

UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS, PRAGUE
FACULTY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



International and Diplomatic Studies

Influence of Social Media on Social Movements during the Arab Spring:
Example of Egypt and Tunisia

Master's Thesis

Author: Bc. Seçkin Can Aydoğan

Supervisor: Ing. Jan Martin Rolenc, Ph.D.

Author's Declaration

Herewith I declare that I have written the Master's Thesis on my own and I have cited all sources.

Prague, 23, November 2019.

.....

Author's Signature

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Ing. Jan Martin Rolenc, Ph.D. for him valuable comments and assistance to improve this master's thesis. Besides my advisor, I would like to thank to my friends for being supportive. Last but not least, I would like to thank my family, for supporting me throughout my life and my girlfriend who has been there to support me and my work.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE NEW MEDIA..... | 3 |
| 1.1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS | 3 |
| 1.2. CHANGING FACE OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: OLD – NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS DISCUSSION | 5 |
| 1.3. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND ALTERNATIVE MEDIA | 10 |
| 1.4. INFORMATION SOCIETY AND NEW MEDIA | 13 |
| 1.5. NEW MEDIA, PUBLIC ARENA AND DEMOCRACY | 17 |
| 1.6. WHAT IS SOCIAL MEDIA? | 22 |
| 1.7. SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICAL AGENDA | 23 |
| 1.8. POPULAR SOCIAL MEDIA CHANNELS | 25 |
| 2. ARAB SPRING IN TUNISIA AND EGYPT | 31 |
| 2.1. GENERAL OVERVIEW ON THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF TUNISIA AND EGYPT | 31 |
| 2.2. RECENT HISTORY OF TUNISIA AND EGYPT..... | 33 |
| 2.3. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE | 36 |
| 2.4. POLITICAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF TUNISIA IN THE RECENT HISTORY | 37 |
| 2.5. POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF EGYPT IN THE RECENT HISTORY | 38 |
| 3. ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA: “ARAB SPRING” – EGYPTIAN AND TUNISIAN EVENTS..... | 41 |
| 3.1. ADMINISTRATION MODEL AND APPROACH OF THE COUNTRIES | 47 |
| 3.2. ECONOMIC SITUATION | 49 |
| 3.3. THE APPLICATIONS AND ROLE OF THE GREATER MIDDLE EAST INITIATIVE ON THE GEOGRAPHY | 52 |
| 3.4. JASMINE REVOLUTION IN TUNISIA | 54 |
| 3.5. TAHRIR SQUARE, THE CENTER OF THE REBELLION AGAINST THE REGIME IN EGYPT | 56 |
| 3.6. SPREADING OF THE SOCIAL REBELLION IN THE ARABIAN GEOGRAPHY | 57 |
| 3.7. THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL MEDIA IN SOCIAL REVOLT | 58 |
| 3.8. THE RESULTS AND ROLE OF THE REBELLIONS | 62 |
| 3.9. INTERNATIONAL APPROACHES TO THE ARAB SPRING | 64 |
| 3.10. DEVELOPMENTS LIVED AFTER THE ARAB SPRING..... | 65 |
| CONCLUSION..... | 67 |
| REFERENCES | 71 |

List of Abbreviations and Figures

| | |
|----------|---|
| ARPANET: | American Advanced Research Project Agency Network |
| EU: | European Union |
| MENA: | Middle East and North Africa |
| NATO: | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| NPDSP: | New Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity |
| UN: | United Nations |
| USA: | United States of America |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|--|----|
| Figure 1: Number of active Twitter users in the MENA region (1 Jan. and March 30, 2011) | 28 |
| Figure 2: Number of Tweets in the MENA region (1 Jan. and March 30, 2011) | 28 |

ABSTRACT

The Arab Spring was a civil commotion, that started in Tunisia in 2011, and which subsequently spread to other Arab countries in time. The revolts started with basic reasons such as repressive regime and financial difficulties have affected the entire Middle East in time. A key consideration in the spread and organization of the Arab Spring is the phenomenon of social media, which sped up the organizing and gathering of people. In this research, the events developed in Tunisia and Egypt will be discussed in the scope of Arab Spring and the role of the social media phenomenon will be examined. The social media should be considered as a means speeding up the gathering of people, not as a means starting and escalating the uprisings. Adding social media to the reasons of Arab Spring would mean that the incident is assessed very superficially because the rebellion of the people was caused by the restricted freedoms, rights and financial difficulties, not the messages in the social media.

Keywords: Public uprisings, oppressive regime, social media, Arab Spring, Freedom

INTRODUCTION

Increasing population growth along with the development of new technologies and changing social structures result in the generation of new problems. The unchanging, oppressive regimes, coming to the future from the past, can't keep up with this change but the societies and especially the younger generation can adapt to this change one way or another and even use it for its own interests. Considering the latest developments, experienced in the world, it is very easy to see how true judgment this is. The role and expectations of the new generation are clearly seen in the incidents such as economic crisis, erupted both in America and the Middle East, the public uprisings and government changes.

The Middle East has passed through a period since 2011 wherein the public has spilled out years of accumulated hatred for repressive regimes and the external powers that are seen to support those regimes such as Europe and America, aiming to stop the sanctions and impositions in part by relying on new media and technology. This situation concerns not only the region and the peoples in the region, but also the entire world. The phenomenon of social media in supporting social movements has been observed in events in both the west and east. Because of this, it is necessary to examine relations between social media – conventional media – democracy – governments and public pursuant to this analysis. The importance of this study arises from this.

“Individuals are able to utilize faster communication thanks to the social communication networks and they efficiently use these networks based on their needs. It is seen that, the social sharing networks were used as a means for organizing in the public movements, which took effect in the Arab geography, and accordingly these channels became powerful enough to affect change. Hence, it is required to dispute the factuality of stating what was experienced as the “social media revolution”, by mainly emphasizing the positive characteristics of the social media, without drawing attention to the social dynamics of the public movements experienced in the region.”¹

¹ Babacan, M.E.(2011), “Sosyal Medya ve Arap Baharı”, Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi . 62.

