and any place. As a result, this organization played a major role in constructing the world’s history like innovations, discoveries, wars, peace treaties, and crisis … etc. Therefore, there are two types of
media namely the mainstream and the digital media which played a major role in the Arab Spring.

Mainstream media; for example, was a key element in publicizing and familiarizing the Arab Spring to the rest of the world, especially after the establishment of Satellite TV between 1980s and 1990s. They did not only provide people with autonomous and objective news, but they also worked on connecting people worldwide. In fact, channels like BBC, CNN, MBC, Al Jazeera and Al Arabia…etc were so important in developing the field of media as well as the level of the people since they offer free information even about the governments and the officials’ speeches and interviews. Yet, in the Arab World, CNN (in 1990s) was the most watched TV news channel mainly after the reporting of the Persian Gulf War in 1990. However, after the creation of Al Jazeera TV news, most of the Arab people turned to watch it particularly after its coverage of the Iraqi, Afghanistan, and Palestinian wars against the Colonial Powers as well as after reporting and broadcasting of Osama Bin Laden’s various speeches.

This dissertation investigates the coverage and portrayal of the Arab Spring by the entire types of media, this in one hand. On the other hand, it examines Al Jazeera and CNN coverage of the Egyptian Awakening. I have chosen Al Jazeera and CNN as two examples of the global media because they are from different scopes in which the former is from an Arabic scope, and the latter is from a Western scope. However, I have decided to take Egypt as a case study for my dissertation for the reason that it is the most significant country in the Arab world because it’s highly population populated, it’s heavy history, the important role it played in modernizing the Arab world, and the influence it had in the second half of the 20th century in
furthering Arab nationalism. It made itself then very much the epicenter of the Arab world to the point that it has been known as "The Mother of the World". (Aljazeera)

This dissertation is important for the following reasons. First of all, there are not many studies about this field in my country because I looked in many universities’ libraries, and I did not found anything (books, journals or even dissertations) about this topic. Second, the Arab Spring now is the phenomena of this era that influenced everything whether people’s lives or countries’ future. Another reason is that the twenty-first century is characterized by technological development that influenced the advancement of media tools. Since media was a crucial element in the occurrence of the Arab Spring, I wanted to investigate how exactly this happened and how it was used to be part of nowadays events. Finally, CNN and Aljazeera are very important media tools, consequently I wanted to compare and contrast between their coverage of the Egyptian revolution to find out what are the western and precisely the American views about the Arab Spring in general and Egyptian Awakening in specific.

For achieving the dissertation’s goal, I divided it into three chapters. The first chapter titled ‘the Arab Spring and the Revolutionary Wave in the Middle East’. So this chapter is like a long introduction to the Arab Spring in general and to the Egyptian Revolution in particular. I’m going to tackle its definition, reasons, and results. The second chapter entitled ‘Media and Democratization’. In this section, I’m going to concentrate on the media and the important role it played in the Arab Spring whether through the traditional or the new media. The last chapter of course is the case study of my dissertation I titled it ‘The Interaction of Aljazeera and CNN TV news in the Egyptian revolution’. This chapter illustrates the way CNN and Aljazeera presented or portrayed the Egyptian Arab Spring as well as the similarities and differences between the two presentations.
However, when working on this dissertation, I have faced many problems especially the sources. Since it is a fresh topic, there are not many resources mainly secondary ones which already give us what have been said about a specific subject. And unfortunately when I found some, they were not for free. For that reason, I relied much on many primary sources like journals, reports, TV news, and interviews…etc. another problem was time. I was restricted by time since I was supposed to finish a dissertation that demand analyzing data in a very limited period of time. But I really wish I have succeeded in completing my job and fulfilling all the goals I wanted to achieve.

In order to achieve such aims and goals, I depended heavily on primary sources first because it is fresh topic, and second the secondary sources are very limited. Additionally, I used the new MLA that is provided in Charles Lipson’s book “Cite Rite: A Quick Guide to citation styles. MLA, APA, Chicago, the Sciences, Professions, and more”. Moreover, I relied on descriptive, analytical and most importantly comparative approaches when writing this dissertation.
Chapter One:
The Arab Spring and the Revolutionary Wave in the Middle East
Introduction:

FRIENDS

The old word is dead.
The old books are dead...
We want a generation of giants.
Arab children
Corn ears of the future.
You will break our chains.
Kill the opium in our heads.
Kill the illusion.

Nizar Qabbani (1923-1998)

In 2011, millions of citizens in the Southern Mediterranean region went to the streets demanding an end to dictatorship and their right to choose their government, and also affirming and preserving their cultural and religious identities and well-being. The now thirty-seven years old third democratic wave is finally sweeping the periphery of old Europe. This wave actually came in four phases that are presented in Samuel Huntington’s 1991 book *The Third Wave: Democratization in the late Twentieth Century*. In fact, he identified the era of political reforms that caused the fall of the dictatorship in Europe in Portugal, Greece and Spain in the 1970s. Then, it moved to Latin America and Asia in the 1980s and 1990s, followed by Eastern Europe and other countries in the 1990s. And now after the lost decade at the start of this century, it is sweeping the Mediterranean and the Arab world. Today, these revolutionary political movements in the Arab nations which had shared the root causes, common values and strategies of civil resistance or struggle are sometimes jointly referred to as the ‘Arab Spring’. (Vasconcelos 17)

In this opening chapter, I am going to divide it into two parts. The first part or section will introduce the Arab Spring in general. That is to say, I will present its
definition, history, causes and consequences. However the second fraction will be more specific. Indeed I will choose just one case or one example from those revolutionary movements which is the Egyptian Revolution. And the most significant reason behind this choice is the importance of Egypt as a country. In other words, Egypt has been a pivotal, an essential, and a key force in the Middle East. So in this part my starting point will be an overview about this revolution. Then I will move to its timeline of events. Finally I will shift to the circumstances that lead to it as well as to its results.

*Transformation in the Middle East in the Wave of the Arab Spring*
Part 1: General Background

A. Definition and history:

Definition:

Since December 2010 there has been a revolutionary wave of protests and demonstrations in the Arab world which are known as the Arab Spring. However there are other names for those demonstrations like: ‘Arab Revolutions’, ‘Arab Awakening’ or ‘Arab Uprising’, but I have opted for ‘Arab Spring’ since it demonstrates the time of year it starts as well as it is a sign of hope, faith, “fecundity”, optimism, and rebirth. For that reason, it has been understood as a political process of political change in the Middle East or as the revival of the Arab world. It is presented by masses of people who took to the streets and demanded greater political and economic participation better governance, and the civil rights denied them for decades. It can be considered as an event of global historical significance. Indeed it is equal in importance to the Arab awakening at the end of the nineteenth century that resulted in the creation of the Arab nation states after the First World War and the setting of the boundaries by France and Great Britain. It is also important as the importance of the changes between the 1950s and 1960s, “when the Arabs finally expelled imperialism, replaced many of the royal houses, and tried to realize a pan-Arab vision incorporating socialism as adopted by Jamal Abed al-Nasser and the Baath party1.” (Yadlin 12-14)

The Arab Spring is not something radically new. As a matter of fact, some scholars have considered it as continuity to previous protests against government policies such as “2008’s demonstration marches in the phosphate-rich Gafsa region of Tunisia and in the southern Moroccan port of Sidi Ifni.” (Vökel 13) or like what Hamid Dabashi, Professor of Iranian Studies and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, considered it as a succession to the Green Movement (unfolding civil
rights movement) in Iran in June, 2009. However there are differences between the former and the later protests, but most importantly is that unlike the Arab spring which really shook the existence of a diversity of Arab regimes, the earlier demonstrations never seriously endangered the governments in control. (Dabashi 1-2)

Despite the fact that some western scholars like Huntington who thinks that democracy is a western value, and as a result what is happening now in the Middle East is another step toward westernization, I believe that it is just the opposite. In fact, I totally agree with Dabashi when he considered the Arab Spring as an “end of postcoloniality”, which means that colonialism and post colonialism are finally overcome. Or even with what Vasconcelos has described as a “post western world” or a “post Huntington development”. As a matter of fact, democracy is a universal, fundamental, and ultimate value that is identical or at least similar across the world i.e. it is a normative claim that is requested by anyone in this globe. Consequently, we are not anymore living in a unipolar world, but rather we live in a new world where all the voices are heard and the West is no longer the center of the earth because the Arabs are finally awakened from their deepest torpor.

Moreover, the Arab Spring which is without doubt is an essential moment in the political and social development of the wider Middle East is characterized by many features that are concluded by Francesco Cavatorta. First of all, these movements mainly are the creation of the young generations who took the streets as a stage or a court to demand their rights and ask for a better future. (78) As a matter of fact, the youth population in the Arab world is growing expeditiously; sixty percent of the region’s people are under 30, twice the age of North America. Thirty percent of the population is between the ages of 14 and 24. More than half of the people in the Arab world today are under the age of 25. Not only is the youth bulge high in the Middle
East, it is the second highest in the world—second only to sub-Saharan Africa.

(Hoffman and Jamal 169-170) Second, the Arab Awakening is a revolution without leadership. It is difficult to come up with the names of the leaders of the revolt whether in Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, or Egypt. It is even much more difficult to define the ideology of the revolution that would lead to the social and economic change².

(Cavatorta 79-80) Lastly, the mean by which these revolutionary waves take place is very interesting. I think that it resembles the way by which Islam was spread all over the world at the time of Prophet Mohammed -peace and blessing upon him. Indeed, he started calling people to enter Islam secretly, and this is the same as what revolutionists do through using social media (face book, twitter, YouTube…etc). Then he began to preach in public or openly; this is similar to the young protestors when they took the streets and claimed to get their rights overtly. So this is another reason that makes me optimistic about the Arab Spring and furthermore insisting on this term in particular.

- History:

The Arab Spring was a series of anti-government protests, uprisings and armed rebellions that spread across the Middle East in early 2011. On December 17, 2010, Muhammad Bouazizi, a 26 year old street vendor, went to work in the provincial town of Sidi Bouzid, which lies in the centre of Tunisia. Bouazizi, a graduate who had struggled to find work, had taken to selling fruit and vegetables as a way of feeding his family, and putting his sister through university. Unfortunately, he had not acquired a license to sell goods, and a policewoman confiscated his cart and produce. So Bouazizi, who had had a similar event happen to him before, attempted to pay the fine to the policewoman. In response, the policewoman slapped him, spat in his face and insulted his deceased father. Her actions were to have a lasting effect on him. Feeling
humiliated and infuriated, Bouazizi went to the provincial headquarters with the intent to lodge a complaint to local municipality officials. However, he was not granted an audience. (Ebienfa and Inokoba 3) As a result and according to the eight o’clock p.m. breaking news of Aljazeera on December 17, 2010: at 11:30 am and only a few hours after his initial altercation (row) with the policewoman, Bouazizi returned to the H.Q., doused himself in flammable liquid, which he had recently purchased, and proceeded to set himself alight. And this was the torch that set on fire the whole country and led to the biggest protest in Tunisian history in the mid of January. However, before this happen, the popular demonstration in Tunisia was largely spontaneous, but sections of the country’s main trade union, the UGTT, and professional associations subsequently played a part in organizing it. Police repression increased but then receded by 10 January 2011, as the army signaled it would not take action against the protesters. So, a general strike unfolded in 14 January, therefore Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia. (ICG “Tunisia” 3-6)

After that the Egyptians rise up against the regime’s inequities and unfairness that had been building up over decades ago. Especially after the death of the Egyptian young man who is named Khaled Said. He was beaten up cruelly by the police and died under suspicious conditions in early June 2010. This and in addition to some other reasons had led to rebellious protests. Gawhry quoted Alaa Al Aswany who in On the State of Egypt: What Made the Revolution Inevitable, illustrated the best reason as he stated, “Egyptians are an ancient people with a history stretching back seven thousand years and so, like old men, they have the wisdom to avoid problems insofar as they can while continuing to live and bring up their children. Only when they are certain that compromise is no longer possible they turn to revolution.” (qtd. in Gawhry 13) Subsequently the manifestations arranged for the 25 January by the civil society and
the opposition groups suddenly brought out around more than 20,000 participants. Protests spread in Cairo and throughout Egypt and it continued till Mubarak resigned and shifted his powers to the military (SCAF) on February 11, 2011. (ICG “Egypt” 13)

But this does not mean that the Arab Spring is over. Actually, a short time after Mubarak’s collapse, Libyans mutinied against Muammar Al Qadhafi in Benghazi3. The activities in Libya initiated by peaceful protests, yet Qadhafi turned that to a “civil war” between him and his followers from one side and the rebels who were guided by NTC from the other side. Due to this the UN permitted the foreign military intervention like NATO in March to support and help the demonstrators.
Moreover, the Libyan Uprising was considered to be the bloodiest revolution in the Arab Spring. (Dalacoura 65) Obviously, this was before the rebellion in Syria. But it was till early September 2011, when demonstrations were finished and the government of Qadhafi reached the end of the road. Furthermore, Qadhafi himself came to a sticky end on October 20, 2011.

In addition, there were other demonstrations that spread all over the Arab world. For example, in Yemen where protests originally broke out in January, and then the level of instability gradually increased through 2011 and precisely in February 3, 2011 because of the help of JMP4. Even though they have different views with the young Yemeni protestors i.e. they supported the protesters’ fundamental claims but, unlike them, remained open to negotiations with the regime. The uprising continued in Yemen till president Saleh decided to hand over his power, yet he will stay to be a political actor. (ICG 1-9) Another example is in Bahrain when major rebellions began in February. The clash in this country was between the Sunni monarchy and the Shiite protesters who presented their demands as non sectarian calls for democracy and
human rights. In 14 march, king Hamad asked for help from GCC forces that led by Saudi Arabia to stop the demonstrations. (Dalacoura 65)

Also in Syria, the mutiny started in 15 March in the southern city of Deraa. The revolutionary movement was essentially peaceful, although some soldiers were abandoned the regime and opting to take up arms in response to the brutal repression of demonstrators by the military and the incapacity of the international community to protect Syrian civilians since the response to the uprising by Bashar Al-Assad’s government was so severe to the point that the number of victims passed 20,000 preys according to the daily reporting on Aljazeera or on any other news channels. (Dalacoura 66) The democratic wave extends beyond Syria to the entire Arab world whether in North Africa like Morocco, Mauritania, Sudan and Western Sahara or in the Middle East as Lebanon, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Kuwait.

B. A continuum of causes and consequences:

- Causes:

One of the most important questions asked by most people is: why was the Arab world poised for revolution? That is to say why did the revolt happen exactly at this time rather than a decade or two ago? Similar to any other uprising that happened in the Arab world before, the Arab Spring was also born out of many linked causes. However, the answer for that question varies from one source to the other. As a result, I have collected the most popular reasons.

