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Cyber-Sovereignty: The Power of Social Media on the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt

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ABSTRACT

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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CYBER-SOVEREIGNTY: THE POWER OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON THE ARAB SPRING IN TUNISIA AND EGYPT

Committee Chair: William Boone, Ph.D.

Dissertation dated December 2017

This dissertation assesses the role of social media and its effects on the Arab Spring. The research will be guided by two questions: Could the use of American Dot.com social networking websites (e.g. Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube) by Tunisians and Egyptians during the Arab Spring, to overthrow their governments, be characterized as a violation of Tunisia’s and Egypt’s sovereignty (cyber-sovereignty)? Secondly, what was the significance of the abovementioned social networking websites during the Arab Spring?

The first question will be examined by using Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Theory; the problem, policy, and political streams have to converge simultaneously in order to create a window of opportunity to enact change. For this to occur, it is the responsibility of the policy entrepreneur to combine the three streams. The policy entrepreneur is an
individual(s) who are tasked with the responsibility of integrating the three streams. During the Arab Spring, social media served as a mechanism for citizens to bypass government censorship to chronicle and narrate events as they occurred. As a result, I assert that it was the use of social media in this manner by the policy entrepreneurs that violated the sovereignty of both Tunisia and Egypt.

The second question will be analyzed by administering questionnaires and reviewing tertiary sources to assess the significance of the abovementioned social networking websites during the Arab Spring. By examining the two research questions together, the conclusion of this analysis will potentially provide the basis for political cooperation towards an international cyber-sovereignty doctrine. The Arab Spring was far greater than Tunisia and Egypt. However, I felt it was of the utmost importance to focus on the origin of the Arab Spring, as well as the significance in which the role of social media became instrumental. Analyzing the role of social media, the transformation of power, and cyber-sovereignty in both countries through four (individual, state, organizational, and international) layers of analysis will help to assess the role of social media during the Arab Spring and to generate layers of protection to mitigate its influence.
CYBER-SOVEREIGNTY: THE POWER OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON THE ARAB SPRING IN TUNISIA AND EGYPT

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
JASON RANDALL
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Arab Spring** is defined as a unique phenomenon in global history in which civilian opposition to political bodies was expressed in a revolutionary way.

**Cyber-Sovereignty** is defined as the ability of nation-states to censor content of Internet Service Providers, websites and web pages.

**Social Media** is defined as a digital integrated, interactive user generated communications platform that allows users to collectively share and exchange information boundlessly.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The first computer was created in 1944 and spawned an evolutionary way of condensing multiple mechanical functions into one machine. In the 1960s, a joint partnership between the Department of Defense (DOD) and technical research institutions proposed and began developing a network that stretched across the continental United States. The goal was to construct an infrastructure that allowed research scientists to exchange and share large amounts of data over the network. Cruikshank claimed the birth of the Internet began as an idea, but quickly became reality.

In 1969, Department of Defense’s Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) launched a working prototype of this concept that linked up computers at four universities in the southwestern region of the United States. The linkage of these four computers, called ARPANET, was the forerunner to the modern Internet. In 1972, researchers sent out the first email message using the now-familiar name@domain.com nomenclature we still use today.¹

In the 1980s, computer start-up companies like Apple and IBM, began developing desktop personal computers designed for everyday tasks. In 1990, the information superhighway was officially launched worldwide, becoming accessible to every networked computer and those yet to be linked.

Tim Berners-Lee, a researcher at the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN), developed a new tool for sharing information on the Internet using hypertext, that he called the World Wide Web. The first web page was launched on August 6, 1991. According to Deborah Wheeler, “that same year Tunisia became the first Middle Eastern country linked to the National Science Foundation Network (NSFNET). In 1992, Cyprus and Kuwait linked to the NSFNET followed by Egypt, Turkey, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) in 1993; Algeria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Morocco followed in 1994.”

Shortly thereafter, Congress opened up the Internet to commercial service providers. “Opening it to commercial competition and use resulted in the Internet’s spread as a mass technology. High-profile moves online also stimulated Internet growth, drawing business and media attention and creating the beginnings of a public culture of the Internet, says Wheeler.”

In 1995, commercial dial-up systems such as American Online (AOL) and CompuServe began providing commercial services designed for the general public. In 1995, Netscape, a browsing program created by Marc Andreessen and a team of other young computer scientists, went public. The Netscape browser revolutionized the way we access information on the network, making web surfing graphic, more user-friendly, and ultimately more commercialized.

By the turn of the new millennium, the Internet had transformed the world. The continuous advancement of the speed of communication, which the Internet offers, has enabled users to disseminate information instantaneously to the far corners of the world. The old adage was that “news travels fast” but the new adage is that “news

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3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
travels faster.” Traditionally, the public has obtained their local and international news from either one of the two sources: television or print media. However, with the onset of social media blogs, like Dailymotion, individuals are able to receive unfiltered real-time news narratives as events unfold. As a result, the perception is that there is a moving trend from traditional forms of media to electronic media.

Citizens are opting to use electronic sources to gather the news; preferring e-readers such as Amazon Kindle, Barnes & Noble Nook, Sony Reader, and others like them, rather than purchasing books. Instead of tuning in to AM or FM radio broadcast, more and more people are choosing to listen to Pandora, Spotify, and iTunes, for uninterrupted worldwide music. Crammed work schedules have reduced the amount of time we spend with our families; however, Skype, Google Hangouts, Jitsi and several other Voice over Internet Protocol software technologies provide family’s with an alternative means to stay in touch despite the long distances apart. Hulu and Netflix offer users the ability to customize their television viewing experience. Subscribers are able to select and watch their favorite television programs whether they are home or not.

Consequently, the traditional television is becoming obsolete. Wheeler claims, “in twenty short years, the Internet has gone from a few networked labs and universities to a multi-layered network connecting hundreds of millions of people.”

Interpersonal communications has been replaced by email and countries are capable of waging war with the click of mouse or a stroke of a key. The Internet has changed the landscape of

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5 Deborah L. Wheeler, The Internet in the Middle East: Global Expectations and Local Imaginations in Kuwait (State University of New York Press, 2005), 8.
how wars are fought and how revolutions are won. The context of war has changed, it has moved from the battlefield to cyberspace.

The focal point is not territorial aspirations, but harnessing the Internet’s power, controlling the message and the medium through which it is conveyed. Regulating the message medium lends itself to being able to influence society far beyond the impermeable borders of nations. In the twenty-first century, nations are grappling with how to regulate this new domain. The debate is intensified on the international scale, as nation-states attempt to devise an international agreement to define the impalpable lines of demarcation within cyberspace.

The questions that have contributed to this open-ended dialogue are, for instance, how do we define cyber-attacks, cybercrime, cyber warfare, cyber terrorism, and cyber espionage? What are the rules of engagement? What is the threshold of sustained attacks that amounts to a provocation for war? If such an attack should occur, who should be held responsible and how? These and other questions have been raised in order to grasp this ambiguous information technology system which, at its conception, was received with great jubilation, but now is met with great skepticism.

However, this paper will not attempt to muddle through the meandering road of this debate, but to address the role of social networking conglomerates, Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube and their effects on the Arab Spring that jolted across the northern coast of Africa. The Internet has morphed into a global phenomenon. Inscribed within its DNA are the basic tenets of democracy; promoting and representing western
idealism. This pseudo-diplomatic arm of westernized democratic governments are outpacing the pace at which nation-states are able to conduct their internal affairs, thereby compelling nations to share the world stage with a virtual actor.

Proponents of the Internet are reliant upon a belief system that argues that the Internet increases the processes whereby networks of communication and systems of production link to local and global levels so that social relations can no longer be conceived solely in local terms. Wheeler notes, “the idea is that better access to uncensored information means that citizens are better informed and more likely to make demands on their governments.” Opponents detest the Internet, for the same reasons for objecting to the notion of allowing foreign governments to weigh in on its internal affairs. The argument is that the Internet violates its sovereignty or cyber-sovereignty and it undermines the ability of the state to promote their own political message.

Cyber-sovereignty is the ability of nation-states to censor content of Internet Service Providers, websites and web pages. An inability to achieve these ends can potentially interfere with the country’s ability to govern within its geospatial boundaries. The self-promotion of a country’s policies and governance over that of another state can potentially lead to internal dissention. Critics assert that America is being sold as an idea and the Internet is being used as a conduit to spread this message, which in turn, has inevitably led to internal dissension among the populace of some nations.

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According to the Operational Law Handbook of 2012, within the bounds of both the United Nations (UN) Charter and customary international law (CIL), the inherent right of individual self-defense has primarily found expression in three recurring areas: 1) protection of a nation’s territorial integrity; 2) protection of a nation’s political independence; and 3) protection of nationals and their property located abroad.\(^7\)

As defined by the Operational Law Handbook of 2006, a State’s political independence is a direct attribute of sovereignty, and includes the right to select a particular form of government and its officers, the right to enter into treaties, and the right to maintain diplomatic relations with the world community. The rights of sovereignty or political independence also include the freedom to engage in trade and other economic activity. Consistent with the principles of the UN Charter and CIL, each State has the duty to respect the political independence of every other State. Accordingly, force may be used to protect a State’s political independence when it is threatened and all other avenues of peaceful redress have been exhausted.\(^8\)

The use of American Dot.com social networking conglomerates could pose a threat to national governments, as would a foreign enemy.

Social media is a digital integrated, interactive user generated communications platform that allows users to collectively share and exchange information boundlessly. The primary functionality of Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube is to allow subscribers to chronicle, share, connect, and upload their version of occurrences of intimate encounters or the adventures of others. Margaret Rouse and Ivy Wigmore, explain the purpose of a Facebook page.

A Facebook page is a public profile specifically created for businesses, brands, celebrities, causes, and other organizations. Unlike personal profiles, pages do not gain “friends,” but “fans” - which are people who choose to “like“ a page. Pages can gain an unlimited number of fans, differing from personal profiles, which has


had a 5,000 friend maximum…Pages work similarly to profiles, updating users with things such as statuses, links, events, photos and videos. This information appears on the page itself, as well as in its fans' personal news feeds.\(^9\)

According to Mark Zuckerberg, “Facebook’s mission is to make the world more open and connected.”\(^{10}\) Just over a year ago, joined by a group of Silicon Valley executives, Mr. Zuckerberg has become visibly involved in national politics. He invested twenty-million dollars of his own money to help establish a political action committee to advocate issues that are important to them.

Larry Page and Sergey Brin write, “Google’s mission is to organize the world’s information and make it universally accessible and useful.”\(^{11}\) One of their ten principles states, “Democracy on the web works.”\(^{12}\) Marziah Karch, Google Expert, describes the functionality of Google.

Google is a web search engine that lets you find other sites on the web based on keyword searches. Google also provides specialized searches through blogs, catalogs, videos, news items and more.

Google provides Internet services that let you create blogs, send email, and publish web pages. Google has social networking tools, organization tools, and chat tools, services for mobile devices, and even Google branded merchandise.

You can search within printed books with Google Book Search, search for news items with Google News, search for video files with Google Video, or search for products for purchase...\(^{13}\)

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12 Ibid.
Twitter’s motto is that it “is a real-time information network that connects you to the latest stories, ideas, opinions and news about what you find interesting.” Authors Noor Al-Deen and Hendricks, provide an overview of the features of Twitter.

Twitter is a social medium that allows individuals to share short messages with a network of other users…Twitter users establish connections via the mechanism of following…When someone follows another user on Twitter, his or her messages are displayed in a unified feed, or timeline…In addition to the timeline, Twitter users can initiate conversations through the use of @replies or through tagging their messages by placing a number sign, or hashtag, in front of a keyword or phrase (#SXSW).

YouTube’s slogan proclaims that it is “a forum for people to connect, inform, and inspire others across the globe and it acts as a distribution platform for original content creators and advertisers large and small.” According to John Galt, “YouTube is designed to allow users to upload their own video content and also watch the videos that other users post.” These websites’ terms of operation make it precariously difficult to identify their standing, which leads into the murky debate of how to regulate cyberspace. Sometimes these websites operate under a private entity having no formal ties to any one government.

The use of Internet chat rooms creates a veil of anonymity to allow users to espouse their beliefs, which could be directed at their government or a particular

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individual. Scholars argue that to regulate these chat rooms infringes upon the privacy of individuals and their freedom of speech.

In privacy law related to both government prosecution and civil proceedings, privacy depends on the circumstances surrounding the disclosure—what is called the expectation of privacy. For example, in *Katz v. United States* (1967), the U.S. Supreme Court found the act of closing a telephone booth’s door created a temporary zone of privacy for the booth’s occupant, and that an individual did not relinquish the right to exclude others from his conversation just because he used a public facility. Yet, in more than 40 years since the Katz decision, with Justice Potter Stewart famously stating, “The Fourth Amendment protects people—and not simply ‘areas’—against unreasonable searches and seizures” private “places” have not been defined concretely. Social media like Facebook, Myspace, and Twitter can be considered both public and third-party, designations that have historically vitiated an individual’s privacy claims. Under traditional privacy law, one could argue, for example, that in making their tweets public using social media, Twitter users have no expectation that the 140 characters they place in their status boxes are private.\(^\text{18}\)

Therefore, the delicacy in which to find an amicable solution to monitor and not to encroach upon an individual’s expectation of privacy creates a balancing act that is nearly impossible to chart.

**Statement of the Problem**

The problem for the region is that information technology and the Internet, according to Wheeler, “imply an open and open-ended system of communication that many Muslim countries find either economically or politically risky.”\(^\text{19}\) Furthermore, Wheeler writes, Gene Rochlin observes that “one of the most persistent arguments for social benefits of the introduction of computers and computer aided machinery [including}


\(^{19}\) Deborah L. Wheeler, *The Internet in the Middle East: Global Expectations and Local Imaginations in Kuwait* (State University of New York Press, 2005), 56.
the Internet] revolves around the argument that the personal computer is an instrument of social democratization.” Kalathil and Boas, describe the reaction of world leaders, businessmen and journalist to the prospect of the Internet’s capabilities.

President George W. Bush has asserted that the Internet will bring freedom to China, while Secretary of State Colin Powell has stated that “the rise of democracy and the power of the information revolution combine to leverage each other.” President Bill Clinton was also a prolific proponent of the idea that the Internet is inherently a force for democracy. Business leaders and media commentators generally concur: former Citicorp chair Walter Wriston has argued in Foreign Affairs that “the virus of freedom . . . is spread by electronic networks to the four corners of the earth,” and journalist Robert Wright claims that “in all probability, resistance to the Internet’s political logic will plainly be futile within a decade or two.”

The Arab Spring began December 17, 2010 when Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian working-class fruit vendor and martyr, sparked a wave of protest throughout the Arab world. The aftermath of his selfless act, as a form of protest against the misery he endured at the hands of the local government, has propelled him to international notoriety. What drove him to self-immolation is no different from what impelled Thich Quang Duc, a Vietnamese monk, to set himself on fire on June 11, 1963. Bouazizi’s act is also similar to what compelled “Tank Man,” a young Chinese citizen, who courageously stood before a formation of oncoming tanks into Tiananmen Square on June 5, 1989.

These three stunning occurrences were the result of years of oppression from authoritarian governments. That led to an outcry for “basic individual rights, such as

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freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, and freedom from arbitrary arrest and torture.”  

Even though the message was similar, the channel in which the message was conveyed was cutting edge. Zweiri and Murphy, understood the intricacies of the Internet, as they explain here.

…”The morphing capacities of the Internet – from its multiple underlying technologies in multi-user, multi-tasking computing, graphics and networking to its application layers from email and file archives to listservs and newsgroups, web portals and, lately, blogs – which form it as a ‘stack’ of applications, each with its own technologies and technological culture.  

Activist Wael Ghonim, a Google executive, credits Facebook for its ability to topple the Mubarak regime. Working out of Dubai, Ghonim created a Facebook page entitled “We Are All Khaled Said” following the brutal attack he endured by two police officers, outside of an Internet café in Cairo. Similar to what occurred in Tunisia, Khaled’s death lead to an uprising of young activists who had grown weary of the government’s heavy hand of justice. This event inspired many across Egypt to call for the Parliament of Egypt to be dissolved. According to Kenneth M. Pollack,

Almost every part of the Arab world felt the insurgent power of Facebook and YouTube, and authoritarian regimes were obviously thrown on the defensive as a result. The spread of the Internet has provided new and effective instruments for mass political mobilization. The crowds on the streets across the Arab world were often summoned thanks to the Internet. 

The cumulative effects of the Arab Spring lead to the collapse of the governments in both

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Tunisia and Egypt. The significance of this research attempts to examine the civil challenges, if any that countries face in their efforts to censor the Internet within their geospatial boundaries.

**Central Research Question**

The research questions that this dissertation sets out to explore are whether the use of American Dot.com social networking websites (e.g. Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube) by Tunisians and Egyptians during the Arab Spring, to overthrow their governments, be characterized as a violation of Tunisia’s and Egypt’s sovereignty (cyber-sovereignty). In addition, what was the significance of the abovementioned social networking websites during the Arab Spring? Liberals would agree with Eric Goldstein, when he asserts that “regulations should not unreasonably require identification of persons when they access the Internet or exchange information and opinions online. Internet service providers should wherever practicable, preserve the right of users to access the Internet anonymously.”

25 Furthermore, Goldstein states that “the decision of what to block, and what technology to use to block it, should be in the hands of end users, rather than governments.”

26 Realist subscribe to the idea, according to Eric Goldstein, that governments should impose censoring mechanisms to the strictest level of scrutiny,

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26 Ibid, 8.
that “protect children from harmful content, preserve religious values, safeguard local cultures, protect national security, thwart terrorists, and silence racists.”

The use of Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube heightened world attention about the events surrounding the Arab Spring. Furthermore, these social media networking sites complicated the ability of national governments to control messages they felt addressed the needs of their citizens. One of the quotes, Wheeler, cites by Augustus R. Norton, regarding the outlier effects of the Internet, states “that the Internet is producing “growing civic pluralism in the Muslim world,” which will result “in organized demands for equitable treatment by the government.”

Theoretical Framework

The events of the Arab Spring uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt highlighted issues of repressed civil rights, economic inequality, and authoritarian governance for these nations, while also providing a platform for international discourse on the use and role of social media in national politics. On the international stage, much of the credit for igniting and spreading the revolts was attributed to the use of social media. This research will add to the continued debate on the significance of social media in the uprisings through the application of three political theories: Multiple Streams, Neo-realism, and Pluralism.

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The multiple streams model of political decision-making and agenda-setting will be applied as an overarching framework to explain events leading up to the Arab Spring, the role of social media, and the resulting policy outcomes in Tunisia and Egypt. Neo-realism will be used to explain the actions and political will of the two countries. Pluralism will be used to examine the use of social media by protesters during the uprisings. The combined theoretical model is displayed in figure 1.1.

These theories are meant to ultimately answer the fundamental research question of whether or not the use of social media by demonstrators violated the political sovereignty of Tunisia and Egypt during the Arab Spring. The very onset of the Arab spring can be explained using Kingdon’s model which asserts that political agendas are brought forth at critical times through the coupling of policy streams by policy entrepreneurs.

Figure 1.1. Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Theoretical Framework for Analysis
In Tunisia the critical juncture, or policy window, that pushed civil discord to the top of the political agenda was the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi and in Egypt it was the physical assault inflicted upon Khaled Saeed by Egyptian police. Their actions opened the so-called problem window to reveal a populace wave of discontent, suffering, and corruption, which social media users took to the world stage. Poor economic conditions, high unemployment and poverty, repressed civil rights, and government corruption all indicated a viable problem stream had already existed in Tunisia and Egypt, but it was not until this dramatic event that policy change seemed possible. According to the model, policy change rises to the top of agenda-setting when multiple streams are joined together.

Prior to the Arab Spring, Tunisia and Egypt were both authoritarian states. Each government exercised considerable control over public opinion. This allowed them to prevent the coupling of the final two streams: politics and policy. This permitted them to quell dissent and prevent the problem stream from creating a window of opportunity for policy change. This paper asserts that the use of international social media conglomerates: Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube acted as policy entrepreneurs during the Arab Spring. The subsequent political outcomes will be examined to determine whether the use of social media outlets had taken on the role of policy entrepreneur.

Viotti and Kauppi outline the theoretical tenets that guide the pluralist and realist construct. First, Viotti and Kauppi draw four distinct parallels between the liberalist
theory and the pluralist construct. “The pluralist image (often referred to as liberalism or as a liberal construct) consists of a different set of assumptions. First, nonstate actors are important entities in international relations that cannot be ignored. International organizations, for example, can be independent actors in their own right.”

Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube are multinational corporations. Each of these high-tech corporations are headquartered in North America and manage several global enterprise operations. These international joint ventures provide local direct investments to foreign countries in terms of jobs, taxes, diffusion of technology, wealth transfer, and consumerism.

Multinational corporation’s size and power provides them with considerable leverage in influencing the internal affairs within foreign governments. The interdependent nature of the relationship makes it difficult for local politicians, who are relying on the support of these firms, to advance policies that will bolster their country’s interest, but not jeopardize the gains of the corporations. As a result, politician’s relationships with these private enterprises may present barriers to their ability to represent the populace and, consequently, they may find themselves representing the corporations. Charles Kegley highlights a previous instance in which the above claims were proven true.

“Perhaps the most notorious instance of a multinational corporation’s intervention in the politics of a host state occurred in Chile in the early 1970s. There, International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) attempted to protect its interests in

the profitable Chiltelco telephone company by preventing Salvador Allende, a Marxist, from being elected president...”\textsuperscript{30}

“Second, for pluralist, \textit{the state is not a unitary actor}.”\textsuperscript{31} Contrary to what realist claim, the state is only one component of the coalition of actors that influence and construct policy. There are vast amounts of local, state and international organizations that influence policy decisions. The \textit{Alashanek ya Balady} Association, promotes, “the concept of volunteerism among Egyptian youth and to introduce them to “development” as a wider domain and a demonstration of collective social efforts combating poverty and complementing traditional charity.”\textsuperscript{32} This non-governmental organization (NGO) is influential in lobbying the Egyptian government to adopt sustainable economic development policies for impoverished communities for the advancement of education.

“Third, pluralists challenge the utility of the realist assumption of \textit{the state as rational actor}.”\textsuperscript{33} The argument made by pluralist is during the formation of policy, that bureaucrats seek to muscle through their agenda at the expense of others. However, based on the pluralist paradigm, society is made up of competing interests and the power balance may shift to reflect public sentiment. Currently, public discourse is taking place regarding the constitutionality of gay marriage in the United States. Five years ago, if you polled Americans and asked if gay marriage should be legal, the majority of

\textsuperscript{31}Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, \textit{International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism, and Beyond}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed., (Allyn & Bacon 1998), 7.
\textsuperscript{33}Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, \textit{International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism, and Beyond}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} ed., (Allyn & Bacon 1998), 8.
Americans would have objected to this notion. Since that time, if the same question is posed to Americans today, the majority of respondents would support the idea of gay marriage. Within five short years, there has been a seismic shift in public opinion.

“Finally, for the pluralist, the agenda of international politics is extensive.” The slate of international issues nation-states have to grapple with envelops their status and makes it nearly impractical for states to develop an effective unilateral response.

On the other hand, realists tend to assert, according to Mueller, “that nothing fundamentally new is happening around the institutions of communication and information; they praise a “bordered Internet” and claim that “as a practical matter only traditional territorial governments can provide [the] public goods” required for the Internet to work effectively.”

In addition, Viotti and Kauppi outline four key assumptions of realism: “first, states are the principal or most important actors.” The international community derives its power from state membership. If the United Nations did not have the unwavering support of the states, its political might would wither away. Thus, states are recognized as the unrivaled power within the international arena.

“Second, the state is viewed as a unitary actor.” Often referred to as the “black box”, the latent posturing of the state is reflective of the internal political climate, as opposed to the compelling interest of the international community. The protracted tenuous relationship between the United States and North Korea has often resulted in

37 Ibid.
fierce rhetoric between the two countries. North Korea, failing to recognize, adopt, and
comply with the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, has unfortunately
cast them into isolation and strained their international relationships.

“Third, given this emphasis on the unitary state-as-actor, realists usually make the
further assumption that the state is essentially a rational actor.”\textsuperscript{38} It is customary for the
states to adopt the rational actor model which assumes that states solely pursue
utilitarianist agendas. When faced with a dilemma, the state will make the best decision
based on the calculated benefits and cost associated with the outcome. “Fourth, realists
assume that within the hierarchy of international issues, national security usually tops the
list.”\textsuperscript{39}

Territorial integrity and national interest are paramount for the state and its
survival. Nations define themselves through power and that translates to political,
economic, and military might. There is an inherent responsibility for states to increase
their security in order to sustain peace, maintain order, and to balance the distribution of
power among nations.