“Today, an event occurring in any place in the world can be heard of in the entire world in several hours thanks to the new communication technologies. In this way, the new communication technologies wipe out the distances, increase the interactions between societies and can have an active role in the social and cultural struggles occurring in different regions of the world.”²

The purpose of this study would be drawing the framework of how and for which reason the activist movements in the North Africa – especially Tunisia and Egypt – use the new communication technologies and including what kind of role social media, of the communication technologies, have in the organization process of these opponent rebellions, by mentioning what kind of relation there is between the new media means (internet/social media) and democracy. It is possible to list the questions, for which an answer is sought, as below:

- How was the social media used at the start of the process of the Arab Spring?
- What is the role of social media in the Arab Spring process?
- What is the role of the social media at the outbreak of public uprisings, was it triggering?

In the first part of the study, the relationship between the social media, alternative media, information society and social movements, mentioned above, will be examined. The role of the social media in the social movements, alternative media and social movements in the information society, and social media revolution will be dealt with in the first part of the study. Considering the first part as titles, first of all the social movements phenomenon is examined with its reasons. In the title where the new and old movements in the social movements are examined, the social movements changed by the today’s technologies and information age are described.

In the other, the alternative media subject is referred and the role of alternative media in the social movements is examined. In the next title, where the new media means are described in the information society, it is indicated how the requirements of the today’s information society comply with the new media. The relation of the new media with the public sphere and democracy is given in this part too. The general purpose of this part is to assess the social movement notion,

² Karaçor, S. (2009). "Yeni İletişim Teknolojileri, Siyasal Katılım, Demokrasi" (pp. 122).

alternative media and the conditions of the age and to give these notions before entering the social media notions.

The second part of the study dwells upon the social media phenomenon and its development in detail. By giving examples and details from the social media channels like Facebook and Twitter, it is made easier to understand the relationship to be established between the Arab Spring developments, examined in the next part, and social media. The purpose of this part is to give detailed information on the social media and assess its relation with the political agenda by giving three example incidents.

In the third part, Tunisia and Egypt, two important countries in the Arab Spring process, are analyzed. In this part, detailed information is given on both the political history of these countries and the rebellions experienced. In this part, also the Greater Middle East Initiative, the role of external powers like America and Europe and the attitude of Turkey are examined. In this part, the relationship between the social media and the developments experienced in Tunisia and Egypt in the Arab Spring are studied.

The method of the study depends on the literature survey and analyzing the findings. In the study, first the literature survey will be given and the conclusion part, prepared starting from the findings, will be addressed in the final parts.

1. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE NEW MEDIA

1.1. General characteristics of the social movements

“Social movements emerged as a stance against 19th century capitalism, occurring as a reaction especially to social injustice, increased with the industrialization, with the development of modern society. The social movement notion was described for the first time at the beginning of the 19th century as the class struggle of the proletariat. The social movements became identical with the movements of the working class at the end of the 19th century.”³

Castells describes the social movement as “a formation group that recommends novelty, depending on the success to convert the social partnership to an action group.”⁴ Touraine describes

³ Işık, G. (2015). *Sanaldan sokağa toplumsal hareketler: Nükleer santral karşıtı toplumsal hareketin analizi*. Ankara: Nobel. 15-36.

⁴ Işık, G. (2015). *Sanaldan sokağa toplumsal hareketler: Nükleer santral karşıtı toplumsal hareketin analizi*. Ankara: Nobel. 15.

the social movement as “the movement of the actors, which come cross with each other, having the same cultural characteristic and which struggle for the social control of the activities created by this culture.”⁵ Giddens describes the social movement at the most basic sense, as “the collective effort, attempted for preserving an interest or for accomplishing a common target.”⁶

“Most of the social movements were considered at first in the scope of historical evolution of the world economics as it was for the feminist, socialist, worker, nationalist, or national liberation, even religious movements. The common denominator of these movements is to reach a more liberalistic, democratic, and equal world ideal. Today, challenge to the neo-liberal politics is escalated again by the social movements.”⁷ “Women and the gay rights movement, the civil rights movement, ecological movements, pacifist movements against war and military intervention, the other parts of USA and western world, and the wider movements, depending on the people, continued in the Middle East are all considered as a part of more democratic progress.”⁸

Social movement notion, in a sense, symbolizes an “utopian” expectation. “It is said that the process of globalization offers a hopeless world without utopia. The carnivalesque discourses, that “a new world” can be, with utopian discourses against this hopelessness and darkness, can be qualified as the factors mobilizing the social movements.”⁹ The social movements, with the reaction they uncover against the existing order, emphasize that the future can be a more hopeful place for people. For this reason it is seen that social movements bear the traces of utopias since the day they emerged. “This world, fictionalized by the social movements, hoping a liberal and equal world, beyond the world they are in, is determined as a target required to be achieved. With this respect, the liberalistic structure of the social struggle is fed by the utopia and it is emphasized that only a perspective, targeting passing beyond the conditions it is in, can walk to the future.”¹⁰

⁵ Touraine, A. (1981). *The voice and the eye: An analysis of social movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 44.

⁶ Giddens, A. (2013). *Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity. 540-541.

⁷ Işık, G. (2015). *Sanaldan sokağa toplumsal hareketler: Nükleer santral karşıtı toplumsal hareketin analizi*. Ankara: Nobel. 17.

⁸ Işık, G. (2015). *Sanaldan sokağa toplumsal hareketler: Nükleer santral karşıtı toplumsal hareketin analizi*. Ankara: Nobel. 30.

⁹ Çoban, B. (2009). *Yeni toplumsal hareketler: Küreselleşme, direniş, ütopya: Küreselleşme çağında toplumsal muhalefet*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları. 10.

¹⁰ Çoban, B. (2009). *Yeni toplumsal hareketler: Küreselleşme, direniş, ütopya: Küreselleşme çağında toplumsal muhalefet*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları. 14.

Çoban, in his essay, characterizes that “every movement, struggling for changing and converting the world, is actually a quest pursuing a utopian expectation. Even though utopia is characterized as nonexistent place, it is not a place that can never be achieved.”¹¹ Çoban emphasizes that “a policy, locating the utopia to the center, is pursued in the new social movements too even though the class declines today. Utopias generate themselves in every historical period and all libertarian thoughts and struggle forms made themselves strong by feeding from their texts.”¹² “Therefore, it is required not to ignore the role of utopia when analyzing the social struggles. It seems that the social movements can’t find the power to be without utopia.”¹³

“In addition to all these, even though it seems that a big part of the social movements are in a struggle with the power, it is seen in many historical evidences that they actually don’t aim to destroy the power and establish their ruling.”¹⁴ It is seen that most of the social movements achieves their successes by institutionalizing their systems or themselves inside the existing system.