So, the first reason that led to the current events in the Arab region is the Arab youth. Arab regimes have been sitting on a “demographic time bomb” for decades. According to Sadek J. al-Azm, the population in Arab countries more than doubled between 1975 and 2005 to 314 million. More than this, two-thirds of the population is under 30. Both the political and economic development in most Arab
states simply could not keep up with the staggering increase in the population, as the ruling elites’ incompetence helped lay the seeds for their own demise. (226)

The second motive is the expansion of education. In fact, Compan and Chor argued that “schooling” in the Arab countries increased in the recent decades. For example, in 1990 the schooling attainment was 3.26 in Libya, 2.65 in Egypt, and 3.25 in Tunisia, then those numbers multiplied gradually to be almost 7.5 in 2010 in all those countries. (169) Another example is in my country, Algeria, in which the percentage of those who succeeded in bachelor’s degree increased from 5% between 1990 and 2005 to almost 75% in 2010 and it is the same for those who graduated from the universities. Even though there has been no lack of education in the Arab world in recent years, students are not well prepared to face the present era.

Another reason that goes hand in hand with the previous one is unemployment. Although the 21st century is characterized by the expansion of education, but this is unfortunately “coupled with weak labor market conditions”. Students wished to find jobs after their graduation, but they cannot because of the shortage in work opportunities. Also, the imbalance between the kinds of workers wanted by employers and the kinds of workers looking for jobs led to unemployment. Accordingly, people in general and graduates in particular earn their living only by working for others; however, this caused deprivation, feeling of rejection, personal failure and of course at the end huge anger. Besides, education also led to raise the sense of political protest. Indeed proof from Edward Gleaser’s “Why does Democracy Need Education” proved that highly skilled people are more likely to engage in all types of political activities. (77)

The forth reason is mainly aging and elderly despotism. The economic situation could become stable over time under a capable and credible government, but by the
end of the 20th century most Arab dictatorships were completely bankrupt both ideologically and morally. When the Arab Spring happened in 2011, the Tunisian leader Ben Ali had been in power since 1987, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak since 1980, while Muammar al-Qaddafi presided Libya for over 42 years. Most of the population was deeply cynical and pessimistic about the legitimacy of these aging regimes especially when there was no progress either to country or to people. (Ardiç 8-9)

Last but not least is dissatisfaction from all sides of life. That is to say discontent is resulted because of social, political and economic problems. For instance, these may take account of increasing rates of inflation, particularly in food prices, low standard of living, joblessness that both lead to a high level of poverty which also result in a clash between the social classes. Another example is insecurity because of “organized murder, self assassination, kidnapping, economic crimes, corruption in high places, abuse and violation of human rights ...” So all these factors paved the way for political instability as well as for public demonstration and mass protests to ask for change in all those fields. (Ebbenfa and Inokoba 3-4)

Finally, the last motive or cause that led to the Arab Spring is ICT. Definitely the media proved to be a powerful mobilization tool that helped the activists to communicate together. Moreover, the current protests are sometimes called the “high-tech revolutions” on account of ICT’s reliance on such instant communication and electronic information technologies as mobile phones, laptop computers, satellite television, the Internet, or even more specifically, Facebook, Twitter, and You Tube—technologies geared to monitoring events moment by moment, around the clock. This enormous qualitative shift has played a decisive role in favor of the insurgent people, and has helped strengthen the movement’s character as skillful, well-informed, and
fundamentally peaceful, educated in the latest achievements in communications technology, information exchange, and the social transmission of knowledge. Perhaps more crucially, media played a role in preparing for the rebellions over a number of years and even decades, “by facilitating the circulation of ideas in national and global spaces and challenging state monopolies of information.” (Ardiç 19-20)

- **Results:**

Alexis de Tocqueville was right when he said that “In a revolution, as in a novel, the most difficult part to invent is the end.” (McKay 4) In view of that quotation, the outcomes of the Arab Spring are still not clear and uncertain. In fact we cannot yet define who are the winners and the losers. But what I know is that any protests or revolutions had specific results and of course the Arab Spring is one of those cases. Since there are several uprisings all over the Arab world, the following table summarizes the general aftermaths of those demonstrations in each country.

**Table 1: THE ARAB SPRING AND DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>DATE OF UPRISING</th>
<th>TYPE OF PROTEST</th>
<th>OUTCOME OF PROTEST</th>
<th>NUMBER OF DEATHS</th>
<th>CATEGORY OF PROTEST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>18 December 2010</td>
<td>Mohamed Bouazizi self immolation, Nationwide protests, Occupation of public places</td>
<td>Ousting of president Ben Ali and Prime Minister Ghannouchi, Dissolution of the ruling party and liquidation of its assets, release of political prisoners, Parliamentary elections has been held</td>
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<td>Algeria</td>
<td>28 December 2010</td>
<td>Major protests, riots, and road blocks</td>
<td>Lifting of 19 year old state of emergency</td>
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<td>Major Protests</td>
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<td>Jordan</td>
<td>14 January 2011</td>
<td>Major protests and demonstrations</td>
<td>King Abdullah 2 dismisses Prime Minister Rifai and his cabinet</td>
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<td>Protests and governmental changes</td>
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<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>17 January 2011</td>
<td>Self-immolation and protests</td>
<td>No tangible outcome</td>
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<td>Sudan</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>Minor Protests</td>
<td>President Bashir announce he will not seek another term in 2005</td>
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<td>Oman</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>Majors</td>
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<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>Minor demonstrations, medium scale-protests</td>
<td>Economic and political concessions by king Abdullah, the restriction of voting rights for women have been lifted hence they will vote in the next municipal elections</td>
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| Egypt       | January  | Nationwide protests, Occupation of Public spaces, attacks and burning of official building police stations, storming prisons and State security investigations service buildings | - Ousting of President Mubarak and Prime Minister Nazif and Shafik  
- Assumption of power by the SCAF, suspension of the constitution and dissolution of parliament  
- Disbanding of State Security investigation service  
- Dissolution of the ruling NDP and transfer of its assets to the State  
- Prosecution of Mubarak, his family and former Minister  
- Elections have been held | 846  |
<p>| Morocco     | January  | Protests and attacks on properties | Political concession by king Mohamed 4, parliamentary elections has been held                                                                                                                                  | 07   |
| Lebanon     | February | Protests, riots and anti-sectarian protests | Minor changes in Government                                                                                                                                                                                   | 0    |
| Yemen       | February | Nationwide protests, riots fighting b/w local tribes and government forces | Resignations of MPs from the ruling party, President Ali Abdullah Saleh was wounded in a mosque attack on the 4th of June and left for Saudi Arabia, came back later and after serious negotiations, handed over the power to the Vice president | 1,203 |</p>
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<td>10 February 2011</td>
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<td>Prime Maliki announces that he will not run for a 3rd term, resignation of provincial governors and local authorities</td>
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<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>14 February 2011</td>
<td>Major demonstrations and occupation of public spaces</td>
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<td>- Formation of NTC, - UN mandated NATO, Swedish, Qatari, Jordanian, and Emirati military intervention, and No-fly zone over Libya - Qadhafi has been ousted and killed. A new prime minister has been appointed</td>
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<td>Syria</td>
<td>15 March 2011</td>
<td>Self-immolation, nationwide protests and attacks on official buildings</td>
<td>Release of political prisoners, end of emergency law and dismissal of provincial governors, resignation from parliament, defections within Syrian army and clashes among soldiers, NTC has been created</td>
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<td>Kuwait</td>
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<td>Protests and clashes with riot police</td>
<td>Resignation of cabinet, economic concession and mass bribery with money and food items</td>
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As it is noted from the table above, the Arab Spring has given rise to three broad sets of outcomes. The first contains the majority of states in the region, and represents little or no change. From Saudi Arabia to Jordan, the ruling elites have managed through adjustments to their ruling strategies to stay in power and face down the protestors. The second category of outcomes indicates a more evenly balanced contest between those mobilizing for change and the regime (or remnants of the regime) themselves. This has however caused the countries concerned to descend into sustained civil disorder and governmental changes.
civil war. As things stand both Libya and Syria are in this category with Yemen clear contenders to join. Finally, there are those countries which are in the midst of a largely peaceful transition after regime change, Egypt and Tunisia. (Ebienfa and Inokoba 8-9)

➤ Part 2: the Start of a New era in Egypt:

A. The Egyptian revolution:

“One day revolution seemed utterly impossible, and there were just a few people dreaming of change. And then, after the brave people of Tunisia ignited a fire that had been smoldering in the hearts of Egyptians and many other Arab people, the impossible quickly became possible”.

This quotation is stated by Wael Ghonim in his book which is entitled Revolution2.0. He was one of those who were responsible for what happened in Egypt in 2011. In fact, he created a web page titled “We Are All Khaled Said” through which he organized a call for a protest for 25 January in Cairo’s Tahrir (Liberation) Square, and this what led to masses of people who took the streets in the National Police Day for demanding their rights, social justice, enhancing the economic life as well as putting an end to Mubarak regime and control. Unlike the 1950s when 25th/01 was considered to be a celebration by policemen, this day in 2011 is just the opposite i.e. the protest movement of 2011 was at its central part an expression of anger at the brutality and cruelty of police officers including men and women. (Gawhry 29-30)

As a result, many political movements, opposition parties, and public figures supported the date of revolution. Some examples include Youth for Justice and Freedom (YJF), Coalition of the Youth of the Revolution (CYR), the Popular Democratic Movement for Change (PDMC), the Revolutionary Socialists and the National Association for Change (NAC). Also take the case of the 6 April Youth
Movement that was a major supporter of the protest and distributed 20,000 leaflets saying "I will protest on 25 January to get my rights". (Aljazeera) Other illustrations comprise The Ghad El-Thawra Party, Karama, Wafd and Democratic Front which all of them supported the protests in addition to the Muslim Brotherhood that also participated in the 25 January demonstration. Moreover, public figures including novelist Alaa Al Aswany, writer Belal Fadl, and actors Amr Waked and Khaled Aboul Naga announced they would take part. However, there are other groups that refused to play a part in the revolt like the leftist National Progressive Unionist Party (NPUP) or The Coptic Church that urged Christians not to join the protests. (Gawhry 36-39)

The Egyptian Revolution had a number of remarkable characteristics. One notable remark is that a huge range of Egyptians took part, thus giving it an enormous quantity of legitimacy and authenticity. Furthermore, the revolution had no leader(s). Indeed, as I have mentioned before there are different organizations and opposite groups like ICT, YJF, PDMC, and NAC…etc that all of them participated in the protests. Additionally, “Contrary to the analysis of foreign commentators, it was neither led by religious fundamentalists nor instigated by a hungry mob demanding cheaper food. The slogans were almost completely secular and emphasized the demands for political freedom and respect for human dignity”. (Salem 9) According to a CNN Documentary titled Egypt: Unfinished Revolution I found that the rebellion was about social justice and dignity, as could be gathered from the slogans and banners from the protests like “The Egyptian revolution is neither religionism nor factionalism”, “Bread, Justice and No More Lie”…and so on (CNN). Although it is true that Egyptians from all social groups participated, it appears that the youth were influential in starting the revolution. In fact, the revolution was started by the Egyptian
youth and later all of Egypt joined, and Saad Eddin Ibrahim concurred, stating that most revolutions are started by the youth. (Salem 9)

B. Timeline of Events:

Tunisia’s “Jasmine Revolution” has inspired popular protests against entrenched dictatorships across the Arab world, and it resonated strongly in Egypt. Hosni Mubarak’s ruling period (almost three decades) was characterized by corruption, denial of voting, in addition to other negative factors like poverty and unemployment. So, as a result thousands of people protested and took the streets demanding an end to this regime as well as to Mubarak. Accordingly, this goal was achieved in eighteen days starting from 25 January to 11 February.

January 25: On a national holiday to commemorate the police forces, Egyptians take to the streets in large numbers, calling it a "Day of Rage" (Yaoum Al Ghadab). Thousands march in downtown Cairo, heading towards the offices of the ruling NDP, as well as the foreign ministry and the state television. Similar protests are reported in other towns across the country most importantly Alexandria, Mansura, Tanta, Aswan and Assiut. After few hours, police started threatening the demonstrators who were shouting out “Down with Mubarak” in Cairo’s Tahir Square by tear gas and water cannons. Moreover the government charged the MB for stirring up the mutiny, but of course the MB denied that since it is the true.

January 26: the protests continued for the following day, and Tahir Square became the central place of the demonstrations. Police carried on using tear gas, water cannons and batons to break up protesters in Cairo. They also fired live ammunition into the air. A protester and a police officer were killed in central Cairo as anti-government demonstrators pelted security forces with rocks and firebombs in addition to many others who had been injured.
**January 27:** Mohamed ElBaradei, the former head of the UN nuclear watchdog turned democracy advocate, arrived in Egypt to join the protests which continued across several cities as the city of Sues. Hundreds had been arrested, but the protesters said they will not give up until their demand is met.

**January 28:** Media users’ especially social media like mobile phone messages and internet in Egypt report major disruption to services as the country prepares for a new wave of protests after Friday prayers. However the police also took their reservations to stop the planned protests. But still hundreds of thousands of protestors throughout the country clashed with riot police and central security forces controlled by the widely unpopular Ministry of Interior.

**January 29:** In a speech conveyed shortly in early morning, Mubarak announced that he had sacked the cabinet, but he himself would remain as a president to protect the nation. He also appointed:

National intelligence Chief Omar Suleiman as his Vice President, the first time anyone has held that office under Mubarak. He also appointed Civil Aviation Minister Ahmad Shafik as Prime Minister. Both men are considered military figures with close ties to the President. The moves failed to calm public anger… The army was also deployed to protect important national sites, such as the Central Bank, Ministry of Information, and the Egyptian Museum in Tahrir Square. (Sharp 3)

**January 30:** Thousands of protesters remain in Cairo's Tahrir Square. The Army declared that it would not be part in the protests (neutral position). As a matter
of fact, the soldiers did not used force against the demonstrators. Also in this day many foreign countries such as Turkey, US and UK advised their citizens to leave Egypt as soon as possible.

**January 31:** Almost 250,000 people gathered in Tahrir Square and hundreds marched through Alexandria since Mubarak continued to express his intentions to remain in power. US president said the Egyptian government must engage with its people to resolve current unrest.

**February 1:** Hosni Mubarak announces in a televised address that he will not run for re-election but refuses to step down from office. Mohamed ElBaradei was not convinced by this and he said that this was a trick. Consequently it was estimated that nearly one million protesters had gathered in Tahrir Square,

**February 2:** Preparations began for another day of demonstrations against President Hosni Mubarak’s regime. The army was still deployed with tanks throughout different positions in and around Tahrir Square. In addition internet services were to some extent restored in Cairo after a five-day shutdown aimed at stymieing protests, this in one hand. In the other hand, a huge crowd of pro-Mubarak strongmen, some riding on horses and camels, stormed Tahrir Square on Wednesday morning and attacked anti-government protestors with metal rods, stones, and sticks.

**February 3:** Bursts of heavy gunfire early aimed at anti-government demonstrators in Tahrir Square, left at least five people dead and several more wounded.