Mueller proclaims the state, as political scientist insist, is still the predominant
supplier of effective public governance and is still an immensely powerful
institution. But there is a strong and persistent tension between state sovereignty,
which is territorially bounded, and the nonterritorial space for social interaction
created by networked computers. This tension puts pressure on the existing
nation-centered institutional arrangements in communication and information
policy.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{38} Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi, \textit{International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism,
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid, 7.
\textsuperscript{40} Milton L. Mueller, \textit{Network and States: the Global Politics of Internet Governance}, (The MIT
Press, 2010), 1.
Mueller outlines five distinctive ways the Internet puts pressure on the nation-state.

First, it globalizes the *scope* of communication. Its distance-insensitive cost structure and nonterritorial addressing and routing architecture make borderless communication the default; any attempt to impose a jurisdictional overlay on it requires additional (costly) interventions.

Second, it facilitates a quantum jump in the *scale* of communication. It massively enlarges our capacity for message generation, duplication, and storage. As a programmable environment, it industrializes information services, information collection, and content on the Internet often overwhelms the capacity of traditional governmental processes to respond—and can transform governmental processes as well.

Third, it *distributes control*. Combined with liberalization of the telecommunications sector, the Internet protocols decentralized and distributed participation in and authority over networking and ensured that the decision-making units over network operations are no longer closely aligned with political units.

Fourth, it *grew new institutions*. Decision-making authority over standards and critical Internet resources rests in the hands of a transnational network of actors that emerged organically alongside the Internet, outside of the nation-state system. These relatively young but maturing institutions, such as the Internet Engineering Task Force (IETF), the Regional Internet Address Registries, and the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN), provide a new locus of authority for key decisions about standards and critical resources... Finally, it changes the polity. By converging different media forms and facilitating fully interactive communication, the Internet dramatically alters the cost and capabilities of group action.\footnote{Milton L. Mueller, *Network and States: the Global Politics of Internet Governance*, (The MIT Press, 2010), 4-5.}

**Research Methods**

This dissertation will provide a comparative historical overview of former President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia and former President Muhammad Hosni El Sayed Mubarak of Egypt ascendances to power. The case study method will examine the integral role of Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube during the Arab Spring;
shattering the traditional methods of citizens confronting their governments and
provoking sporadic change. To examine these issues, I will administer questionnaires to
extract qualitative data that deepens our understanding of how the Arab Spring swept
across the Middle East and to examine the impact social media had on the revolution.
According to Robert Yin, case studies are defined as “an empirical inquiry that
investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context,
especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly
evident.”

Furthermore, Robert Yin states that case studies “arise from at least two
situations. First and most important (e.g., Shavelson and Townes, 2002, pp. 99-106), the case study method is pertinent when your research addresses either a
descriptive question (what happened?) or an explanatory question (how or why
did something happen?); in contrast, a well-designed experiment is needed to
begin inferring causal relationships (e.g., whether a new education program had
improved student performance), and a survey may be better at telling you how
often something has happened.
Second, you may want to illuminate a particular situation, to get a close (i.e., in-
depth and first-hand) understanding of it. The case study method helps you to
make direct observations and collect data in natural settings, compared to relying
on “derived” data (Bromley, 1986, p. 23)—e.g., test results, school and other
statistics maintained by government agencies, and responses to questionnaires.
For instance, education audiences may want to know about a high school
principal who had done an especially good job, or about a successful (or
unsuccessful) collective bargaining negotiation with severe consequences (e.g., a
teachers’ strike), or about everyday life in a special residential school. You could
use other methods, but the case study method will go far in serving your needs.”

I chose to employ the case study method because it was the most effective in

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terms of explaining and analyzing the complexity of my research. In contrast to other types of research methods, such as experimental research, the capacity to explain and to provide a lengthy narrative would have been limited and impossible. There is no way to conduct an experimental research to predict the advent of the Arab Spring and to explain the past and current picture in its aftermath. Therefore, the case study method lends itself to more explanatory power and context to how and why the Arab Spring occurred.

Case studies rely more on a reflective perspective to provide a historical account of events that led up to the Arab Spring. As a result of this case study, researchers can then conduct an experimental design, based on the known set of factors that this research unveils, to hypothesize that when these elements are present or exist there is a possibility of an Arab Spring type of event to occur. I will use the triangulation data collection technique, to illustrate the various types of cogent evidence that will provide a comprehensive perspective on the impact of social media and whether its use could be considered a violation of cyber-sovereignty. The triangulation method encourages the collection of information from multiple sources and according to Yin it is “aimed at corroborating the same fact or phenomenon.”

The findings are collected and analyzed to assess its value towards an understanding and accurate portrayal of events that occurred before, during, and after the Arab Spring. If the findings arrive at the same conclusion from multiple independent sources, it would suggest there was a causal relationship between the use and/or access

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to social media and the mobilization efforts during the Arab Spring. The validity of this claim will be determined by the respondent’s responses to the questionnaire. Therefore, if the majority of survey participants agree that the use of Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube contributed to the spread of the Arab Spring, then the validity of enacting a cyber-sovereignty law is established.

This paper will chronicle the events leading up to the Arab Spring. I will address the shifting attitudes of the citizens, identify patterns and predictors that created change within the context of the role and influence of the Internet, analyze various documents, and solicit questionnaires. The scope of what the Arab Spring was intended to accomplish from different segments of society could possibly result in differing expectations. Part of the objective of this multi-analytical study seeks to identify some of the possible reasons through which the Arab Spring came into fruition.

Once the data is collected and analyzed, I will attempt to identify any casual relationships that exist in Tunisia and Egypt that initiated the Arab Spring and the objective it set out to accomplish. For example, if the Tunisian revolution had not occurred, would the Egyptian revolution materialized? Depending on how you perceive this question, it could be very well possible that the Tunisian revolution was necessary, in order for the Egyptian revolution to be possible. While the Arab Spring is a contemporary issue that is still currently unfolding, the timeframe under consideration for this study will begin in December 2010 through December 2011.
Significance of the Study

The newness of the Internet with its robust communication, its unheralded power, its enigmatic appeal, and its transformative dimensions, has upended the political landscape as it has traditionally been studied. The Internet’s uncanny ability to circumvent the thrones of national governments, mobilize citizens, and topple heads of state is the first of its kind. The design, development, implementation, and operation of social media, has made it conveniently easy for people to access, interact, develop, and coordinate political campaigns to promote personal and nation-state agendas. The accessibility of social media and the ability for citizens to leverage this new form of communication, whether through computers, cellular telephones, tablets, or netbooks has proven to be at this point conceptually impossible to constrain.

Since cyber-sovereignty is an emerging new concept. The research will explore the potential cost and benefits of this international legal tenet. Delupis, explains that “sovereignty has traditionally been used as a term to denote the collection of functions exercised by a state. The concept was used to cover three important rights of a state under international law: the right of equality, the right of independence and the right of self-determination.”

Despite nation-states political dominance, recently there has been a dramatic shift towards cyberspace. The nascent state of this new form of technology and the changing nature of sovereignty in this hyper-globalized era, deconstruct the geopolitical boundaries

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as they once were. Paul Berman, analyzes the legal difficulties, in attempting to apply physical parameters in cyberspace.

“Thinking of cyberspace as a place has led judges, legislators, and legal scholars to apply physical assumptions about property in this new, abstract space. Owners of Internet resources think of their systems as their own little claims in cyberspace, which must be protected against the typical encroachments that we find in the physical property world.”

Volume 1 of Internet Law and Practice highlights a court case that explains the difficulty in attempting to define jurisdictional boundaries regarding the Internet.

In Digital Equipment Corp. v. AltaVista Technology, Inc., the court described the problems posed by forcing the Internet into traditional notions of jurisdictional thinking as follows:

The Internet has no territorial boundaries. To paraphrase Gertrude Stein, as far as the Internet is concerned, not only is there perhaps “no there there,” the “there” is everywhere where there is Internet access. When business is transacted over a computer network via a Web site accessed by a computer in Massachusetts, it takes place as much in Massachusetts, literally or figuratively, as it does anywhere.

This exploratory analysis aims to contribute to current efforts by the global community to secure international agreement on the effective utilization of social media (transnational media). Furthermore, this study will propose policy recommendations which may preserve the right of nations to monitor transnational media feeds and hold individuals personally liable for posting offensive content, under the auspices of foreign organizations, at the expense of local governments. However, the delicacy of the issue of personal freedoms, particularly freedom of speech where it exists, will serve as a country-

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47 Robert Paul Norman et al., *Internet Law and Practice, Volume 1*, (Thomson / West, 2003), 9-4.
balance so as to not encroach upon the individual liberties of citizens while in pursuit of the establishment of policies favoring the government of citizens.

**Organization of the Dissertation**

The dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 1 provided an introductory overview of the development of the Internet, the significance of social media, (i.e., Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube), and a brief summary of the Arab Spring. Additionally, the concept of cyber-sovereignty will be defined, as well as the theoretical framework in which this paper will be discussed, and the significance of this study. Chapter 2 will provide a survey of the literature, which will include an overview of Tunisia and Egypt, a discussion on sovereignty (cyber-sovereignty), the advent of the Internet, social media, and social movements.

Chapter 3 will explore the theoretical underpinnings of this research, which will entail a discussion on social mobilization theory, the theory of revolution, Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Theory, levels of analysis of state behavior, and the pluralist/realist perspective. Chapter 4 will delve into the results obtained by the completed questionnaires as it relates to the significance of social media during the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt. Chapter 5 will provide a brief summary of what was discussed in the preceding chapters and some concluding remarks on the limitations of this research as well as the implications for future research.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The intent of this chapter and subsequent subsections is to provide an overview of Tunisia and Egypt, analyze and synthesize the concept of sovereignty (cyber-sovereignty), cyberspace, social media, and social movements. This chapter will address the lack of research as it pertains to cyber-sovereignty, in an effort to forge a better understanding and narrowly tailor a definition with aspects most relevant to the term. The literature review as it pertains to this concept, set out to define and discuss if Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube had any meaningful impact in intensifying the Arab Spring uprisings. Specifically, I argue that the use of the abovementioned social media conglomerates, with the exclusion of other variables, set the conditions to which the leaders of these countries were reacting.

Political regime change in Tunisia and Egypt chartered similar but different courses to achieve independence and thereof. Post-independence leaders benefitted and suffered from the own success. The intermittent waves of support that carried them to victory eventually crashed ashore. Modesty gave way to narcissism which led to their demise. The tides of change created a powder keg of uncertainty throughout the region.
From independence to the Arab Spring, there had been escalating tensions amongst the citizens that the governments of Tunisia and Egypt overlooked.

**Tunisia**

**Habib Bourguiba**

Tunisia, a former French colony, located in Northern Africa, gained its independence on March 20, 1956. Habib Bourguiba, the first president of Tunisia, was sworn in 1957 and served until 1987. Habib’s ascent to power was unexpected and his road to the presidency began long before he was elected. His overseas education and experiences became the basis of his reformist movement that catapulted him from unknown to leader of the Neo-Destour Party. Habib received his formal education at the University of Paris, where he studied Political Science and Law. After graduating, Habib returned to his native country of Tunisia in 1927, where he began practicing law. It was during this time that he gained a unique interest in politics.

Upon his return to Tunisia, Bourguiba was in search of a platform to launch his ideas. Habib’s search turned into a solution, which led him to create a newspaper; Tunisian Action in 1932. The newspaper was the ideal choice for Habib to gain notoriety and to draw some attention to the Destour Party’s platform. However, Bourguiba’s support began to wane in the years to come. Bourguiba grew restless with the party’s imperialist ideological leadership. Habib felt that the Destour Party was stymied by French colonialism and lack the resolve to pursue a reformist agenda. His frustration led to the forming of the Neo-Destour Party in 1934.
Habib advocated for Tunisian first policies. His nationalistic patriotic movement quickly gained steam into a full-fledged campaign. His protectionist policies gained traction among the populace and ran counter to French colonists. His revolutionist rhetoric posed a threat to the French colonizers and came at cost to Habib and his associates. In that same year, the French imprisoned Habib and his associates until 1936. Upon their release, Habib and his associates received a warm reception from the Tunisian citizens. This reinvigorated the Neo-Destour Party, the Neo-Destour protectionist policies, and Habib’s supporters. For the next two years, Bourguiba spent his time rebuilding the party’s infrastructure.

In 1938, a pro-independent uprising swept across Tunisia, leading to the reimprisonment of Bourguiba. The French dealt with his arrest quite differently than in the past. His very presence posed a threat to the stability of the country and as a result, he was extradited to France to serve out his sentence. During his time of internment, WWII had begun and Habib was transferred to several different detention centers across Europe. In 1942, Habib was released from prison, but remained under joint custody by the Germans and the Italians. As WWII was taking shape and battle lines were being drawn, the Germans sought to shore up their alliances. Working in tandem, the Germans and the Italians sought out Bourguiba’s support. Bourguiba declined their offer and threw his support behind the United States and their allies.

Habib returned to Tunisian in 1943 and attempted to renegotiate with the French, but his attempts failed. In 1945, WWII ended and Habib fled Tunisia and traveled
extensively throughout Europe, the Middle East, the United States, and Africa to seek external support for a pro-independent Tunisia. He returned to Tunisia in 1949, to reassemble what was left of his party and to rally the party faithful. That following year, Habib, with the help of the Neo-Destour Party, drafted a seven-point program, urging the French government to relinquish power to the Tunisian citizens. The French authorities declined his proposal and the Tunisian citizens revolted yet again. The massive protests led to the incarceration of Habib in 1952 up until 1954.

Two years following his release from prison, Tunisia gained its independence from France. In April of 1956, Habib Bourguiba was appointed prime minister. However, “the Assembly proclaimed Tunisia a republic in July 1957, and in 1959 it ratified the constitution, which established a presidential regime. Bourguiba was then elected president of the republic by universal suffrage.”¹ This thereby abolished the office of the prime minister until 1969. Bourguiba then enacted legislation that brought Tunisian legal statues in line with contemporary society. President Bourguiba recommended “far reaching fundamental changes to Tunisian society through the introduction of several laws related to:

- Women emancipation,
- Free education for all,
- Family planning,
- Free modern healthcare system,

• Literacy campaign,
• Administrative, financial and economic organisation,
• Suppression of the “Waqf frozen property”,
• Building the country’s infrastructure.”

From 1959 to 1975, President Bourguiba’s administration was met with near universal approval. The office of Prime Minister was restored and assigned to Bahi Ladgham (1969-1970), followed by Hedi Amara Nouira (1970-1980), he was succeeded by Mohammed Mzali (1980-1986), and he was replaced by Rachid Sfar (1986-1987), and Zine El Abidine Ben Ali (1987) was the last Prime Minister to hold office under the Bourguiba regime. In 1975, Mr. Bourguiba’s administration was met with strong criticism and opposition. President Bourguiba, endorsed a measure which declared him president for life, but it was met with skepticism. Habib’s endorsement contradicted his years of work, advocating for a free and independent Tunisia. Under these conditions, Tunisia moved from a multi-party system to a one-party state. Following this news, things began to unravel for the once highly regarded statesman. In the years that followed, there were several small anti-government demonstrations that spread throughout the country. Although relatively peaceful, there initial concerns had collided with a faltering economy.

Kenneth Perkins, the author of A History of Modern Tunisia provides a detailed analysis of the factors that were affecting the economy:

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Increased industrialization created thousands of new jobs, most requiring minimal skills, paying low wages, and presenting limited opportunities for advancement or the acquisition of technical expertise. Yet it did not appreciably lower unemployment; nor did it generate substantial export revenue. Throughout the 1970s, the official national unemployment rate fluctuated between 13 and 16 percent, but it reached markedly higher proportions in the cities and among the young. By the middle of the decade, the coming flight from the countryside had brought the urban and rural populations into balance for the first time ever, a process that contributed significantly to urban employment. Young men between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five suffered a rate of joblessness approaching 50 percent and accounted for almost three-quarters of those without work. The birth of some two million Tunisians between 1956 and 1976 simply outstripped, by far, the government’s ability to generate jobs.

Two other factors provide further explanation of the new industries’ negligible impact on unemployment. In the 1970s, women went to work outside their homes or fields in much larger numbers than previously, often holding jobs once reserved for men. In 1975, women comprised slightly more than a quarter of the economically active population, over a third of them employed in the industrial sector. This situation reflected the evolving status of women since independence, the economic straits of many Tunisian families, and the greater willingness of foreign entrepreneurs (in comparison with their Tunisian counterparts) to hire women, albeit usually at low wages than men. This augmentation of the workforce meant that reducing overall unemployment figures necessitated creating new jobs at a more feverish pitch than planners had foreseen or could accomplish. The second explanatory factor lay in the government’s persistent unwillingness to come to grips with the problem of regional imbalances. During Nouira’s first Five-Year Plan (1973-7), the government made no greater effort than its predecessors to disperse the new industries beyond the coast, and particularly beyond the Tunis area. As a result, the relief that they provided had no impact on the south, center, or west, traditionally the regions with the most severe levels of unemployment.³

Despite numerous attempts by Prime Minister Nouira and President Bourguiba, nothing prevented the economy from imploding. The abysmal economy spelled trouble for the Bourguiba administration. As the 1980s ushered in a continuation of the same failed policies, the Bourguiba administration was facing intense hostility. “The judiciary,

the press, the trade unions, which had all tasted freedom in the early years of the republic, had been shackled. Bread-riots were becoming frequent. Crushing Islamists was becoming an obsession. Mr. Bourguiba was demanding mass executions after bombings in the tourist resorts of Sousse and Monastir."  

The once firm grip the Neo-Destour Party had held over the central government began to loosen. The loosening of the grip meant the return to a multi-party system. Even though this was welcomed news, the faltering economy overshadowed its importance. The staggering economy and President Bourguiba’s failing health contributed to his removal from office. In 1987, then Prime Minister Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali removed President Habib Bourguiba from office, citing health reasons as the contributing factor.

**Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali**

In 1987, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali transitioned from Prime Minister to the President of Tunisia. During his transition, Ben Ali inherited a country that was in severe economic turmoil. President Ben Ali promised a more inclusive Tunisia and under his leadership the country returned to economic prosperity. Ben Ali’s extensive military experience propelled him to the office of presidency. He served in the leadership of the Tunisian Military Security Department from 1964 to 1974. Furthermore, from 1974 to 1987...

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1977, before returning to Tunisia, Ben Ali served as the “military attache to the Tunisian embassy in Morocco.”

In 1977, Ali’s success from his previous assignments prompted his appointment as director general of national security. Ali’s success followed him throughout his career. It was this success that led him to be appointed Tunisian ambassador to Poland in 1980. Ali served as ambassador until 1984 and was reassigned as director general of national security. “One year later, Zine Ben Ali became the minister of national security, and in 1986 he took over the vitally important portfolio of the Interior Ministry. Between 1986 and November of 1987, Zine consolidated his political power, and in October 1987 he became prime minister as well as the secretary general of the PSD, the Destourian Socialist Party.” The executive reshuffling led to the appointment of Hédi Baccouche as the Prime Minister from 1987 until 1989.

The economic prosperity that Ali promised did not necessarily translate to job creation. Ali “was praised for a progressive stance on women's rights and for economic reforms. Tunisia's beaches were a top destination for European tourists. But unemployment among a swelling population of young people remained high, and large sections of the Tunisian interior remained poor.” President Ali’s economic agenda saw gains in economic growth, but lags in employment growth. According to Kenneth

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6 Ibid.
Perkins, “neither economic nor foreign policy received much attention in the first year of the ben Ali’s presidency, but after the Reassemblément Constitutionnel Democratique’s (RCD) commanding victory in the 1989 elections, the government intensified the application of the structural adjustment plan devised at the end of the Bourguiba era.”

According to Rob Prince, the conditions of the structural adjustment plan under the Bourguiba regime “included cutting government spending, reducing or eliminating capital controls and protective tariffs, depreciating the dinar (Tunisia’s currency). Part of the deal necessitated the Tunisian government ending its subsidies on wheat and semolina (ingredients in bread).” These conditions drew the ire and disapproval of Prime Minister Baccouche, which led him to be replaced by Hamed Karoui in 1989. Perkins writes that “by the time the 1981-91 plan had run its course, the economic slide had been arrested and a healthy annual growth rate achieved.”

In 1990, the United States waged war against Iraq for invading Kuwait. President Ali did not support the U.S. led invasion, which damaged the relationship Tunisia was attempting to build with the United States. According to Perkins,

The United States retaliated against Tunisia by slashing economic assistance it gave the country from roughly $30 million in 1990 to $8 million in 1991 and a mere $1 million in 1992 and by terminating military aid altogether. In 1993, however, disbursements climbed back to their earliest levels. Donations from the Gulf states, which plummeted from $100 million in 1990 to less than $3 million

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in 1991, were resumed more slowly, with Kuwait refusing even to restore diplomatic relations with Tunisia until 1994.\footnote{Kenneth J. Perkins, \textit{A History of Modern Tunisia}, 2nd ed. (New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 198.}


Two critical questions faced ben ‘Ali and the RCD after the 1994 elections: Could the party indefinitely sustain its popular support, particularly among a middle class that comprised more than 80 percent of the population, without converting its contrived pluralist system into a more genuinely participatory arrangement, and were they willing to pursue a course of action transforming the RCD from the master of the political arena to simply one of many parties vying influence within it? An indication of high-level thinking on these matters came shortly after the elections with the arrest of Moncef Marzouki on charges that his calls for greater political freedom and the legalization of al-Nahda defamed the state. In 1995 the once compliant Mouvement des démocrates socialistes (MDS) secretary-general Muhammad Mouada and Khemais Chammarri, who had a long history of Ligue Tunisienne pour la Défense des Droits de l’Homme (LTDH) activism, addressed an open letter to the president decrying the restrictive political environment. Both were jailed. With its al-Nahda critics out of the way, the government was cracking down on outspoken secular political opponents and human rights advocates, who now joined al-Nahda militants as political prisoners.\footnote{Kenneth J. Perkins, \textit{A History of Modern Tunisia}, 2nd ed. (New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2013) 203.}

In the years that followed, President Ali continued to tighten his grip on the government of Tunisia, human rights activist began raising awareness of the mistreatment
of political opponents, political opposition groups prepared their party candidates to run against Ali in the next presidential election, Tunisia entered into a new free trade agreement with the European Union, and in 1999 President Ali ran opposed for the first time and was reelected president for third consecutive time. That same year Hamed Karoui was replaced by Mohamed Ghannouchi as the next Prime Minister of Tunisia. Three years later, in 2002, in order for President Ali to remain eligible to run for president, the Tunisian citizens returned to the polls and overwhelmingly approved a constitutional amendment that would allow President Ali to run for a fourth consecutive term. Furthermore, the legislator enacted a law that “put opposition parties at a further disadvantage by prohibiting privately owned domestic or foreign broadcast media from taking a position on electoral candidates.” As a result, President Ben Ali was reelected in 2004 for a record fourth consecutive term and again in 2009.

Shortly after the United States was attacked by Al-Qaeda in 2001, the U.S. launched two subsequent wars; the Afghanistan War in 2001 and the Iraq war in 2003. The terrorist attacks in the United States and the terrorist attack on a Tunisian synagogue, on the island of Djerba in 2002, took its toll on tourism worldwide. The Tunisian economy suffered mightily in the wake of the terrorist attacks. In the wake of the suffering, Tunisia had hoped their economy would rebound after hosting two high profile events. Tunisia was selected to host the 2004 African Cup of Nations and the Worldwide

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Handball Championship the following year. Despite hosting the two high profile events, the events did relatively little to boost the economy.

As the economy stiffened, tensions grew, and so did clashes between the populace and President Ben Ali’s Tunisia. Political expression, outside of adoration, was limited and condemned. “The government clamped down on nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) during the run-up to the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) in 2005, and members of human rights groups in particular faced arrest, imprisonment, and even physical attacks in the street. Domestic donors to civic organizations and public policy institutes remain subject to state pressure.”

However, due to mounting pressure from within and outside of Tunisia, President Ben Ali began to soften his hardline stances toward the media and his political opponents.

“In May 2005, the authorities abolished the legal depot, a measure that required all media to be vetted by the Ministry of the Interior before publication.” A year later, “in March and November 2006, President Ben Ali pardoned or conditionally released about 1,800 political prisoners.” President Ben Ali’s efforts to appease his constituents were stymied by the 2008 global financial crisis. According to Christopher Alexander, “in 2008, thousands of unemployed Tunisians took to the streets in the southwestern mining town of Redeyef demanding jobs and an end to poverty and nepotism. The

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16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
government made promises to develop the region, but they proved to be empty.”