1.2. Changing face of the social movements: Old – new social movements discussion

It is said that the new social movement perspective started to emerge at the end of 1960s and beginning of 1970s with the understanding that neo-Marxist models are inadequate. The most important recognition, put forward by the new social movements, was that now the interests of individuals are not correlated only with economics. Therefore, mentioning that movements in the industrialized societies emphasized a political characteristic mostly starting from class struggle, Işık wants to point out that “there is politics today on the notions of diversity, identity, pluralism.”¹⁵

¹¹ Çoban, B. (2009). *Yeni toplumsal hareketler: Küreselleşme, direniş, ütopya: Küreselleşme çağında toplumsal muhalefet*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları. 23.

¹² Çoban, B. (2009). *Yeni toplumsal hareketler: Küreselleşme, direniş, ütopya: Küreselleşme çağında toplumsal muhalefet*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları. 37.

¹³ Çoban, B. (2009). *Yeni toplumsal hareketler: Küreselleşme, direniş, ütopya: Küreselleşme çağında toplumsal muhalefet*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları. 44.

¹⁴ Işık, G. (2015). *Sanaldan sokağa toplumsal hareketler: Nükleer santral karşıtı toplumsal hareketin analizi*. Ankara: Nobel. 29.

¹⁵ Işık, G. (2015). *Sanaldan sokağa toplumsal hareketler: Nükleer santral karşıtı toplumsal hareketin analizi*. Ankara: Nobel. 22.

A similar perspective appears in the discourses of Hardt and Negri. Hardt and Negri adapt an approach where plurality is emphasized as the revolutionist subject, instead of class struggle today. “Today’s democracy is now formed over identity. Considering with this perspective, being able to realize the politic action depends the plurality phenomenon because plurality is the most important social subject, which can realize the democracy.”¹⁶

“In spite of all these, the new social movements term was suggested in parallel with the emergence of feminist, pacifist, ecological, local, and autonomous movements however difficulties were experienced in the clarity on what is new, especially on the political and theoretical sides of newness in the first discussions done.”¹⁷

It is said that the discussions continuing at the old-new social movements point are significantly different from the focus of traditional historical research. “Considering the social movements roughly since 18th century, it is remarkable that they don’t have aspects substantially distinguishing from new social movements.”¹⁸ It is said that new social movements mostly have identity and autonomy focus. “It is emphasized that again these movements have defensive characteristic, more than power struggle. The characteristics of mobilizing different social layers, other than narrow class economic interests, are again specified as a characteristic attributed to new social movements.”¹⁹

Another one of the arguments done on the social movements is concerns the issue that now the new social movements replaced the old social movements. According to this perspective, the foundation of the old social movements is shaken. “The social movements, classified as an approach pursuing narrow economic targets, classified as executing the revolution and grabbing power disappears.”²⁰

¹⁶ Hardt, & Negri. (2009). *Multitude: War and democracy in the Age of Empire*. New York: The Penguin Press. 113.

¹⁷ Sanlı, L. (2005). *Politik kültür ve toplumsal hareketler*. İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık. 49.

¹⁸ Çetinkaya, D. (2008). Toplumsal Hareketler: Tarih, Teori ve Deneyim (Social Movements: History, Theory and Experience). (pp.10) Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/1197686/Toplumsal_Hareketler_Tarih_Teori_ve_Deneyim_Social_Movements_History_Theory_and_Experience

¹⁹ Çetinkaya, D. (2008). Toplumsal Hareketler: Tarih, Teori ve Deneyim (Social Movements: History, Theory and Experience). (pp.10) Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/1197686/Toplumsal_Hareketler_Tarih_Teori_ve_Deneyim_Social_Movements_History_Theory_and_Experience

²⁰ Touraine, A. (1997). *Critique of modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell. 270.

This thought has a close relationship with Touraine who is one of the persons adapting the “post-industrial society” theory and also one of the important advocates of new social movements. According to him, what is meant by old social movements is “the working class movement and state power doesn’t matter for the movements, mainly they head for the civil society.”²¹

According to the leading advocates of the new social movement, like Habermas, Offe, Touraine, and Melucci, the new movements are completely different from the previous movements, i.e. conventional movements. This opinion on the new movements is represented by Offe within the framework of “former-new political paradigms”. “According to this, former political paradigm consists of trade unions, leftist parties and groups, organized officially and hierarchically. Accordingly, they fell into “the new political paradigm, while they consist of groups, organized unofficially, interlocked with loose links, with spontaneous, devoid of centralization, equalitarian characteristics, because they target to resist against the bureaucratization, institutionalization of the daily life and colonization of the life world.”²² “Consequently, Offe describes these movements as extra-parliamentary and autonomous movements, efficient in the civil society area.”²³

The main argument, made by the ones studying on the old and new social movements, is that the old social movements didn’t have rich content and diversity, that they are presented as the movements which mainly looked for their own economic interest and even excluded other social groups. “For the ones advocating the new social movement approach, the paradigm has moved passed traditional class struggle. The new movements are more democratic movements open for participation, rather than focused on narrow economic improvements for an exclusive group. The authentic characteristic of these new movements is demonstrated in their focus on the lifestyle, ethic and identity sensitivity, by working outside the formal political channels.”²⁴

Sanlı, when describing the “new political movements” in his essay, wants to remark that they have a different stance against central and hierarchical management structure. Because of this, he says that their most important stance is anti-statist against the central system.

²¹ Touraine, A. (1997). *Critique of modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell. 273.

²² Sanlı, L. (2005). *Politik kültür ve toplumsal hareketler*. İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık. 62.

²³ Sanlı, L. (2005). *Politik kültür ve toplumsal hareketler*. İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık. 62.