**February 4 & 5:** Hundreds of thousands of anti-government protesters gather in Cairo's Tahrir Square for what they have termed the "Day of Departure". In addition to the 300 people that had been killed across the country since protests began,
the leadership of Egypt's ruling NDP also resigned, including Jamal Mubarak, the son of Hosni Mubarak. The new secretary-general of the party is Hossam Badrawi, “seen as a member of the liberal wing of the party”.

**February 6:** The MB said in a statement that it "has decided to participate in a dialogue round in order to understand how serious the officials are in dealing with the demands of the people". (Aljazeera M) Furthermore Banks officially re-open for 3.5 hours, and traffic police are back on the streets in Cairo, in attempts to get the capital to start returning to normal.

**February 7:** Thousands were camping out in Tahrir Square, refusing to budge. While banks had reopened, schools and the stock exchange remain closed. Egypt's government approved a 15 per cent increase in salaries and pensions in a bid to calm down the angry masses. Wael Ghonim was released from state custody which led to bring thousands more into Tahrir.

**February 8:** Protesters continue to gather at Tahrir Square, reaching the highest number in the square. Omar Suleiman, the vice-president, warned that his government "can't put up with continued protests" for a long time. But at the same time, he also announced a slew of constitutional and legislative reforms.

**February 9:** Labor unions joined protesters in the street, with some of them calling for Mubarak to step down while others simply call for better pay. Massive strikes started rolling throughout the country.

**February 10:** Mubarak gave a televised speech in which he repeated his promise to not run in the next presidential elections and to "continue to shoulder" his responsibilities in the "peaceful transition" that he said will take place in September.
As a reaction Protesters waved their shoes in the air, and demanded the army join them in revolt.

**February 11:** After millions of people took to the streets across Egypt in angry protests, Hosni Mubarak finally resigned as president and hands over power to the SCAF. This announcement was made by Omar Suleiman, the vice-president, just after 16:00 GMT.

**February 12:** People celebrate in Tahrir Square until early morning. Pro-democracy protesters start to clean the square. Moreover, the country’s new military rulers (SCAF) promised to hand power to an elected, civilian government.7

C. Causes and results:

- **Causes:**

In Egypt, political, economic and social pressures had been rising for a long time before the start of the protests which resulted in Mubarak’s downfall on 11 February. First of all, the economic factors were undoubtedly one of the major drivers that led to the Egyptian Arab Spring. Indeed one of the most famous mottos in that uprising was “Bread, Freedom, and Social Justice”. (Aljazeera) So, the writers of Democratization in the Arab World: Prospects and Lessons from around the Globe, found that prior to the revolution on the 25th of January, the economy in Egypt as a whole was performing better than ever. GDP growth had shifted into a much higher gear, increasing from just below 5% in the mid-1990s to 7% in 2006-08. (Figure 4.1 in Appendix) Even though most of researchers and scientific figures show that the GDP was in its highest development, but this did not mean that all people were satisfied because this benefited just the upper class or in more accurate words “regime’s narrow social base.” (Bakr 64) As a consequence, the gap between the rich and the poor
classes was enlarged more and more. Adding up to this, another gigantic economic problem had appeared namely unemployment that reached 9.7% and most notably among young, educated and graduated people. Likewise corruption went beyond the limits, “with Egypt rated 80th in the world” (ibid) especially concerning food prices.

Second, the social issues also had a direct influence on the Egyptian Arab Spring. To be sure, the demographics that saw an explosive mix of high population growth reaching 83 million, living in a congested 6% of geographic space in Egypt had its negative impact. In fact, the population was characterized by young age, being without a job growth with rapid extension of university education that has produced graduates with an inadequate level of quality education, leading to no hope in the future, and this what I had mentioned before. (Salem 36-37) In fact, two-thirds of Egyptians are under 30, and each year 700,000 new graduates compete for 200,000 new jobs (Bakr 67) and this is similar to what is happening in my own country.

The political system in Egypt was characterized by corruption and dishonesty. As a matter of truth, human rights were abused and violated particularly after the enactment of the emergency law. In fact, this emergency law (Law No. 162 of 1958) was enacted after the 1967 Six-Day War. Under the law, police powers were extended, constitutional rights were on the edge, censorship was legitimized, and the government might put in prison individuals indefinitely and without reason. The law sharply limits any non-governmental political activity, including street demonstrations, non-approved political organizations, and unregistered financial donations. The Mubarak government has cited the threat of terrorism in order to extend the emergency law, especially after the assassination of Anwar Sadat, claiming that opposition groups like the MB could come into power in Egypt if the current government did not forgo parliamentary elections and suppress the group through actions allowed under
emergency law. This has led to the imprisonment of activists without trials, illegal undocumented hidden detention facilities, and rejecting university, mosque, and newspaper staff members based on their political inclination (Wood 95-97)

The case of Khalid Said resembles the case of Mohamed Bouazizi in Sidi Bouzid, and it is the best example that illustrates what have been said before. On June 6, 2010, two police officers entered an Alexandrian Internet café and began asking for people’s ID cards. However, 28 year old Khaled Said objected to being searched without a warrant, so the police officers began beating and kicking him, before dragging him out of the café. They began smashing his head into a concrete wall and some said iron door, before throwing him into their car, returning a few minutes later and dumping his corpse on the street (Wood 128), thus this inspired people for protesting against police brutality and cruelty.

Other examples include mistreatment with minority groups like Christians, “Nubians and the Bedouins of Sinai”. (Bakr 65) Moreover, the hereditary system that Mubarak’ government try to achieve through amending many laws in order to pave the way for Jamal Mubarak to be a president in the election of 2011. Also, deceiving and misleading the election results mainly those of 2010, “which gave the NDP an unprecedented majority”. Additionally, the Egyptian government failed in dealing with crisis or with new events such as the Egyptian Arab Spring. (ibid 66)

The Egyptian Revolution is sometimes called the “Facebook Revolution” or “Twitter Revolution”. This indicates that media in general and social media in particular played a major role in the recent events that characterized Egypt two years ago. As a matter of fact, one Egyptian said that “If your government shuts down your Internet, it’s time to shut down your government.” Yes it is true that the Mubarak regime stopped the internet as well as the cell phones for several days since this ICT
had helped in connecting the protesters with each others. It had also facilitated in organizing the revolt. At the same time, it makes anything happen in or outside Egypt so popular like the case of Khaled Said who become so famous in Egypt because of a Facebook webpage which was created by Wael Ghonim titled “We are all Khaled Said”, and it attracted more than 500,000 people in a very short time. (Sabadello 1-3)

From one side there are those economic, social, political and ICT factors that I may call domestic ones. In the other side, there are other external causes that led to the 25 January upheaval, most importantly, the Egyptian foreign policy. It is obvious that Egypt is the biggest Arab state, and it is the first state that signed a peace accord with Israel. In fact, Benn Aluf stated in his own article which is entitled "A prayer for the Health of the Rais," that "of all the [the entire] world's statesmen, the one closest to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak". (Sharp 13-16) In other words, thanks to Mubarak, Egypt became the strategic ally of Israel, as well as Israel's primary supplier of energy. Egypt has also ensured Israel’s stability and security. Of course, Egyptians have always refused the Camp David peace agreement, and since the fall of President Hosni Mubarak, “calls have grown in Egypt for ending the 1979 peace treaty with Israel.” (ibid) Besides the good relation that Egypt had with Israel, Cairo during Mubarak regime had also a solid alliance with the United States in addition to the high influence on Palestinian parties. (ibid) All in all, the Egyptian Arab Spring did not come from scratch, but in fact it was the result of many intermingled factors namely economic, social, ICT, political, and international ones.
Results:

“Azrael, the archangel of death, comes down to Hosni Mubarak and tells him he must say goodbye to the Egyptian people. ‘Why, where are they going?’ he asks.”

— Egyptian joke (qtd in. Lynch, Glasser and Hounshell 8) —

Any upheaval or revolution in this world and throughout history had its own sequences, and the Arab Spring in general and the example of Egypt in specific are totally not an exception. Indeed Noha Bakr argued that:

The Western media and press have described the revolutions in the Arab world as “the Arab Spring”. However, the Arab world climate is characterized as being bi-seasonal only; there is a winter and summer, with only sandstorms in between, as spring and autumn do not exist. In other words, to reach summer from winter there must be a sand storm phase. (70)

There were many changes on the economic level in Egypt after the 25 January Revolution (Thawrat Yanayir). When the banking sector tried to be optimistic and opened its doors, the currency of Egypt decreased from almost 6 to 5.80 against the dollar but some considered that this decrease is very slight and normal as well. Unlike the currency, the GDP saw a noticeable decline after the uprising. Adding up tourism incomes also declined by 22% from the time when Said was killed by the police officers. But in the other hand the MB will make things better because of “their
financial resources and regional support of certain powers, allowing them to play the role of the state, and fulfill grass roots needs.” (ibid 70-71)

On the social level, people were in a way or another disappointed. One reason is that they were expecting much freedom and also a new social contract that stands on social justice. However me myself I think that they have much more freedom than they had in Mubarak’s regime since they guaranteed the freedom of speech, press and the other kinds by President Morse himself from one of his speeches on Aljazeera and Nile channel. Another reason is women and minorities’ rights. They were afraid because the MB won in the presidential election and as a result this may lead to a fundamentalist and Islamist rule like that of Iran or Taliban. Therefore, their rights including dress, freedom, and political representation will be limited and restricted. The final reason is the lack of security. As a consequence to the revolt, “4000 police vehicles were destroyed, thereby [this affected] mobile security capacity”. (ibid 79)

The most important consequences of the Egyptian Arab Spring are on the political level. So, the first immediate result was the overthrow of Mubarak’s government on 11th February, 2011. After that, the Prime ministers namely Nazif and Shafik resigned from office. Next, power was transferred to SCAF in which the Armed Forces took control of everything till the presidential election. Then the constitution was suspended and the parliament was closed in addition to dissolving the NDP but its members were not prohibited from political life. Moreover, the emergency law stopped and lifted thus much freedom and rights were guaranteed for the people. Also, the SCAF followed a good strategy in inspecting political dossiers and fiscal corruption as well. After two months, the “The process of construction of democratic institutions began … in the form of a referendum on a short list constitution declaration, with legislative elections held in September, followed by presidential elections” that
resulted in MB ‘s winning and Mohamed Morse as the new president of Egypt. Finally
they started writing a new constitution. (ibid 72)
• **Conclusion:**

The Arab Spring is a term that describes the events that happened in the Arab world in the two years ago. This term was first used by the Western media to portray the riots, civil resistance, demonstrations, strike actions, self-immolation, online activism, and the clash between the protesters and the police that happened all over North Africa and the Middle East countries. Those revolutions started first in Tunisia then in Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, and Kuwait. The Arab Spring was the result of many reasons, but what I have found is that Westerners had nothing to do with it (according to the documents and sources that I have used). However, it was the creation of Arab people’s free will and suffers. Indeed, people were suffering from dictatorship, police brutality, electoral fraud, political censorship, widespread corruption, high unemployment, food price inflation, low minimum wages, human rights violations and demographic structural factors. Obviously, these movements had led to a number of effects but most importantly on the political level. As a matter of truth they led to the overthrow of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Hosni Mubarak, Muammar Gaddafi’s governments, and Yemeni Ali Abdullah Saleh ousted and his power was handed to a national unity government. In contrast, other demonstration had led to just some changes in government’s decisions like in Morocco, Oman, Jordon and Kuwait. Unlike the previous protests that at least led to governmental reforms, protests in Algeria, Saudi Arabia and other countries did not even threaten the regimes or those in power.

Those famous revolutions took people’s attention from all over the world and particularly the Egyptian one which started in 25 January 2011. Indeed nobody imagined that Egyptians would protest against their government that lasted over 25 years. Mubarak’s regime was removed from power after just 18 days since the start of
the revolt. The Egyptian Arab Spring was born because of many causes most of them are economic, social, and political factors. Adding up the ICT which played a major role in all the Arab Uprising generally and the Egyptian one particularly. Moreover, Egypt foreign relation with Israel and US in addition to the previous protest (the Jasmine Revolution) also urged the Egyptian people for protesting. It is so obvious that this revolution had enormous results. In fact, it influenced negatively the economic, social and political conditions at least according to some Egyptian people.

However, me myself I still insist and persist on the word Arab Spring. I think that anything in this world has a dark side, but it also has a bright one. At least, the Arab people proved for themselves first and then to the rest of the world that if they want something and they really have free will, they will get it. Similarly, I think that people should not be precipitate, when judging their new leaders, instead they should be patient and wait for the fruits of their protest; they should give their presidents an opportunity to make the changes and the reforms they asked for since they are human being not wizards that can make all of this possible in just one or two months.
➢ Endnotes:

1. Al-Baath party is a political party and movement influential among Arab communities in the Middle East. From its earliest development, the motivation behind Baathist political thought and its leading supporters was the need to produce a means of reasserting the Arab spirit in the face of foreign domination. Moral and cultural deterioration, it was felt, had so weakened the Arabs that Western supremacy spread throughout the Middle East. Arabs needed a regeneration of the common heritage of people in the region to drive off debilitating external influences (Encarta).

2. For example, In the 1950s it seemed that socialism was the right model for the Arabs to adopt, whereas in the 1990s it was capitalism, free enterprise, privatization, and openness to the world that were supposed to have been the engine of growth. What is the economic philosophy that is now supposed to extricate Egypt from its chronic economic crisis: planned socialism for a non-functional state or capitalism that is going to exacerbate the inequality, poverty, and rage of the masses? (Yadlin 14)

3. Benghazi is considered to be the second largest metropolis in Libya.

4. JMP is a coalition which included the Islamist Islah and the Yemeni Socialist Party.

5. They are a racial group living in Southern Egypt, and have their own unwritten language and have grievances because of forcing them to move to new less prosperous locations during the building of the High Dam in the fifties.

6. Muslim Brotherhood, international Islamic organization based in Egypt and working toward an increased Islamic role in government and society. Hassan al-Bannah, an Egyptian schoolteacher from a small town in the Nile Delta, founded the Brotherhood in 1928 as a small social club. Bannah sought the formation of an “Islamic System” that would gradually reform civic, social, family, and educational organizations, which he believed had been torn apart by Western secularism (non-
religiosity) and materialism. In their stead, he would re-create the unified Islamic community, or *umma*, that had existed centuries before. Bannah did not advocate the overthrow of governments, but he considered any person or group who opposed his goals to be an enemy. By linking his authoritarian credo to Egyptian nationalism, Bannah’s ideology inspired thousands of college students, young professionals, and others over the next two decades. (Encarta)

7. The above outline is brought from Aljazeera as well as from *Democratization in the Arab World: Prospects and Lessons from Around the Globe*. For further information visit the following website:

Chapter Two: Media and Democratization


- **Introduction:**

  “We use Facebook to schedule the protests, Twitter to coordinate, and YouTube [or TV satellites] to tell the world.”