The combination of circumstances that plagued the economy had proven to be untenable.

Perkins writes,

> With unemployment officially standing at 15 percent nationwide, but estimated at over 40 percent for younger Tunisians (and climbing higher still in the most severely depressed regions in the center and south of the country, which job creators had long spurned in favor of coastal areas, with their better-prepared human resources and ancillary facilities), the prospects of the situation’s improving were dim. Because a secondary school diploma or even a university degree was no longer the exceptional credential it once had been, this situation affected even university graduates, who made up more than half of the unemployed. Many found themselves compelled to accept less prestigious and lower-paying positions than they believed their educations had earned them or to resort to the humiliating alternative of bribery to obtain a position for which they were clearly well qualified. Still others concluded that the only way to capitalize on the skills provided by their education was to immigrate, usually either to the West or to the Gulf, with all of the unsettling personal and familial issues associated with such a decision. Those who remained did not, however, escape having to contend with similar dilemmas. Unable to establish themselves securely in the workforce, many had no choice but to live with their parents and to defer marriage and the starting of a family, both of which contributed, especially in young men, to the sense of inadequacy already engendered by their joblessness.

Two years following the collapse of the global economy, former United States Army Private First Class Bradley Manning, released a series of U.S. diplomatic cables that questioned and revealed the lavish lifestyle of President Ben Ali and his family. The findings were damning and protests intensified, as calls for the resignation of President Ben Ali grew louder. In 2011, President Ben Ali and Prime Minister Ghannouchi

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resigned from office. According to Kenneth Perkins, “The Tunisian “revolution for dignity” that overthrew the ben ‘Ali regime precipitated a thorough overhaul of the country’s political culture, even as it offered an example and inspiration to victims of similarly repressive autocracies in Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria, and Bahrain…”20

Egypt

Gamal Abdel Nasser

The political history of Egypt since the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, has led to a series of military clashes between the two countries and changes in leadership for the last half of century. Four years following the Arab-Israeli war, a military coup led by Gamal Abdel Nasser, overthrew King Farouk’s government, which paved the way for Nasser’s ascent to power. Nasser came at a time when the Arab World was feeling demoralized due to their stunning defeat to eradicate Israel. His bombastic personality and his strong stance against Israel drew wide praise from the Arab World. He received overwhelming support from Egyptian citizens and his popularity grew throughout the Middle East.

Following the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, there were several minor military conflicts between Egypt and Israel. In 1956, Nasser was seeking financial support to expand the Aswan High Dam functions. Since its creation in 1902, the dam was built to provide irrigation to the lands downstream along the Nile River. Nasser sought to expand its functions to not only providing irrigation, but also hydroelectricity. In an effort to make his plan come to fruition, Nasser sought financial support from the West.

However, due to the ongoing military provocations from Egypt directed at Israel, the West withdrew its support. Then and now, Israel is an important ally to the West. The safety and security of the Israeli people overshadowed Nasser’s request.

Nasser resented the United States for failing to provide the financial support it sorely needed to modernize the dam. As a result, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal and this caused a potential disruption of commercial service. In response to Nasser nationalizing the Suez Canal, the Israelis, the British, and the French attacked Egypt. Within a year’s time, the Israelis, the British, and the French were forced to withdraw from Egypt and Nasser reopened the canal to commercial shipping. Following the Suez Canal Crisis, Nasser’s image took a setback, but remained intact.

In the wake of Israel’s expansion of power, the final major military conflict between Egypt and Israel under the Nasser regime occurred in June of 1967. The Six-Day War began with a pre-emptive strike by Israel against Egypt and Syria paralyzing their aerial defense and halting any gains made by Jordan. As a result, Israel gained some Palestinian territory and Egypt and its allies suffered devastating losses. Three years later in September of 1970, Nasser’s reign of power ended abruptly, he suffered a fatal heart attack and was succeeded by his Vice-President, Anwar el-Sadat.

Anwar el-Sadat

Anwar el-Sadat’s tenure as president extended from 1970 to 1981. During his reign as president, Sadat was revered as a transformational figure. He broke from
Nasser’s attempts to create a police state and his predecessor’s hawkish stance against Israel. During his reign, according to Robert St. John,

Nasser made Egypt a police state, in which mail was opened, the communications media were strictly censored, the chief newspapers were nationalized, telephones were tapped, and visitors’ rooms were searched. Political democracy in the Western sense was nonexistent. One-party candidates for office were handpicked by Nasser and his close associates. Political enemies were herded into concentration camps in the desert.\(^\text{21}\)

May 15, 1971, Sadat’s government made a valiant attempt to restore trust with the Egyptian citizens and to rid the Egyptian government of any political forces that had allegiance to his predecessor. In what was known as the Corrective Revolution, Sadat launched a campaign to relinquish unnecessary government oversight that was brought forth by Nasser. Later that year, the Egyptian government ratified a new constitution that allowed for a greater degree of political expression and welcomed the formation of other political parties. Even though Sadat made some considerable changes, the lingering effects of the Nasser regime still remained.

Sadat recognized that Nasser’s hawkish stance against Israel was an unsustainable long-term approach to peace. Before Sadat arrived at this conclusion and like his predecessor, he too went to war with Israel. In October of 1973, Egyptian military launched a surprise attack on Israel, known as the Yom Kippur War. Sadat’s aggression towards Israel was the result of the stunning defeat suffered during the Six-Day War of 1967, as well as Egypt’s lagging economy. Sadat’s military acumen had proven to be

effective. Egypt was able to garner the support of the Arab oil exporting nations and they agreed to reduce their output and increase the price per barrel. This caused a global financial crisis and hampered American markets. This prompted the United States who had supported Israel to broker a cease-fire agreement between the two countries.

Four years following the October War, Sadat traveled to Israel in hopes of securing a peace agreement between the two countries. In 1978, both sides agreed to a temporary peace agreement, known as the Camp David Accords, followed by a long-term peace treaty. Sadat’s success of securing a peace agreement with Israel, eventually led to his assassination in October of 1981.

**Muhammad Hosni Said Mubarak**

Muhammad Hosni Said Mubarak served as Vice President of Egypt during the latter years of Sadat’s presidency. Mubarak’s military accomplishments propelled him into the upper echelon of government service, which eventually paved the way for him to become president. His presidency began shortly after the assassination of Anwar el-Sadat and he served as President of Egypt for the next 30 years. During the course of his presidency, Mubarak was re-elected to office with an overwhelming majority on four separate occasions.

During his time as president, Mubarak did not encounter the same military challenges as did Nasser and Sadat, but rather his time was marked by growth, prosperity, and stagnation. Mubarak continued some of the same policy initiatives put forth by Sadat. For instance, Mubarak did not attempt to dissolve the peace treaty set in motion
by Sadat with Israel, he improved relations with the other Arab countries that disavowed the peace treaty, and Egypt became a critical ally with the United States. As a result of Mubarak’s efforts, Egypt saw an unprecedented economic growth under his leadership. Some of the projects that began in the 1980s, according to Arthur Gold Schmidt Jr. “included expanding the water and sewer system of greater Cairo, upgrading the telephone network, building new schools, introducing better varieties of wheat and rice, and extending family planning services.”

The Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty faced its first challenge in 1982. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) led by Yasser Arafat, were launching attacks on Israel from Lebanon. As a result, Israel launched a merciless attack on Lebanon, putting Egypt in a precarious position. Many of the Egypt’s top brass and citizens expressed extreme displeasure with the Israeli invasion. However, since the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty of 1979, both countries were receiving massive amounts of economic aid from the United States. This kept Egypt from aiding Lebanon. However, Israel faced mounting pressure to withdraw from Lebanon and at the behest of the international community and they complied.

Domestically it seems that Mubarak faced some internal challenges. In 1986, the drug trade within Cairo had become a thriving concern. The Egyptian drug trade infiltrated the very highest levels of government and compromised Egypt’s Central Security Forces. This development led to an all-out clash between the Egyptian military, Egyptian police and the Central Security Forces. The mutiny was suppressed once

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President Mubarak forced Interior Minister Ahmed Rushdie to resign and replaced him with Police Major General Zaki Badr.

The invasion of Lebanon and the War on Drugs were the two most notable moments under the Mubarak regime during the 1980s. Emerging unscathed by the controversies, Mubarak and Egypt were now seen as a prominent ally of the United States and played an instrumental role during the Gulf War of 1991. Much to Mubarak’s dismay, Egypt joined coalition forces to remove former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein from neighboring Kuwait. Mubarak would have much rather resolved the incident diplomatically, but Saddam refused to cooperate and forced Mubarak’s hand. Consequently, coalition forces were able to push Iraqi forces out of Kuwait and for Mubarak’s cooperation, the U.S. was able to reduce Egypt’s debt burden.

Even though Egypt received some economic relief, their economy began to suffer. This signaled the beginning of the end of the Mubarak regime. It was Egypt’s own participation in the Gulf War that caused a backlash and provided an opening for extremist to gain popularity. Robert Tignor writes that “in spite of improvements in the gross domestic product, the growth rate of employment between 1990 and 2005 was a disappointing 2.6 percent per year, hardly sufficient to absorb the graduates of high schools and universities entering the job market each year.”23

The earthquake of 1992 rocked the city of Cairo. The government’s response was slow and the Muslim Brotherhood stepped in to fill the void. The Muslim Brotherhood

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provided much-needed supplies for the victims affected by this tragedy, while winning the support of the Egyptian citizens. As their following grew, so did Mubarak’s impatience with the organization. In 1993 the World Trade Center was attacked and during the same time Mubarak had begun a systematic crackdown of the Muslim Brotherhood. Mubarak’s relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood was never necessarily friendly but tolerant. The eradication of the Muslim Brotherhood was seen as an attempt to counter the threat the group posed to the Mubarak regime.

During the crackdown, a group by the name of al-Gamaa al-Islamiya launched a series of violent attacks on the Mubarak regime, civilians, and tourist. As the years went on, it appears that each attack was progressively worse. In 1995, there was a failed assassination attempt made on President Mubarak’s life while traveling in Ethiopia. The attacks grew in size and became more violent, culminating into the deadly attack in the City of Luxor, Egypt in 1997. This fatal attack by the al-Gamaa al-Islamiya group killed numerous Egyptians and tourist. These gruesome attacks stifled the Egyptian economy and were strongly condemned by the Egyptian citizens. The government responded by clamping down on the group and their supporters. Jason Thompson notes that,

The Gamaa, whose ranks had been thinned by arrests and executions, called for a cease-fire in 1999. That, however, was by no means the end of Islamic extremism in Egypt. Four of the 9/11 hijackers who destroyed the World Trade Center in 2001 were Egyptian. Ahmed al-Marsi (‘Ahmed the Egyptian’) has a five million dollar price on his head for alleged complicity in the bombings of the United States Embassies in Dar al-Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi in 1998. The Egyptian surgeon and professor Ayman al-Zawahiri, who was arrested in
connection with the assassination of Sadat but later freed, is (was) a prominent member of al-Qaeda.\textsuperscript{24}

As the War on Terrorism began to take shape, so were opposition forces against the United States led invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. The growing criticism, directed at the United States and its allies from around the world, renewed the call for extremist to rebel against the United States presence in both countries. Egypt, for its implicit support, was one of the allies that faced increasing pressure to publicly oppose United States occupation. Moreover, a melee between the Christians and Muslims erupted throughout Egypt. It also became apparent that President Mubarak had intended to desert the Egyptian Constitution and formerly appoint his son as his successor. These cascading revelations made it extremely difficult for President Mubarak to win his 2005 re-election bid.

Although he was unanimously re-elected, his re-election did come at a cost. The Muslim Brotherhood won additional seats in the Egyptian Parliament, in 2006 there was a lethal terrorist attack in the Red Sea Resort of Sharm el-Sheikh, and the economy continued in a downward spiral. According to Michael Slackman, “The main complaint is economic, driven by rising food prices, depressed salaries and what opposition leaders say is an unprecedented gap between rich and poor.”\textsuperscript{25} Two years later, the April 6 Youth Movement was formed. The movement was established to protest inflation and to support the textile workers. Members of the movement became students of nonviolent

\textsuperscript{24} Jason Thompson, \textit{A History of Egypt: From Earliest Times to the Present}, (American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 348.

resistance and immersed themselves in the tactics of nonviolent action. Representatives from the movement traveled around the globe to learn the successes of previous nonviolent revolutions.

In the summer of 2009, blogger and April 6 activist Mohammed Adel traveled to Serbia to take a course on strategies for nonviolent revolutions. It was taught by people who had organized the overthrow of Slobodan Milošević in the 1990s. In December 2008, one April 6 member visited the United States to take part in a State Department-organized “Alliance of Youth Movements Summit” in New York City. According to a recently released WikiLeaks cable, the activist said he discussed with other activists there techniques to evade government surveillance and harassment.26

Since Mubarak’s 2005 campaign there had been a robust grassroots effort to undermine his administration. A lot of the discontent centered on Mubarak’s mishandling of the economy. In 2009, there was a glimmer of hope, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) under 20 World Cup was held in Egypt. However, the economy did not improve or stabilize. The global financial crisis flattened any potential gains that could have been achieved. El-Amir writes,

During 2009 Egypt shared in several global crises, including the financial downturn and the H1N1 flu epidemic. These crises were exacerbated within Egypt by local issues, including a spate of strikes, human rights concerns, and disagreement with the Nile River basin countries over the management of water resources. There were also mass arrests of senior members of the banned Muslim Brotherhood organization.27

In 2010, the lingering effects of the economy continued to plague the country. The Muslim Brotherhood remained a thorn in the side of the Mubarak administration, there were rumors that President Mubarak’s health was failing, the National Democratic Party (NDP) were accused of election rigging, and the public grew restless. By late 2010, a wave of discontent swept across the country and it was the first sign that the Arab Spring had reached Egypt following the events in Tunisia. The massive demonstrations against Mubarak, forced him to appoint Omar Suleiman as the Vice President of Egypt in January 2011. Mubarak had hope this would quell the uprising, but his efforts fell short of the protesters expectations and Mr. Suleiman was seen as a relic of the past. This fueled the protesters to intensify their efforts until President Mubarak tendered his resignation. After initially resisting calls to step aside, Mubarak had finally succumbed to the intensity of the pressure and resigned Friday, February 11, 2011. “Mr. Mubarak’s three-decade rule was over, and in March he was under arrest.”28 Shortly thereafter, the military assumed power.

The collective uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt during the first 3 months of 2011 known as the “Arab Spring” grew from a handful of protesters to a social movement. The communication that fueled this social movement was significantly influenced by social networking sites, such as Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube. The use of these four social media outlets played an active role in communicating, coordinating,

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mobilizing, and disseminating information to protesters, activists, journalists, and supporters alike. According to Ginevra Adamoli,

“Some scholars have observed that the internet has played an important role in mobilizing people to act online and offline, either by calling state representatives, marching on the streets or informing other consumers (Carty, 2011; McCaughey & Ayers, 2003; Salter, 2003; van de Donk et al., 2004). These web actors have become “provider of direct assistance and advocacy” (Guth, 2007, p. 3), using the web as a platform to discuss solutions to public issues.”

The amount of attention the Arab Spring received highlighted the brutal tactics utilized by the former leaders of Tunisia and Egypt. As will be clearly illustrated herein, the Arab Spring was a social movement, influenced significantly by the use of social media. Prior to this being discussed, the concept of sovereignty and cyber-sovereignty will be explored.

**Sovereignty**

The concept of sovereignty remains a hotly contested issue in international law. According to Stephen D. Krasner,

“…some analysts have argued that sovereignty is being eroded by one aspect of the contemporary international system, globalization, and others that it is being sustained, even in states whose governments have only the most limited resources, by another aspect of the system, the mutual recognition and shared expectations generated by international society. Some have pointed out that the scope of state authority has increased over time, and others that the ability of the state to exercise effective control is eroding.”

Understanding sovereignty requires a thorough examination of its historical manifestations. Krasner states,

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29 Ginevra Adamoli, “Social Media And Social Movements: A Critical Analysis Of Audience's Use Of Facebook To Advocate Food Activism Offline” (PhD diss., The Florida State University, 2012), 19.
“The term sovereignty has been used in four different ways—international legal sovereignty, Westphalian sovereignty, domestic sovereignty, and interdependence sovereignty. International legal sovereignty refers to the practices associated with mutual recognition, usually between territorial entities that have formal juridical independence. Westphalian sovereignty refers to political organization based on the exclusion of external actors from authority structures within a given territory. Domestic sovereignty refers to the formal organization of political authority within a given territory. Domestic sovereignty refers to the formal organization of political authority within the state and the ability of public authorities to exercise effective control within the borders of their own polity. Finally, interdependence sovereignty refers to the ability of public authorities to regulate the flow of information, ideas, goods, people, pollutants, or capital across the borders of their state.”

The different dimensions of sovereignty, as stated above, provide us with a glimpse of the complexity in which the concept is mired. However, as stated in the “Concept of Sovereignty Revisited” by Jens Bartelson, “sovereignty is thus profoundly political in nature, and comes into existence through a process in which a group of people within a defined territory is moulded into an orderly cohesion through the establishment of a governing authority that can be differentiated from society and which is able to exercise an absolute political power.”

The political nature of sovereignty in the era of globalization causes us to continually redefine this concept. Globalization has increased the interconnectedness of governments, cultures, and economies of states; whereas they become politically interdependent and indistinguishable from nation to nation. As stated by Kofi Annan,

“State sovereignty, in its most basic sense, is being redefined—not least by the forces of globalisation and international co-operation. States are now widely


understood to be instruments at the service of their peoples, and not vice versa. At the same time individual sovereignty—by which I mean the fundamental freedom of each individual, enshrined in the charter of the United Nations and subsequent international treaties—has been enhanced by a renewed and spreading consciousness of individual rights. When we read the charter today, we are more than ever conscious that its aim is to protect individual human beings, not to protect those who abuse them.”

The principle of sovereignty prohibits the unauthorized intervention of foreign states and/or entities in the internal affairs of any nation that has the right to govern itself. Anthony Anghie states that, “sovereignty represents at the most basic level an assertion of power and authority, a means by which a people may preserve and assert their distinctive culture.” Sovereign states have the authority to forcibly defend their territory against foreign and domestic adversaries. According to Krasner,

“The rules of sovereignty give states full authority over activities within their own borders and prohibit intervention in the internal affairs of other states. Hedley Bull, the best-known exponent of the English school, writes: “From the perspective of any particular state what it chiefly hopes to gain from participation in the society of states is recognition of its independence of outside authority, and in particular of its supreme jurisdiction over its subjects and territory. The chief price it has to pay for this is recognition of like rights to independence and sovereignty on the part of other states.”

The legal status afforded to the states that grants them sovereign immunity is outlined in the United Nations (U.N.) Charter. Article 2, paragraph 4 of the U.N. Charter states that, “All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in

any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.” 36 In addition, Article 2, paragraph 7 of the U.N. Charter asserts that “Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter…” 37 The ability of states to govern within their territory and the right to protect themselves against hostile attacks, both foreign and domestic is consistent with the U.N. Charter.

However, sovereignty is facing some unprecedented challenges from the Internet. According to Henry H. Perritt Jr., “the Internet threatens traditional political institutions and perhaps even the very concept of sovereignty itself.” 38 The Internet’s global infrastructure has grown into a global phenomenon. Perritt suggests that, “perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the Internet that makes it more threatening to sovereignty is that it is not susceptible to the same physical and regulatory controls as telegraph, telephone, radio, and television technologies.” Sovereignty is no longer seen as the solution to the challenges facing state autonomy. According to Perritt,

“Governments have far more difficulty imposing border controls on the Internet because it relies on packet switching rather than circuit switching. The difficulty in imposing border controls on Internet communications is compounded by the low barriers to entry-anyone with a laptop computer, access to an Internet service provider, and appropriate software can publish and read in cyberspace. The Internet relies on already existing physical communication infrastructures, making

37 Ibid.
it unnecessary to expend huge amounts of money to communicate globally. The ease with which people can participate in cyberspace activities enabled the Internet to grow exponentially with virtually no governmental oversight. This growth has created a cyber-culture that celebrates freedom and distrusts traditional political institutions trying to come to grips with the implications of this profound electronic revolution in information technology.”\textsuperscript{39}

**Cyber-Sovereignty**

The way cyberspace impacts various political systems, namely the dissemination of information therein, is the focus of the subject of cyber-sovereignty. According to Wheeler “the idea is that better access to uncensored information means that citizens are better informed and more likely to make demands on their governments.”\textsuperscript{40} In effect, cyber-sovereignty is the capacity of a nation-state to censor the content of Internet Service Providers (ISPs), websites, and web pages. This aligns with the UN-provided right of political freedom that is inherent within sovereignty, and the capacity to defend such rights in the face of ongoing attacks.\textsuperscript{41}

**The Legal Designation of Cyberspace**

As explored by Paul Berman, cyberspace is increasingly being addressed by legal initiatives. The elusive realm of cyberspace is having the parameters generally applied to physical space being applied to it. Judges, legislators, and legal scholars are the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{40 Deborah L. Wheeler, *The Internet in the Middle East: Global Expectations and Local Imaginations in Kuwait*, (State University of New York Press, 2005), 48.}
\footnote{41 Major Andrew Gillman and Major William Johnson , eds., *Operational Law Handbook*, (Charlottesville, Virginia: International and Operational Law Department, 2012), 4.}
\end{footnotes}
instruments through which this application has begun.\textsuperscript{42} The manner in which courts exercise jurisdiction within the confines of cases concerning cyber communications has become an increasingly contentious issue in the realm of the law.\textsuperscript{43}

The primary issue is jurisdiction. The jurisdiction that is exercised over parties is referred to as personal jurisdiction, with this limited by constitutional due process in addition to state-imposed limitations. This concept is based upon geographical limitations; however when it is determined that an individual is “generally present in the forum” of another location, then general jurisdiction may be applied through which crimes perpetuated in differing locations may be tried in the home location of the offender. Specific jurisdiction depends upon the determination of “minimum contacts” with an outside state or location.\textsuperscript{44} Cyberspace is thereby unclear in relation to jurisdiction, and is in need of further clarification in the courts.

**Cyberspace, Diplomacy, and Politics**

The classification of cyberspace from a legal standpoint is a complicated issue. Those laws that are in place to regulate privacy are concerned with the designation between public and private space. The varying iterations of and means through which cyberspace may be capitalized upon make it difficult to designate exactly what is public, what is private, and how it may in turn be regulated by governmental and political


\textsuperscript{43} Janet Osen, *The Thorny Side Of Jurisdiction And The Internet*, (Network Security, 2000(10)), 13-16.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.
bodies. This is furthered by the fact that the Internet is often advanced as an instrument through which social democratization may be achieved. In those nations that have a political system opposed to democracy, the Internet could thereby pose a risk to the existing political order.

Cyberspace in the political and legal realm is often thought to be a great ‘no place’, meaning that the digital world in effect transcends the real world. As explored by Geoffrey Herrera, the general consensus is that governments and the industrial world are without power in the realm of cyberspace, in that “there is not much the traditional geographical world can do about it”. Students of international politics have largely concluded that the growth of global digital networks presents a very real threat to international security, in addition to the foundations of the nation-state system at large.

**Policy and Cyberspace**

As explored by Rachel Yould, “Despite the persistence of geographically defined jurisdictions, information technology unmistakably mitigates the primacy and impermeability of national borders”. The establishment of the Internet was undertaken with the goal of creating an open environment for information sharing. John Perry

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48 Ibid.
49 Ibid, 68.
Barlow penned “A Declaration of Independence of Cyberspace”. The writing addressed governments and corporations online, stating “Your legal concepts of property, expression, identity, movement, and context do not apply to us. They are all based on matter, but there is no matter here”.

For policy and politics to affect the Internet, it would have to possess characteristics that are tangible and may be regulated. The Internet is viewed as a rational regime of access and flow of information, although the freedom therein is variable depending upon the perspective. From some perspectives, the Internet, in line with John Perry Barlow, is an entity in and of itself and is thereby free. However, in the opposing viewpoint, it is noted that the network is a man-made structure, and did not occur naturally but through the ongoing investment of stakeholders and companies, each of whom should have a say in its content. Whatever the source of contention, the reality is that the Internet is up and operational, and is largely a free means of communication that transcends national boundaries.