²⁴ Çetinkaya, D. (2008). *Toplumsal Hareketler: Tarih, Teori ve Deneyim* (Social Movements: History, Theory and Experience). (pp. 17) Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/1197686/Toplumsal_Hareketler_Tarih_Teori_ve_Deneyim_Social_Movements_History_Theory_and_Experience

“They present democratic organizations for protecting pluralist and autonomous civil society, instead of controlling the state, like for the labor movements. The suspicious and inadequate view of the new social movements to the state is classified as their main characteristics.”²⁵

We see that two theories come forward at the point of difference of the new social movements from the old. “These are cultural and political theories. Cultural approach remarks a sharp separation between the previous and today’s social movements. This version, identifying the social integrity mainly with the cultural activities, remarks the decentralized nature of the power.”²⁶ Consequently, it emphasizes mainly daily life, civil society, free areas between the state and civil society. What is most important is the new movements describe the social foundation with different values and ideologies, describing the movement, not by class. Because of this, they can be called as disengagement theories too.”²⁷

“The theorists, studying on the new social movements, have studied on the socio-cultural dimensions like norms, existing structures, requests for change in the identity structure, rather than sociopolitical aspect. Touraine, leading one of the social movement advocates, describes the “social movements as the behavior types, conflicting in the social plane, but directed to the cultural area”²⁸ Furthermore, Melucci, emphasizing the most remarkable aspect of the new movements, points out the reflexive aspect of the new movements. “Now, the movements have a worldwide effect. It contains a multinational dimension.”²⁹

Offe says that the factors, such as welfare, relatively dominant in Europe in 1970s, increase in the education means, increase in employment in the service sector, paved the way for emergence of the new social movements. “The middle class, growing with these developments and working in the public sector, became the class most sensitive to these movements. In short, the social movements, with their decentralized, unstructured (not hierarchical) and open aspects, are against society becoming a commodity, homogeneous.”³⁰

²⁵ Sanlı, L. (2005). *Politik kültür ve toplumsal hareketler*. İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık. 83.

²⁶ Coşkun, M. K. (2007). *Demokrasi teorileri ve toplumsal hareketler*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları. 74.

²⁷ Coşkun, M. K. (2007). *Demokrasi teorileri ve toplumsal hareketler*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları. 74.

²⁸ Çayır, K. (1999). *Yeni sosyal hareketler*. İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları. 23.

²⁹ Melucci, A. (1980). *The new social movements: A theoretical approach*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 90.

³⁰ Lelandais, G. E. (2009). *Theories of Social Movements and Globalization*. London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan. 61.

“What is seen in the light of the perspective developed by the theorists of the new social movement is that the new social movements are social and cultural in the first stage and political actions in the second stage. Consequently, it is seen that the first example developed is the working class. Furthermore, these movements are the movements described inside the civil society, not requiring direct intervention to the state. It is identified as the most important characteristic that the new social movements use the media for announcing their actions, requests and reactions.”³¹

On the contrary to the perspective of the theorists studying on the social movement field, Çetinkaya, in his essay, emphasizes that the mass movements, forming the foundation of the social movements since the last century, took place in the nationalism basis. Therefore, it is not a question that such movements are appropriated only to the old social movements. Çetinkaya remarks that what is meant by the new is of course the opponent, anti-system movements. But, Çetinkaya persistently mentions that “the 18th and 19th century movements are caricatured and emphasizes that labor movement is a rich struggle movement, not pursuing narrow economic target, uniting very diverse parts under one flag.”³² Summarizing, it is identified that what distinguishes the new social movements from the old ones is that it has the aspects such as they are based on identity and cultural inequality instead of economy, they are supra-national, they take place in a short time, they are not reduced to any religion, race, class, and ideology, and their actors are rich and educated. What underlies this separation is “the passage from modernity to post-modernity and from industrial society to post-industrial information society”³³

We can say under all this information that there always may be basic differences between social movements. Trying to limit the social movements inside old-new phenomenon is trying to attribute deep meanings to these movements, which they don’t have in the past or today.

³¹ Işık, G. (2015). *Sanaldan sokağa toplumsal hareketler: Nükleer santral karşıtı toplumsal hareketin analizi*. Ankara: Nobel. 35.

³² Çetinkaya, D. (2008). *Toplumsal Hareketler: Tarih, Teori ve Deneyim (Social Movements: History, Theory and Experience)*. (pp. 17) Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/1197686/Toplumsal_Hareketler_Tarih_Teori_ve_Deneyim_Social_Movements_History_Theory_and_Experience

³³ Şentürk, Ü. (2006). *Küresel Yeni Sosyal Hareketler ve Savaş Karşıtlığı*. Retrieved April 15, 2019, from <http://eskidergi.cumhuriyet.edu.tr/makale/1361.pdf>

1.3. Social movements and alternative media

Media matters both in the political and civil life. “The forth power” term, attributed to Edmund Burke, mentions the institutional and political influence of media on the politic relationship and government. This power can be seen in two different ways: media is a means for conveying the opinions and information, existing in the society, and therefore it is a power creating a common channel for the public debates and the second one is that it is a power where things worth saying are selected, which can set the agenda and which states the phrasing, existence of the words under political – economic power pressure.”³⁴

Alternative media can create the force that the conventional media can’t create. The alternative media channels, trying to break the “monologism”, created by the conventional media, encounter with many difficulties in this struggle. However, they serve to the democracy because they take a stance against the conventional media channels, which became the tool of the neoliberal policies and they can support the opposing ideas. “The alternative media, which attaches importance to the actors of change, tries to unveil the system and continues “praxis” efforts, also mentioned by Paulo Freire, enforces the belief that everybody has an equal voice, like in the narrative by Freire.”³⁵

“Alternative media notion may sometimes cause confusion. Because the researches focused on the mainstream media and its products, they didn’t deal with the media outside the mainstream. The researches for alternative media were classified in various ways. The first group is the researchers, which approach and describe the alternative media in a detailed way, get to the bottom of it and reflect it as a communicational phenomenon. The second group consists of the researchers studying the importance of alternative media with respect to the communication and democracy.”³⁶

Most of the researches done related with the alternative media focuses on the differences of this media type from the mainstream media. “Alternative media is described by providing representation to the opponents who are not represented usually in the mainstream media and advocacy for social and political reform.”³⁷

³⁴ Mutman, M. (1999). *Sivil toplum için "kent, yerel siyaset ve demokrasi seminerleri*. İstanbul: WALD Yayını

³⁵ Mutman, M. (1999). *Sivil toplum için "kent, yerel siyaset ve demokrasi seminerleri*. İstanbul: WALD Yayını

³⁶ Fenton, N. (2012). *New media, old news: Journalism & democracy in the digital age*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

³⁷ Fenton, N. (2012). *New media, old news: Journalism & democracy in the digital age*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