  -Message on social networks by Anonymous Cairo activist-

  The spread of technology attached with the speed of communications has made the globe a “twenty-four-hour news theatre”. In fact, computers have improved dramatically in speed over the last decade; satellites have facilitated clearer and cheaper communications. Electronic novelties have brought in smaller, lighter and cheaper media tools allowing more speedily program, report production and transmission. But, there is only one organization that takes advantage of all those developments in the field of ICT which is the media. (Hulme 10) Actually, this made the media more powerful since it affects and reaches people more than ever before. Moreover it may also cover any events at any time and any place. As a result, this organization played a major role in constructing the world’s history like innovations, discoveries, wars, peace treaties, and crisis … etc. So, one of the most important events that media is involved in, particularly in recent time, is the Arab Spring. According to the first chapter, I have concluded that media was crucial, essential as well as a key factor that led to what is named the Arab Spring. Finally, the Egyptian Revolution is one of the previous movements that was covered and presented differently by the media, specifically by two famous, influential and powerful channels Aljazeera and CNN.

  For that reason, this second chapter will be centered on the media and its important role in the 2011 uprisings. And to achieve that, I have divided this chapter into three parts. The first one is a general background to media. That is to say that I will tackle its definition, short historical survey, types, and media ecology. However
the second part is more practical than theoretical. This means that this part will focus on the impact of media by its entire types classical and new (social) media on the Arab Spring. I am also going to talk about the western media and its participation and contribution about the Arab Spring.

- **Part 1: Media**

  **A. Definition:**

  Media is the process that provides people with news, data and faithful information by using varied and special means. It is the definition of all the matters and problems that characterize the contemporary years as well as the different procedures that each country or system follows to solve those problems and issues through using the available interior and exterior media means. However, some scholars like the German Ottogerot argues that media is the objective expression of the masses’ mentality as well as their spirit, tendencies and trends at the same time. But, I disagree with him and go along with Dollymi because he thinks that the reality of the media should normally be based on providing people with the most correct information or at least clear facts that depend on the enlightenment, education and dissemination of sincere news and information that flow into the people’s minds and raise their level, in addition to publish their cooperation in the public interest. (54-57)

  Additionally, media may also provide people with the greatest lies, misinformation and stirring instincts methods that are based on deception, forgery and illusion. As a result, it had published false news and information, or irritation of lust and hatred reasons which generally lead to conflict, diminish the level of the people and by that media became an agent to serve the enemies of the nation, and then fly to their instincts, rather than their minds. Because of these two contradictory definitions, I think that the best definition is the one that must include scientific types i.e. combined
sincere media and the false one. Accordingly media is the transfer of information, knowledge and cultures, intellectual and behavioral in certain way (to the minds or to the instincts) through the media’s different instruments that are responsible for receiving and delivering data and information to the public. (ibid 58)

The definition of media without referring to its importance is totally not adequate. In fact, the role of media in society is very important to the extent that governments have assigned allocated sections, government departments and ministries to be responsible on the media since it is a very significant tool that is used to achieve internal and external objectives through its diverse means. On the internal level, media increase the cultural level of the masses and increase the development of their social and economic conditions. However on the external level, media circles aimed at defining the people’s civilizations and the Governments’ views about national issues to the whole world. Adding up, the social, economic and political institutions also focused on the media simply because it serves their objectives and help in their prosperity. Moreover, what really show that the media is so important is that the country with powerful media is strong and capable. As a result, it has become a president or a key factor in the survival of some states, especially those where it is the first major pillar that is submitted on the rest of the other pillars of the state mainly because media means have a great impact on the public whether positively or negatively. (ibid 58-63)

- **Historical survey:**

Media is a modern word that generally means the tool by which people could send and receive data. This data or information are transmitted through different types of media means including books, newspapers, magazines, films, radio, television and
internet. So those means are also sometimes known as “channel of communication”
that inform, educate and entertain people. However, as I have said before the term
media appeared in the twentieth century which means that in ancient time men rode
their horses and travel for a long time in order to convey or spread particular news to
other people across the country. But, this changed after the different inventions (like
paper, telegraph …) that turned and developed the form of communication. (Al
Dollymi 90)

Before the innovation of paper, people were writing on rocks, leather, palm and
leaves. But after that the invention of paper paved the way for other development
concerning mass communication. So, the history of media starts by the printed books,
yet they were handwritten books in form of texts, tracts, pamphlets and codex. After
that, books also grew mainly after the emergence of libraries, professional authors and
the mechanical printing that replaced writing by hand. Printing was first developed and
introduced by the German Johannes Gutenberg in 1439. Consequently, another media
tool appeared around the fifteenth century that was newspapers that were first
published in Eastern Europe namely Germany, Italy and Netherland. Later on, it
spread all over the world. However, the twentieth century is considered as the golden
century for the development of newspapers since they really became a powerful mass
media means as a result there were different types of them mainly economic, political,
sportive, or popular ones. Finally, the printing process gave birth for other print media
forms like “songs, plays, poems, reports, maps… and the most significant is probably
periodicals.” (McQuail 24-31)

The printing media in addition to the needs of the people had led to the
invention of broadcasting media which is composed of devices and systems that
transmit electronic or visual signals across long distances. This was initiated by the
The introduction of electric telegraph by Samuel Morse in the late nineteenth century. As a result the “Italian electrical engineer and Nobel laureate Guglielmo Marconi” (Encarta) had invented the radio. In fact, by 1901 he had broadcasted a signal from Cornwall, England to Newfoundland in Canada. After immense developments in communication technology, radio was also developed to the point that cellular radio telephones were created. Indeed, they became one of the most important and widespread uses of radio communication which made millions of people tuned in or adjust their radio to receive music, news and entertainment programming. The following invention that shocked the world after the radio was the television. In contrast to radio, television was and is able to send voice messages as well as pictures. It was one of the most technological wonders of the twentieth century that was invented by Baird in 1920. The beginnings were modest and slow, but television got its start as a mass communication means shortly after the 1950s. In addition, it was so popular and turned out to be available in color in 1982. Nowadays, there is no home in the whole world do not include not just one, but two or more televisions because of its importance as well as different functions especially after the emergence of communication networks. (Turow 67-69)

Development and widespread use of ICT had resulted in improving the media means mainly the emergence of computers, internet and cell phones. True computers were developed during World War II. Then in 1989, the form of computers has changed and improved to portable notebook which made the computers easy to be carried in a briefcase or backpack and could also be powered with a battery.

Computers could be used in different ways like education, preserving documents for easy access, playing games, watching videos, cataloging records and books … etc. The internet in the other hand is composed of many interconnected computer networks. Each network may link thousands or even millions of computers. (Turow 80) So,
together computers are a link to social contacts through electronic mail (e-mail), text-messaging, personal Web pages, blogs, and chat groups. In addition, they allow quick and convenient access to news and sport information on the WWW consequently the internet enables people to share information and communicate with one another effectively and inexpensively.

Unlike broadcasting media, such as radio and television, the Internet does not have a centralized distribution system. Instead, an individual who has Internet access can communicate directly with anyone else on the Internet, post information for general consumption, retrieve information, use distant applications and services, or buy and sell products. (McQuail 38-40) Lastly, the cell phones were “portable telephones that operate through a cellular radio network” (Encarta dictionary); they were invented in the late of the twentieth century. Mobile phones function like portable or “cordless telephones” as a result they do not necessitate the “proximity to a jack to access the wire-based networks operated by local telephone companies”. (Frieden Encarta) Nowadays’ cell phones include new services such as videoconferencing, which means holding meeting via video, and internet access therefore they become very popular and greatly used by almost all the people of the whole world.

B. Types of media:

According to the oxford dictionary media is the main means of communication that also known as the mass media which is projected to achieve a large audience. The technology through which this communication takes place varies like newspapers, books, magazines, billboards, radio, television, and internet … etc. But in the early 21st century media means could be classified into two main categories namely traditional and new media.
Traditional media which is also known as classical or mainstream media includes many media industries. For example, print media that includes means of expression but usually on paper; it uses physical objects to distribute its information. For that this type comprises books (that started first in form of scrolls, codex and then to books). Another element that is also involved in the print media is newspapers which trace their root to ancient Rome, then the “first newspapers appeared in China during the Tang dynasty (AD 618-907)” (Turow 49-51) After that they were printed and spread to Venice, Italy in the 14th century, Britain in the 18th century and then to the rest of the world. Other components take in periodicals or magazines and pamphlets. One more examples of traditional media is broadcast media which transmit its data electronically such as recordings (gramophone records, magnetic tapes, cassettes, cartridges, CDs, and DVDs) from the late 1890s, radio that was invented by the Italian electrical engineer Guglielmo Marconi in 1895-1905, and television which was the creation of many scientists and inventors notably Philo T. Farnsworth and Vladimir Zworykin in 1930. (ibid 53)

The new, digital or social media is best understood as a group of new kinds of online media that users can easily participate in, share and create content for. It consists of many communication means most importantly the internet and cell phones. Mayfield defines social media:

[To] be a group of new kinds of online media, which share most or all of the following characteristics: participation, openness, conversation, community, and connectedness? […] A good way to think about Social Media is that all of this is actually just about being human beings
sharing ideas, cooperating and collaborating to
create, art, thinking and commerce, vigorous debate
and discourse, finding people who might be good
friends, allies and lovers. (qtd. in Brussee and
Hekman 6)

First of all, the internet media provides many mass media services such as
social networks which allow people to build personal web pages and then connect with
friends to share content and communication. For example, MySpace, Facebook¹ and
Twitter²; blogs that are online journals or diaries with intended for public viewing as
MSN Space or Body Shop. Wikis enable readers to create and edit articles or alter
content on a Web page like Wikipedia. Other media services are podcasts by which
audio and video files are available by subscription, through services like Apple and
iTunes; content communities which organize and share particular kinds of content, and
the most popular content communities tend to form around photos (Flickr),
bookmarked links (del.icio.us) and videos (YouTube³). (Livesey 1-4)

The second significant element of the digital media is mobile phones. Unlike
telephone that was created by Alexander Graham Bell to be that is considered
classical, the mobile is absolutely a new media since it is equipped with internet access
and capable of connecting to the Web which itself is a mass medium. In addition, it is
composed of other options like music, videos, games, various news, advertising
services, Bluetooth…, and also extra programs as Microsoft office (Word, PowerPoint,
Excel…) and pdf format that allow reading printed books or any other written
documents. The most important thing concerning mobiles is being portable,
permanently carried and always connected. For that reason, the cell phones could in a
way or another replace computers.
All in all, media is composed of different means that all aim at sending and receiving information from and to the people. So, according to the 21st century, media is divided into two divisions: traditional that includes print and broadcasting media, and digital which consists of the internet and mobile phones. However, I think that by time there will be no traditional media and as a matter of fact there is no channel, newspaper, journal, periodical…etc that does not have its official website on the internet like Aljazeera, CNN, BBC, New York Times, Foreign Policy journal …. Moreover, according to the recent statistics of 2012, the users of the social media are increasing from one year to the next because instead of buying a particular newspaper; magazine or even book, people can have all that on the internet and in most time for free. Finally and as a consequence, traditional or classical media are now using information and data offered through new media, which I think is a good step. New media will not substitute traditional media, but it is favored by youthful generations for the comparatively rich content base.

C. Media ecology:

The word ecology means the study of the relationship between living organisms and their interaction with their natural or developed environment (Oxford dictionary). So, media ecology stands for the relation between media and its environments most importantly the society, and what kind of relationship exactly as well. Because of the utter significance of the media to the extent that the powerful one presents a strong society, scholars and experts like Hebert had defined and explained the relation between media and its environment as an interdependence or symbiotic relationship. In other words, the society (environment) creates the national media system which by its turn works on developing, improving or even changing the society. Accordingly, there
is a mutual beneficial relationship between the two which makes the existence of each one depends on the other. (Al-Hachimi 34-35)

The following paradigm that is presented by Hebert and his colleagues (in figure 1) explain more and more the interdependence relationship between media and society (ibid 38).

**Figure 1: Media System Paradigm**

According to this model, there is balance between media and society since their relation is based on reciprocal dependence. So, in any society there are conditions or powers that interact in many and special ways in order to create a powerful media system. This system is used to accomplish various and different purposes which influence or help in reformulating that society. To conclude, society has an impact on the media; of course and without doubt the media affects the society (people) as well, and this is what I can call symbiosis.
• **Part 2: The Impact of Media on the Arab Spring**

The year 2011 has been characterized by a sequence of uprisings that are called the Arab Spring. And of course this event had influenced one of the most important organizations in the world that is the media. As it is mentioned before there are two types of media which are traditional and new ones. Each one has its own remarkable role in the so called Arab Spring.

A. **Traditional media influence on the Arab Spring:**

Traditional media took a very momentous part in the Arab Spring. In fact, the number of newspapers in the Arab world, and particularly in those countries where there were mutinies, had increased rapidly to over 60%; for example in Egypt, the number of newspaper had soared to more than 500. The reason behind that was first because most of them became increasingly encouraged in their criticism of the regimes. For instance, “the influential Egyptian newspaper *al-Dustour* accused Mubarak of using the Brotherhood as a scarecrow. Mubarak says, ‘Its [it’s] me or the jihadists’.” (Wood 109) In addition, newspaper editors and writers were covering “free speech issues, which had sent them to jail” (ibid 125) which means that their writings or articles were serious as a result they attracted the readers.

Another reason was the events which formulate the environment that influenced the traditional media, and by its turn it influenced the society since it is a subject that all people all over the world want to know about its progress or whether there is anything new or not. This case resembles what happened in Algeria in 2009 when there was a conflict between it and Egypt. Indeed, the number of Al-Chorouk newspapers in Algeria before this conflict was between 200,000 and 300,000 newspapers, but after that problem they got higher and higher to almost reach two
million copies. This also proves what I have mentioned before concerning the interdependence relationship between media and its environment.

The Arab Spring was also the subject or the head title of approximately all the magazines and journals of 2011/2012. For example, Mark Engler wrote an article in the *Dissent Magazine* entitled “Organizing the Egyptian Rebellion”. Another article written by Fareed Zakaria in *Time Magazine* was titled “How Democracy Can Work in the Middle East”, in addition to other hundreds if not thousands of articles, letters, or caricatures that were all about the Arab Spring. So, this event inspired the entire media means like *Time Magazine* in which its editors were so inspired by the protests and the protesters as well “to name [its] Person of the Year for 2011 ‘The Protester’, in a tribute to those individuals who made up the revolutionary movements in the [MENA]”. (Storck 42) As a consequence, the media also enthused the rest of the people like in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria…etc to revolt against their regimes.