Across various nations in the Middle East and elsewhere governments have attempted to limit the influential strength of the Internet. In the 2011 uprising in Syria the government cut off all Internet service. According to Brent Jones, “the authoritarian government of Belarus blocked access to popular social networking sites on Sunday (July

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51 Ibid.
3, 2011) in an attempt to prevent opposition protests on a national holiday." In addition, Turkey has been noted for information filtering and Kazakhstan for editing websites. Iran is in the process of establishing an internal version of the Internet to enable total control of content to ensure it aligns with Islamic law, as interpreted there. Such actions on behalf of political actors underline the influence of the Internet and social media, while also bringing rise to the question of whether or not it is legal for national actors such as governments to exert control over the international ‘no space’ of cyberspace and the Internet.

**Cyber-Sovereignty and the Arab Spring**

Within the confines of the Arab Spring, the Internet was utilized as a means of mediating dissent. In the mobilization structure and opportunity/threat structure stages of McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald’s synthesis model, it is clarified that the Internet is capable of providing a mobilizing structure for dissidents. The Internet according to James Fielder “offers social movements a relatively inexpensive, anonymous, and agile means of mobilizing individuals and resources across long distances”. The Internet provides a means through which individuals are capable of communicating and forming social groups across vast distances at a fast rate.

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During the Arab Spring according to James Fielder “Web 2.0 tools such as YouTube and Twitter allowed Arab Spring protesters to cheaply and instantaneously spread information and organize activities”. The increasing level of diffusion realized on behalf of the Internet has made it a powerful means through which social boundaries may be challenged. The ability of regimes to effectively counter the efforts made through the Internet will decrease as the scope and prevalence of Internet use continues to expand.

When considering the concept of cyber-sovereignty, the concept of jurisdiction is central. It is difficult to clarify how jurisdiction functions on the Internet given a lack of clear boundaries and borders. Janet Osen writes that “before a court can hear and decide a particular case, it not only must have jurisdiction over the subject matter of dispute, it must also have jurisdiction over the parties to the action”. In the case of the Arab Spring, as will be explored extensively below, the use of social media oftentimes surpassed national borders. While one nation, for example Egypt, might have control over its citizens in some way, international citizens capable of participating in the discourse on a given subject would clearly be outside the jurisdiction of the nation. Thus, through the incorporation of global information technology and social media, protesters,

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56 Ibid.
and activists from the international environment have been capable of participating and garnering support for the uprisings in distant and disparate nations.

**Cyberspace and the Advent of the Arab Spring**

Web 2.0 technologies were central to the rise of the Arab Spring. These technologies include the various elements of social media discussed above. Social media platforms have the capacity of increasing the range of actors that are ultimately involved in the construction of the news. In this way, cyberspace has the capacity to enable media audiences to actually participate in the creation of the news. Social media presented the opportunity during these revolutionary periods for activists to communicate through alternative platforms for public communication that are able to bypass the gatekeeping of the traditional media.\(^{58}\)

Within the traditional media, journalists look to institutional actors that are perceived as authoritative sources for their information. Such sources include the police and/ or elected officials, the use of these authoritative sources effectively marginalizes sources that are viewed as alternative or deviant. During the uprising in Tunisia, activists served as the primary facilitators to report the events that were occurring. Conversely, in Egypt it was journalists that largely capitalized upon social media to disseminate information on the revolts.\(^{59}\)

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\(^{58}\) Alfred Hermida, Seth Lewis & Rodrigo Zamith, *Sourcing the Arab Spring: A case study of Andy Carvin’s sources during the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions*, (In International Symposium on Online Journalism, Austin, TX, April 2012), 20-21.

\(^{59}\) Ibid.
Social Networking and the Arab Spring

The use of social media has exerted a significant influence upon the development of the Arab Spring. The study of social media and revolution is a complex field. To understand the depth thereof, it is of value to consider various information studies paradigms, such as the physical metaphor, cognitive metaphor, and social informatics. The field of information studies is of value in framing this as it has evolved from merely considering information as tangible and unchangeable to instead allow for perspectives that account for the personal and social contexts within which an individual exists. Information seeking and producing activities must thereby be carefully framed and broadly viewed in order to effectively observe the activity.

The Online Spread of Revolution

Revolution and technology interact in such a way that they are capable of altering the way in which individuals live. In the context of the Arab Spring, it was reported in the news that social media was the driving force behind the rapid pace at which the revolution spread. The increase in the energy and speed of the revolution was supported through the use of social media. The successes experienced within one nation, when advertised instantly over social media, in turn served as motivation for other nations to also pursue similar solutions. As mentioned above, through the online propagation of

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62 Ibid.
information and protest, nationals were capable of communicating information to the outside environment that then was utilized to further bring international attention and support for the movements. Given their efficacy, governments took note, and began to actively oppose the use of social media towards the fostering of the Arab Spring.

**Governmental Opposition to Social Media**

The influence of social media within the Arab Spring was particularly apparent due to the attention afforded to it by governments. Governments have perceived the power of social media to be so great as to shut down certain sites or to block Internet service entirely. Such practices are often undertaken in times before a major rally, to detract from the capacity of participants to communicate, organize, and mobilize. Governments in the region have also suppressed discussion in online forums by accusing content creators of unrelated crime, or through the shutting down of communication on specific sites or groups.  

Opposition on behalf of governments to social media within the context of revolution clearly indicates the impact thereof. Revolutionary movements in the Arab Spring achieved greater mobility and also cohesion through social media. Protesters and organizers are able to share information and insight with one another though social media. This in turn informs other efforts, making them more effective. The value of social media lies in its ability to enable the user to learn from the experiences of others.

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and to adapt this to the real-time efforts of activities, thereby improving the likelihood of their achieving success.  

In addition to coordination and cooperation amongst fellow revolutionaries, social media also fueled the Arab Spring through expressions of support. The efforts of individuals in one nation were supported by individuals in other. This was facilitated through expressions of support communicated via social media. Such communication creates a dialogue and allows for the dissemination of information not only internally but internationally. According to a report issued by the Dubai School of Government, Facebook and Twitter served to abet not to enable the region-wide uprisings of early 2011. Marc Pilisuk and Jennifer Achord reported that social media and its increasing uses for activist purposes “played a critical role in mobilization, empowerment, shaping opinions and influencing change”. Social media was thought to play a key role in the revolutions, regime changes, and uprisings in Egypt, Tunisia, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Bahrain.

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Social Movements

The Internet resides in the public sphere. It appeals to the idea that openness, interconnectedness, and transparency are a seminal part of life. The Internet’s low barriers of entry make it easily accessible. According to Jürgen Habermas, the public sphere as summarized by Ginevra Adamoli, is “a forum where communication as speech and language offers the basics for citizens to participate and engage in decisions that will affect their lives.”

Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube served as platforms for Tunisian and Egyptian citizens to publicly debate issues affecting their respective country. Ordinary citizens ignited the debate to publicly denounce the corruption prevailing in the halls of their governments. This public debate morphed into a social movement. Manuel Castells states that “while these movements usually start on the Internet social networks, they become a movement by occupying the urban space, be it the standing occupation of public squares or the persistence of street demonstrations.”

Jonathan Christiansen, defined social movements as “organized yet informal social entities that are engaged in extra-institutional conflict that is oriented towards a goal. These goals can be either aimed at a specific and narrow policy or be more broadly aimed at cultural change.” Christiansen’s article makes reference to Herbert Blumer’s article entitled “Social Problems as Collective Behavior”. Blumer identified five stages that “collective behavior”, which is used interchangeably with “social movement”, must

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68 Ginevra Adamoli, “Social Media And Social Movements: A Critical Analysis Of Audience's Use Of Facebook To Advocate Food Activism Offline” (PhD diss., The Florida State University, 2012), 19.
69 Manuel Castells, Networks of Outrage and Hope, (Polity Press, 2012), 222.
experience before it can develop. Blumer named these stages as: “(1) the emergence of a social problem, (2) the legitimization of the problem, (3) the mobilization of action with regard to the problem, (4) the formation of an official plan of action, and (5) the transformation of the official plan in its empirical implementation.”

Following a series of revisions by contemporary scholars, Blumer’s original work, has since been pared back to four stages. As outlined by Christiansen, the four most recent “social movement stages are known as:

- Emergence,
- Coalescence,
- Bureaucratization, and
- Decline.”

“The first stage of the social movement life cycle is known as the emergence, or, as described by Blumer, the “social ferment” stage (De la Porta & Diani, 2006). Within this stage, social movements are very preliminary and there is little to no organization. Instead this stage can be thought of as widespread discontent (Macionis, 2001; Hopper, 1950).” As discussed in the first chapter, the precipitator that contributed to the Arab Spring was the death of Mohamed Bouazizi. His death ignited a series of protests from citizens who empathized with his suffering. There was widespread discontent, fueled by the substandard economic, political, and social conditions.

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73 Ibid.
The second stage in the social movement life cycle is “known as coalescence, or the “popular stage,” it is characterized by a more clearly defined sense of discontent. It is no longer just a general sense of unease, but now a sense of what the unease is about and who or what is responsible. The discontent led to a wave of mass demonstrations. According to Kenneth Pollack, protesters demanded “basic individual rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, and freedom from arbitrary arrest and torture.” These massive protests took direct aim at now former President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia and former President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt.

The third stage is known as bureaucratization. This stage, “defined by Blumer as “formalization,” (De la Porta & Diani, 2006) is characterized by higher levels of organization and coalition based strategies.” Wael Ghonim, a Google executive, “launched his Facebook group, called Kullena Khaled Said (“We Are All Khaled Said”), after graphic pictures of a 28-year-old man who had been killed by Egyptian security officials began to emerge on the Internet.” During the Egyptian revolution Facebook along with the other three social media outlets discussed within this paper, were the mobilizing force behind the initial protest during the Arab Spring. According to Ghonim,

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74 Kenneth M. Pollack et al., The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East (Brookings Institution Press, 2011), 142.
“the page engaged users, solicited ideas from Egyptians, and also proposed a Jan. 25 mass protest date.”

The fourth and final stage consists of a series of sublevels. The fourth stage as identified by Christiansen is labeled as decline. “There are four ways in which social movements can decline:

• Repression,
• Co-optation,
• Success, and
• Failure.”

Repression occurs when authorities attempt to control, subdue, and/or restrict their adversaries. Christiansen states that “this means that governments will often pass laws outlawing specific movement activities or organizations, or justify attacks on them by declaring them somehow dangerous to public order. This type of repression makes it exceedingly difficult for social movements to carry out their activities and recruit new members.”

Throughout the uprising in Egypt, there were numerous instances in which the Egyptian government attempted to contain the protest. Friday, January 28, 2011, per Christopher Rhoads and Geoffrey Fowler, “in the face of mounting political unrest, Egypt

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79 Ibid.
took the unprecedented step of severing all Internet connections and shutting down its cellphone services…”

The attempt was to stifle joint communications among the protesters. However, due to increasing international pressure, Mubarak was forced to cut his plans short.

Social movements can also decline by co-optation. “Co-optation occurs when movement leaders come to associate with authorities or movement targets more than with the social movement constituents. For example, a leader could be asked to work for the organization that is the target of a movement with offers of being able to change things from the inside.”

The third way social movements can decline is through success. Following the ouster of former President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia and former President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, it was an undeniable a political victory for the protesters.

The final manner in which social movements can decline, is through failure.

“Failure of social movements due to organizational or strategic failings is common for many organizations. When failure occurs at the organizational level, Miller argues, it is usually for two reasons: factionalism and encapsulation.”

It is too early to assess the impact of the Arab Spring. Therefore, it is too early to determine if the Arab Spring was a success or failure. According to Castells,

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82 Ibid.
“Throughout history, social movements have been, and continue to be, the levers of social change. They usually stem from a crisis of living conditions that makes life unbearable for most people. They are prompted by deep distrust of the political institutions managing society. The combination of a degradation of the material conditions of life and of a crisis of legitimacy of the rulers in charge with the conduct of public affairs induces people to take matters into their own hands, engaging in collective action outside the prescribed institutional channels, to defend their demands and, eventually, to change the rulers, and even the rules shaping their lives.”

Discussion

The Arab Spring was a tumultuous period during the first three months of 2011. During this particular time a significant degree of turmoil and discord erupted within many Arab nations. These nations experienced the power of social media through the expression of discord, and organization of protest, amongst the people. What is of note is the fact that following the shutting down of some of these social media outlets, older technologies were capitalized upon to further the social movement. This indicates that the energy of the uprisings gained momentum both with and without social media.

Social media enables individuals to have a voice online that extends beyond national borders. The advent of social media allowed alternative sources of news and information to emerge and contribute to the discourse. Where there were no reporters, there were citizens with smartphones who were capable of filming videos to post on YouTube, participating and contributing to Facebook campaigns, engaging in discussions on Twitter and Googling local and international headlines as it related to the subject.

The Arab Spring was an instance in which civilian opposition to political bodies was expressed in a revolutionary way. No longer was the news confined to traditional

media, but rather the people became the distributor of news. Through the utilization of social media, the Arab Spring was facilitated, exhibiting the capacity of the people to establish substantial change through social mobilization, provided through the use of social media.

**Conclusion**

To summarize, this study represents an initial attempt to chronicle events leading up to the Arab Spring and address this new emerging concept of cyber-sovereignty. The root word of this new term is sovereignty; which as stated earlier is generally understood as the prohibition of unauthorized intervention of foreign states in the internal affairs of any nation that has the right to govern itself. However, when the two terms are melded together the literature is devoid of any substantive discussion. Therefore, this research speaks to both concepts separately to tie together the existing literature within the scope of this paper. The lack of scholarly publications discussing cyber-sovereignty presents a concrete problem, as well as an opportunity for political scientist to examine this concept more closely as we move into this new domain of cyberspace.
CHAPTER III
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Arab Spring was a substantially complex event and that came about as a result of a variety of factors. According to Brownlee, Masoud and Reynolds,

Protests came from different sectors and reflected different grievances. Working-class demonstrators in Tunisia rose up far from the capital to contest economic deprivations. In Egypt, middle- and upper-class Internet activists organized the initial “Police Day” protests in Cairo. Although they included an improved national minimum wage in their initial demands, the thrust of their critique was against the president and his minister of interior, whose resignation they sought.¹

The problems mentioned above led to the mobilization of citizens through the use of social media and other forms of communication. The manner in which social media was deployed was a development achieved through the concerted effort of many individuals. To understand how citizens were able to avoid the throes of their government in order to establish a new system to identify problems, mobilize citizens, and resources for the purpose of identifying solutions, theory is valuable. Herein, the theoretical frameworks of social mobilization, the theory of revolution, the multiple streams approach, pluralism, and neo-realism will be applied to this research. In doing so, the developments therein will be better understood, and subsequently discussed.

Social Mobilization

Social movements, as discussed in the previous chapter, arise out of social mobilization. Social mobilization is initiated by the success or failure of government policies, business strategies, and/or organizational initiatives. According to Karl W. Deutsch, social mobilization is defined as “the process in which major clusters of old social, economic and psychological commitments are eroded or broken and people become available for new patterns of socialization and behavior.”² The strategy for mobilization is “to direct diverse values, interests, and ideas into collective action.”³ In addition to Deutsch’s definition of social mobilization, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (2014) defines social mobilization as “a process that engages and motivates a wide range of partners and allies at national and local levels to raise awareness of and demand for a particular development objective through face-to-face dialogue.”⁴

Social mobilization is essential to achieve social reform. The deaths of Mohamed Bouazizi and Khaled Said drew the ire of citizens in Tunisia and Egypt. Anger turned into action and the attention was squarely focused on the economic, social, and political grievances that neither government failed to adequately address. As a result, a broad coalition of citizens took to their own devices (e.g., tablets, mobile phones, laptops, etc.)

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³ Reza Aslan, “Global Jihadism as a transnational social movement: A theoretical framework” (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2009), i.
to advocate for change. “Simply stated, social mobilization calls for a journey among partners and results in the successful transformation of development goals into societal action.”

David R. Cameron critiques Deutsch’s assertion that social mobilization and political mobilization are indistinguishable processes.

Cameron states, that “while mobilization has been generally viewed as a part of a large process of social, political, and normative transformation known as national integration, it may in fact represent the resistance of various groups to these transformations.” Social mobilization and political mobilization are on divergent paths. As stated in the article “Toward a Theory of Political Mobilization,” Cameron asserts that,

Social change per se has no political meaning and no political impact. It is defined in political terms through the policy process and it is this process—or rather the differing perceptions and evaluations of this process—which gives rise to political mobilization. Thus political mobilization, far from being socially determined, may in fact be largely socially undetermined, and may depend instead on the patterns of public policy-making.

**Theory of Revolution**

To deconstruct the behavior of the protesters that led to political instability in both Tunisia and Egypt, it is essential to analyze the Arab Spring as a revolution. The depiction of the Arab Spring as a revolution is a point of debate within the literature. However, due to the research topic of this paper, I will not provide a comprehensive

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7 Ibid., 145-146.
review of the term here, but instead I will briefly attempt to address it. According to William Overholt, “a revolution occurs when a domestic insurgent group or groups displace the government of a society by means which are illegitimate according to the values of the existing regime, and when fundamental political institutions are destroyed or transformed and fundamental values of the system are dramatically changed.”

Within the political science discipline, the term revolution is commonly applied to define popular mobilization, as a result of state failure. However, there are differing opinions about what constitutes a revolution. Mr. Arora outlines the different meanings of what denotes a revolution.

The word ‘Revolution’ denotes a socio-political change. Jeff Godwin (No Other Way Out : States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945–91) has given two definitions of revolution: broad, where revolution is “any and all instances in which a state or a political regime is overthrown and thereby transformed by a popular movement in an irregular, extra constitutional and/or violent fashion”, and narrow, in which “revolution entails not only mass mobilisation and regime change, but also more or less rapid and fundamental social, economic and/or cultural change, during or soon after the struggle for state power.” Jack Gladstone (“Towards a Fourth Generation of Revolutionary Theory”) defines revolution as “an effort to transform the political institutions and the justification for political authority in society, accompanied by formal or informal mass mobilisation and non-institutionalised actions that undermine authority.” Huntington (Political Order in Changing Societies) regards revolution as “a rapid fundamental, and violent domestic change in the dominant values and myths of a society.” Hannah Arendt (On Revolution) is of the opinion that the concept of revolution “is inextricably bound up with the notion that course of history suddenly begins anew, that an entirely new story never known or told before is about to unfold.”

Cohan (Theories of Revolution) holds that a revolution is that process by which a radical alteration of a particular society occurs over a time span. Revolutions

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occur as a result of numerous factors: social disequilibrium, repression, tyrannical laws, denial of rights and liberties, poverty, exploitation and discrimination.\textsuperscript{9}

As described above, there are a myriad of causes which can result in the intended or unintended imbalance of economic and/ or social development among classes in society. These power shift(s) can create a degree of social inequalities and exploit the economically disadvantaged. This type of environment creates a fertile ground for mass socio-political mobilization. However, the Arab Spring is still unfolding and it would be premature to declare it as a revolution. This will be a matter of great debate for years to come.

\textbf{Propaganda.} The preoccupation by the media with the Arab Spring made it virtually impossible to escape the news coverage. The continuous news coverage was accelerated by the changing nature of media technology, i.e. social media (Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube). Social media and the traditional news media, added a new dimension to the Arab Spring that the governments of both countries had to contend with. As explained by Tim Eaton,

\begin{quote}
Citizen journalism captured moments of triumph and despair throughout the demonstrations: the YouTube video that showed a man walking in front of an armoured vehicle with a water cannon bore striking resemblance to the man who bravely defied a tank in Tiananmen Square (YouTube, 2011d). Likewise, a video shot on the mobile phone of a bystander that showed an unarmed man gunned down in the streets of Alexandria by security forces was pronounced Egypt’s ‘Neda’ moment, drawing comparison to the YouTube video that had shown a young Iranian woman killed at a protest in Tehran in 2009 (YouTube, 2011c). Such images told a thousand stories and counteracted the propaganda that the Mubarak regime was spreading through state television.\textsuperscript{10}
\end{quote}

The protesters use of social media as a propaganda tool was intended to promulgate the notion that their anguish is directly tied to the inhumane treatment unleashed by their government. Protesters used the mainstream media as their primary agent of influence. They shared photos, videos, and press releases to news outlets to broadcast the unwarranted attacks by the hands of the government. As a result, the governments of Tunisia and Egypt drew widespread international condemnation.

According to Harold Lasswell, “propaganda is the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols. The word attitude is taken to mean a tendency to act according to certain patterns of valuation. The existence of an attitude is not a direct datum of experience, but an inference from signs which have a conventionalized significance.”¹¹ The effect of propaganda on attitudes causes the recipient to become sympathetic with protesters. This gives credibility to the movement and strengthens its cause.

Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Approach

The multiple streams approach is one that found its origins in the writings of John Kingdon, specifically his books *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies* written in 1984. The multiple streams approach is, in effect, a reimagining of the garbage can model presented in 1972 by Cohen, March, and Olsen. The book by Kingdon has been credited with having contributed to the conceptualization of agenda-setting in the context of the policy process. This includes, at minimum: the setting of the agenda; the

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specification of alternatives from which a policy choice may be made; the selection of a choice from the alternatives by an executive decision making individual or body; and the implementation of the decision. Agenda setting is a process that culminates with the union of three independent streams that are inherent within the policy process. These streams are the policies stream, the politics stream, and the problems stream.\textsuperscript{12}

The determination of the streams: policy, problem, and politics, that may in turn open a policy window, a moment wherein change can be realized, were informed by careful consideration of existing research and concepts. For a policy window to be opened, Kindgon asserted that generally it was necessary for two or more streams to converge. Should a problem stream converge with a policy stream, the potential of enacting change is made possible. The Arab Spring however was unique in that the streams did not converge naturally, but rather this paper asserts that the merging of streams was facilitated through a policy entrepreneur(s) through the use of Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube, as will be discussed in chapter 5.

**The Problem Stream**

The initial step in the policymaking process is the identification of problems that required policy initiatives to address. The problem stream is concerned with persuading policymakers to pay attention to one particular problem over another. For example, question sixteen of my survey provided several options for survey respondents to rank problems in order from least to most important. The overwhelming number of survey

respondents that identify one of the options as the most important, will likely see that problem rise to the top of the agenda and garner the most attention. Within the confines of the Arab Spring, the problem stream consisted of a variety of variables that rippled through the both countries.

As will be seen in the ensuing chapter, there are a list of reasons that prompted individuals to act in concert, such as government corruption, human rights violation, and communication censorship. The identification of a particular problem is an exercise in agenda setting, as there are many problems, yet few realize policies that are capable of addressing them. Policy proposals are capable of rising to the top of the agenda when the associated problem is noted as being important. The importance allocated to a particular problem is a result of how it is framed and brought to the attention of policymakers. This is facilitated through data or focusing events.\textsuperscript{13} Stakeholders of varying sources may influence this, including individuals, lobbyists, and other parties.

**The Policy and Proposal Stream**

It is through the identification of a problem(s) that the means through which they are addressed are made clear through policy. This particular stream is the process through which policy proposals are initially generated and presented. Having been generated, these proposals are then debated, revised, and put forward for serious consideration. The likelihood of a given policy being accepted depends upon many

\textsuperscript{13} Marilyn Sitaker, (2010), The policy stages & multiple streams frameworks, and their use at DOH, *Washington State NOPREN Quarterly Meeting*. From depts.washington.edu/nopren/docs/Sitaker-NOPREN-112910.pptx
variables. These include the perception of the policy as technically feasible, its compatibility with policymaker’s values, its appeal to the public, and its economy.  

There was a sense among the Arab Spring participants that their governments had faltered by not being able to implement programs and/or develop policies that effectively address the societal issues. Some additional societal woes that contributed to the Arab Spring movement were political and religious oppression, poverty, and inflation. Neither Tunisia nor Egypt developed an effective course of action through the policy agenda process to address the siege of protestors demanding political change at the height of the Arab Spring movement. Thus the policy stream when considered in the scope of the Arab Spring was revealed to effectively represent an element of the problem stream itself.

When deciding upon policy, oftentimes there are many issues that need to be addressed. Given the many options, alternative specification is the process through which a large set of possible policy alternatives are narrowed down into a smaller set from which the eventual choice is made. Policymaking is the act or process of setting and directing the course of action to be undertaken by a government, business, or other party. This is the process through which the issues that officials pay attention to at any given time are determined. And it is up to the supporters and stakeholders of the particular alternatives that advocacy occurs.