The starting point of theoretical studies for alternative media is known as the study by John Downing called as “Radical Media”, in 1984. In this research, radical media was assessed as an opposing information institution and reflected as an actor of power for development. “Downing updated this research in 2001 and widened the radical media forms. “18th and 19th century labor songs, graffiti, street theatre, posters are classified as alternative media products. These products are among the most widespread usage areas of the alternative media. Different from the mainstream media means, alternative media means can be more informal and creative.”³⁸

Because the conventional media, or the mainstream media, stumbles over the censors and political repression, it is a natural process that especially oppressed classes face to the alternative media. Alternative media becomes the voice of oppressed ones and opponents especially via the internet. “A growing number of people use the internet and this situation accelerated, leading to the expansion and empowerment of alternative media sources. However, this situation brings some possible problems with it.”³⁹ A gap is formed between .com domains and edu, gov and org domains, between the area names, called “domain” name, simply stating the domains of internet sites. This “increases the concerns that internet would regenerate the existing national and international structures, processes and would never be an alternative.”⁴⁰ Now radios, television channels and newspapers are accessible in the internet environment, this improves the commercial side of internet. All these enable that people reach information easily and voice themselves in neutral environment.

“The communication technologies, everyday a new one is added, provide new participation areas to the users. This participation, in addition to encouraging participant democracy in virtual public areas, enabled that the “other”, opponents and criticism are heard of which are not heard of via mainstream media, the main duties of which is hindered because of various political and material interest.”⁴¹

³⁸ Fenton, N. (2016). *Digital, political, radical*. Cambridge, GB: Polity.

³⁹ Atabek, Ü. (2007). *Medya metinlerini çözümlemek: İçerik, göstergibilim ve söylem çözümleme yöntemleri*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi. 26.

⁴⁰ Atabek, Ü. (2007). *Medya metinlerini çözümlemek: İçerik, göstergibilim ve söylem çözümleme yöntemleri*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi. 26.

⁴¹ Atabek, Ü. (2007). *Medya metinlerini çözümlemek: İçerik, göstergibilim ve söylem çözümleme yöntemleri*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi. 30.

By this way, alternative media means actually have an important role in the development of democracy today. “Alternative media completes the points where conventional media lacks in the social movements. While bias in the conventional media causes an anti-democratic environment, alternative media reflects “truth” and “realities” against this situation and enables that the public is informed. At this point, the alternative media channels have a feature, combining and disseminating information in the social movements.”⁴²

“The opposition, the basic element in the social movements, should be supported with respect to communication. This is very important with respect to improving the democracy. The development processes of the alternative media have parallelism in the development processes in the social movements. The developments in the communication ways and modes are in interaction with the formation of the others.”⁴³ “For the opposing movements and social movements, which are both hindered and actually fed by the oppression by the governments, it is required to develop alternative media venues, far from censorship, oppression and traditional partisanship. Today, the prevalence of biased conventional media channels has diminished as alternative media has grown, in part due to its ability to listen to both right and left political ideas due to its independence. This has allowed it to be aware of the requests of the public and creating midways and solutions.”⁴⁴

The alternative media channels come to the forefront in the information society too, which will be studied in the next section. In the information age, the information going to one edge to the other edge of the world becomes vital importance and even it is necessary. Thanks to fast and various information sharing, provided by the alternative media, a social movement, occurring America, and the cause underline it are learnt within seconds in Turkey in the today’s information society. Hence, the Occupy Wall Street events were heard of and their role was seen that quickly in Turkey, Europe, and most importantly in the Middle East thanks to the alternative media channels.

⁴² Atabek, Ü. (2007). *Medya metinlerini çözümlemek: İçerik, göstergebilim ve söylem çözümleme yöntemleri*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi. 29.

⁴³ Çoban, B. (2009). *Yeni toplumsal hareketler: Küreselleşme, direniş, ütopya: Küreselleşme çağında toplumsal muhalefet*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları. 183.

⁴⁴ Çoban, B. (2009). *Yeni toplumsal hareketler: Küreselleşme, direniş, ütopya: Küreselleşme çağında toplumsal muhalefet*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları. 177.

Alternative media is now an integral part of the democratic societies. The social movements, created by the people to be heard are fed and become widespread via alternative media channels. The individuals being able to see different opinions from different parts, sharing their ideas freely is the essential of the free and democratic societies, especially in the today's information age.

1.4. Information society and new media

“In every period of the history, mankind generated new communication styles and means according to the spirit of the period and time he lives depending on the needs. It seems that this process in question is cumulative, developing and in turn being developed numerous times via an active conversion of each style and technology in a cycle that continues in perpetuity. In this respect, development of new communication technologies paved the ground for the emergence of new communication theories.”⁴⁵

Castells defines the system in which the television is dominant as the “mass communication”. At this point, describing the mass communication notion and conveying which meanings are attributed to it, Castells says: “The same message is sent to millions of auditors at the same time from several central data. By this way, the content and form of the messages are determined based on the least common denominator. In the private TV channels, popular in USA, the birth place of the television, the least common denominator is assessed by the marketing experts. In the rest of the world, where the state owned televisions were dominant for at least 1980s, the criterion is the least common denominator in the minds of the bureaucrat, responsible for the broadcast, even if the role of the rating increases. In both cases, the auditors are considered mainly as homogeneous or suitable for homogenizing.”⁴⁶

“In this respect, it is emphasized that the ones ensuring the control on the information flow are the ones holding the power centers. With the development of computers and internet, it is remarked that the communication process in question underwent transformation once more.

⁴⁵ Babacan, M.E.(2011), “*Sosyal Medya ve Arap Baharı*”, *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi* .71 Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/17775>

⁴⁶ Castells, M. (2004). *The information age. economy, society and culture: The rise of the network society*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. 453.

An interactive communication process started by enabling the mutual flow of text, picture, sound, and image simultaneously.”⁴⁷ Timisi, at this point, emphasizes that the requests and likes of the majority were determined by the minority in the old technologies and the new technologies enable that the majority can access the information they want.

In every period of the history there were the ones who support the new formations with respect to the social and technical opportunities as well as the ones who say such narratives presents nothing new. “We faced this contrast in the writings written on the internet, the link of these new formations with the capital accumulation, commoditization, and the annihilation of the public space. The characteristic of providing vertically formed communication was noteworthy but not necessarily a positive development depending on the perspective of the observers. Actually, underline all these debates lies an argument whether the transformation to the information or network society from industrial society, which is a deeper subject.”⁴⁸

Van Dijk (1999) said that the combination of telecommunication, data communication and new and old new media is the most important structural transformation affecting the new media. By this way, while witnessing that the communication is digitalized with the merge of the television, telephone and internet, we see that the transformation to the interactive media types takes place. This transformation indicates the transformation to the web based social structure from the industrialized society. As Stevenson said: in this case, the web society is a social theory that considers rise of the “new media” and transformation to the information based societies as necessary. Furthermore, Stevenson emphasizes that the new media technologies doesn’t bring a new society, it only provides the means that enable this.⁴⁹ “ At this point, it would be convenient to mention the opinions of Manuel Castells on the internet in which he defines as a new media order.

American Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET), the first ancestor of the internet, was developed as the American military defense project. Its purpose was to link the research and researchers to each other.

⁴⁷ Babacan, M.E.(2011), “*Sosyal Medya ve Arap Baharı*”, *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi* .73 Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/17775>

⁴⁸ Stevenson, N. (2010). *Understanding media cultures social theory and mass communication*. London: Sage Publications. 295.

⁴⁹ Stevenson, N. (2010). *Understanding media cultures social theory and mass communication*. London: Sage Publications. 297.

“With this respect, while the first studies for the computer started in 1960s, it became a social, global, ideological myth with the internet passing to individual usage, reaching recognition in states and supra-states at the end of 1980s and 1990s.”⁵⁰ Castells describes internet as the universal, interactive, computerized communication tool of the information age. In addition to this, he remarks that there are some inequalities in the access to the internet.

He emphasizes the limiting properties of the factors such as age, race, gender, place, and income level in different countries on the internet access subject. Furthermore, Castells mentions that, considering such inequalities in the internet access, the placelessness characteristic, attributed to the technology notion is a remarkable paradox of the information age.

Stating that internet usage increased 95% in the schools in USA in the studies made, Castells says that internet is the fastest spreading communication tool of the world. Internet developed quickly in the three years following the development of the computer network worldwide. Castells says that coexistence of different interests and cultures in the net realized with the World Wide Web (www). He points out that by this way, a flexible network was developed where the institutions, enterprises and individuals can create their sites, everybody who has access can establish his own page by bringing images and text together. Castells emphasizes that with the development of internet and computerized communication networks, the structure of the new communication tool, network architecture, the culture and way of communication of the ones connected to the link have changed forever. “The architecture of the net is open; it supports unlimited access of the public and even though there are social inequalities with respect to access, it seriously resists the state restrictions or commercial restrictions.”⁵¹

With the development of communication via internet, “virtual communities” formation emerged. Howard Rheingold, in his important study *Virtual Communities*, provides the definition of virtual communities as the online gathering of a group of people around common values and interests. Castells, even though saying that the role of socialization via electronic networks is still culturally unclear, points out that there are opinions that online life alienates individuals from humanness.

⁵⁰ Castells, M. (2004). *The information age. economy, society and culture: The rise of the network society*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. 469.

⁵¹ Castells, M. (2004). *The information age. economy, society and culture: The rise of the network society*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. 451.

Castells describes the virtual communities as “personal social networks”, not physical, but not unrealistic, generating mutuality and support with strong interaction dynamics. Furthermore, Castells says that because virtual links are distributed spatially, they give the persons who have limited social life the opportunity to build social connections.⁵² We see that computerized communication, in addition to the professional usage, plays an efficient role in all social activities. Today, e-mail usage has almost replaced speaking directly over the telephone. With the rise of shopping on the internet, many physical retailers such as bookstores have closed due declining business. Some universities have already passed to the online education over internet.

Another area where computerized communication is effective is the politics. For example “e-mail” creates a communication network and enables that political propaganda spreads and becomes efficient at the mass level. Castells points out that “electronic campaigns starts by establishing a web site in all countries and the politicians publish their commitments in these internet sites. Fundamentalist Christian groups, militia in USA, and Zapatistas in Mexico, all have made use of this technology to expand their membership and pursue their political goals.”⁵³

Castells gives PEN movement, started in Santa Monica, California, as an example, mentions an electronic communication network where the citizens discuss and send their opinions on public issues to the local government and points out that the democracy is empowered by this way. Furthermore, in 1990s, the activists in Seattle and USA were creating an online organization, depending on communities, for providing information, starting debates among the people, and creating a democratic supervision on the environmental issues and politics. Castell points out the importance by emphasizing that at “the international level, many social movements trying to be heard, such as those advocating women rights, human rights, environment protection or political democracy began to use the internet for organizing, spreading information and mobilization.”⁵⁴

⁵² Castells, M. (2004). *The information age. economy, society and culture: The rise of the network society*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. 451.

⁵³ Castells, M. (2004). *The information age. economy, society and culture: The rise of the network society*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. 470.

⁵⁴ Castells, M. (2004). *The information age. economy, society and culture: The rise of the network society*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. 470.

Within this section, we referred the communication and information forms, underwent transformation with the development of computer networks, with respect to the innovations they brought to our age in a general sense. How these information forms touch the social life with which aspects will be discussed under the new media, public arena and democracy title.

1.5. New media, public arena and democracy

With the popularization of the new media, especially with the increase in the function in the political communication field, the function of the new media with respect to the democracy has become a matter of debate. It is seen that two approaches are dominant for the philosophers, researching the role of the new media, in the debate on the role of internet, which turns into an “alternative public” environment, on the social structure. “The first ones are the ones advocating the thesis that the new media empowers the democracy/optimists (also called as liberal theoreticians); the other are the ones advocating the collapse of the public opinion/pessimists.”⁵⁵

“According to Timisi, the ones advocating the thesis that the new media empowers democracy form their opinion under five main themes: easy access and adequacy in access to information, organization of internet, immunity to the authorities, the freedom of expression in the internet is limitless and controlling content is technically difficult, the increase in political participation, and enlarging and globalization of civil society.”⁵⁶

“The liberal theorists advocate that communication and information enables democratization. By this way, the liberal theorists point out that as individuals are able to more easily access information via the internet, the outcome should be the the direct participation of citizens in the political process would be increasingly possible. Thus, the saying that internet would democratize society because it eases organizing the civil society.”⁵⁷

“Like the newspapers, referred as a means for the formation of bourgeois public arena in the 19th century by Habermas, it is expected that this time the internet vivifies a global public arena in the rapidly individualizing world with the neo-liberalism.

⁵⁵ Gökçe, O. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye*. Çağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 51.