Not just magazines, even journals were so inflamed by the Arab Spring like *Global Media Journal, International Journal of Business Research and Management (IJBRM), Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, The Wall Street Journal*, and *Journal of Democracy* …. Each journal had tackled the topic of the Arab Spring from different point. That is to say that some of them concentrated on its reasons or results, others on the international responses to it, while other focused on one particular issue like the role of ICT in the Arab Spring. Besides, writers, scholars and experts had also wrote books about those protests like *One Year of the Arab Spring: Global and Regional Implications* by Yoel Guzansky and Mark A. Heller, *Democratization in the Arab World: Prospect and Lessons from around the Globe* by Laurel E Miller and et al, *The Arab Uprising: Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East* by Mart Lynch, or Hamid Dabashi’s book *The Arab Spring: the End of Postcolonialism* …. Those books
along with others were so popular in the world in general and in the MENA in particular. For the most essential reason that is people were interested to read or know anything written or even broadcasted about the Arab Spring therefore people were influenced by the media as well as this helped in popularizing the Arab Spring to all human being.

As I have mentioned above, the print media was so inspired by the Arab Spring thus media by its turn helped mostly in universalizing those movements to the rest of the world, but this did not stop at that level. As a matter of fact, the broadcasting media also had a great impact on the Arab Spring. Indeed, the “stories of revolution and social unrest in neighboring countries crossed borders via traditional media such as TV, newspaper, and radio.” (Dewey and et al 26) In other words, television and radio had been the single actual means for whether the richest people or the poorest peasants to get their daily news. For me, I think that the radio was not as useful and important as the television because there is no large audience that follows the different radio programs. However, the television was and is still of utter importance in nowadays events especially after the emergence of the private satellite television channels since the 1990s. For the reason that it had an extensive impact on news and entertainment throughout the entire MENA mainly because they were free channels. Adding up, Bardici argued that the present media is characterized by many transformations like “‘the emergence of media privatization, the introduction of private satellite television channels’, and the spread of privately owned print and online newspapers by the opposition”. (4)

In contrast, the state TV channels were deeply censored by the regimes consequently; they showed much selected images of the revolution. For example, “while in the Tahrir Square there were around 2 million people, main TV channels
broadcasted music videos [or even typical propaganda that give no information about the demonstrations]. At the same time, the internet and satellite TV broadcasted the protests from the main square”; for that reason, there was a clear disconnection between the regime and the people as well as they were looking at those state channels as “a joke”. (Prokhorov 28) In the other hand, people adored the private channels most significantly Aljazeera that allowed them to see what really was happening in the world in general and the MENA in specific.

So Aljazeera plus other private channels offered groundwork for the hostility that would promote the Arab Spring. Wood said:

In the late 1990’s the information environment of the Arab world transformed, as satellite television opened up a sphere for political communication and broke the ability of the state to control the flow of information. This new public space was able to unify Arab discourse on a number of concerns from issues in Palestine and Iraq to political reform inside of the state. (119)

Wood approvingly quoted Lynch who remarked that “Aljazeera in particular became a source of common knowledge in Arab political life, setting the agenda and galvanizing anger over offenses to Arab issues and ideals. It also fueled political protest movements…” (qtd. in Wood 119-120) since it was the major broadcaster of the revolutions particularly after its constant and steady live streaming specially of the Egyptian one. Thus, the pan-Arab satellite-TV mainly Aljazeera represent, contribute to and facilitate those demonstrations. Samuel had emphasized on the importance of the private channels and the role of television for that he argued:
Al-Jazeera and other pan-Arab satellite-TV channels have changed the way the Arab public view social and political events in their own region and have given them a voice of their own. Just as Egyptian President Gamel Abdel Nasser united Arabs under the flag of pan-Arabism, pan-Arab satellite-TV unites Arabs worldwide and fosters an image of an [a] unique and distinct Arab identity.

(57)

Moreover, the magnitude of anti-state channels is revealed through disturbing and troubling them; this indeed can be achieved through two ways. The first method was making it nearly impossible to get the information from the place where there is social unrest initially because reporters were often weak and unprotected which made them “sensitive targets”. Since, they were also disallowed or forbidden entering to dangerous regions or, once allowed in areas of turbulence, infrequently annoyed, wounded, or even murdered. Adding up, the offices of Aljazeera that were located at the demonstrations’ areas, like that of Cairo were battered and their journalists detained by state’s agents. However this did not stop them. As a matter of fact, TV, radio and even newspapers have used videos, photos and other data that are all available on social media like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube so as to obtain the information for their own media reporting. (Dewey and et al 27) (Image 3 in Appendix) The second method that I have concluded with after the regular watching of the pan-Arab satellite TV news essentially Aljazeera and particularly during the Arab Awakening was through “jamming the channels”. That is to say that the regimes tried to block up the independent stations which are against them by perturbing and
disturbing the signals; therefore, they would stop working. But this did not happen because other channels as Al Mustakila owed its frequency to Aljazeera … etc.

Despite the fact that Aljazeera and other independent channels played a fundamental role in covering and reporting the protests as they take place, permitting ideas, stimulation and plans to cross-borders, uniting together the Arab world (Chalcraft 13), the protest planners and organizers depended heavily on social media resources like Facebook, Twitter, blogs and YouTube to arrange the initial protests mainly Tunisian and Egyptian ones as well as to get their new news. (Figure 11 Appendix) For the reason that from the early beginning of the upheavals, there was nothing related to unrest reported on television or written in newspapers, as a result people turned to digital media. (Sohail and Chebib 145-146)

B. Social networking and new media influence on the Arab Spring:

“We had no freedom of assembly in the streets of Cairo, so we assembled in cyberspace instead.”

-- Egyptian activist

“I’ve always said that if you want to liberate a society, just give them the Internet,”

-- Wael Ghonim

The remarkable growth of the Internet during the twenty-first century, as well as the advance and broaden of sophisticated cellular phone technology, has made possible and propped up the unparalleled expansion of social media, generally considered to be any web-based or mobile communications technology that permits the creation and swap of user-generated content. Scholars like Kaplan and Haenlein have categorized social media into six types: “open-source, collaborative projects, blogs and micro-blogs, content communities, social networking sites, virtual game worlds, and
virtual social worlds”. (Khan 56-57) However, in this dissertation I focus on the social media that was most commonly used in the Arab Spring namely Facebook (as illustrated in image 2 in the Appendix), Twitter and YouTube in addition to cell phones. The Arab Spring in fact is sometimes referred to as the “Facebook Revolutions” or “Twitter Uprisings” which indicates that social media had played a major role in these movements. Indeed, according to Aljazeera’s reporting and coverage of the Arab Spring, the young protesters used new media’s tools whether through working online at computer cafes, on laptop or mobile phones. (Aljazeera)

While local protests began in Sidi Bouzid right away after Bouazizi’s self-immolation, YouTube and Facebook played a big role in mobilizing Tunisian educated or even graduated youth. Videos of Bouazizi’s suicide quickly appeared online and sparked the first demonstrations. Later, videos of police clashes with demonstrators fueled the country’s anger. Separately from organizational purposes, social media sites also supplied the vital role of information provider. As one Tunisian activist stated, “Protestors took to the streets with a rock in one hand, a cell phone in the other”. (Aljazeera English) Precedent manifestations in Tunisia have once in a blue moon been able to grow up for the reason that the state media was strongly managing the news. However, as progressively more videos of protests came into view online, they were in the long run attained by global media such as Aljazeera and other disseminated worldwide. Tunisian protesters paid their attention on “breaking the media blackout” and thinning out a steady flow of information. This allowed videos to ultimately get in touch with sites like YouTube, which was prohibited by the regime. As a result, the majority of Tunisians did not vigorously take part on Facebook or Twitter until they make sure of Ben Ali’s removal. (Storck 5) Yet, this does not mean that they were not using social media, but instead their identities were hidden in order not be arrested or
jailed. Indeed, the Tunisian youth used the Facebook to organize actions, spread information or raise awareness about the actual reasons of their demonstrations. (Figure 7 Appendix)

Whenever the Egyptian Revolution is mentioned, Khaled Said is mentioned as well. In fact, he was considered as the one who fueled the Egyptian protests like Bouazizi in Tunisia specifically after Wael Ghonim’s Web Page. In 2011, “We Are All Khaled Said” Facebook page had attracted more than 500,000 members, who brought together around their common frustration with mistreatment of power by authorities under Egypt’s emergency law. The group page continued to depict other similar abuses—wrongful arrests, torture and government corruption. Then, On January 18, 2011, graduate student Asmaa Mahfouz sent a video to both Facebook and YouTube in which she called for her fellow Egyptians to participate in protests against the government. Specifically, she stated the following:

If you think yourself a man, come with me on 25 January. Whoever says women shouldn’t go to protests because they will get beaten let him have some honor and manhood and come with me on 25 January. Whoever says it is not worth it because there will only be a handful of people, I want to tell him, ‘you are the reason behind this, and you are a traitor, just like the president or any security cop who beats us in the streets. (Gawhry 50)

Because of her real and genuine video that was simple, brief and truthful, many Egyptian people were inspired to take a stand against the regime. (ibid)

Around this time, a prominent Egyptian youth group, the
April 6 Movement (that generated over 70,000 supporters on Facebook in an effort to raise awareness of striking textile workers), contacted the administrator of “We Are All Khaled Said”, Wael Ghonim, asking for “marketing help” with a campaign that is protests on January 25th, which would mark the official start of the Egyptian uprisings. The way those different groups communicated has best illustrate the crucial role of social media in organizing the protests through interacting and coordinating among one another by online comments, postings, messages and SMS. (Dewey and et al 18-19) Moreover, Ghonim also provided detailed reports of events through his Twitter web site which had greater than 200,000 supporters. In turn, the regime decided to shut down Internet and mobile telephone access in hopes of immobilizing communication and mobilization. The regime’s attempt to block access to social networking web sites, followed by total shutdown of Internet and mobile telephone access, were worthless seeing that Egyptians were already in the streets, already mobilized, and tuned into mainstream media sources (such as Aljazeera) for news updates. (Chebib and Sohail 155-156)

Unlike the Tunisian and Egyptian regimes that could not control social media, Bahrain, Syria, Yemen and Morocco succeeded in at least reducing its impact or role on society. For example, the Bahraini regime rapidly became skilled in using the new media for its own benefit. The Facebook page that entitled “Together to Unmask the Shia Traitors” posted a list of wanted protesters, and called Bahraini people to identify and report protesters for arrest. Another example includes that of Morocco. In fact, when the government heard about the protest that was planned by the February 20 Movement, the minister of Youth and Sports responded in a Facebook page in which he called the Moroccan people for dialogue instead of violence, and this resulted in cancelling the planned demonstration. (Dewey and et al 21-25) So,
according to the previous examples, social media is a double-edged sword that can be pros or cons depending on the way as well as by whom it is used.

Besides Internet services, mobile phones also took a major part in the development of the Arab Spring. Actually, they were used for taking pictures during the riots, for sending SMS text messages or share videos and images of protesters, protests and regimes’ reactions (police brutality and cruelty towards the demonstrators). Mobile phones’ cameras were also used to record footage of manifestations. (Allagui and Kuebler 1439-1440) Later, pictures and movies were broadcasted and presented online like the pictures and videos of Bouazizi self-immolation, Khaled Said’s death, and demonstrations’ progress each day … and so forth that were all posted on Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and other web sites. Other important roles include the ability of nowadays mobile phones like iPhone, Galaxy, BlackBerry and iPod to access to the internet (WWW) because of Wi-Fi service. Consequently, popular social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and other blogs can easily be accessed by the use of mobile phones (Chebib and Sohail 148), and this resulted in accelerating much more the events.

C. Western interference:

The industrial nations of the West have frequently been criticized for having shown political support to leaders such as Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, Hosni Mubarak and Muammar al-Gaddafi for a long time, mitigating this support with security interests and with the fight against terrorism. However, the Western support for authoritarian governments in the Arab countries did not stop at the political level, but it also affected the technological level as well. For instance, “the filtering technology that had been used by the Tunisian government for Internet censorship – SmartFilter – came straight from American security company McAfee.” (Sabadello, sec. 4)
In spite of their original support for the recognized regimes, Sabadello argued that performers from Europe and the U.S. have also increasingly helped the opposition and contributed to the victory of the Arab Spring in plentiful ways. For instance, this can be proved through the American fiscal aid or through the teaching of protesters by previous members of “the Serbian Otpor! movement, and by their Centre for Applied Non violent Action and Strategies (CANVAS).” (ibid) But, I disagree with him because the financial assistance of the US to Egypt for example decreased in a remarkable way after the revolution. As a matter of fact, the USA help during the Mubarak era was $2 billion, but after the resignation of the previous president (Mubarak), the assistance diminished to almost just one billion and half dollars. (Sharp Summary)

When it comes to the use of new media, Western nations, individuals and organizations have also made noteworthy contributions. For example, the blogging platform “Global Voices” runs a so-called bridge-blogging service where volunteer authors, translators and editors attempt to provide reports from a local perspective that cannot normally be found in the mainstream media, therefore raising awareness in the West for events in the Arab world. For example, on this stand it is possible to read English translations of Egyptian blog posts that had originally been written in Arabic. (ibid, sec. 5) One more example is that Google also assisted the Egyptian opposition for instance by setting up the “speak2tweet service”, which made it possible to leave voicemail messages under certain telephone numbers. (Bardici 45)

Aside from the discussion whether this policy of distribution democracy with the help of technology actually works, the real and most important question that has to be asked in this context is whether such aspirations are based on humanity and honest sympathy for oppressed and deprived people in specific countries, or whether there are
other political interests involved behind. On one hand, the protection of civil rights online has to be much-admired and supported. On the other hand, the close collaboration of Western governments with “Silicon Valley tech companies” also stimulates assumptions that the spreading of Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and similar websites around the globe might over time function ever more as an additional mean of the U.S. state and a tool of its foreign policy and diplomatic efforts, leading to a form of cultural supremacy or imperialism, rather than being independent and neutral technologies. As another suggestion of the augmented inclusion of new media companies with the political landscape, Facebook has in recent times founded a Political Action Committee (PAC), whose purpose is to raise money for sustaining politicians with positions “favorable to the company’s goals, namely promoting the value of innovation to our economy while giving people the power to share and make the world more open and connected”. (ibid, sec. 6)
**Conclusion:**

Media is an organization that took advantage of recent events to be more popular and greatly used. It is composed of two types namely traditional and new ones. Each type played a major role in the so called Arab Spring. However, the traditional media was less influential than the social media mainly because the mainstream media was much more controlled by the state. But, there is one exception which is the independent media like the pan-Arab Satellite TV news (Aljazeera… etc) that helped in speeding up the movements as well as the results. It also reduced the influence of state run television and mobilized the protests to the whole world.