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14 Marilyn Sitaker, (2010), The policy stages & multiple streams frameworks, and their use at DOH, Washington State NOPREN Quarterly Meeting, From depts.washington.edu/nopren/docs/Sitaker-NOPREN-112910.pptx

15 Ibid.
The Politics Stream

The politics stream is an essential factor in the theory of Kingdon as it is the filter through which policy comes into reality. The politics stream refers to those political factors that influence agendas. These include changes in elected officials, political climate or mood, as well as the voices of advocacy or opposition groups. The politics stream is comprised of government officials, pressure groups, politicians, parties, and other stakeholder groups. Within the scope of the Arab Spring, the politics stream reached a tipping point when the respective governments refused to acknowledge that changes were necessary. It was the political institutions that were propagating the problems that were being targeted by the uprisings. As a result, the protesters decided to part ways with their current elected officials and pressured them to resign from office, in exchange for a progressive legislative agenda. This idea quickly garnered the overwhelming support and approval of the Arab Spring protesters. Thus, all three streams converged, thereby forcing open a policy window.

The Policy Window

When the three streams converge, there is the potential of enacting a policy-based solution to a newly identified problem. However, the fact the streams have converged simply means that there is an opportunity for change. Such an opportunity may include a political event, a threat to national security, or other factors. In order for such an

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16 Marilyn Sitaker, (2010), The policy stages & multiple streams frameworks, and their use at DOH, Washington State NOPREN Quarterly Meeting. From depts.washington.edu/nopren/docs/Sitaker-NOPREN-112910.pptx
17 Jessica Ogden & Gill Walt, The politics of ‘branding’ in policy transfer: the case of DOTS for tuberculosis control, (Social Science & Medicine, 57(1), 2003), 179-188.
opportunity to be capitalized upon however, it is necessary that there be in place a window of opportunity, a policy window. Social media was the nexus through which the policy window was eventually opened. The fact that social media was the tool of choice by the policy entrepreneur(s) to merge the three streams highlights its role as the means by which the information was conveyed. Social media, within the confines of the Arab Spring, when viewed from the perspective of Kindgon’s multiple streams approach was instrumental in disseminating information to the protesters. The policy window opens when the policy processes converge. When the “policy window” opens, according to Kingdon there is “an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions, or to push attention to their special problems…opportunities for action or given initiatives.”18 Such an opportunity however is not permanent. Rather, it is temporary and in the event that advocates fail to effectively advance their proposed solutions, one may not be realized until another opportunity presents itself through the opening of an additional policy window.

The policy entrepreneur. Kingdon is concerned with how a particular solution to a problem moves from proposal through implementation. The political stream is central to this, and it is through the political stream that one proposal over another may be instituted. Those that endeavor to influence the political stream are termed “policy entrepreneurs”. These individuals unite the streams into a package that is capable of addressing the specific issue.

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The nature of a policy window emphasizes the importance of the policy entrepreneur. It is through the advocacy by the policy entrepreneur that the window of opportunity may be opened and utilized. To achieve success, the policy entrepreneur must be persistent and skilled at coupling their preferred solution to the problem while at the same time identifying policymakers that are willing to accept and advance their ideas. In this way the role of the policy entrepreneur is in effect similar to that of the lobbyist, or to consider it from the perspective of the business world, a salesman.

The policy entrepreneur is supported in achieving success when two policy streams converge. When all streams are coupled together the likelihood of successfully achieving a desired solution rises significantly. However, policy windows are not entirely predictable. While some, such as those related to elections or budgets, may be relatively predictable, others that emerge due to unforeseen events cannot be planned for. The policy entrepreneur must therefore be capable of acting instantaneously depending upon the events being faced in the external environment.

**Levels of Analysis of State Behavior**

Various levels of analysis will be incorporated into the discussion to be included herein. The occurrence of a global event is something that does not occur due to the simple interplay between single variables. Rather, global events occur due to the complex interrelationships that are in place within the world. These relationships are not

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constrained to one level or another, but rather extend through all. These levels are those of the individual, state, organizational, and international. Within the scope of the Arab Spring, each of these levels of analysis will be discussed in chapter 5 to better explain how the events unfolded and developed through the interaction of the varying levels.

Individual

The individual level of analysis will be utilized to analyze the role of human actors within the scope of the global community. The human decision-making process is a complex. This analysis endeavors to determine the characteristics within the confines of the human decision-making process that ultimately influence the construction of policy. This process includes gathering information, the analyzing that information, establishing goals, pondering options, and making choices related to the overall goal. The inaction of individual policymakers exacerbated the disdain and fueled the opposition that would ultimately culminate into the Arab Spring. The individual practice of posting information from the Internet provided the fuel necessary to sustain and drive the revolution forward. Within the scope of the Arab Spring, it was the use of various social media applications that largely facilitated the uprising.

The role of individuals is not without impact within the nature of global politics. The role of the individual in relation to world politics may be considered from three primary perspectives, those of human nature, idiosyncratic behavior, and organizational behavior. Within the scope of human nature, the manner in which fundamental human characteristics affect the decision-making process is assessed. Idiosyncratic behavior is
concerned with how the decisions made by policymakers affect foreign policy, and how peculiarities therein may be manifested within such policies. Organizational behavior is concerned with the internal climate of an organization, and how its policies and procedures, in addition to external relationships, influence their decision-making process. It is clear that the oppressive actions by the Tunisian and Egyptian governments resulted in individual opposition which culminated into collective action that characterized the Arab Spring. The idiosyncratic factor that weighed into Mubarak’s decision to command the military to fire upon the protesters was a miscalculation that ultimately backfired. The military was unanimously opposed to the idea and began to revolt as well.

Therefore, the individual is the primary vehicle through which greater initiatives are accomplished. In war, victory is determined by the collective effort of individual soldiers. In the international political arena, the decisions of individual policymakers affect the realization of policy. When analyzing a world event on the individual level, it is thereby necessary to consider the role of the individual, in addition to the scope of their influence. The decision of an individual soldier on whether to kill an enemy or not, is not as impactful upon the overall outcome of the war, as the order given by their leader to attack the enemy in the first place. The scope of the influence of an individual’s decision must thereby be accounted for when seeking to determine the extent to which their individual decisions play out within the global arena.

The role of the individual must be contextualized within the organization that they are situated within. A lone revolutionary poster of scribbled notes against the
government on a single telephone pole is not as effective or efficient as a tweet containing the same information. The role of the individual is thereby magnified exponentially based upon the power of their organization, and their role therein. International politics must thereby be assessed not only in relation to the interaction between nations, but also the decisions made by leaders within the scope of international politics. The president of a nation is thereby markedly more influential than one of many thousands of elementary school English teachers. In order to frame global events, individuals must be explored, and given the importance of the influence of national leaders, the actions of nations themselves must likewise be accounted for when framing an international occurrence.

**State**

The next level of analysis that will guide the assessment of the Arab Spring contained herein is that of the state level analysis. This is an additional approach to world politics that focuses upon the role of nation-states and their internal processes in the determination of the course of world events. The state level of analysis is in a sense an intermediary level that considers midrange factors. These midrange factors are less general than the macro analysis of the international system, but more broad than the micro analytical focus upon individual actors. The level of focus that is applied to the state within this level of analysis thereby endeavors to frame the behaviors of contingents within state systems and how they in turn impact world developments. The composite actions contained within a given nation determine the greater course of action that is
pursued by the national body, and thus it is important to assess the components of the state when seeking to frame its influence and impact within the realm of international politics and world events.

States effectively serve as the materials through which the international system is assembled. The traditional perspective applied to international relations is one of a realist nature, with this perspective it is assumed that the international system is comprised of individual states that together create the system. While this is the common traditional perspective applied to the state level of analysis, it is important to note that there is some degree of variability therein. States are in place to serve their best interests. The infrastructure therein is meant to reinforce the well-being and betterment of the society the state is meant to support. As exhibited in the preceding chapter, the interests and actions of states do not always reflect or support the ideas of the citizens that the state is meant to represent and serve.

States ought to support the best interests of the populations they are meant to represent and serve. In general, states exercise power to this end. Such exercises of power may be positioned to establish, defend, and protect the independence, survival, prosperity, and sovereignty of the nation. It is the prerogative of each individual state to endeavor to reinforce these characteristics. However, individual states are not functioning within an environment that is characterized by infinite resources. Rather, individual states function within the greater global environment that is characterized by finite resources. The interaction of nations within the realm of global politics is thereby
in effect similar to the role of the individual within the state, in that the collective actions of the various states in the international system in turn characterize the actions taken by the system as a whole.

As with the individual level of analysis, it is important to frame the position and context of individual states within the greater international system. Just as freshmen congressman is markedly weaker than the president of a nation, a developing nation is substantially weaker in the international system than an industrialized modern nation. Within the international system, there is an imbalance of power. States that have greater power wield greater influence. For example, the United States has been accused of pursuing a global hegemon through unilateral policy-making and decisions. The United States capacity to exercise such marked control over a system, is an alarming characteristic of the international system that at times is confronted through the development of conflict due to the inherent opposition amongst other states that such behavior causes.

Conflict is determined through the characteristics and developments that occur within the scope of the international system and the various states that comprise it. The majority of the means through which conflict is addressed within the state system are peaceful. These include diplomacy, bargaining, compromise, and negotiation. However, it is not always possible to resolve conflicts in such a way. In such situations these conflicts produce violence that may culminate into war. The Arab Spring from the
perspective of the state-level of analysis demonstrates the capacity of individual actors, in concert, to trump the official powers of the state that ruled over them.

Within the modern environment, any analysis conducted on the state level must also account for the international bodies, agreements, and organizations that are in place governing the interactions between nation-states. The modern international system is comprised of many intergovernmental organizations. These organizations were established to preserve the power of governments while also assisting them in managing global affairs. Such organizations include the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, and the United Nations. The interactions of nation states are thereby no longer entirely independent in the modern era due to the mutual dependence established through these international bodies.

In addition to the international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the globalized economy has also altered the relationships between states. World trade and finance have grown significantly in the recent past, resulting in a new level of interdependence among nations. The increasing level of cohesiveness and codependence within the global system has raised questions related to the true independence of nation-states within the scope of the international system. In conjunction with the state level of analysis of the Arab Spring, it is also necessary to explore the organizational level.

Organizational

The organizational level of analysis is concerned with the way in which individuals interact within the scope of an organizational setting, such as group decision-
making. Rather than assessing the influence of the individual and individual behavior, this level of analysis instead is concerned with how international relations may be explained in terms of the domestic pressures that operate and influence governmental decision-makers within the confines of their governmental organization or grouping. This particular level of analysis is concerned with the decisions of organizations that compose governments. This would include the actions of the army and the government within the confines of a single nation. As demonstrated through the examples of Tunisia and Egypt, the President and the military do not always agree, indicating the importance of analyzing the situation from an organizational level.

A sovereign nation-state contains territory, citizens, and a central governing body. The central governments within sovereign nations are the primary and dominant political organizations therein. However, the central government is not the only organization within the scope of the state that influences the policy outcomes. Within democracies, the central governments are held accountable by their citizens. The same cannot be said for non-democratic countries. Non-democratic countries do not represent the interest of their citizens, instead they represent the interest of the state. Their argument is that whatever is best for the state, is best for the people. Nonetheless, within democracies the citizens have the option to vote for whomever they wish, regardless of party affiliation. Within democratic states, central governments are elected by the citizens, and thereby respond to organized groups of people. Such groups abound within states, and thus many
non-governmental actors that are active within the internal affairs of a particular nation-state must also be accounted for when analyzing the actions of the state.

It is through the interaction between the central government, civil society, and organized interest groups that state activity is realized. Thus policy may be the result of demands issued by such groups related to the internal and international policies to be pursued by their government. Within the context of the Arab Spring, such special interest and opposition groups had ineffectively mediated conditions for the betterment of the people. Rather, the power of the central government over society, as demonstrated, was so substantial that the interests of the people were in effect less of a priority than the desires of the central government and executive leaders of the nations.

**International**

At the international level of analysis, the decision-making models pursued by states are not necessarily unilateral, but rather a shared responsibility. From this perspective, the restrictions of the international system on Tunisia and Egypt preclude the prediction of their responses, given that it was through the movement of social actors outside the scope of official governmental bodies that influence the state’s behavior. International organizations, multinational corporations, and also private non-public and non-governmental organizations influence the behavior of nation-states. The predictability of the international system is advanced by systems analysts as being possible to determine through an assessment of nation-state’s behaviors. While each system is attributed with having a free will of its own, this is not necessarily the case as
each state is comprised of various systems that in concert influence the behavior of the state. Such systems are a pervasive element in the lives of individuals within the modern state. States from this perspective are thought to have behavioral tendencies that are generally predictable.

The international perspective is a top-down approach that views world politics in relation to the interaction between nation-states and various other international actors. These actors are seen as operating within a global socio-economic-political-geographic environment. This environment holds particular characteristics that in turn influence the international system and how its various actors interact with one another. It is thought that a pattern emerges within the behavior between these actors when viewed from top-down. During the period of the Arab Spring, the behavior of the Tunisian and Egyptian governments and the systems that composed it, opposed the wishes of the people. In what seemed as the only natural course of action by the inability of citizens to effectuate change in an undemocratic country, is to revolt.

The deliberate exploitation and excessive exercise of power by the governments of Tunisia and Egypt upon its citizens, prompted the international community into action to protect civilians. Within the scope of the international level of analysis, Dr. Young writes,

since the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine was approved as a UN policy guideline by the General Assembly in 2005. Not legally binding, but serving as a framework for preventive action and accountability for the rebuilding of states affected by civil war, genocide or state failure, the doctrine serves to push the
international community to intervene on the side of citizens rather than states in a humanitarian crisis.\(^{20}\)

Just as in Syria, the actions taken by nation-states at the international political level were aimed at protecting civilians during the Arab Spring. Through diplomatic channels, the international community sought to restore civility; by peacefully assisting the transition of power to the newly elected leaders. Active cooperation of countries at the international level, demonstrate adherence to the norms of collective well-being of all people. Within the scope of the Arab Spring, the international dimension is of value in framing the role of nation-states by the international context within which they operate.

**Pluralism**

Pluralism is an approach to the modern world of politics that accounts for the diverse perspectives that are in place therein. The world is composed of hybrid legal spaces, wherein a single act or actor may be regulated by multiple legal or quasi-legal regimes. Pluralism and its related literature provide a lens through which this diverse world of politics may be better understood. According to Paul Berman, pluralism in effect “offers not only a more comprehensive descriptive account of the world we live in, but also suggests a potentially useful alternative approach to the design of procedural mechanisms, institutions, and practices”.\(^{21}\)

Within the legal realm, pluralism occurs when there are multiple groups endeavoring to influence a particular act or actor. This means that conflicts experiencing

\(^{20}\) Dr. Karen E. Young, “The Emerging Interventionists of the GCC” (paper presented at the LSE Middle East Centre, Emirates Foundation, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, June-July 2013), 23.

pluralism are not being addressed simply by territorially-based sovereigntism, or merely by an appeal to universalism. Instead, pluralism is realized within the competing systems in which multiple communities may legitimately seek to assert their norms over a given act or actor.\textsuperscript{22} The nation-states of the world are still inherently different in many aspects, creating a natural competitiveness between them. Such competition has led to ideological conflict and in some instances, war.\textsuperscript{23}

Pluralism is concerned with the multiple facets that influence decision making on particular issues. The concept of multidimensional pluralism has been coined to demonstrate the truly varied nature of life, such as values, beliefs, and preferences. As stated by Berman, it is “arguing that the expansion of diversity in one domain ventilates life in others as well.”\textsuperscript{24} Rather, it is through the interaction between the variations in perspectives that hybridity and pluralism is realized.\textsuperscript{25} Pluralism is a concept that applies in many arenas in life however in relation to politics it is particularly relevant.

**Neo-Realism**

The world is a complex environment in which predictions are difficult to make. Predictions may not be made nor produced alongside explanations through considering a theory and endeavoring to infer behaviors and outcomes from it. The world is markedly more difficult to understand than this. It is not through theories that predictions are

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
made, but rather through people who are endeavoring to apply theory to the real world.\textsuperscript{26} The neo-realist approach accounts for this in the understanding it advances in relation to the understanding of the real world.

The traditional form of realism is rooted in behaviorism, in that good states produce good outcomes, and in contrast to this, bad states produce bad outcomes. From the beliefs in traditional realism, it was advanced that inward behavior manifests outward action. The traditional realist perspective advances that international outcomes are determined by the decisions of individual states, or behaving units. In this manner, causation travels in only one direction; outward from the internal composition of states to the outcomes that their behaviors purportedly produce. This manner of thinking is common to traditional realists, socialists, and liberals alike. Such a position however is not in concert with that of neo-realism.\textsuperscript{27}

Neo-realism looks upon structure rather than behavior to determine the source of outcomes.\textsuperscript{28} Neo-realism is in effect a theory concerned with organizational effects, and not solely upon state behavior and systematic outcomes. From the neo-realist perspective, the outcome of events does not depend entirely upon the internal composition and qualities of states. Rather, variations in the structure in which the actions of states occur are the primary influencing factors upon outcomes. The neo-realist approach recognizes the influence of the international structure upon state actions.

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
Within particular areas, states oftentimes will endeavor to imitate the successes of other states. Rather than focusing internally, they instead look outward to gather information about optimal practices, and then internalize them. For example, states have imitated one another in relation to military weaponry, industrial practices, regulatory policy, and even banking institutions. As indicated by Joao Resende-Santos, “deliberate imitation is an enduring feature of the international system.”

It is through the presence of states of comparable ability that the actions of one are constrained.

The critics of neo-realist theory of international politics state that it “explains how external forces shape states’ behavior, but says nothing about the effects of internal forces.” The variations between the forces that shape international outcomes highlight the shortcomings of the straightforward realist theory formerly in place. The critics of the neo-realist theory fail to account for the expansive nature of the theory in action. It does in effect take into account what goes on within states, although it does place greater weight upon external variables. States and the structure of international politics are of influence, and the proportion thereof varies depending upon the structure of the latter.

Within an international system in which another state or combination of states is unable to balance the strength of the most powerful nation, there is in effect a political system without checks and balances. In such situations, arbitrary and destructive governance is often experienced, serving to work towards the benefit for the governor at

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the expense of those being governed.\textsuperscript{31} Within a unipolar world however, the checks on the behavior of a great power are markedly reduced.\textsuperscript{32}

\textbf{Conclusion}

The theoretical frameworks to be capitalized upon in exploring the Arab Spring are those of social movement theory, theory of revolution, the multiple streams approach, levels of analysis of state behavior, pluralism, and realism. Each of these theoretical frameworks is of value in better framing and understanding the events of the Arab Spring. The Arab Spring was a unique phenomenon in global history in that social media was utilized to facilitate information to mobilize government opposition, whereby the opposition transformed into a revolution, resulting in regime change. The problems that this revolution addressed were expressive of the problem stream of the multiple streams approach, while the use of social media by protesters effectively served to open a policy window.

From a pluralist perspective, the protesters were able to employ international support and pressure towards the resolution of their problem that otherwise would have been confined to the domestic environment. Neo-realism takes into account the fact that structures more so than internal policies and practices determine the flow of international politics. While the internal structures of these nations may have been solid, in comparison to other similar international bodies, their policies were lacking in relation to

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
their treatment of the people. Despite internal solidarity, structural inequalities led to the
dissolution of these internal power structures through social action. The Arab Spring,
when viewed through these theoretical perspectives, is an expression of both internal and
international politics, and the capacity of stakeholders and policy entrepreneurs to exact
real change, when effectively undertaken.
CHAPTER IV
RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The exploration of the Arab Spring, the impact of social media and the application of Kingdon’s multiple streams theory will reveal that the utilization of social media was an effective policy entrepreneurial tool. The Arab Spring as found through the consideration of the literature and facts within the confines of the multiple streams approach to have been an instance wherein issues and policies collided, and through the facilitation of social media, brought to the forefront social action. The results and analysis, as demonstrated below will be based on two fundamental questions: (1) Could the use of American Dot.com social networking websites (e.g. Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube) by Tunisians and Egyptians during the Arab Spring, to overthrow their governments, be characterized as a violation of Tunisia’s and Egypt’s sovereignty (cyber-sovereignty)? (2) What was the significance of the abovementioned social networking websites during the Arab Spring?

Method

This study employed the use of an online survey to collect data to determine if the use of social media had the capacity to influence the political and social landscape of Egypt and Tunisia. The survey was generated and distributed through the use of
QuestionPro; a web-based survey interface that allows users to create, collect, and analyze data online. The survey was distributed anonymously in both English and Arabic. The questionnaire consisted of thirty-five questions; multiple choice, open-ended, matrix table, and ordering/rating types of questions. A copy of the survey can be found in Appendix A. The survey was open for a period of 20 days (November 23, 2013 through December 13, 2013).

The survey participants were randomly recruited through the use of data triangulation from local online forums, such as Blogger.com, academic institutions, government agencies, non-profit organizations, the business sector, and online periodicals. Data triangulation requires a comprehensive approach of extracting information from a variety of sources, i.e. case studies, books, journals, and the Internet among others. The survey selection phase yielded 1083 participants. However, since spam filters are configured differently, there is no way to determine if each participant that was targeted actually received the survey. As a result, 156 participants viewed the survey, 74.36% (n = 116) participants started the survey, and 30.77% (n = 48) participants completed the survey.

**Results**

The purpose of the research was to thoroughly explore the link between social media and the Arab Spring uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt. The Arab Spring uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt were partly influenced and driven by the facilitation of social media outlets, including Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube. The influence of social media was highlighted by the fact that the Tunisian and Egyptian governments were
opposed to its use and shut off the nation’s Internet access.¹ According to a report issued by the Dubai School of Government, social media and its employment by activists “played a critical role in mobilization, empowerment, shaping opinions, and influencing change”.² As will be demonstrated through the results, social media played a key role through which the Arab Spring was facilitated in Tunisia and Egypt.

The Sample

The survey participants were urged to respond to each question, however, some participants failed to complete the questionnaire. In an effort to not skew the results, uncompleted questionnaires were excluded to prevent unsubstantiated conclusions from incomplete surveys.

Demographics. The respondents were predominately male 81.4% (n = 41), and most of the participants were between the ages of 30-35 20.83% (n = 10). Among those surveyed, the reported highest level of education attained was a Doctor of Philosophy. 20.83% (n = 10) and 4.17% (n = 2) having achieved a professional degree such as law or medicine. Most of the respondents 83.33% (n = 40), attended public school, as well as, traveled abroad 83.33% (n = 40). Almost all participants reported that they were fluent in more than one language. Three-quarters of the participants are employed full-time 75% (n = 36) and most of the respondents worked in an educational institution 33.33% (n =

16) or for a private firm 27.08% (n = 13). The majority of the respondents self-identified themselves as Tunisians 66.67% (n = 32). A summary of the demographics discussed above can be found in table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Questionnaire participant demographics (N = 48)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>85.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 years and over</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is the highest level of education you have completed?</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9th and 10th grade</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11th and 12th grade</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s degree</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>45.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s degree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional degree, e.g. Law and/or medical degree (Doctor/M.D.)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, please specify</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have you attended a private school and/or public school?</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public school</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, please specify</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have you ever traveled abroad?</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>83.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which languages do you speak fluently?</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>35.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berber</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>30.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>26.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nubian dialect</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, please specify</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Findings. Of those surveyed, 83.34% (n = 40) reported that they have either remained with the same political organization for four or more years, or have never been affiliated with a political organization. In addition, when asked if their political affiliation had changed within the last three years, the majority 68.75% (n = 33) responded by indicating no. The responses to both of these questions are perplexing, in that most of the respondents reported that they were overall unsatisfied with their government before and after the Arab Spring. Their disenchantment with their government did not prompt them to change political affiliations or become actively involved within a political organization, unless their political affiliation was the opposing party to that which was in power (see table 4.2).

Table 4.1. (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment Status? Are you currently...?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed full time</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>75.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed part time</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed / Looking for work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to work</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Please describe your work.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Institution</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government employee</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonprofit organization</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private company?</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>27.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, please specify</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Please specify your nationality. | | |
| American | 3 | 6.25% |
| Egyptian | 12 | 25% |
| Tunisian | 32 | 66.67% |
Table 4.2. Results for questions 14 and 15 of the questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14. How satisfied were you with your government before the Arab Spring?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Satisfied</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfied</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither Satisfied or Unsatisfied</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsatisfied</td>
<td>37.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Unsatisfied</td>
<td>39.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 15. How satisfied are you with your government after the Arab Spring? | |
| Very Satisfied | 0.00% |
| Satisfied | 12.5% |
| Neither Satisfied or Unsatisfied | 14.58% |
| Unsatisfied | 25% |
| Very Unsatisfied | 47.92% |
| N/A | 0.00% |

To assess the respondents’ political attentiveness, each person was asked ‘how often do you read, think, or talk about national politics with friends or family members?’