⁵⁶ Şener, G. (2011). *İnternet ve demokrasi ilişkisine dair eleştirel bir yaklaşım* p.63. Retrieved April 29, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/4458593/İnternet_ve_demokrasi_iliskisine_dair_elestirel_bir_yaklasim

⁵⁷ Şener, G. (2011). *İnternet ve demokrasi ilişkisine dair eleştirel bir yaklaşım* p.64. Retrieved April 29, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/4458593/İnternet_ve_demokrasi_iliskisine_dair_elestirel_bir_yaklasim

Furthermore, there are optimistic opinions that the new media increases transparency, therefore it is ensured that the background of the events is understood better by the society. It is thought that, by this way the supervision of political actors' actions become easier. Optimists advocate the thought that this transparency empowers the democracy.”⁵⁸ “It is pointed out that in the new media platforms, developed together with the internet, the users can be the source and interpreter of the news, as a personal subject, without informed single sided.”⁵⁹ Besides, Babacan wants to point out the wrongness of too much affirmation of these features of the new media, which seem as positive, by some authors and presenting this as a new media revolution against the conventional media. With this respect, Barış Engin states the developments in the new media with these positive opinions:

“This freedom environment provides the participation of the individuals not only for daily news, information or communication, but in almost all political, ideological, economic, and cultural areas. It is a clear reality that this new media order has an influential and rapidly expanding structure. This new web and journalism has a dynamic structure preparing to break the rules determined by the regime and demolish the walls bond. It is an area where there is no editor other than him/herself when publishing the news and no self-censorship is applied to the news. It is a platform where the texts are not rejected; he/she is not fired because of the texts written. The new media network is absolutely a movement developed bottom up (base). It is a ‘revolutionary’ phenomenon rebelling against the prevailing media approach, traditionalist order. Small keyboard strikes in the base are adequate for disturbing the big names in the ceiling.”⁶⁰

These affirmations, as will be examining in the proceeding sections, completely ignore the negative possibilities of such technology such as the use of spying by governments. Additionally, it is relatively easy for an authoritarian government to determine through internet who is opposed to it by their advocacy of transparency, pro-democracy positions, and the removal of speech restrictions.

⁵⁸ Şener, G. (2011). *İnternet ve demokrasi ilişkisine dair eleştirel bir yaklaşım* p.67. Retrieved April 29, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/4458593/İnternet_ve_demokrasi_iлиkisine_dair_eleştirel_bir_yaklaşım

⁵⁹ Babacan, M.E.(2011), “*Sosyal Medya ve Arap Baharı*”, Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi p75 Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/17775>

⁶⁰ Engin B. (2011). *Cesur Yeni Medya* Retrieved May 23, 2019 from <https://ekitap.alternatifbilisim.org/files/cesur-yeni-medya.pdf>

“The other perspective, the “collapse of the public opinion” is a discourse, became a topic with the increase in the diversity of the media since 1990s.”⁶¹ With the new media, this discourse began to be voiced with increasing frequently. Blöbaum says that, “under the light of these developments, the public opinion would lose its singular structure, “public opinions” would be formed from the “public opinion” and at the end interest groups, competing with each other, would emerge.”⁶²

Rössler and Blöbaum, with this opinion, also qualified as pessimists, emphasize that the conventional media determines which subjects are important for the public opinion, indicates which opinions would be defended where and how by structuring the opinions of the advocates and opponent on this issue, and hence draws the framework on how everybody participates in the negotiation process.

By this way, it is defended that the conventional media provides an enlightened and rational critical environment. In fact, Rössler says that the new media expands the public arena and makes the border between public and private vague by multiplying and using all kinds of information, irrelevantly. In this case, Rössler says that individuals would focus on personal experience and personal knowledge and become ignored, rather than being informed. He advocates that, therefore, a big divide between the ones “having information” and “having general information” would be formed and this situation would negatively affect the democracy. In conclusion, Rössler says that the restrictions formed via conventional media would disappear with the new media, the public opinion would divide into public opinions, the individuals would separate into small groups at the centerline of their group interests, and a situation would emerge where what is individual would be supreme, not an artificially created public one.⁶³

This situation would give rise to the popularization of the virtual communities. That being said, whether these communities have primarily positive or negative role in the social order is a subject of ongoing debate.

⁶¹ Gökçe, O. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye. Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 40.*

⁶² Gökçe, O. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye. Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 43.*

⁶³ Gökçe, O. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye. Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 54.*

Dolgun, in his study, says that individuals are in relationships in the virtual communities where the “other” is wiped out and excluded, rather than researching for information. Besides, Dolgun emphasize that it would cause “group polarization” that the ones having different opinions inside the virtual communities would gather only with the ones like themselves and this would make surveillance necessary with respect to social order and unity and threaten the democracy environment.⁶⁴

Dolgun, even though the internet is indicated as a new public arena, a real democracy temple, where various thoughts are freely expressed, all kinds of discussions freely gain currency, describes it as a narrowing in the perspectives according to the individuals’ own world perspective and depending on this as threat directed to the democracy. Furthermore, Dolgun says that the intolerance to the “other” in the virtual community converts the internet and democracy to notions completely opposite, instead of gathering them. Having reconciliation with a common point, after discussing different opinions, the basic principle of the democracy, is a subject the possibility of which is discussed within the structure of internet.

Dolgun says in his study that how much democracy is heterogeneous and contains facing with the other, internet is that much homogenous and contains casting the other out. In short, he emphasizes that in the internet environment multiple voices are dominant, not pluralism.⁶⁵ Mutlu Binark wants to point out this point in this subject: “It is needed to lay an emphasis on the new media, the usage purpose and practices of which changes at places, is used for circulating and popularizing sexist, homophobic, racist, xenophobic contents, with an increasing rate and prevalence, instead of using with the purposes and ways, which democratizing the social structure, enriching and improving the communicative action practice in the public arena.”⁶⁶

Furthermore, as the information technologies pulls the functions in the public arena to the private space – as internet becomes a peeping mechanism – it is said that the citizenship rights disappears in the public arena where they are fulfilled.