Social media in addition to cell phones have introduced new communication practices, provided newfound interaction patterns, created new forms of expressions, stimulated a wide civic participation, and so forth. In fact, it was an organizational tool that arranged the actions and managed the activists. It also spread information to the world about the movements. Lastly but not the least, it raised awareness inside the MENA about the causes of the Arab Spring. Finally, as Pool stated “the news tells me what I have seen on twitter three hours ago”, this means that social media provided the traditional media by the information about the protests. The following figure summarizes what I have said previously starting from the relationship between the environment and the media till the role of each type.
Figure 2: the role of media in the democratization process in the MENA
• **Endnotes:**

1. Facebook Launched in 2004 as a social networking website exclusively for Harvard students, Facebook now has roughly 800 million active users, as of November, 2011. Facebook users interact with other users or “Facebook friends” by updating their “status”, writing on other members “walls” or sending direct personal messages. Users are able to “create and join interest groups, ‘like’ pages, import and search for contacts, and upload photos and videos. The average user is connected to 80 community pages, groups and events. Over 75% of users are located outside the United States, despite its American origins. It is significant to note that more than 350 million Facebook users access their accounts via their mobile phones; a crucial aspect to the role social media was used during the Arab Spring. (Storck 11-12)

2. Twitter, launched in 2006, is a real-time information network that connects you to the latest information about what you find interesting. Users communicate via “Tweets” which are short posts limited to 140 characters, also allowing for embedded media links. Twitter users can “follow” or essentially subscribe to the updates of other users, some of which include conventional media sources, such as Newsweek or Al-Jazeera, celebrities, and friends. Additionally, tweets can be categorized using “hash tags” which group posts together by topic or type. (ibid 12-13)

3. YouTube was the first website dedicated solely to uploading and sharing personal video. Over 3 billion videos are viewed each day on YouTube, reaching 700 billion playbacks in 2010.32 As well as uploading and viewing media, users can also leave comments on videos. YouTube is the third most frequented website online. (ibid 13)
Chapter Three:
The Interaction of Al Jazeera and CNN in the Egyptian Revolution


- **Introduction:**

“Like it or hate it, it is really effective. In fact, viewership of Al-Jazeera is going up in the United States because it is real news.”

-Hilary Clinton (05/03/2011)-

The introduction of Satellite TV between the 1980s and the 1990s did not only provide people with independent and objective news, but these channels also worked on connecting people worldwide. In fact, channels like BBC, CNN, MBC, Aljazeera and Al Arabia…etc were so important in developing the field of media as well as the level of the people since they offer free information even about the governments and the rulers. Nevertheless, in the Arab World, CNN (in 1990s) was the most watched TV news channel mainly after the coverage of the Persian Gulf War in 1990. However, after the creation of Aljazeera TV news, most of the Arab people turned to watch it. Furthermore, its audience increased notably because of, first, its coverage of the Iraqi, Afghanistan, and Palestinian wars against the colonial powers. Second, Aljazeera’s reporting and broadcasting of Osama Bin Laden’s various speeches and interviews helped in raising its audience and made it internationally known as well. So, it is of utter importance to compare the coverage of the 18 days Egyptian Uprising (2011) via those two channels.

This final chapter will be the case study of this dissertation. I will talk about the way both the CNN and Aljazeera presented the story of Egypt to the rest of the world. And I focus on six criteria when comparing so namely revolution, democracy, protesters, Mubarak’s regime, international responses and using social media. After that, I will find out the possible similarities and differences between the two presentations or coverage. Finally, we finish this chapter by a conclusion.
A. Part 1: Overview

A. CNN channel:

CNN (Cable News Network), advertising-supported cable TV system was established by the American businessman Ted Turner\(^1\) in 1980. It is based in Atlanta, Georgia, CNN was the first 24-hour television network dedicated completely to news broadcasts. In its first year, it reported wide-ranging live coverage of the national presidential conventions, a practice continued in subsequent election years, and provided coverage of national election campaigns. Since 1981, CNN has covered important court cases proceedings all over the country, and it also has live coverage of such events as NASA spaceflight missions. In 1991, the network received wide publicity when its reporter Peter Arnett remained in Iraq during the Persian Gulf War\(^2\) to continue his reports. CNN also carries regular programming devoted to international news, business and sports news, health issues, and entertainment news. “Its sister network, CNN International, can be received in more than 200 countries, including the United States.” (Schenk and Ahmed 3) CNN has won many Peabody\(^3\) Awards and other awards for brilliance in programming. CNN also produces CNN Headline News, a channel running 48 half hour television news programs consecutively throughout the day, and CNN Radio, a 24-hour syndicated service. In 1996, Time Warner acquired the Turner Broadcasting System, which owned CNN and other cable-television networks. (Encarta) Because of its success and progress, it launched other sub-channels like CNN Sports, CNN.com Live, CNN Italia, CNN+, CNN Chile, and CNN Airport Network …
B. Aljazeera channel:

Aljazeera is one of the most important Arab channels in the twenty-first century. In fact, it has long been an essential source for people’s daily news. It was found by the Emir of Qatar, Hamad bin Khalifa Thani in 1996. After establishing this channel, the television landscape in the MENA was largely transformed. Moreover, over the past decade, it has gained universal status and became a name which governments and leaders cannot ignore at all. (Ramadane and Souad 165) Aljazeera provided a new form of politically diverse and critical programming like “the Opposite Direction” and “A Balance Sheet” that offered discussions and interviews with famous people as Al Qaradawi, Mohammed Amara, Nasser Hamid Abu Zaid and Nawal El Saadawi … etc discussing about very hot and momentous issues generally about politics. (Al Kasim 94)

Aljazeera was unique Arab TV news because of its interesting criteria. First of all, Aljazeera’s willingness to break taboos in various fields—including women’s issues, social practices such as circumcision, and previously undeniable foreign policy issues such as the conflicts in the Western Sahara—is widely interpreted as a breach with authoritarian broadcasting practices and has caused Aljazeera to gain a reputation as the first pluralist television network in the Arab world. For that reason, Mohammed Zayani noted:

Aljazeera has brought noteworthy innovations to Arab broadcasting and reporting, airing hard-hitting programs, bold and uncensored news coverage, passionate political debate, and on-the-ground reporting. (…) [Aljazeera] has been hailed as a beacon of free press, a bold initiative in journalism,
and a revolutionary force among Arab media long constrained by state control. It has an approach to the news that was unthinkable in the Arab world not long ago. With its heated debates, daring commentary, bold coverage, public affairs interviews and viewer participation, Aljazeera appears to be breaking new media ground and venturing into a realm of open discussion rarely attempted by other broadcasters in the region where public political debate is considered subversive.

(Zayani and Sahraoui 23)

Furthermore, the channel became global and so popular after airing an exclusive interview with Osama bin Laden, the head of Al-Qaida in the early summer of 1999. Additionally, the reputation of Aljazeera in the international spot has even increased after 9/11 attacks in 2001 since it broadcasted bin Laden and Al-Qaida message many times after the Attacks on the famous twin towers of the World Trade Center in the financial district of New York City. (El Zein 177). Because of its development and improvement, it expanded its popularity by launching other channels such as Aljazeera: Mubasher, Children, Sports (1, 2, 3…), Documentary, and English that was initiated in 2006.
Part 2: the coverage of the Egyptian Arab Spring by CNN and Aljazeera

A. The Framing of the Egyptian Revolution by CNN:

- Revolution:

  By January 25, 2011, CNN reporters analyzed many analysts’ point of views like Juan Cole, Abigail Hauslohner and Mamoun Fandy who all were of the same opinion concerning the idea whether Egypt resembles the Tunisian case or not, and they all argued that Egypt will not have the same path as Tunisia simply because they are different. (CNN) But of course their expectations were wrong since Hosni Mubarak resigned from office by 11/02/2011. In the following day, CNN news described the protesters as antigovernment persons who mutinied because of bad economic conditions, corruption and Mubarak government (CNN) However, by January 28th, CNN breaking news announced that “Security forces fire barrage of tear gas at protesters … and Mohamed ElBaradei placed under house arrest” since he was considered to be the leader of the protests. After five days of the revolution i.e. on January 30th, CNN broadcasted from Nile TV channel that some Egyptian took advantage of the chaos that characterized the country at that time as a result looting and robberies were presented as well. For example, a “school teacher said he had been involved in looting at a Cairo museum. Three others said they had stolen items from a supermarket in a suburb of the city”. (CNN) Next, the reporters started thinking about who would replace the current regime. In fact, they were frightened that the MB will be the coming rulers as if this happens, the benefits of USA and even Israel will be negatively influenced. For that reason, on the 7th February, CNN reported that US government cautioned of an Islamic “Fundamentalism takes hold, realists will, for a long time, point to Egypt as the prime example of why we cannot hope for much better than the status quo when it comes to the Middle East”. (CNN)
• **The theme of Democracy:**

The theme of democracy according to the CNN news was based on the US ideology that a best explained by Hilary Clinton when she was interviewed by CNN in January 30, 2011. She affirmed that:

Protesters seeking better opportunity and a stronger political voice might end up facing further repression from new leaders instead of the democratic reforms they seek. There's no easy answer, and, clearly, increasing chaos or even violence in the streets, prison breaks, is not the way to go. (CNN)

So, democracy for the USA is just about the steadiness and stability of the country. This could mean that Clinton in a way or another was against the uprisings in Egypt since they lead to volatility and instability in the region.

Besides, Israel connected between democracy and Mubarak. That is to say that if Mubarak resigned or removed from his position, there will be no democracy in Egypt anymore. Indeed, CNN asked Eli Shaked on 02/02 about his own opinion concerning the topic of democracy in Egypt, so he answered by:

If Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak’s regime falls, a new Islamist regime, hostile to Israel and western nations, will replace it. There will be no democracy in Egypt. If there will be democratic elections in Egypt in the summer or in the very near future, (they) will be the first and last democratic elections in Egypt. (ibid)
Thus, the departure of Mubarak and the Islamic leadership are both considered to be the end of democracy in Egypt since Islam for westerners and Israelis is anti-democracy and even more terrorist religion that call for Al jihad against the colonial powers (US, and Israel).

- **Protesters:**

  The CNN news described the Egyptian Arab Spring through describing the demonstrators. However, the CNN reporters took a very long time to concentrate on the protesters. As a matter of fact, it was till the end of January when the CNN had mentioned some of the key reasons behind the Egyptian protests because at the very beginning protesters were described as anti-government individuals. But after that, they were represented as having “a sense of community and a desire for protection by taking the matters into their own hands”. (CNN) Moreover, they were portrayed as peaceful unified demonstrators who just asked for their rights and help each other specifically when the police officers attacked them very harshly like the CNN Breaking news of February 4th when CNN reported that activists were:

  Undeterred by deadly clashes and government crackdowns, tens of thousands rally in Tahrir Square for a largely peaceful mass rally. Their message to Mubarak: "Leave." The opposition Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamist group officially banned by the government, says one of its offices was stormed by a "gang of thugs." The satellite news network Aljazeera reported a similar attack on its Cairo office. (CNN)
For me the best thing that was reported on CNN is when the journalists interviewed ElBaradei about his opinion concerning the US policy toward the Egyptian Uprising in which he claimed:

Your policy right now is a failed policy, is a policy that is lagging behind, is a policy that is having the effect here in Egypt that you are losing whatever (is) left of credibility. People need to see that you not only talk the talk, but walk the walk, and people need to understand and believe that you really seriously take democracy, rule of law, freedoms seriously. And to say we have a tight rope—and between the people and the dictator, to say that we are asking a dictator who's been in power for 30 years to implement democracy is an oxymoron, frankly. (CNN)

ElBaradei clearly criticized the American leaders for not taking clear cut actions toward what was happening in Egypt, and as a result they lost their trustworthiness and credibility among the Egyptian people. This in fact shows that the USA with Mubarak in a way or another even though Mubarak blamed Obama for not supporting him publicly.

- **Mubarak’s government:**

  Through watching the CNN news during the eighteen days of the revolution, there were different representations of the government. First of all, at the very beginning of the protests, CNN reports were all about disallowing protesters to demonstrate against the government as well as they reported that the security forces
were able to control and stop the demonstrations. Additionally, the reports also showed that the president Mubarak (for CNN) did not want to step down from his position.

Second, they represented Mubarak as their best friend and reliable supporter and this is proved by Robert Gibbs, the spokesman of the White House, in which he stated that “Egypt is a strong ally.” (CNN) Likewise, Hilary Clinton also emphasized this idea when she was asked by a CNN reporter. In fact she said:

The situation was complex and very difficult because of United States ties with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, the main target of protesters. Egypt has been a partner of the United States over the last 30 years, has been instrumental in keeping the peace in the Middle East between Egypt and Israel, which is a critical accomplishment that has meant so much to so many people. (CNN)

However after the police attacks on CNN journalists, reporting changed 180°. For example, US ambassadors, in February 4th, described such attacks as being “a violation of international norms that guarantee freedom of press, and it is unacceptable in any circumstances … Clinton called on the government, political parties and others to immediately begin talks on a peaceful and orderly transition.” (CNN) But Mubarak blamed the MB for the unrest in Egypt. Generally, what I have noted from the previous reports that the word immediately was not used by either Clinton or any other politicians in their speeches till the American journalists were attacked by secretary officers. That is to say, the Obama administration just cares about the Americans and
not about the rest of the people who were suffering (detained, brutally beaten or even killed) for 18 days.

- **International responses particularly US to the Egyptian Arab Spring:**

  Some Arab leaders were against the revolution as they were reported by CNN like the Saudi Arabian king Abdullah who described the protesters as being “infiltrators who seek to destabilize their country”. He also supported Hosni Mubarak by restoring his confidence that nothing serious will result from those protests since “no Arab and Muslim human being can bear that some infiltrators, in the name of freedom of expression, have infiltrated into the brotherly people of Egypt, to destabilize its security and stability”. (CNN) Israel also was against the protests in Egypt because it did not want to lose its pet. By contrast, European countries namely Britain, France and Germany were with people rather than regimes. For instance, William Hague emphasized on peaceful reforms that would save the country from an extremist rule, but this requires “the government of Egypt now to allow the right to peaceful protest. It also requires the Egyptian people to express their aspirations in peaceful way”. (ibid)

  However, US response to the Egyptian Revolution differed since the commencement of the Awakening. In fact, this can be understood through what is said before. In other word, at the very beginning, US officials were with Mubarak because as it was reported by Nic Robertson of CNN “the United States may be the big loser. Many of the regimes on the defensive, like Mubarak’s, are long-standing US allies”. After that, in the mid of the demonstrations, the US government was with the people’s demands, but at the same time, it believed that the Mubarak government is capable of controlling the protests and finding solutions for more stability in Egypt. By the end of the protests, Obama finally decided to cut the relations between the US and Mubarak
as well as he praised the Egyptian revolution. (Yehia 72-78) I think that Obama’s policy at the initial stage was to be somewhat neutral for the reason that if Mubarak did not fall, the US-Egypt relations won’t be affected. However, when he assured that Mubarak will not solve the problem and he will be out of office very soon, Obama decided to break up with Mubarak’s regime in order not lose the Egyptian people’s support as well as to have the possibility of building at least a good relation with the coming leader.

✓ **Social media:**

The CNN channel depended on social media especially when the regime disallowed the reporters to enter the Tahrir Square. However, according to the CNN news that I watched, I think that CNN depended heavily on Aljazeera and Nile TV channels more than social media. So, generally it used the social media with approximately 30 percent no more.