As shown in (figure 4.1), most of the individuals reported that they read, talk, or thought about national politics with friends or family daily. The subsequent question analyzes

![Pie chart showing the percentage of responses to question 12](image_url)

Figure 4.1. The relative percentage of how participants responded to question 12
the frequency in which the respondents engaged in political discussion and/or thought. As shown in (figure 4.2), there is a strong positive correlation between the recurrence of political thought and/or discussion that possibly triggered the respondents to increase their civic participation.

![Figure 4.2. The relative percentage of how participants responded to question 13](image)

To determine the motivating factors that drew the respondents to participate and/or support the Arab Spring, question sixteen provided fifteen preselected options for the survey participants to drag and drop in rank order. The responses reflect the average number of times the respondents selected their preferred option they perceived as most or least important. For example, the majority of respondents selected freedom as the overall influential factor that contributed to why they participated in the Arab Spring. Freedom was followed by government corruption, as the second leading factor that contributed to why survey respondents participated in the Arab Spring. Conversely, the respondents ranked “I did not participate or support the Arab Spring”, as the least important factor. The respondent’s responses are in rank order from most important to least important:

1. Freedom (25%, n = 12)
2. Government Corruption (22.92%, n = 11)
3. Human Rights Violation (27.08%, n = 13)
4. Political and Religious Oppression (20.83%, n = 10)
5. Communication Censorship (25%, n = 12)
6. Despair (22.92%, n = 11)
7. Power (16.67%, n = 8)
8. Democracy (27.08%, n = 13)
9. Poverty (20.83%, n = 10)
10. Inflation (22.92%, n = 11)
11. Rising food prices (16.67%, n = 8)
12. Video, comments, images/photos posted on social media (e.g. Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube) (35.42%, n = 17)
13. Terrorist infiltration (20.83%, n = 10)
14. Unemployment (56.25%, n = 27)

To explore the respondent’s preferences for accessing the Internet, the survey participants had to identify where they most frequently accessed the Internet. On the whole, most of the respondents accessed the Internet from their home (see figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3. The relative percentage of how participants responded to question 17
Respondents also rated the trustworthiness of various sources of information (see table 4.3). Overall, Google received the highest trustworthy rating; 62.50% (n = 30) rated Google as being somewhat trustworthy, trustworthy, and/or very trustworthy. The trust attributed to social media sources of information is largely equal to that of traditional media.

Table 4.3. Results for question 18 of the questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. How trustworthy do you find these news sources?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An acquaintance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>29.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>29.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blogs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>39.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>31.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>10.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>20.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>33.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Google</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>18.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>39.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>20.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Percent (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>18. How trustworthy do you find these news sources?</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instagram</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>37.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>29.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Newspaper</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>37.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>22.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>22.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>10.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pinterest</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>41.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>39.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Radio</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>20.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Television</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>10.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>39.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>10.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>20.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.3. (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. How trustworthy do you find these news sources?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>22.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>20.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>22.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>41.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YouTube</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Trustworthy</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Trustworthy</td>
<td>35.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>27.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Untrustworthy</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Untrustworthy</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following questions, examined how the respondents assessed the reliability of their news source. By and large, the respondents indicated that the quality of information was the determining factor for deciding if their news source was reliable (see figure 4.4).
To determine their familiarity with social media, the respondents were asked how long they have had a social media account with: Blogger, Facebook, Google, Instagram, Pinterest, Twitter, Vine, and YouTube. The responses varied based on the launch date of the corresponding social media site (see table 4.4). The majority of the respondents reported that they have never held an account with Instagram, Pinterest, or Vine.

Table 4.4. Results for question 20 of the questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20. How long have you had a social media account with:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blogs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than year</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 – 2 years</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 – 4 years</td>
<td>29.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 9 years</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years or more</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>22.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than year</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 – 2 years</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 – 4 years</td>
<td>35.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 9 years</td>
<td>56.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years or more</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Google</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than year</td>
<td>2.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 – 2 years</td>
<td>22.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 – 4 years</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 9 years</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years or more</td>
<td>22.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instagram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than year</td>
<td>10.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 – 2 years</td>
<td>6.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 – 4 years</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 9 years</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 years or more</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>79.17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on their responses, one can possibly conclude that these websites have not grown in popularity in comparison to Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube. There are some discrepancies with a few responses, for example, one respondent reported having a Facebook account for 10 or more years. However, the questionnaire was distributed between November 2013 through December 2013 and Facebook launched February 4, 2004. Another individual reported having a Pinterest account for 5 or more years however, Pinterest launched on March 2010 and had yet to reach their fifth year.
anniversary. Three individuals reported having a Vine account for 1 or more years, but Vine just recently launched January 2013 and had not reached their one year anniversary prior to the survey being distributed. Two participants reported having a YouTube account for 10 plus years however, this is not possible since YouTube launched February 2005.

The next question set out to explore the relationship between the Arab Spring and the usage of social media. The respondents were asked if there was an uptick in their social media usage since the Arab Spring. Clearly 83.33% (n = 40) of respondents indicated that their use of social media increased once the Arab Spring began (see figure 4.5). To further explore this, respondents were asked to what extent you would say you

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**Figure 4.5.** The relative percentage of how participants responded to question 21

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used one of the social networking websites (Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube) to express your political opinion (see table 4.5). The majority of the respondents reported
that they used Facebook more often than Google, Twitter, and YouTube to share their political view.

Table 4.5. Results for question 23 of the questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Percent (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23. During the Arab Spring, to what extent would you say you used one of the social networking websites to express your political opinion?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facebook</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always</td>
<td>45.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the Time</td>
<td>27.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>18.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost Never</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at All</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Google</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the Time</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>27.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost Never</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at All</td>
<td>22.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twitter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always</td>
<td>20.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the Time</td>
<td>4.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost Never</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at All</td>
<td>27.08%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>10.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YouTube</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the Time</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost Never</td>
<td>10.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at All</td>
<td>37.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>14.58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The proceeding question was designed to identify the participant’s level of comfort when expressing their political view. Half of respondents indicated that they
were very comfortable expressing their political view, without fear of retribution (see figure 4.6). To examine the level of social media engagement, individuals were asked if they posted videos, comments, and/or sent or received messages using Facebook, Google, Twitter, or YouTube regarding different events during the Arab Spring. As previously indicated from question 22, Facebook was the most prevalent social media site used during the Arab Spring (see figure 4.7).

Figure 4.6. The relative percentage of how participants responded to question 22

Did you post video, comments, and/or send or receive messages regarding different events during the Arab Spring? Facebook:

Figure 4.7. The relative percentage of how participants responded to question 24
Question twenty-five was an open-ended, follow-up question to assess the respondents’ intentions for posting videos, comments, and/or sending or receiving messages using Facebook, Google, Twitter, and/or YouTube during the Arab Spring. Forty-five comments were recorded, three of the written responses were excluded, one of the respondent’s comments was not legible, the other individual did not provide any constructive feedback, and one other respondent declined to respond to the question. This qualitative data provides an enriching understanding as to the intentions of why individuals took to social media to document the events and/or to express how they felt. A few examples of the responses are:

“communication. instigation. spreading information. querying information.”

“_validation_of_the_information_and_discuss_it_with_friends_and_family” (Translated to English courtesy of Google Translate:
“to stand up against terrorism, to criticize the interim goverment and all the events happened in Tunisia. also pick up every problem threaten my country for the reason to solve it> “

“the_intentions_of_the_overthrow_of_the_former_regime” (Translated to English courtesy of Google Translate: “The intentions of the overthrow of the former regime”)

“I was very influenced ans [sic] surprised by what is happening and I was afraid from what would happen in the future. I was trying some video to calm people and advise them to use social media in the right way.”

The survey responses vary greatly depending upon the participant’s attitudes toward the Arab Spring. It is difficult to find a common theme governing the respondent’s intentions for posting videos, comments, and/or sending or receiving messages using Facebook, Google, Twitter, and/or YouTube during the Arab Spring. A
complete list of the respondent’s responses can be found in Appendix C. The final series of questions, as displayed in table 4.6, get at the crux of my intent behind this research.

Table 4.6. Results for questions 26-34 of the questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26. Is it your opinion, if Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube did not exist would it have changed the political outcome of the Arab Spring?</td>
<td>70.83</td>
<td>29.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Would the Arab Spring have occurred if Internet access was cutoff?</td>
<td>52.08</td>
<td>47.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Is it your opinion that more Arabs have joined Facebook, Google, Twitter, and/or YouTube since the Arab Spring?</td>
<td>87.50</td>
<td>12.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Do you think Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube will increase socio-political mobilization?</td>
<td>83.33</td>
<td>16.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Cyber-sovereignty is the right of countries to monitor and censor content of Internet Service Providers (ISPs), websites, web pages, and Internet communications of its citizens with respect to their own cultures and their own systems of governing. By definition, if cyber-sovereignty were a law, would you support its enforcement by your government during periods of civil unrest in order to restore public order and safety?</td>
<td>18.75</td>
<td>81.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Do you believe the government has the right to enforce such a law?</td>
<td>22.92</td>
<td>77.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Would you consider it to be a violation of privacy, if the government had the authority to monitor and censor content of the Internet communications of its citizens?</td>
<td>77.08</td>
<td>22.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Do you think the use of Facebook, Google, Twitter and YouTube by Tunisian and Egyptian citizens during the Arab Spring was a violation of national sovereignty?</td>
<td>8.33</td>
<td>91.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Do you think the government is monitoring your Internet usage?</td>
<td>68.75</td>
<td>31.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis revealed compelling evidence to suggest that there is a significant disagreement about whether the concept of cyber-sovereignty should be enforceable, if the locus of control should reside with the government to curtail online socio-political mobilization in the event of internal political dissension, and/or the government’s legitimate use of power in regards to communication censorship. Since cyber-sovereignty is a mere idea, with no codification of illegal acts, there is no way of enforcing it through the process of law. However, future research should work to establish a legal framework for cyber-sovereignty, in an effort to protect and promote best practices in the use of the Internet worldwide.
Respondents were asked if Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube did not exist, would the political outcome of the Arab Spring have been different? 70.83% (n = 34) of the respondents reported that the political outcome would not have been the same. To give further context to the Internet’s capacity, the next question posed asked, what was the probability of the Arab Spring occurring without the Internet? A slim majority, 52.08% (n = 25), believed the Arab Spring would have occurred, and 47.92% (n = 23) believe it would not have occurred. An overwhelming number of respondents 87.50% (n = 42) felt that there has been an increase in the number of Arabs who have joined Facebook, Google, Twitter, and/or YouTube as a result of the Arab Spring.

Most of the respondents were able to draw upon the impact of the Arab Spring and the events surrounding it to suggest that Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube could possibly increase socio-political mobilization. In addition, survey participants were asked if they support the idea of cyber-sovereignty and a staggering 81.25% (n = 39) of the respondents indicated that they did not agree with this concept. Reflective of this belief, is the same conclusive response reported by the survey participants for the following question. Just as with question thirty, the majority (77.08%, n = 37) of the participants disagreed with the idea that the government had the right to enforce such a law. The same number of questionnaire participants responded to the next question exactly the same; (77.08%, n = 37) would consider it to be a violation of privacy, if the government had the authority to monitor and censor content of the Internet communications of its citizens.
When asked if using Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube by Tunisian and Egyptian citizens during the Arab Spring was a violation of national sovereignty, a convincing number 91.67%, (n = 44) responded by indicating no. The next question posed to the survey participants, asked if they thought the government is monitoring their Internet usage, 68.75%, (n = 15) believe the government was monitoring their Internet usage. The final question presented an opportunity for the questionnaire participants to provide feedback that will help improve the direction and limitations of this research.

**Limitations**

The inherent limitation of this study was the sampling pool. First, it should be noted that the majority of respondents were male, which limits the reflections from the female perspective. This could be attributed to the subordinate role women play in Muslim society. Secondly, most of the respondents were Tunisian, which again presents a partial bias when interpreting the results. The majority of the responses reflect Tunisian sentiment, instead of a balanced account of both Tunisians and Egyptians. Another weakness of the research is that the survey was an online questionnaire and not a field study.

This presupposes that the individuals who responded to the survey had access to the Internet. In addition, spam filters could have affected the transmission of the surveys as well. Although the recruitment phase yielded 1,083 participants, the candidates were chosen from some of the same websites that were selected to conduct the research. Another potential vulnerability factor may be the absence of a question that asked the respondents how did they first learn and/ or hear about the Arab Spring. Lastly, the
language barrier limited my ability to directly interpret the responses and to measure people's attitudes and opinions.

Facebook

Facebook is a website that provides a portal for individuals to communicate with one another through webpages dedicated to individuals, groups, activities, and organizations. Inherent within the system is a messaging option, and the capacity to communicate through message boards and comments. Facebook may be linked directly to other social networking sites, such as Google, Twitter, and YouTube. This makes Facebook not only a facilitator of communication, but also a hub for information. An individual visiting a Facebook page may be directed to view a YouTube video concerning the subject matter, prompted to join a group that is organized around a particular social issue, or may converse with fellow protesters and stakeholders through the use of private messages.

The prowess of Facebook proved to be instrumental in organizing the social movements during the Arab Spring. Facebook provided protesters with a forum through which their ideas could be exchanged in real-time. The capacity to organize through Facebook in real-time, while incorporating data from multiple sources was of marked importance in motoring the Arab Spring. The immediacy of Facebook is what was of most significant value.3 Rather than relying upon historical lessons or those that arrive

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through word of mouth or the news media, those involved in the Arab Spring were capable of coordinating and communicating in real-time, thereby vastly improving upon the organization and fluidity of their effort.

The import of Facebook within the confines of the Arab Spring was reinforced by the specific targeting of Facebook by governments. It was recognized as a central component of the opposition’s activities, and thus through a targeted shutdown the government endeavored to remove access to Facebook altogether. As explored within the literature review, it was found in March of 2011 through a survey that 9 in 10 Egyptians and Tunisians were using Facebook in order to organize protests in addition to disseminating information related to them. Based on the results, the Arab Spring was markedly influenced by the utilization of social media on behalf of protesters and activists alike. To clearly frame the influence of Facebook, a consideration through the multiple streams approach is of value, as will be explored within the analysis section.

**Google**

Unlike Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, Google is a central repository for everything transmittable over the public Internet. It is the world wide web clearinghouse for current and past events, email, documents, video, images, books, and maps just to name a few. Google’s multifunctional value serves as the centerpiece to where Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube intersect. It provides online forums and minute by

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minute news updates that allowed the Arab Spring participants and viewers to stay informed about the latest news. Whether it was searching for the most recent tweets, Facebook postings or YouTube videos, people were able to stay informed and connected from anywhere.

Google is the world’s number one search engine. It garners its power through its massive search engine. Its search engine prowess empowered Arab Spring participants and viewers to locate web pages that contained matching information in one central location. The results of the query provide users with a listing of similar news related headlines that feature stories covering all aspects of the queried search. Having access to information keeps the citizenry informed; this is the underlining premise of democracy, which runs counterintuitive to the ideals espoused by the Egyptian and Tunisian governments.

**Twitter**

Through the analysis of literature and an assessment of the events of the Arab Spring, it was clearly demonstrated that Twitter was an important factor in the organization of the movement. Twitter provides a means through which account holders may communicate their thoughts and experiences instantaneously to their followers worldwide. This form of communication provides a real-time means of transmitting snippets of information; 140 characters in length and linking users to additional sources of related information.
The depth of penetration of Twitter during the Arab Spring was demonstrated by the common hashtags or markers related to the revolutions. During the period of the Arab Spring the hashtags “Egypt”, “Jan25”, “Libya”, “Burma”, and “protest” were the most popular in the Arab region. In fact, “Egypt” had 1.4 million mentions during the first three months of 2011.\(^6\) The use of hashtags on Twitter was a means through which the events surrounding the Arab Spring could be tracked.

The value of Twitter is that it is a transparent and quantifiable means of disseminating information during a tumultuous period such as the Arab Spring. The hashtags utilized over Twitter may be tracked, as demonstrated above. The results of such analyses have clearly demonstrated the fact that Twitter was employed to facilitate the Arab Spring. The use of social media throughout the revolution lent to protesters its speed and capacity to achieve victory in short order, prior to allowing the governments to mount sufficient opposition to the protests. Twitter likewise enabled protesters to garner international support for their efforts, provided through various other social media outlets.

**YouTube**

YouTube allows subscribers to upload video footage onto its website. This provided visual depictions of the Arab Spring in real-time. It enables individuals throughout the world to observe the experiences of others. As mentioned above,

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YouTube can be digitally linked to Facebook, Google, and Twitter. This provides users an even larger platform and presence to engage a wider audience.

Within the scope of the Arab Spring, YouTube was important. Gigabytes of data were uploaded over the course of the Arab Spring related to the events that had occurred therein. YouTube and the videos and other information related to the Arab Spring that was relayed through the use of mobile phones have been credited with providing much of the fuel behind the mobilization that was achieved by the revolutions. The assessment of the role of YouTube has produced the clear result that it was another form of social media that markedly influenced the realization, scope, and speed of the Arab Spring.

Analysis

The onset of the Arab Spring was not instantaneous, in that it was based upon historical strains that had long pressed upon society. Over the course of a history of militaristic leadership characterized by corruption and theft, significant opposition to the regimes was built within the population of the nations in Northern African and elsewhere wherein the Arab Spring would ignite. Social media was thereby a facilitator of the revolutions as opposed to the progenitor thereof. With this perspective in mind, the various developments of the Arab Spring are better framed and thereby analyzed. Below is an analysis of the role of social media in the Arab Spring, in concert with the function

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7 Habibul Haque Khondker, *Role of the new media in the Arab Spring*, (Globalizations, 8(5), 2011), 675-679.

of the multiple streams theory upon the development of the Arab Spring’s related actions and developments.

A Multiple Streams Approach to Social Media

From the perspective of the multiple streams approach, the use of social media was of value in that it served as a tool for policy entrepreneurs to open a policy window.

The Power of Words in the Arab Spring

The Arab Spring is an example of the strength of the written word. Through the publication of words and hashtags related to the various uprisings occurring, action on the streets was realized. Over the course of the uprising in Egypt, some 1.4 million mentions of the word “Egypt” appeared on Twitter.9

The Power of Video in the Arab Spring

The use of YouTube within the scope of the Arab Spring, provided individuals a viable means of communicating facts and organizing. Various videos were utilized throughout the Arab Spring to illustrate the importance of the social movements that were being experienced, and further, the reasons behind them. According to Rachel C. Bandler, on YouTube there are sites that serve as country profiles that in effect have

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served to provide cyber timelines for the revolutions being experienced in Egypt, Tunisia, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, China, and Vietnam.\textsuperscript{10}

Video depictions of Egyptian soldiers beating protesters were presented on YouTube during the revolution.\textsuperscript{11} Such footage of protests served to not only demonstrate their viability, but also to arouse further opposition against the governments given their use of excessive force in some instances. Video provides a visual depiction of events. The YouTube Arab Spring timeline gave the world a bird’s-eye view of the developments that occurred over the course of the uprising.

\textbf{Policy Entrepreneurship and Social Media: Opening Policy Windows}

An analysis of the Arab Spring from the perspective of the policy window is interesting. Understanding that generally multiple streams must converge to achieve the opening of a policy window makes the experience of the Arab Spring more significant. The opening of a policy window is similar to manufacturing glass. Manufacturing glass consists of four phases: “(1) preparation of raw material, (2) melting in a furnace, (3) forming and (4) finishing.”\textsuperscript{12} In Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Theory, three things must occur before a policy window can open. As it relates to manufacturing glass, the opening of a policy window is the final stage; the finishing phase. The first step in Kingdon’s theory is the problem phase; the preparation of raw material. There was a growing sense of anxiety among the Tunisians and Egyptians regarding the mistreatment they endured.

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{11}] Ibid.
\end{itemize}
by their government. This set the stage for the Arab Awakening. The second step is the policy phase; melting in a furnace. The citizens recognized there was a problem and the only acceptable option was to reform their government through policy change. The third step is the politics phase; forming. Based on Kingdon’s model, if the proposed plan mentioned during the policy stage is to be approved, it must garner the support of both the citizens and politicians.

Policy entrepreneurs play a critical role in preparing, framing, and facilitating the policy process in the effort to achieve their desired outcome. Social media’s revolutionary effects have given citizens the platform and accessibility to become social agents. Citizens are using social media outlets, such as Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube to set the policy agenda; by reporting a perceived problem, legitimizing the issue, garnering support to address the problem, and formulating a solution to solve it. As a result, social media has facilitated this new policy entrepreneurial spirit among citizens to effectuate change.

**Conclusion**

The Arab Spring was largely propagated by the widespread opposition to the previous Tunisian and Egyptian governments. The problem stream in these nations converged with the policy and politics streams as it was the governmental institutions of these nations, and their inherent policies, that were propagating the actions and behaviors that were opposed by the citizens who revolted. The framing of the Arab Spring through the multiple streams approach is of value in that it reveals the essential role played by social media. It was through social media that the streams were publicized and made
known to the people. Social media assisted the protesters with organizing, communicating, and ultimately achieving their objectives. The qualitative information collected clearly indicates the importance and value of social media in the Arab Spring.

However, the sampled population did not meet the optimal number of 2,401 participants, to meet the margin of error of 2%, in order to represent the true percentage of the population. Therefore, the results are not conclusive and further studies need to be performed.
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

The revolutions in Northern Africa have left a cloud of uncertainty over the political landscape of the region. Through the concerted efforts of citizens, the old regimes of Tunisia and Egypt were ousted, thus leaving a lasting impact yet to be determined. What makes these accomplishments all the more significant and substantial is the fact that they were largely facilitated through social media. Although the role of social media was not exclusive, its significance throughout the Arab Spring is undeniable. Despite the use of social media, the revolution probably would have still occurred. However, it is argued that social media facilitated the development thereof at a much faster rate than otherwise would have been experienced.

Research Questions

Research question #1. The first research question that guided this study was ‘did the use of American Dot.com social networking websites (e.g. Facebook, Google, Twitter and YouTube) by Tunisians and Egyptians during the Arab Spring, to organize to oppose their governments, be characterized as a violation of Tunisia’s and Egypt’s sovereignty (cyber-sovereignty)?’ This question endeavored to determine if the use of the
aforementioned social networking sites violated the sovereignty of Tunisian and Egyptian governments during the Arab Spring. This question reasonably assumes that the survey subjects have a shared interpretation of the concept sovereignty.

The use of social media during the revolution to propagandize the world into supporting the Arab Spring did infringe upon the sovereignty of Tunisia and Egypt. The sovereignty of a nation lies in its capacity to govern itself within the confines of its borders without intervention. The information disseminated and the actions undertaken within the confines of the Arab Spring were performed above and beyond the wishes of the Tunisian and Egyptian governments. This is exhibited by the fact that the government of Egypt endeavored to cut off online access from all citizens in an attempt at stymying the revolution. However, there is no clear indication within the literature that this is absolute, but the results reasonably suggest that this was the intent. Therefore, the answer to the first research question is thereby clearly a “yes”.

Forrest Hare, in his article “Borders in Cyberspace: Can Sovereignty Adapt to the Challenges of Cyber Security?” attempts to address the complexities of securing a border within cyberspace. As discussed in previous chapters, the Internet’s implicit function is to make the world more open and connected. The use and discussion of virtual boundaries runs counterintuitive to the Internet’s central premise. The difficulty lies in attempting to balance the implicit function of the Internet and border control. As a result, states are attempting to grapple with the gap between functionality and security.

China has been at the forefront of developing cybersecurity technology to develop a robust virtual wall. The Golden Shield Project, which is also referred to as the Great
Firewall of China, directs Internet communications through three ports: “the Beijing-Qingdao-Tianjin area in the north, where cables come in from Japan; Shanghai on the central coast, where they also come from Japan; and Guangzhou in the south, where they come from Hong Kong.”¹ These border control ports provide China with greater autonomy to monitor and censor Internet communication that may interfere with its values and political ideology. Forrest Hare states that, “Peter Andreas, Harvard Professor and the author of Border Games, asserts that border control measures are an important symbolic and perceptual response that the state is defending its sovereignty and its citizens from an existential threat.”² These border control ports serve as gateways, to filter network traffic between the client and the server. The server is the central repository for webpages that clients can access. Within the server itself, are command lines; these command lines are rules that prevent and/ or grant access to certain websites. Having unobstructed points of entry into individual countries can have a political, economic, and cultural impact. As previously mentioned, the Internet’s mission is to create a global society, where everyone is connected. Some would argue that this mission runs parallel to the core belief of a democracy. Internet access provides people with real-time information and direct communication with other individuals throughout the world. For example, in the United States, we have seen a rise in the number of homegrown terrorists. These individuals have become self-radicalize by viewing violent

extremist videos and reading hate-filled literature online. This type of exposure, whether good or bad, but definitely bad in this instance, can influence the way we perceive the world. This type of openness can potentially threaten our civil liberties and civil rights. Especially if those legally protected rights and liberties pose an existential threat to national security. This is precisely the claim I have suggested throughout this research.

The economic impact of a borderless society can affect government subsidies. For example, healthcare, education, and housing among others were the driving forces behind the Arab Spring. Public assistance programs are intended to equip economically disadvantage families with the resources needed to improve their quality of life. However, if the government subsidize programs are substandard and do not adequately equip disadvantage families with the necessary resources, this could exacerbate an already precarious situation. Inadequate healthcare can lead to serious health problems and maybe death. Meager school systems can lead to poor development outcomes. Poor housing conditions can breed crime and reduce housing values. It is not about the type and/ or the amount of aid allocated, but it is the quality of aid being allocated. The intangible aspect of providing basic quality resources to economically disadvantage families is that it will enhance their quality of life and reduce their dependency on government subsidies.

Tunisian and Egyptian citizens felt that there was a culture of corruption that permeated throughout their government. This commonly held concern transcended individual interest and led protesters to the streets in pursuit of social justice and political reform. The failure of either government to adequately address and redress the
protester’s concerns was a reflection of the ongoing frustration among them. However, protesters sought to change the decades old narrative, instead of a monarchy or theocracy, protesters opted for democracy. In order to change the culture, protesters thought it was necessary to change the style of governing. The central premise of democracy is that it offers equality and inclusion for all, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and religious affiliation.

Cyber sovereignty policies should seek to preserve personal liberty, protect national security, and prevent illegal entry. The Internet should not be utilized as a backdoor entryway into the internal affairs of other nations. Politics should stop at the water’s edge and virtual borders are not without exception. In the article entitled “The Wuzhen Summit and the Battle over Internet Governance; China is trying harder than ever to push for its version of a future internet,”

China’s President Xi Jinping stated that “respecting cyber-sovereignty” implies respecting each country’s right to choose its own internet development path, its own internet management model, its own public policies on the internet, and to participate on an equal basis in the governance of international cyberspace—avoiding cyber-hegemony, and avoiding interference in the internal affairs of other countries. (…) [We must] build a multilateral, democratic and transparent governance system for the global internet.  

Every nation has the obligation and duty to protect their national integrity, define their national identity, defend their territory, and to preserve their culture.

The Internet has become a virtual world; the modern-day marketplace, where the exchange of goods and services occurs for the sole purpose of making a profit. Global

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citizens conduct business online, create videos online, send emails online, attend school online, vote online, and meet online. The Internet is also a site for cultural exchange, social networking, political activism, etc. The absence of regulation within this virtual world would inevitably make state intervention necessary.

**Research question #2.** The second research question is ‘What was the significance of Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube’s involvement during the Arab Spring?’ As clearly demonstrated, the social networking sites explored herein, were significant to the Arab Spring revolution. As I previously stated, the results are merely suggestive, but show a strong relationship between the use of the abovementioned social networking sites and the Arab Spring participants, specifically in Tunisia and Egypt.

Google, as did Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube provided unprecedented access into the Arab world. Google’s presence allowed world citizens to stay abreast of local events happening throughout the duration of the Arab Spring. By utilizing Google’s search engine, myself and others, were able to locate first-hand accounts from citizens who endured inhumane treatment from their government. This served to galvanize support for the Arab uprising and to put pressure on the leaders to act decisively.

The capacity of members to follow one another enables them to keep up-to-the-second on the developments that are being experienced. This in turn provides a substantial benefit to those parties that are endeavoring to organize the movement. Twitter and YouTube are facilitated through the use of Facebook. Facebook serves as a nexus in that Twitter and YouTube may both be broadcasted through Facebook. Twitter and YouTube subscribers are able to link their accounts through Facebook. Google
served as the nerve center for obtaining instant news related information from various media outlets as to the latest developments regarding the Arab Spring. Through the use of Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube participants of the Arab Spring were capable of achieving a degree of instantaneous communication and coordination that facilitated collective political action.

**Hypotheses**

At the outset of the study, it was hypothesized that the use of social media served as a unifying mechanism to consolidate worldwide opinion into one message of unity to derail the governments of Tunisia and Egypt. The use of social media enables protesters to gain not only a local voice, but a formidable international presence. The governmental activities they opposed became not merely local issues, but rather global concerns. While fostering local support was essential, the alignment of international support served to facilitate the growth of the revolution significantly.

As explored herein, foreigners also participated in the Arab Spring. Through social media, global citizens blogged and reported the sequence of events during the Arab Spring. The frustration and anger exhibited on social media served as the unifying factor that brought the world together to support the movement. In this way, the Arab Spring remained at the forefront of international conversations. As a result, this created an imbalance of support for the Tunisian and Egyptian citizens against their governments.
Discussion

Social Media and Social Movements

As demonstrated, social media was a clear facilitator for social action. Prior to social media, social movements were organized through alternative methods, however, social media makes it far simpler to disseminate information and spread the ideology of a given movement. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Civil Rights efforts provide a stark example. During his period, Dr. King endeavored to align support through his speeches and the dissemination of his information through print, radio, television, and other forms of media that existed at the time. Physical pamphlets that were intended for the hands of potential participants were disseminated through the mail and through hand-outs in the real-world. While these methods are valuable and can contribute to the forward momentum of social movements, social media is by and large a more effective, efficient, expedient, and economical form of disseminating information.

The employment of social media to advance social movements is a faster means of spreading information. Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube are all instantaneous, in that when information is posted, it is immediately available for consumption. Rather than identifying potential supporters through real-world experience and pursuit, the digital realm may instead be employed. Support for a given movement may be generated simply by targeting individuals in social media who have expressed support for a particular issue. Facebook as mentioned has virtual groups. These groups provide social movement directors simple and expedient means of identifying potential
supporters. Rather than stroll the streets delivering pamphlets to people, social media enables organizers to simply peruse digital lists, and to select potential supporters.

Social media has improved upon the timeliness of information. Prior to the advent of communication technology, the telephone, telegraph, radio, newspaper, and postal system were the primary means through which information was delivered. The press was and still is in some cases necessary to disseminate information about a particular event. However, social media and communication technology has made it possible for all individuals to effectively serve as journalists. As a consequence, it has become increasingly difficult for individuals to discern fake news from real news. Thus, social media has forever changed the way we communicate, coordinate, and disseminate information.

Through the use of smart-phones and similar devices, individuals are capable of recording events as they occur, and may subsequently post them to the Internet for the entire world to see. This undermines censorship mechanisms and reduces any attempts on behalf of authorities to control the dissemination of information. The speed of the spread of information likewise can be of immediate benefit to the participants in the movement. Should it be publicized that the police are engaging in brutality towards protesters, video documentation may be used to expose such brutality, and to pursue legal remedies against it. Social media increases the capacity of individuals to document and disseminate information that is central to their objectives.
The Relevance of the Multiple Streams Approach

Kingdon conceptualized the multiple streams approach in order to explore “why some subjects rise on governmental agendas while others are neglected, and why people in and around government pay serious attention to some alternatives at the expense of others” \(^4\). The Arab Spring was caused by deep-rooted social unrest and inequality. The concerted efforts of policy entrepreneurs galvanized enough global support to address these endemic issues that no longer could afford to be ignored.

**Policy entrepreneurship.** A policy entrepreneur is an individual who invests energy and time to increase the likelihood that their desired outcome is realized.\(^5\) In this way, the Arab Spring was a mark of uniqueness; the policy entrepreneur was largely that of the body of protesters and activists that were powering the movement against their national regimes. Within the Arab Spring, it was the collective effort of policy entrepreneurs of not only the nations physically involved in the Arab Spring, but also their international supporters. Information was exchanged through the Internet in real-time, thereby enabling policy entrepreneurship to proceed in a collective fashion.

As demonstrated throughout the Arab Spring, individuals and groups alike were mobilized through the use of social media and the power of their collective efforts provided for the realization of their objective(s). While in the past this may have entailed taking to the streets in order to spread the word, now communication technology provides a concealed means of communicating amongst individuals. Rather than lobbyists and

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\(^5\) Ibid.
advocacy groups pursuing a particular end in line with their party’s or group’s interests, citizens themselves became policy entrepreneurs through their participation. The Arab Spring proved that it is still necessary for individuals to physically mobilize in the real world in many instances in order to achieve true change. Without the policy entrepreneurs involved in the Arab Spring, the degree of communication and subsequent organization that drove the Arab Spring would not have been possible to achieve.

**Opening the policy window.** A policy window is a temporary opportunity that can open and close at any given time. For a policy window to remain open, it is necessary that the window of opportunity be capitalized upon before variables change and it is no longer possible to do so. The Arab Spring is a unique example of how an event can lead to the opening of a policy window. The opening of the policy window was influenced by grassroots social mobilization. The protesters were able to disseminate information in real-time through the use of social media and at speeds that surpassed the governments’ ability to censor it. This in turn paved the way for a change in administration and policy outcomes. From this perspective, the use of social media was of value in that it served to generate a means through which both a policy window was opened, and also a tool that was capitalized upon by policy entrepreneurs.

Within the confines of some past political developments, there are clear actors and policy entrepreneurs that facilitated desired change. For example, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. may be considered a policy entrepreneur who facilitated the advancement of the Civil Rights Movement and the passage of related legislation. Dr. King was clearly the

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policy entrepreneur in this regard, as it was through his organizational ability and oratory that the movement was assembled. Through his alignment of social support, the movement’s forward momentum toward its desired outcome, in effect opened a policy window. In this way, from the Multiple Streams Approach, an individual may serve as a policy entrepreneur and effectively open a window. However, this was not the case within the Arab Spring; there is no single individual who could be lauded as the policy entrepreneur, and thus it was the collective action by participants which fulfilled the role as policy entrepreneur.

The revolution came about through the organic, piecemeal construction of opposition within the populations of the involved nations such as Tunisia and Egypt. The course of action of one nation when filtered through social media, were then adopted by other nations or groupings of people within the same domestic environment with the same end in mind. The utilization of social media and the facilitation of information during the Arab Spring highlighted the problem stream of governmental abuses and repression that would provide the spark for the Arab Spring. Without the role of social media, the problem window would not have been focused upon as widely and broadly as it was.

The structure of the government was the source of much of the repression experienced by the people who participated in the Arab Spring. Thus through highlighting the contents of the problem stream, the policy stream was also revealed to be an element of the problem. Social media facilitated the revelation that the policy stream was in effect reinforcing the problem stream. Therefore, the policy stream was
determined to be a factor in the issue, as it was the legitimate political institutions in many of the nations involved in the Arab Spring who were the target of the opposition. While individuals provided the content that served to create the collective actions of the Arab Spring, it was through this collective sharing of information and communication that the reasons behind it were clarified. Thus both social media and individual persons served as the facilitators of the Arab Spring; the protesters and social media alike share the credit for merging the streams and ultimately opening the policy window. Kingdon’s Multiple Streams Theory is of value in framing the Arab Spring as it effectively explores how the various inputs involved therein influenced the manifestation of the outputs that would develop.

**Levels of Analysis of State Behavior**

**Individual**

The individual level of analysis aims to explain the role of the key political actors in the international system. A cursory review regarding the decisions of former President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia and former President Muhammad Hosni El Sayed Mubarak of Egypt, suggest that the refusal of both presidents to implement meaningful social, economic, and political reforms resulted in the Arab Spring. Therefore, the indecision of both leaders to respond effectively to the wishes of the people, culminated into the downfall of both Presidents.
State

State level analysis examines the internal characteristics of the state, with emphasizes on the fiscal, foreign, and domestic policies that characterize the state’s behavior. In the case of Tunisia and Egypt, Ali and Mubarak behaviors’ were not reflective of the people’s wishes and thus delegitimized their status and authority. Political institutions’ inability to enact meaningful reforms was the result of widespread abuse and corruption by the former regimes. Even after the Arab Spring, the looming shadow of former President Mubarak and both of his sons was still felt. All three were found guilty of embezzling public funds intended to renovate the presidential palace. The personal financial hardships that all working-class Tunisians endured, led Mohamed Bouazizi to torch himself as a form of protest. Bouazizi’s actions returned the sliding scales of power to the people.

Organizational

The organizational level of analysis is concerned with how much influence state agencies exert over the state’s ability to function. This would include the actions of the military, the media, and interest groups. As the Arab Spring played out, the Egyptian military demonstrated remarkable resolve by severing ties with former President Mubarak and restraint for not attacking the Egyptian people. The President’s power was not capable of exerting enough authority to challenge the military’s influence, which led to the military assuming power.
The international system sets the framework, in which states must engage. On the basis of which states interact with the international community, their relationship is characterized by mutually interdependent goals, such as “freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear…” However, it is debatable whether these goals are equally and consistently pursued. To achieve these mutually interdependent goals, it is necessary that states behave in such a way as to safeguard the ideas of political and religious freedom. These preconditions ensure that the international system remains intact.

The Arab Spring was a referendum on the autocratic leadership of the northern African countries. The uprising raised questions regarding government corruption, human rights violations, political and religious oppression, communication censorship and poverty to name a few. The protesters sought to expose and rectify these inequities that the governments of Tunisia and Egypt attempted to mask. The assortment of reasons of the political contention “stresses the importance of international institutions in reducing the inherent conflict that realists assume in an international system.”

Through the use of social media, protesters were able to gain international notoriety and shine a spotlight on the culture of corruption. Although international response was not swift, the response was overwhelming supportive of the protesters. Two years following the Arab Spring, the European Union stated that it supports “sustainable economic growth…promotion of democratic institutions…promotion of a

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friendly environment for investment, jobs and growth.” The response was predictable, given the series of events, the outcome, and demands by the protesters.

**Pluralism**

Pluralism refers to the diversity of interests that influenced the Arab Spring. For example, a citizen of a municipality in the United States may be subject to the rules of their city, their state, their federal government, their neighborhood association, and nominally their religion. These varying inputs that determine the behavior of actors are an exercise in pluralism. The protesters relied on support from the international community. The issues they faced domestically grew into a global movement. Several nations, such as the United States, Great Britain, Israel among others, lent their support to the disenchanted protesters. These varying levels of support reflect different cost to receive it.

**Neorealism**

The neorealist approach notes the influence of international politics and practices upon the regional factors that affect the domestic policy process. Policy and politics are interlinked. They universally function as the autonomous agent of the state. However, social media has interrupted the traditional policy agenda-setting process. Through mass mobilization efforts via social media, protesters dictated the terms of reconciliation directly to their government, not vice versa. Citing government reform as one of the prevailing issues, the protesters were successful in achieving that. The Arab Spring was

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an expression in neorealism in that it was through the support and use of external structures that the internal character of the nations affected were changed.

The Primary Social Media Facilitators of the Arab Spring

Facebook

Many protest groups over the course of the Arab Spring utilized presence on Facebook to advance their objectives.10 Google executive Wael Ghonim created a Facebook page titled “We Are All Khaled Said”, which had gained over 350,000 members prior to January 14 of 2011, exhibiting the speed at which Facebook initiatives were spreading.11 Facebook enabled protesters the ability to coordinate, communicate, and organize against opposing forces. According to the survey conducted by the Dubai School of Government in March of 2011, entitled the Arab Social Media Report, found that nearly 9 in 10 Egyptians and Tunisians were using Facebook to organize protests or to spread awareness in regard to them.

Google

Mr. Ghonim’s tribute to Khaled Said served as a call to action, to shed light on the brutal tactics levied by the police officers. As a result, “the demonstrations in Egypt have left Google in a bind, trying to maintain a careful diplomatic distance from one of its own

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11 Habibul Haque Khondker, Role of the new media in the Arab Spring, (Globalizations, 8(5), 2011), 675-679.
young employees who has become a hero to protesting crowds in Cairo - in an uprising that the company's own technology had a small role in advancing.12

When Egypt cut off Internet access last month in a bid to quell anti-government protests, Google joined forces with Twitter to create a tool that lets Egyptians “tweet” by telephone.

Google said it came up with the “speak-to-tweet” service to help Egyptians “stay connected at this very difficult time” -- a move very much in keeping with the Internet giant's stated commitment to the free flow of information. Since then, however, Google has found itself drawn even further into the turmoil with the emergence of a young company executive, Wael Ghonim, as a prominent voice of the protesters seeking to oust President Hosni Mubarak.13

Twitter

Each time a Twitter subscriber sends a tweet and that tweet is retweeted, it raises the level of attention that post receives. Andy Carvin, a former National Public Radio journalist, gained notoriety because of the use of his Twitter account during the Egyptian uprisings. Carvin, considered a key broker of information, used his position to funnel information to and from Egyptian protesters. By doing so, Carvin gained thousands of followers. His Twitter coverage is an example of how Twitter is capable of engaging individuals who are physically disconnected from the revolution.14

YouTube

YouTube was capitalized upon during the Arab Spring as a means of

communicating information, namely in the form of videos. Over the course of the Arab Spring, gigabytes of YouTube content were uploaded. These videos in concert with other forms of social media played a key role in the shaping of political debates during the Arab Spring. Facebook was often utilized to host and advertise the relevant videos from YouTube. YouTube and the use of mobile phones in the publishing of information through YouTube contributed to the exchange of information and communication that would lead to the mobilization that heralded the Arab Spring.

**Limitations**

The theoretical framework employed, Kingdon’s Multiple Streams approach, was a highly valuable and applicable means through which the issues surrounding social media and the Arab Spring were explored. However, the application of this theoretical framework may have limited the study’s capacity to consider additional theories or frameworks that may have been of value in better understanding the issue being explored. Nonetheless, Kingdon’s framework did provide a valuable lens through which the issues related to the Arab Spring and the position of social media therein were viewed.

An additional limitation of the research was the participants within the study. While their input was of marked value, the population assessed through the qualitative instrument was very small. Further, the nations from which the respondents originated

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15 Philip N. Howard, Aiden Duffy, Deen Freelon, Muzammil Hussain, Will Mari, & Marwa Mazaid, *Opening closed regimes: what was the role of social media during the Arab Spring?*, (Seattle: PIPTI, 2011).
16 Habibul Haque Khondker, *Role of the new media in the Arab Spring*, (Globalizations, 8(5), 2011), 675-679.
represented some of the Arab Spring participants, but they did not comprise an effective cross-section thereof. The age of the respondents in particular is something that was not effectively quantified, nor their professional or societal positions. That lack of demographic information on the respondents removes some of the value and applicability of their assertions.

As the aftermath of the Arab Spring continues to unfold, the political fallout is still not completely known. The Arab Spring is thereby an organic process through which the regimes that were opposed are being replaced and altered. It will not be possible to definitively determine the influence of social media upon the Arab Spring until the shifts begun therein have had time to develop and be established. When the dust has settled the role of social media throughout the entirety of the Arab Spring will be far more transparent.

**Recommendations for Future Research**

There are a great many directions that the research conducted herein could contribute to future research. The primary finding herein is the fact that social media, facilitated through the use of the Internet, has the capacity to initiate social change. Social media provided the impetus, the organization, and the follow-through for the Arab Spring; however, more research is required to determine the level of significance it played throughout. This research must be varied to adequately address the complex environment in which social media is utilized.
Usage and Political Activity

One facet of social media use that must be further researched is the link between social media use and political activism. There are many questions that must be asked to clarify this. Is there a link between social media usage and political activism? If so, which social media outlets are most closely correlated to political activism? What are the most common means through which social media is used to engage in political activism?

In answering these questions, the links between social media use and political engagement may be revealed. Should it be found that one particular social media outlet produces a higher degree of political involvement, it is then necessary to further explore that particular social media outlet. What are the characteristics that make this social media outlet particularly relevant to political action? The Arab Spring has clearly indicated that social media was a highly valuable tool in the organization and mobilization of massive groups of people. Now it is necessary to clarify exactly how and why this is the case, as through a study of the demographics and populations that use social media, various characteristics may be revealed to be highly influential upon this.

Governments and Social Media

As demonstrated by the various shut-downs of online access pursued by the governments involved in the Arab Spring, social media is within sight of governmental bodies. Governments in the Arab Spring actively endeavored to prevent access to social media in an effort at stymying the momentum of the revolution. Thus, it is essential that future research effectively quantify the perspective and interest of government towards social media usage. This research must take on two primary areas.
The first primary area of research to be conducted related to the government and social media is the perspective of the government towards the use of social media. This perspective determines whether or not the government views social media as a tool that may also be capitalized upon by the government, or rather as a means through which civilian unrest may be facilitated. It is true that some governments have viewed social media largely as a threat to their power. It is essential to assess the ability of governments to leverage social media as a tool to communicate directly and effectively with their constituents, in doing so their attitudes related therein are better understood and framed.

The second primary element of research that must be conducted related to the government and social media is the use of social media on behalf of governments. The Arab Spring was demonstrated as having been caused largely through the cohesive efforts of protesters facilitated through social media. However, the degree to which governments have utilized propaganda to advance their own political ends must be extensively explored as well. Through the framing of social media usage on behalf of governments, the influence and impact of citizens’ use thereof may be more effectively framed.

Whether or not governments are endeavoring to use social media to advance their ends demonstrates their belief in whether or not social media may be used as a tool through which the population may be communicated with. This determines whether social media is a tool of the people, or merely a tool that may be applied towards communication and the dissemination of information. The use of social media for
propaganda purposes will be an effective element of this exploration. Through the framing of social media’s use for propaganda purposes, the ability of governments to use social media to mobilize citizens, increase political participation, and to protect sovereignty could potentially be a huge social leveler.

**Demographic Characteristics**

As social media use expands and becomes increasingly involved in all sectors of modern society and civil life, a firm understanding of who is using the social media will be a key element in predicting its future. Understanding the users, their habits, and their characteristics will aid in identifying distinguishing characteristics that will make it easier for governments to make assumptions and predictions about their citizens. Through the identification of the populations that most often utilize social media, governments can tailor their messages more specifically to their intended audiences. Potentially, direct communication can provide citizens direct access to their representatives, help citizens feel a part of the decision-making process, increase political participation and in turn result in more meaningful feedback.

**The Policy Window and Social Media**

The theoretical foundation capitalized upon herein was that of the multiple streams approach advanced by Kingdon. According to this theory, policy windows open only when two or more streams, whether politics, policy, or problem, converge. Social media however within the confines of the Arab Spring was capable of forcing open a policy window, despite the fact that the policy and politics streams were working in
concert to produce and reinforce the problems being experienced. This is a unique occurrence that should be the subject of further research. The way in which social media was capable of transcending Kindgon’s theory exhibits the power thereof.

Conclusion

The elusive power of social media throughout the Arab Spring was on full display. Its capacity to inform, coordinate, and mobilize cannot be denied. Twitter documented real-time 140 character updates. YouTube provided a means of chronicling audio and video footage. Facebook provided a nexus through which these social media platforms connected and where individuals or groups interacted. Google served as a central repository of all things related to the Arab Spring and beyond. Much of the mobilization achieved through the Arab Spring was facilitated through the use of social media, while the global support that emerged for the Arab Spring was manifested largely through the exploitation of social media on behalf of the participants.

It is probable that the use of social media will become increasingly prevalent within and beyond political movements in the modern world. Social media provides a means through which events may be captured and shared worldwide. The use of such outlets will continue to rise insofar as information technology continues to evolve. As nations become more integrated through the use of the World Wide Web, social media can potentially serve as the cohesive force that directs a group of disconnected individuals towards the achievement of mutual objectives. Due to the increased attention social media has received during and after the Arab Spring, it is probable that it will receive more scrutiny from governments than heretofore.
Date

Dear Participant:

My name is Jason Randall and I am a doctoral candidate at Clark Atlanta University, in the Department of Political Science. To fulfill all requirements of my degree program, I am seeking your assistance in order to complete my dissertation. I am asking that you please take a moment of your time to complete the attached questionnaire. The purpose of this questionnaire is to determine whether the use of American Dot.com social networking websites (e.g. Facebook, Google, Twitter and YouTube) by citizens constitutes a violation of sovereignty (cyber-sovereignty) of both Tunisia and Egypt? In addition, I am attempting to identify the significance of the abovementioned social networking websites involvement during the Arab Spring. Your participation will be completely confidential, voluntary, and there is no penalty if you refuse to participate.

The questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. Your responses will help shape a broader discussion on the appropriate uses of social media, influence important decisions, and contribute to a better understanding of the potential effects of social networking websites on state governments. For your participation, I will issue you a report of our findings. The report will be strictly confidential and no responses will be linked to any personal identifiable information.

If you wish to express your responses in greater detail, have questions, and/or would like to request additional information, please contact me at the telephone number(s) and/or email address listed below. If you would like to email me, please be sure to insert the following words in the subject box: “Dissertation Questionnaire.” You may also contact my dissertation committee chairman, Dr. William Boone, associate professor of political science at Clark Atlanta University at 01-404-880-8719 or by email at wboone@cau.edu. If you have any questions now, or later, related to the integrity of the research, you are encouraged to contact Dr. Georgianna Bolden at the Office of Sponsored Programs 01- 404-880-6979 or Dr. Paul I. Musey, 01-404-880-6829 at Clark Atlanta University.

I am asking that you complete the questionnaire by December 13, 2013.
Thank you for your assistances and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Jason Randall  
Doctoral Candidate  
Clark Atlanta University  
309 Knowles Hall  
Atlanta, GA 30314  
01-404-880-8718  
Gatech.Randall@gmail.com
REMINDER

Date

Dear Participant:

Recently, I sent you an email, inviting you to participate in an important questionnaire. If you have already responded to my request, thank you for taking the time to complete the questionnaire. If you have yet to respond, please take a moment of your time to submit your responses. The purpose of this questionnaire is to determine whether the use of American Dot.com social networking websites (e.g. Facebook, Google, Twitter and YouTube) by citizens constitutes a violation of sovereignty (cyber-sovereignty) of both Tunisia and Egypt? In addition, I am attempting to identify the significance of the abovementioned social networking websites involvement during the Arab Spring. Your participation will be completely confidential, voluntary, and there is no penalty if you refuse to participate.

Your input is urgently needed, in order for me to fulfill all requirements of my degree program. The last day to respond is December 13, 2013 which is quickly approaching. However, if you wish to express your responses in greater detail, have questions, and/or would like to request additional information, please contact me at the telephone number(s) and/or email address listed below. If you would like to email me, please be sure to insert the following words in the subject box: “Dissertation Questionnaire.”

Thank you for your input and time.

Sincerely,

Jason Randall
Doctoral Candidate
Clark Atlanta University
309 Knowles Hall
Atlanta, GA 30314
01-404-880-8718
01-404- GatechRandall@gmail.com
QUESTIONNAIRE INSTRUCTIONS: Please complete the questionnaire by marking the box that best describes how the statement represents you and/or by typing your response in the space below the question. Answer each question to the best of your ability. There is no right or wrong answers. Your responses will be strictly confidential.

1. Gender
   □ Male
   □ Female

2. Age (Please check the appropriate box)
   □ 18-21
   □ 22-25
   □ 26-30
   □ 30-35
   □ 36-40
   □ 40-49
   □ 50-64
   □ 65 years and over

3. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
   □ 9th and 10th grade
   □ 11th and 12th grade
   □ High School
   □ Bachelor’s degree
   □ Master’s degree
   □ Ph.D.
   □ Professional degree, e.g. Law (Lawyer/ J.D.) and/ or medical degree (Doctor/ M.D.)
   □ Other, please specify ____________

4. Have you attended a private school and/or public school?
   □ Public school
   □ Private school
   □ Both
   □ Neither

5. Have you ever traveled abroad?
   □ Yes
   □ No

6. What languages do you speak fluently? Mark all that apply.
   □ Arabic
   □ Berber
7. Employment Status
   Are you currently...?
   - Employed full time
   - Employed part time
   - Unemployed / Looking for work
   - Student
   - Homemaker
   - Retired
   - Unable to work

8. Employer Type
   Please describe your work.
   - Educational Institution
   - Government employee
   - Nonprofit organization
   - Private company
   - Self-employed
   - Volunteer
   - Other, please specify _____________

9. Ethnicity
   Please specify your ethnicity.
   - American
   - Egyptian
   - Tunisian
   - Other, please specify _____________

10. How long have you been a member of at least one political organization?
    - Never
    - Less than year
    - 1 – 3 years
    - 4 – 10 years
    - 11 – 15 years
    - 16 – 20 years
    - 20 years or more
11. Has your political affiliation changed in the last three years?
- Yes
- No
- Prefer not to say

12. In general, how often do you read, think, or talk about national politics with friends or family members?
- Everyday
- 3-4 times a week
- Once or twice a week
- Less than once a week
- Never
- Don't Know

13. Have you voted more since 2011?
- Yes
- No
- Don't Know

14. How satisfied were you with your government before the Arab Spring?
- Very Satisfied
- Satisfied
- Neither Satisfied or Unsatisfied
- Unsatisfied
- Very Unsatisfied

15. How satisfied are you with your government after the Arab Spring?
- Very Satisfied
- Satisfied
- Neither Satisfied or Unsatisfied
- Unsatisfied
- Very Unsatisfied

16. What were the most important reasons for you to participate and/or support the Arab Spring? Please select only ten responses from the list below and rank the ten issues in order of importance to you, where 1 is most important and 10 is least important:
- Communication censorship
- Despair
- Democracy
- Power
- Freedom
- Government corruption
- Human rights violation
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☐ Inflation
☐ Political and religious oppression
☐ Poverty
☐ Rising food prices
☐ Video, comments, images/photos posted on social media (e.g. Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube)
☐ Terrorist infiltration
☐ Unemployment
☐ I did not participate or support the Arab Spring
☐ Other, please specify _____________

17. Where do you most frequently access the Internet?
☐ Home computer
☐ Work computer
☐ Mobile handheld device (e.g. iPhone, Blackberry, etc.)
☐ Electronic Tablet (e.g. Apple iPad, Samsung Galaxy, Microsoft Surface, etc.)
☐ Internet cafe
☐ Other, please specify _____________

18. Which one of these sources do you find most trustworthy as a primary news source?
Please select only ten responses from the list below and rank the ten issues in order of trustworthiness to you, where 1 is most trustworthy and 10 is least trustworthy:

Very Trustworthy Trustworthy Somewhat Trustworthy Somewhat Untrustworthy Very Untrustworthy N/A

An acquaintance
Blogs
Facebook
Google
Instagram
Newspaper
Pinterest
Radio
Television
Twitter
Vine
YouTube
Other, please specify _____________

19. How do you determine if your primary news source is reliable? (Pick all that apply)
☐ An acquaintance
☐ Author
20. How long have you had a social media account with: (Mark all that apply.)

- Less than year
- 1 – 2 years
- 3 – 4 years
- 5 – 9 years
- 10 years or more
- Never
- N/A

Blogs
Facebook
Google
Instagram
Pinterest
Twitter
Vine
YouTube
Other, please specify _____________

21. Has the frequency in which you use social media increased since the Arab Spring?
- Yes
- No

22. How comfortable are you with expressing your political view, without fear of retribution?
- Very comfortable
- Somewhat comfortable
- Neither comfortable nor uncomfortable
- Somewhat uncomfortable
- Very uncomfortable

23. During the Arab Spring, to what extent would you say you used one of the social networking websites to express your political opinion?

- Always
- Usually/Most of the Time
- Almost Always/Often
- Somewhat/Sometimes
- Very Little/Seldom/Rarely
- Almost Never
- Not at All/Never
- N/A

Facebook
Google
Twitter
YouTube
Other, please specify _____________
24. Did you post video, comments, and/or send or receive messages regarding different events during the Arab Spring? For each, please state if you have, or have not.

   YES    NO
   Facebook
   Google
   Twitter
   YouTube
   Other, please specify ____________

25. If you answered “yes” to the previous question, what were your intentions by posting video, comments, and/or sending and receiving messages regarding different events during the Arab Spring?

26. Is it your opinion, if Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube did not exist would it have changed the political outcome of the Arab Spring?
   □ Yes
   □ No

27. Would the Arab Spring have occurred if Internet access was cutoff?
   □ Yes
   □ No

28. Is it your opinion that more people have joined Facebook, Google, Twitter, and/or YouTube since the Arab Spring?
   □ Yes
   □ No

29. Do you think Facebook, Google, Twitter, and YouTube will increase socio-political mobilization?
   □ Yes
   □ No

30. Cyber-sovereignty is the right of countries to monitor and censor content of Internet Service Providers (ISPs), websites, web pages, and Internet communications of its citizens with respect to their own cultures and their own systems of governing.

   By definition, if cyber-sovereignty were a law, would you support its enforcement by your government during periods of civil unrest in order to restore public order and safety?
   □ Yes, I agree.
   □ No, I disagree.

31. Do you believe the government has the right to enforce such a law?
   □ Yes
   □ No
32. Would you consider it to be a violation of privacy, if the government had the authority to monitor and censor content of the Internet communications of its citizens?
   ☐ Yes
   ☐ No

33. Do you think the use of Facebook, Google, Twitter and YouTube by Tunisian and Egyptian citizens during the Arab Spring was a violation of national sovereignty?
   ☐ Yes
   ☐ No

34. Do you think the government is monitoring your Internet usage?
   ☐ Yes
   ☐ No

35. Were there any additional comments that you would like to share regarding this survey?
   If so, please tell us here:
التاريخ
عزيزي المشترك,

أدعى جايسون راندال وأنا مرشح لنيل شهادة الدكتوراه في جامعة كلارك أتلانتا، قسم العلوم السياسية. من أجل إتمام كافة متطلبات منهج شهادتي، أطلب المساعدة منك لأكمل بحثي. أطلب دقيقتين من وقتك لإتمام الاستفتاء المرفق أدنى.

يهدف هذا الاستفتاء إلى تبيان إذا ما كان استخدام مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي الأمريكية الأصل كفيسبوك وغوغل وتويتر ويوتيوب يشكل خرقًا للسيادة (السيادة الإلكترونية) في كل من تونس ومصر. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، أحاول تحديد أهمية استخدام مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي المذكورة أعلاه خلال الربيع العربي. تُعتبر مشاركتك سرية تماماً وطوعية ولا عقوبة إذا رفضت المشاركة.

لا تأخير في إتمام الاستفتاء، فهو يستغرق حوالي 15 دقيقة. ستساعد أجوبتك على توضيح المناقشة حول طرق الاستخدام المناسبة للمواقع الاجتماعية وعلى التأثير بقرارات مهمة كما ستساهم في تكوين أفضل تقارير تؤثر مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي المحتملة على الحكومات، بصفة تقديرية، ويتم ذلك تقريراً حول النتائج التي توصلنا إليها.

يُعتبر التقرير بغية السرية ولا ترتبط أي إجابة بمعلومات شخصية يمكن التعرف على الشخص من خلالها.

إذا كنت ترغب بتقديم إجابات أكثر تفصيلاً أو طرح أي أسئلة أو المعلومات إضافية، الرجاء الاتصال بي على:
- أرقام الهاتف: 01-404-880-979-8719 أو عبر البريد الإلكتروني على: wboone@cau.edu.

إذا كنت تملك أي إصلة في الوقت الراهن أو فيما بعد، الرجاء التواصل مع الدكتور جورجيانا بولدن في مكتب البرامج المدعومة على الرقم 01-404-880-979-6974 أو مع الدكتور بول أي موسي على الرقم 01-404-880-6829 في جامعة كلارك أتلانتا.

الرجاء إتمام الاستفتاء بحلول ديسمبر 2013.

أشكر لك مساعدتك وتعاونك.

المخلص,
جايسون راندال
مرشح للدكتوراه
عزيزي المشترك،

أرسلت لك منذ مدة رسالة إلكترونية أدعوك فيها إلى المشاركة في استفتاء مهم. إذا كنت قد أجبت مسبقاً على طلبي، شكرًا لك لأنك أخذت من وقتك لإتمام الاستفتاء. إذا لم تجب بعد، أرجو منك أن تأخذ دقيقةً من وقتك لتقديم إجابتك.

يهدف هذا الاستفتاء إلى تبيان إذا ما كان استخدام مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي الأمريكية الأصل كفاسبوك وغوغل وتوتير ويوتوب يشكل خرقًا للسيادة (السيادة الإلكترونية) في كل من تونس ومصر. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، أحاول تحديد أهمية استخدام مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي المذكورة أعلاه خلال الربيع العربي. تعتبر مشاركتك سرية تماماً وطوعية ولا عقوبة إذا رفضت المشاركة.

أنا في أمس الحاجة إلى مساهمتك من أجل إتمام كافة متطلبات منهج شهادتي. يقع آخر يوم للإجابة 13 ديسمبر 2013 وهو ليس بعيداً. غير أنك إذا كنت ترغب بتقديم إجابات أكثر تفصيلاً أو طرح أية أسئلة أو المطالبة بمعلومات إضافية، الرجاء الإتصال بي على أرقام الهاتف أو عنوان البريد الإلكتروني المذكورين أدناه. إذا أردت إبعاث رسالة إلكترونية تأكد من ذكر عبارة "استفتاء للبحث" في خانة عنوان الموضوع.

شكرًا لتقديم معلوماتك ووقتك.

المخلص.

جايسون راندال
مرشح للدكتوراه
جامعة كلارك أتلانتا
309 Knowles Hall
Atlanta, GA 30314
01-404-880-8718
01-404-880-8718
Gatech.Randall@gmail.com
تعليمات الاستفتاء:
المطلوب منك هو إكمال الاستفتاء عبر وضع علامات في الخانات التي تصف بكيفية لديك الحالة تعتمد على كيفية إجابتك في المكان المخصص تحت السؤال، يجب على كل سؤال أن يكون مخالفاً. لا يوجد معيار يحدد الإجابة الخاطئة أو الصحيحة إذا كان إجابتك شخصية وشخصية تماماً.

1. الجنس
   - ذكر
   - أنثى

2. العمر (الرجاء وضع علامة في الخانة المناسبة)
   - 18-21
   - 22-25
   - 26-30
   - 30-35
   - 36-40
   - 40-49
   - 50-64
   - 65 و أكثر

3. ما هو المستوى أعلى أتمتته في الدراسة؟
   - الصف التاسع والعشر إبتدائي
   - الصف الحادي عشر والثاني عشر متوسط
   - التعليم الثانوي
   - إجازة جامعية
   - درجة الماجستير
   - شهادة الدكتوراه
   - شهادة مهنية مثل المحامي/ القاضي أو شهادة طبية (الطبيب/ دكتور في الطب)
   - غيرها، الرجاء التحديد__________________

4. هل ارتدت مدرسة رسمية أو خاصة؟
   - مدرسة رسمية
   - مدرسة خاصة
   - الإثنتان
   - ولا واحدة

5. هل سافرت خارج البلاد؟
   - نعم
   - كلا

6. ما هي اللغات التي تتقنها؟ ضع علامة في الخانات المناسبة.
   - العربية
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>رقم</th>
<th>السؤال</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>وضع العمل. أنت تشغيل حالياً منصب؟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>موظف بدوام كامل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>نوع العمل. الرجاء وصف وظيفتك.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>الإنتساب العرقي. الرجاء تحديد إتناساك العرقي.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>كم مضى من الوقت منذ أن تأسست في منظمة سياسية واحدة على الأقل؟</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|   | أبداً | أقل من سنة | من سنة إلى ثلاث سنوات | من أربع إلى عشر سنوات | من إحدى عشر إلى خمسة عشر سنة | من ستة عشر إلى عشرين سنة | عشرين سنة أو أكثر |

اللغات:
- الأمازيغية
- الإنجليزية
- الفرنسية
- الإسبانية
- النوبية
- غيرها، الرجاء التحديد
11. هل تغير ميلك السياسي خلال السنوات الثلاث المنصرمة؟
- نعم
- كلاً
- أفضل عدم الإفصاح

12. عادةً، كم مرة تقرأ أو تفكر أو تناقش السياسات الوطنية مع الأصدقاء أو أفراد العائلة؟
- كل يوم
- ثلاث أو أربع مرات في الأسبوع
- مرة أو مرتان في الأسبوع
- أقل من مرة في الأسبوع
- أبداً
- لا أعرف

13. هل قمت بالتصويت أكثر من العام 2011؟
- نعم
- كلاً
- لا أعرف

14. إلى أي مدى كنت راضٍ على الحكومة في بلادك قبل الربيع العربي؟
- راض للغاية
- راض
- محايد
- غير راض
- غير راض للغاية

15. إلى أي مدى أنت راضٍ على الحكومة في بلادك بعد الربيع العربي؟
- راض للغاية
- راض
- محايد
- غير راض
- غير راض للغاية

16. ما كانت/هم الأسباب التي دفعتك إلى المشاركة أو/أو إلى دعم الربيع العربي؟ الرجاء اختيار 10 إجابات فحسب من
اللاحة أدناه وترتيبها بحسب أهميتها بنظرك بحيث يكون الرقم 1 الأهم و الرقم 10 الأقل أهمية:
- الرقابة على الإتصالات
- الالتساءل
- الديمقراطية
السلطة
الحرية
فساد الحكومة
انتهاك حقوق الإنسان
التصدع
القمع السياسي والديني
القرص
البطالة
تسلل الإرهابيين
البيئة
الفيديو والتعليقات والصور المتوفرة عبر وسائل الإعلام (مثلًا فيسبوك وغوغل وتويتر ويوتيوب)
لم أشارك أو أدعم الربيع العربي
غيرها، الرجاء التحديد

17. في غلب الأحيان، أي دخل على الإنترنت؟

لكمبيوتر في المنزل
لكمبيوتر في العمل
أجهزة الخليوي المحمولة باليد (مثلًا جهاز بلاك بيري أو أي فون)
اللوحات الإلكترونية (مثلًا أي باد من أبل أو سامسونغ غالاكسي أو مايكروسوفت سارفيس)
مقهى الإنترنت
غيرها، الرجاء التحديد

18. أي من هذه المصادر تعتبره/الأكثر أمانة كمصدر أساسي للأخبار؟ الرجاء اختيار 10 إجابات فحسب من اللائحة أدناه وترتيبهم بحسب أمانة بحث يكون الرقم 1 الأكثر أمانة و الرقم 10 الأقل أمانة:

موثوق به للغاية
موثوق به
موثوق به إلى حد ما
غير موثوق به إلى حد ما
غير موثوق به للغاية
لا جواب

المنوات الإلكترونية
فيسبوك
غوغل
شبكة إنستجرام
الصحف
شبكة إجتماعية لنشر الصور (بنتارست)
شبكة إجتماعية لنشر الإشرطة المصورة (فاين)
ويتيرب
غيرها، الرجاء التحديد
19. ما هي معيار آمنة مصدر الأخبار الأساسي الذي تعتمده؟ (اختيار الإجابات المناسبة)
- معرفة شخصية الكاتب
- أفراد العائلة
- الناشر
- اسم وكالة الأخبار
- نوعية المعلومات
- غيرها، الرجاء التحديد

20. متى تملك حسابا في كل وسائل الإعلام الاجتماعية التالية؟ (اختيار الإجابات المناسبة)

- أقل من سنة
- سنة إلى سنتين
- ثلاث إلى أربع سنوات
- خمس إلى سبع سنوات
- عشر سنوات أو أكثر
- أبدا

21. هل ازدادت وتيرة استخدامك لوسائل الإعلام الاجتماعية منذ بداية الربيع العربي؟
- نعم
- كلا

22. إلى أي مدى تعبر عن آرائك السياسية بارتياح وتقبلة؟
- بارتياح مطلق
- بارتياح إلى حد ما
- محاذ
- بعدم ارتياح إلى حد ما
- بعدم ارتياح إلى حد بعيد

23. خلال الربيع العربي، إلى أي مدى استخدمت أحد مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي للتعبير عن رأيك السياسي؟
- دائماً
- غالبًا
- في معظم الأحيان
- من وقت إلى آخر
- نادراً
- أبداً
24. هل حملت أي فيديو أو كتبت أي تعليق أو أرسلت أو تلقيت أية رسالة حول أحداث مختلفة خلال فترة الربيع العربي؟ الرجاء الإجابة بنعم أو لا في كل من المواقع.
نعم [لا]

25. إذا كان جوابك على السؤال السابق "نعم"، ماذا كانت نواياك عندما حملت أي فيديو أو كتبت أي تعليق أو أرسلت أو تلقيت أية رسالة حول أحداث مختلفة خلال فترة الربيع العربي؟

26. بإمكانك إذا لم توفر مواقع فيسبوك وغوغل وتويتر ويوتيوب هل كانت ستتغير نتيجة الربيع العربي السياسية؟
نعم [لا]

27. هل كان الربيع العربي حدث إذا تم منع أي دخول على الإنترنت؟
نعم [لا]

28. بإمكانك هل إنضم عدد أكبر من الناس إلى مواقع فيسبوك وغوغل وتويتر أو يوتيوب منذ بداية الربيع العربي؟
نعم [لا]

29. هل تعتقد أن مواقع فيسبوك وغوغل وتويتر ويوتيوب ستزيد من التعبئة الجماهيرية والسياسية؟
نعم [لا]

30. السيادة الإلكترونية هي حق الدول بالمراعاة والإشراف على ضمون مجهز مهني خدمات الإنترنت والمواقع والصفحات. السبكة واتصالات المواطنين عبر الإنترنت بشكل يتوافق مع ثقافة الدولة وأنظمة الحكم المحلية فيها. في حال كانت السيادة الإلكترونية قائمةًا، هل تدعم تطبيق الحكومة لهذا القانون خلال فترات الاضطراب الأهلي من أجل إعادة النظام العام واستئناف الأمن؟
نعم [لا]

31. هل تعتقد أن الحكومة تملك/تحاول تنفيذ هذا القانون؟
نعم [لا]
إذا كانت الحكومة تملك الصلاحية بالمراقبة والإشراف على مضمون إتصالات المواطنين عبر الإنترنت، هل تعتبر هذه الصلاحية إنتهاكاً للخصوصية؟

نعم ☐
لا ☐

برأيك، هل استخدام الشعب التونسي والمصري لمواقع فيسبوك و غوغل و توتيور و يوتيوب خلال الربيع العربي يشكل خرقاً لسيادة الوطنية؟

نعم ☐
لا ☐

هل برأيك الحكومة تراقب نمط استخدامك للأنترنت؟

نعم ☐
لا ☐

هل ترغب بمشاركة المزيد من الأفكار المتعلقة بموضوع هذا الاستفتاء؟ في هذه الحال، الرجاء إضافة الأفكار هنا:
25. If you answered “yes” to question, what were your intentions by posting video, comments, and/or sending and receiving messages regarding different events during the Arab Spring?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intention</th>
<th>Arabic Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1. Communication, instigation, spreading information, querying information. | التحريض والاعتدال.
| 2. Expressing personal views | التثبت من صحة المعلومة ومناقشتها مع الأصدقاء والعائلة |
| 3. To share news. | الحشد |
| 4. To support popular actions | Everybody should know the truth |
| 5. To focus attention on true or fake event | I was very influenced and surprised by what is happening and I was afraid from what would happen in the future. I was trying some video to calm people and advise them to use social media in the right way. |
| 6. To ask confirmation of a news | النوايا كانت الإطاحة بالنظام السابق |
| 7. To analyse anews or event, etc | التعاطف مع الضحايا |
| 8. To stand up against terrorism, to criticise the interim government and all the events happened in Tunisia. Also pick up every problem threaten my country for the reason to solve it | دعم الربيع العربي |
| 9. To draw awareness of the public to the required changes or actions to be taken. | نقل الخبر |
| 10. To inform people, to give my opinion, to criticize an idea or a political party member behaviour | حاولت تغيير الأوضاع بطريقة سلسة |

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1. Expose foreign role in the initiation and direction of so-called Arab Spring.
2. Expose role of subversive terrorist religious groups.
3. Expose the fifth column.

it's my country future

to boost democracy

to share knowledge and comments

To allow people to see the truth, even if I don't like it or adopt a different point of view.

Communication information to other people about the situation in the country

To expose the truth and avoid false news.

to make others know what is happening; to raise their awareness about events

influence public opinion

to make it known

Share news with other people.

bring down the regime

To disagree with the so called arab spring? It’s a 'coup d'état ' !!

To educate others about the power of direct action and the democratic will, and interfaith solidarity in the Mid-East, to encourage them to be inspired and motivated by it. To spread the revolutionary solidarity internationally.

difficult to answer , and to describe

The comments weren't about the Arab Spring as I had very little interest in it.
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