**B. Aljazeera representation of the Egyptian Revolution:**

- **Revolution:**

As it was stated by the general director of Aljazeera networks, Wadah Khanfar stated that the Arab Spring took everyone by surprise “not because people have no reason to revolt or to change their reality. We had every possible reason to do so. Corrupt ageing regimes, we have, you know dictatorships, authoritarian systems … and worse than that we had no horizon for any peaceful change”. (Kinningmont) Khanfar also argued that they were taken by surprise at the beginning as a result their coverage of the Tunisian revolution in the first two or three days was very soft since they did not expect that the protest will become a revolution. “In Egypt also it started, we started reluctant and then after that we’ve thought that this uprising is becoming a real revolution and then of course we joined the coverage intensively”, he stated.
Aljazeera's coverage of the initial riots in Egypt in January 25th is quite different from the CNN and other media channels. Since the first day of the revolution, Aljazeera illuminated on the lawful demands of the protesters, namely, groups of demonstrators on the streets of Cairo being described as thousands and sometimes even millions. In addition, Aljazeera gave legitimacy to the protests by covering all aspects of the participated Egyptian people who asked for their civil and political rights. It puts in plain words the demonstrators’ demands namely the dismissal of the Mubarak regime:

For the first time in more than three decades,
hundreds of Egyptian demonstrators moved from
different places in Cairo and joined with thousands
of others in dozens of demonstrations in different
cities of Egypt. While the other demonstrations
moved from several areas toward Tahrir Square in
the heart of Cairo, Sunday afternoon, the total
number of protesters reached to about 20 thousand.
Demonstrators chanted for the step down of
President Hosni Mubarak, in front of the High
Court in Cairo. They also called on his son Jamal
by saying, ‘Oh Jamal, tell your father all the people
hate him!’ (Aljazeera)

Unlike the CNN news which argued that the MB are behind the protests,
Aljazeera reports that there is no real leadership that would present the demands of the
demonstration, but in fact it was the will of all the people. Aljazeera talked about the
protesters’ use of social media in the 26th of January by which they can communicate with the others and learn about the latest developments as well as urging a continuation of protests by influencing people through using different slogans like: “Together we will change”, “I’ll get my country’s right back”, We are all ready for Egypt”, “Muslim, Christians, we are all ask for change” and “Bread-freedom-human dignity-and in the honor of you my country, it is only a cloud and it will pass”. (Aljazeera)

On Friday, the 4th of February, millions of people took the streets after the Friday prayers from all over the country. Demonstrators demanded the ouster of Mubarak and his corrupted regime. Sheikh Mazhar Shahin affirmed, in “his preaching on Friday at Tahrir Square that, ‘the Egyptian revolution is a revolution of pride and dignity’. He also called on protesters to be patient and persist on the arena until they achieve their demands” most importantly changing the head of the regime, ending of the emergency law, amending the constitution, abolition of parliament, and release of the prisoners immediately, describing the emergency law as a black spot in the history of Egypt. This law is the cause of the suffering of millions of people. Shahin also highlights that this protest is popular, peaceful and unique in which it unify all the Egyptian people of all religions (Muslims or Christians). (Yehia 30-31) So the Friday day is a special day for Muslims in general and for Egyptians in particular since the following Friday that is 11th February 2011 was the end of Mubarak and his regime as well as it demonstrates the start of a new era in Egypt.

• **The theme of Democracy:**

Since the beginning of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, Aljazeera represented the topic of democracy as the end of dictatorships in the Arab countries. In fact, Aljazeera considered the Arab Spring as an opportunity for the people to get rid of repressive authoritarian regimes. For that reason, Aljazeera reporter stated that “democracy in the
past few decades took place of tyranny in regions of the world where there were
suffering dictatorships, however, the Arab governments were almost united on tyranny
and having a tight security grip”. (Aljazeera) On the 31st of January, Aljazeera
interviewed Omar Kush who said that the demonstrations of the Egyptian people best
illustrated the ambition of the Arabs to enjoy democracy, civil and political rights.
(ibid)

The NAC stressed on saving Egypt by responding to the people’s demands
and to make a nonviolent democratic transition:

The only way to save Egypt from a dangerous
future is to listen immediately to the people's desire
for a repeal of the martial law. Also, to resolve the
fraudulent parliament and to hold free and fair
elections based on international standards, with the
formation of a transitional government that runs the
country until the Constitution is amended.

(Aljazeera)
Thus, democracy for Aljazeera is achieved through the dismissal and removal of the
corrupted, bankrupted and totalitarian regime that torture and kill its people.

• **Protesters:**

Aljazeera concentrated on the protesters since the very beginning. Unlike
the state TV channels which described the protesters as gangsters and thugs, Aljazeera
in the other hand described them as demonstrators or protesters. They are presented as
heroes who look for their rights. Moreover, broadcast anything said by the activist
groups like the 6th Youth Movement who cautioned the regime of dealing violently
with demonstrators when they come down on the streets to ask for their rights.
Furthermore, on the 2\textsuperscript{nd} of February, Aljazeera reported news stories that were told by many activists which showed that the security forces were behind the several crimes as robber, mugger and looting and not the protesters:

A number of journalists and activists in Cairo's Tahrir Square gave a live testimony to \textit{Aljazeera} during violent confrontations that began between protesters who were calling for the President Hosni Mubarak and his supporters to leave. They called most of them as "thugs." A unanimous testimony said the attack on protesters in Tahrir Square was organized, run in favor of the Mubarak regime authorities. The main objective was to terrify the people who became angrier after the president's speech which made them even more determined insisting on the ousting of the whole regime today before tomorrow. (Aljazeera)

In the following day i.e. February 3\textsuperscript{rd} Aljazeera reported about the CNN broadcasters who were cruelly beaten by the regime officers. After that, the Egyptian protesters set up two large screens broadcasting Aljazeera and Aljazeera Mubasher (Live) in Tahrir Square, challenging the Egyptian Ministry of Information who shut down the office of Aljazeera in Cairo and dragged the implementation of its own journalists. Egyptian regime has also prohibited broadcast on Aljazeera satellite Nile-sat. (Aljazeera)

- **Mubarak government:**

  Since the first day of the protest, Aljazeera represented the Mubarak’s regime as authoritarian and dictatorial government throughout its news stories. In contrast to
CNN that had different views about Mubarak, Aljazeera covered several opinions of activists, politicians, scholars, poets, artists and citizens who all have the same viewpoint that the government is “fascist repressive regime, and authoritarian regimes that offer loyalty to the West and Israel on the basis of humiliation and starvation of its own people, working on the absence of Egypt and minimizing its central region”.

(Yehia 57)

The Mubarak regime is characterized by corruption and stealing people’s money. Fraud and robbery were very widespread within its institutions as a consequence it could not at least offer the basic necessities of life to its people. It also suffered from a weak economy and high degree of unemployment. Besides, it did not have good strategies to face such events; therefore, it was neither tolerant nor peaceful when dealing with protesters; it was tyrant, cruel and highly aggressive towards the activists. For that reason, Mohammed Fahim to Aljazeera described the regime by being “a dictatorship, an absolute dictatorship. It is our right to choose our government by ourselves. I have lived for 29 years and Egypt has the same president. I have the right to choose the president. I am bald now and Mubarak is still Mubarak”. (ibid 57-60)

✓ **International responses particularly US to the Egyptian Spring:**

Because the Egyptian Arab Spring took all people all over the world by surprise, all the countries had different responses to that movement, and Aljazeera framed those responses. For example Jordan, Tunisia, Palestine, Yemen, Iraq and Malaysia were all with the Egyptian Revolution. In London, lots of Egyptians and British activists supported the protests in Egypt. In Canada, Egyptians, Tunisians, Algerians, and leaders from the civil society took part in demonstrations asking the
resignation of Mubarak and the establishment of a democracy in the Arab world.

(Aljazeera)

Moreover, the Egyptian Italians were also participated in the protests consequently:

Egyptian flags flapped in the sky of Rome and raised slogans condemning the regime of Hosni Mubarak in Arabic, English, French, and Italian, such as "Go, Mubarak, Ben Ali is waiting for you", "a killer of the people has been put down", "they are betting on time and we bet on the people," and "the president lacks legitimacy, he got the police involved and wants to involve the army.

(Aljazeera)

However, there were other countries that showed limited support for the Egyptian demonstrations. Aljazeera mentioned some of them like Saudi Arabia, Syria and United Arab Emirates. Obviously, Israel was also against the demonstrations most importantly because of its good relation with Mubarak. Finally, Aljazeera highlighted in its news that the US and Mubarak’s regime were very close friends as “Hillary Clinton urged the Egyptian government to allow peaceful protests and do not block social websites. At the same times, she said that the government has a chance to implement political, economic, and social reforms”. (Yehia 68-70)

✓ Social media:

Social media played a huge role at the beginning. Because in both countries, Tunisia and Egypt, and later on of course in Libya, Aljazeera did not have journalists who are covering liberally even. In Tunisia Aljazeera had no attendance whatsoever,
because reporters were banned from operating in Tunisia as Aljazeera. In Egypt, Aljazeera immediately after the revolution ongoing was prohibited, the office was blocked and journalists were not permitted to move at all. And even the satellite signal of Aljazeera covering Egypt was dropped from Nile-Sat, which is the major Arab satellite distribution. However, the young generation who used the internet rescued the channel. The images that started coming through YouTube, Facebook, and other blogs, provided Aljazeera with not only enough material but a new kind of material, material that looks more authentic. “It is not high definition, it is not stable, and the quality is bad.” (Kinninmont)

But people, when they start seeing these mobile video images, shaking ones, they thought this is more real than what professionals are doing. “So the public were not actually, I mean, I felt that the public like it more than they like the classic, traditional, beautiful shots of our cameramen and women”. And the second issue was that “these guys can provide you immediately the stream to the news room, maybe tens and sometimes hundreds of videos of an event that is still happening. So you can cover this event at the same moment and at various angles because it's easy to do that”.

Hence, this without doubt saved the channel from the lack of video and the lack of attendance or reporters in a variety of cities. However, when the regime shut down the internet and mobile phones, the role was reversed i.e. the coverage was initiated from the digital media, and then it was sent to all the people across the country and even the whole world through traditional or mainstream media. (ibid) So Aljazeera depended in its coverage of the Egyptian revolution on social media by around 70 percent to 80 percent.
C. Findings and results:

In this chapter, I have shed light on the several differences and similarities in news coverage between two important media sources that are the CNN and Aljazeera. In fact, CNN framed the Egyptian uprising differently from that of Aljazeera in some aspects and similarly in others. So, the CNN covered the revolution from US government officials, allied governments and CNN reporters point of views. Because of the close relationship with Mubarak, USA could not take a clear position concerning the uprising, and moreover US officials were afraid of an extremist rule by the MB who would replace the Mubarak regime. By contrast, Aljazeera framed the Egyptian Revolution through its daily news from the demonstrators’ viewpoint. Since the early beginning of the protests, Aljazeera legitimized the revolution by using peaceful terms and lawful rights of the people whenever refer to it. Aljazeera also covered the MB in order to show their inactive role in the protests.

The theme of democracy was definitely represented by the two channels in very different ways. Although the reporting of democracy in Egypt was skeptical, but it still that CNN based it’s thought on the US policy. Indeed, CNN coined democracy with the American officials’ policy that is stability rather than establishing democracy in the region since this will cost them losing a very important ally in the MENA, this in one hand. In the other hand, Aljazeera connected between democracy and the regimes. In other words, there will be democracy only if people succeed in removing the dictatorial, authoritarian regime from Egypt and the rest of the MENA as well.

The only point where both CNN and Aljazeera met was the framing of the protesters. As a matter of fact, both agreed on the criteria that characterized the Egyptian protesters. CNN and Aljazeera described the protesters by being young
people who asked for logical and legal rights. Additionally, the way they used to achieve their demands was a peaceful one. Besides, the demonstrators were helping each other as a result this led to raise the solidarity among them. Both channels had the same opinion regarding the cruelty and brutality of the Egyptian regime (secretary officers) when dealing with the protesters.

It is of utter importance to know how those channels demonstrated the Mubarak’s regime. From one side, CNN had changing views about the Egyptian regime mainly because of the excellent relation between the US and Mubarak. For that reason he was described as a strong reliable ally to USA. However, after confirming that he will not stay in power, CNN discovered that he was a weak person who did not at least draw some plans that enable him to face such crisis. Consequently, CNN reporters started to label the attacks on the demonstrators as an abuse of universal values like the freedom of press and expression. In the other side, Aljazeera described the Mubarak’s regime by being corrupted, robbed the people’s wealth and weak to deal with tiny problems. Moreover, Aljazeera portrayed Mubarak as a thief, dictator and an agent to the US and Israel.

The international and the US responses to the Egyptian revolution were also addressed by CNN and Aljazeera. There is not too much difference between the two. For instance, Saudi Arabia was addressed by both channels that it was against the protests. Another example includes that of USA response. CNN founded that there were shifting views from the beginning of the revolution to the end, and it was the same for Aljazeera. However, CNN depended only on heads of the states and their officials’ views when addressing that. By contrast, Aljazeera took into its consideration the people opinion as well because this could create a difference like
Syria in which the government was against the protests, but people generally supported them.

The last point is about the extent to which both channels depended on social media. I founded that unlike CNN which did not really base its coverage news of the Egyptian Revolution on social media. Aljazeera used the digital media when covering the protests. And it was the protesters themselves who provided Aljazeera with information, images and videos from the Tahrir Square for several reasons. One reason was that Aljazeera’s correspondents were not allowed to move one step toward the chaotic areas. Another reason was that Aljazeera office in Egypt was attacked and then closed by the security officers. The most important reason was that people trusted Aljazeera since from the beginning it supported them (Image 5 in the Appendix), and also those videos and information were familiarized through Aljazeera TV news which is considered as the most viewed channel in the Arab countries. The following table summarizes all what I have said in this chapter.

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<td>Democracy was and it still attached to the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both addressed the same countries that advocate protests and the opposite i.e. against the remonstrations.</td>
<td>the region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shifting views about the regime (at the beginning CNN was with Mubarak, but later on it was against him). In 11/02/2011 CNN stated that Mubarak resigned.</td>
<td>From the beginning, it was with protesters and in opposition to Mubarak and his tainted regime. Moreover in 11/02/2011 Aljazeera celebrated with the protesters after the removal or ouster of Mubarak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The MB was presented as the leader of the protests as well as the potential enemy of US.</td>
<td>The MB has nothing to do with planning or leading the protests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When reporting the other countries views, CNN counted only on leaders and government officials’ attitudes toward the revolution</td>
<td>Aljazeera’s famous slogan is “opinion and the other opinion” for that it relied on leaders, officials and people views as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNN did not heavily depend on using social media as well as it relied on TV states like Nile TV. (image 1 in the Appendix)</td>
<td>When its office in Cairo was attacked and its reporters were disallowed to enter, Aljazeera used the social media (videos and images sent by protesters themselves through social media).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: the Egyptian Arab Spring between CNN and Aljazeera
**Conclusion:**

In this chapter, I have chosen two popular channels that are CNN and Aljazeera to study their coverage of the famous Egyptian Revolution. So through analyzing the reporting of each channel, I founded that they share some similarities, but they differ in many other points.

Both channels represented protesters as rational, nonviolent, technologically advanced and young people, who were dissatisfied, sick and tired from the problems and bad conditions that they were living in. Also, they presented the regime as being so cruel and brutal when dealing with demonstrators. Moreover, both channels addressed the same countries that they were with the revolution and those against it even in the case of the United States that had shifting views about the revolution.

CNN had presented the Egyptian Arab Spring from the US officials, allied leaders and CNN reporters. It related between democracy and the US policy that is stability in the region rather than establishing democracy. It all the time and specifically at the beginning of the revolution reported a good president who cares about his country and served the US very well. Finally, CNN did not rely on social media but rather on state-television (Nile TV). However, on the other hand, Aljazeera presented the revolution from the protesters and leaders of oppositional groups’ point of views. It had emphasized on removing Mubarak mainly because this will pave the way for spreading democracy to the whole country. Aljazeera and since the first day of the revolution described Mubarak as a dictator, corrupted, dishonored and totalitarian president who was Azrael of the Egyptian people but the pet of United States and Israel. Lastly, Aljazeera depended too much on social
media as a result its news were authentic and trustworthy since the information
were of the protesters themselves.
Endnotes:

1 Ted Turner, born in 1938, is an American business executive and sports enthusiast, one of the most influential television executives of the late 20th century. Born Robert Edward Turner III in Cincinnati, Ohio, he was educated at Georgia Military Academy and Brown University. After his father committed suicide in 1963, Turner inherited the family billboard-advertising business. In 1970 he bought a failing UHF (ultrahigh frequency) television station in Atlanta, Georgia, and by 1975 Turner had transformed it into the first “superstation,” WTBS, by transmitting low-cost sports and entertainment programs via satellite to cable systems throughout the country. This was a highly profitable innovation that accelerated the spread of cable television nationwide. He also started the Goodwill Games sports festival and has owned numerous professional sports franchises. (Britannica)

2 Persian Gulf War is an international conflict beginning in 2 August 1990, when Iraqi forces invaded and occupied Kuwait with the apparent aim of acquiring that nation's large oil reserves, canceling a large debt Iraq owed Kuwait, and expanding Iraqi power in the region. The conflict culminated in fighting in January and February 1991 between Iraq and an international coalition of forces led by the United States. By the end of the war, the coalition had driven the Iraqis from Kuwait. (Britannica)

3 Peabody Awards are considered by the industry as the Pulitzer Prizes of television. Pulitzer Prizes are series of 21 awards for outstanding achievements in drama, letters, music, and journalism. They were established by the will of Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the New York World. They have been awarded annually since 1917 by Columbia University on recommendation of The Pulitzer Prize Board. (Encarta)
4 Hamad was born in 1950 in Doha, Qatar, into a family that at the time had ruled the country for a century. His father, Sheikh Khalifa bin Hamad ath-Thani, became Qatar's leader in 1972; just months after the country had won independence from Great Britain. He was promoted in 1975 to major general and commander in chief of the armed forces, and in 1977 he became minister of defense as well as heir apparent to the throne. Following the 1990–91 Persian Gulf War, Hamad was, for most purposes, leading the country, and in 1995 he staged a coup and ousted his father while the latter was traveling outside the country. Hamad himself survived a number of subsequent coup attempts and succeeded in returning to the government a portion of the estimated $3 billion–$7 billion in gas and oil profits his father had held in personal bank accounts. (Britannica)

5 ElBaradei, Mohamed, was born in 1942, diplomat and United Nations (UN) official, who in 1997 became the director of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). ElBaradei and the IAEA shared the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to stop nuclear weapons proliferation. (Encarta)

6 William Hague is British Foreign Secretary. He was a former secretary state of Wales; he was 36-years-old when elected as a Conservative Party leader after John Major’s resignation in 1997 which made him the youngest Conservative leader in 200 years. (Britannica)
General Conclusion
General Conclusion:

The Arab Spring is an expression that portrays the movements that took place in the Arab world since the late of 2010. This word was firstly used by the Western media to portray the riots, civil resistance, demonstration, strike actions, self-immolation, online activism, and the clash between the protesters and the secretary officers that happened all over MENA countries. These revolutions started first in Tunisia then in Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, and Kuwait. The Arab Spring was the result of many reasons, but what I have found is that the Westerners had nothing to do with it (according to the documents and sources that I have used). However, it was the creation of Arab people’s free will and suffers. Indeed, people were suffering from dictatorship, police brutality, electoral fraud, political censorship, widespread corruption, high unemployment, food price inflation, low minimum wages, human rights violations, and demographic structural factors.

Obviously these movements had led to a number of effects but most importantly on the political level. As a matter of truth they led to the overthrow of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Hosni Mubarak, Muammar Gaddafi’s governments, and Yemeni Ali Abdullah Saleh ousted and his power was handed to national unity government. In contrast, other demonstrations had led to just some changes in government like in Morocco, Oman, Jordon and Kuwait. Unlike the previous protests that at least led to governmental reforms, protests in Algeria, Saudi Arabia and other countries that did not even threaten the regimes or those in power. I also found that media is so important especially when it is used in the right way. As a matter of fact, it was one of the most important reasons that led to the Arab Spring.

For that, the media is an organization that had also took advantage of recent events to be more popular and greatly used. It is composed of two types namely
mainstream and digital media. Each type had played a major role in the so called Arab Spring. However, according to my findings, the traditional media was less influential than the new media mainly because it was much more controlled by the state. But, there is one exception which is the independent media like the pan-Arab Satellite TV news (Aljazeera… etc) that helped in speeding up the movements as well as the results. It also reduced the influence of state run television and mobilized the protests to the whole world

Social media in addition to cell phones have introduced new communication practices, provided newfound interaction patterns, created new forms of expressions, stimulated a wide civic participation. In fact, it was an organizational tool that arranged the actions and managed the activists. It also spread information to the world about the movements. Lastly but not the least, it raised awareness inside the MENA about the causes of the Arab Spring in addition to providing the traditional media by the information about the protests.

The Egyptian revolution was the most famous one that attracted most of media tools most significantly CNN and Aljazeera TV channels. Through analyzing the coverage of those two channels, I found that their coverage shares some same points, but generally they differ in many other spots. So, both channels represented protesters as rational, nonviolent, technologically advanced and young people, who were dissatisfied, sick and tired from the problems and bad conditions that they were living in. Also, they presented the regime as being so cruel and brutal when dealing with demonstrators. Moreover, both channels addressed the same countries that they were with the revolution and those against it even in the case of the United States that had shifting views about the revolution.
Their coverage also was at variance concerning many points. The first point was the revolution. In fact, CNN had presented the Egyptian Arab Spring from the US officials, allied leaders and CNN reporters. However, Aljazeera presented it from the protesters and leaders of oppositional groups’ point of views that is to say they were in the side of the people. Secondly, CNN related between democracy and the US policy that is stability in the region rather than establishing democracy. By contrast, Aljazeera had emphasized on removing Mubarak mainly because this will pave the way for spreading democracy to the whole country. Thirdly, since Mubarak and his government was the USA best friend because of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, CNN all the time and specifically at the beginning of the revolution reported a good president who cares about his country and served the US very well. Oppositely, Aljazeera and since the first day of the revolution described Mubarak as a dictator, corrupted, dishonored and totalitarian president who was Azrael of the Egyptian people but the pet of United States and Israel. The last point was about using social media. I have found that CNN did not rely on social media but rather on state- television (Nile TV) since they provide optimistic news about Mubarak. Conversely, Aljazeera depended too much on social media as a result its news were authentic and trustworthy since the information were of the protesters themselves. Accordingly, Aljazeera was the tool that protesters used to mobilize and familiarize the revolution; it acted like their voice which was silent for a long time ago.

All in all, the Arab Spring was born because of two main reasons; the people’s free will and the media. As a matter of fact, if people were not interested and preferred staying calm and accepting the terrible environment that they were living in, they will not even think about media or using it as a mean to defeat despotism and dictatorship. So when those two elements met, they created what is known as the Arab Spring.
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Appendix:

Figure 1: Egypt’s population growth graph from 1950-2010

Figure 2: Egypt’s Youth Bulge

Table 1: Increases in Schooling Attainment across the World (Top 20 countries, 1980-2010)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Years of schooling, 1980</th>
<th>Years of schooling, 2010</th>
<th>Increase in years of schooling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Botswana</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>9.56</td>
<td>6.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Germany</td>
<td>5.61</td>
<td>11.82</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Iran</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>8.59</td>
<td>5.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Algeria</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>8.30</td>
<td>5.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. United Arab</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>9.12</td>
<td>5.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emirates</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>8.35</td>
<td>5.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Gabon</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>4.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Brazil</td>
<td>4.92</td>
<td>9.59</td>
<td>4.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bahrain</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>9.23</td>
<td>4.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Jordan</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>7.85</td>
<td>4.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Libya</td>
<td>5.96</td>
<td>10.53</td>
<td>4.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. France</td>
<td>5.69</td>
<td>10.14</td>
<td>4.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Malaysia</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>9.91</td>
<td>4.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Bolivia</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>7.08</td>
<td>4.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Egypt</td>
<td>3.58</td>
<td>7.97</td>
<td>4.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. El Salvador</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td>9.11</td>
<td>4.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Spain</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>8.48</td>
<td>4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>7.32</td>
<td>4.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Tunisia</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>10.60</td>
<td>3.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Calculated from the Barro-Lee dataset (2010, version 1.2), based on the average total years of schooling in the population aged 15 and above. Arab League and Iran are in bold.

Figure 4.1: Performance of the Egyptian Economy Prior to the 25th of January Revolution.
Figure 7: The Main Usage of Facebook during the Civil Movement and Events in Early 2011 was to:

- Connect with friends, games etc.
- Raise awareness inside the country on the causes of the movements
- Spread information to the world about the movement and related events
- Organize actions and manage activists (teams or individuals)

**Source:** Arab Social Media Report 2011, 6
### Table 5.2: Timeline of Key Events during the Egyptian Revolution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 25</td>
<td>Protests, organized largely via social media and word of mouth, are staged in Cairo and other major cities calling for reform. The event is termed <em>yawm al-ghadab</em>, or The Day of Rage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 27</td>
<td>Mohamed ElBaradei (former head of the International Atomic Energy Agency) returns to Egypt and calls for Mubarak to step down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 28</td>
<td>The Muslim Brothers, who did not participate in the initial demonstrations, throw their weight behind the growing movement. Internet service is disrupted, and clashes between the police and demonstrators turn deadly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 29</td>
<td>President Mubarak calls on the government to resign, appoints Omar Suleiman as vice president, and names General Ahmed Chafik as prime minister of a new cabinet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 30</td>
<td>Mubarak fires the head of the ruling party as well as the minister of Interior. Police forces are withdrawn from Tahrir Square. The Army announces that it will not use force against the demonstrators and that it recognizes the legitimacy of their demands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 1</td>
<td>Mubarak commits not to run for another term and promises constitutional reforms. President Obama gives a live address in which he calls for an “orderly transition.” Frank Wisner, a diplomat dispatched by President Obama to Cairo, has his first meeting with Mubarak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2</td>
<td>Counterdemonstrations break out in Tahrir Square, with plainclothes security and thugs riding horses and camels attacking protestors. The Muslim Brothers are later credited for their role in blunting the attack and keeping the protestors organized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 3</td>
<td>Omar Suleiman rules out Jamal Mubarak succeeding his father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 6</td>
<td>Suleiman meets with a variety of opposition groups, including the Muslim Brothers, in an attempt to negotiate a way out of the crisis, but his reform proposals are rejected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 7</td>
<td>Wael Ghoneim, a Google executive and the coordinator of the influential Facebook page titled “All of Us are Khalid Said” is released from state custody. He gives a tearful interview that adds momentum to the protests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 9</td>
<td>Labor strikes further shut down the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 10</td>
<td>In a speech in which he was widely expected to announce his resignation, Mubarak declares that he will remain in power until his term expires. Mubarak does, however, announce more specifics of his proposed constitutional reform, including six articles that would be amended.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 11</td>
<td>Omar Suleiman announces that Mubarak is resigning and that the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces will be taking over the affairs of the state.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Democratization in the Arab World: Prospects and Lessons from Around the Globe* (p. 94)
Figure 11: Where did you get your news/information on the events during the civil movements?

Source: Arab Social Media Report, July 2012

Figure 32: Penetration of Social Media Users in the Select Arab Countries (June 2012)

Source: Arab Social Media Report, July 2012
Source: Solomon’s Thesis (appendix 77)
INFORMATION WARFARE: A Lebanese leftist activist carries a drawing of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak blocking the logo of the Qatari based Al-Jazeera satellite channel during a sit-in to protest against the closure of its offices in Egypt, outside its offices in Beirut on February 2nd, 2011.

Al-Baath party is a political party and movement influential among Arab communities in the Middle East. From its earliest development, the motivation behind Baathist political thought and its leading supporters was the need to produce a means of reasserting the Arab spirit in the face of foreign domination. Moral and cultural deterioration, it was felt, had so weakened the Arabs that Western supremacy spread throughout the Middle East. Arabs needed a regeneration of the common heritage of people in the region to drive off debilitating external influences (Encarta).

For example, in the 1950s it seemed that socialism was the right model for the Arabs to adopt, whereas in the 1990s it was capitalism, free enterprise, privatization, and openness to the world that were supposed to have been the engine of growth. What is the economic philosophy that is now supposed to extricate Egypt from its chronic economic crisis: planned socialism for a non-functional state or capitalism that is going to exacerbate the inequality, poverty, and rage of the masses? (Yadlin 14)

Benghazi is considered to be the second largest metropolis in Libya.
4 JMP is a coalition which included the Islamist Islah and the Yemeni Socialist Party.

5 They are a racial group living in Southern Egypt, and have their own unwritten language and have grievances because of forcing them to move to new less prosperous locations during the building of the High Dam in the fifties.

6 Muslim Brotherhood, international Islamic organization based in Egypt and working toward an increased Islamic role in government and society. Hassan al-Bannah, an Egyptian schoolteacher from a small town in the Nile Delta, founded the Brotherhood in 1928 as a small social club. Bannah sought the formation of an “Islamic System” that would gradually reform civic, social, family, and educational organizations, which he believed had been torn apart by Western secularism (no religiosity) and materialism. In their stead, he would re-create the unified Islamic community, or umma, that had existed centuries before. Bannah did not advocate the overthrow of governments, but he considered any person or group who opposed his goals to be an enemy. By linking his authoritarian credo to Egyptian nationalism, Bannah’s ideology inspired thousands of college students, young professionals, and others over the next two decades. (Encarta)

7 The above outline is brought from Aljazeera as well as from Democratization in the Arab World: Prospects and Lessons from Around the Globe. For further information visit the following website:

*They are a racial group living in Southern Egypt, and have their own unwritten language and have grievances because of forcing them to move to new less prosperous locations during the building of the High Dam in the fifties.*