⁶⁴Dolgun, U. (2011). *İNTERNET VE DEMOKRASİ* - *dergipark.gov.tr*. p.228. Retrieved April 30, 2019, from <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/101294>

⁶⁵ Dolgun, U. (2011). *İNTERNET VE DEMOKRASİ* - *dergipark.gov.tr*. p.229. Retrieved April 30, 2019, from <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/101294>

⁶⁶ Babacan, M.E.(2011), ‘‘Sosyal Medya ve Arap Baharı’’, *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi* 71. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/17775>

Dolgun says that in this way individuals are pulled to the areas more specialized spatially and mentally and would become closed for solidarity and defenseless against electronic breaches. He states that humanity would turn into a crowd trying to exist through from mass public to private area, then from there to the virtual socialization which is a new dimension. By this way, Dolgun mentions that the public arena disappeared, only the special private rights would remain, with the exhausting of the individual defense power, a process would be taken place where the crushing superiority of the governments / dominant powers are bowed.⁶⁷

In addition to this, Dolgun says the social rights, such as access and freedom, required to be regulated according to the individuals and their needs are shaped towards empowering the power of the dominant spheres and opinion leaders. The opinion that the government will be structured as ordinary individuals and daily events and therefore big central organizations will disappear seems a delusion in the commercializing internet environment.⁶⁸ While the new communication way, mediated with computer and internet, becomes the dominant media means of today, while millions of users does information sharing in these networks every second, communication scientist Neil Postman draws our attention to another direction with a critical approach:

“Which degree of advantage does the computer technology give to the human masses? To the workers, fruit sellers, teachers, mechanics... What does it gain to the other people, who computer enters newly to their lives? The issues belonging to the private lives of these people become easily accessible by the institutions holding the power. People became easily traceable and controllable, they were subjected to more reviews. With digitalization, rather than providing them more freedom actually has imposed more burden on workers as they became more tracable and measurable in such a system. Thus they become objects generally referred to in terms of figures rather than people with inherent value. People were occupied by the advertisement mails, they started to be easy targets of advertisement companies and political formations.” Schools started to teach computer usage to the children, even though there are more precious things.

⁶⁷ Dolgun, U. (2011). *İNTERNET VE DEMOKRASİ* - *dergipark.gov.tr*. p.231. Retrieved April 30, 2019, from <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/101294>

⁶⁸ Dolgun, U. (2011). *İNTERNET VE DEMOKRASİ* - *dergipark.gov.tr*. p.231. Retrieved April 30, 2019, from <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/101294>

If said with single sentence, losers could obtain nothing they need. This is why we call them as losers.”⁶⁹ In the light of all these perspectives, while the optimists/ones advocating the thesis that the new media empowers the democracy advocate that the new media has substantial contributions to the democracy, the pessimists/ones advocating the collapse of the public opinion assess the role of the new media in the context that the ignorance of the society increases, the collapse of the society, unequal access means, and commercialized internet environment.

In the next part of this study, the new media/internet phenomenon will be assessed in theoretical terms, in the context of the role of the social media channels (Facebook, Twitter, blogs etc.), as a means to achieve power, in the contemporary social order.

1.6. What is social media?

Today, the social media channels (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Blogs), described as an efficient means and environment for platforming activists, have become the environments which are required to be talked about day after day. It is an accepted approach that social media has a role in making political events and activities more apparent. With this respect, first of all it is required to look for what kind of infrastructure the social media has.

According to the determination by Andreas Kaplan and Michael Haenlein, in 2010, social media: is said to “all of the internet based applications allowing that ideological and technological contents and structures are produced over Web 2.0 in a user based way.”⁷⁰

According to the description by Türkden: “The technology consisting of the foundation of the social media is passing to Web 2.0 from Web 1.0. The online applications enabling interaction and content sharing depending on the Web 2.0 technology are called the social media.”⁷¹ Web 2.0 version, described as the user based network location, provides the user to participate in every application and state their opinion. It is stated that the basic feature in Web 2.0 is that the user has the control.

⁶⁹ Babacan, M.E.(2011), “*Sosyal Medya ve Arap Baharı*”, *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi* p.76 Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/17775>

⁷⁰ Telli, A. (2012). *Mısır Devrimi'nde Sosyal Medyanın Rolü* p.66. Retrieved May 14, 2019, from <http://bilgestrateji.com/makale/BS2012-2/Misir-devriminde-sosyal-medyanin-rolu.pdf>

⁷¹ Türkden, H. (2014, August 20). *Bu neyin baharı?* Retrieved May 16, 2019, from <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/90284/bu-neyin-bahari>

It is remarked that the opponent and alternative discourse freely take part in the social media environment, defined as an environment taking the mutual talk and discussions as the basis, not taking part in the conventional media, they can be carried to the conventional media too with the power of the followers and supporters. It is said that the obstacles are removed before the collective actions in the society with the Web 2.0 channel, gaining a big acceleration in the last decade, with the internet based mobile technologies converted into interactive interaction. Because of this, how and for which purpose the social media is used in the collective actions and the functionality of the social media have become one of the most discussed subjects in the communication world and framework of the social sciences in the recent years.⁷² This subject was questioned even more in the social events encountered in the world in the last three years. In the next section, the relation between the political agenda subjects and social media will be analyzed in greater detail.

1.7. Social media and political agenda

Social media channels are not one of the reasons of the political actions. These platforms are used as an organization and communication platform by the societies in the political actions. The universal identity of the social media is emphasized that social media is used in the same way in the countries with different culture, belief, economic level, and administration way.

“Accession to large number of people via these social channels is one of the important factors of organizing a successful action. In order to use social media, it is required to have internet access. It is obvious that social media is less used in the countries with weak internet infrastructure, and a lower level of economic welfare.”⁷³ “The people in the Middle East (especially Egypt and Tunisia) have a lower level of welfare than the people in the Europe and North America but have better internet access and economic welfare than many of the African and Asian countries.

⁷² Erbay, N. Ö, (2012). *Sosyal Medyada "Arap Baharı"*. P.8 Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38796751/Sosyal_Medyada_Arap_Baharı

⁷³ Çıldan, C. (2011). *Sosyal Medyanın Politik Katılım ve Hareketlerdeki Rolü*. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/5166743/Sosyal_Medyanın_Politik_Katılım_ve_Hareketlerdeki_Rolü

Therefore, as the per capita internet access increases, so too does the potential role played by the internet as an organization and communication platform.”⁷⁴ Besides, it is needed to state that one of the leading factors enabling that the rebellions effecting the Middle East so much was that the Middle East region has highly restricted or no freedom of expression. Thus these countries were less developed on the human rights compared with the western countries. Because of this, Çıldan says “internet has a more efficient potential in the Middle East than European and North American regions.”⁷⁵

Furthermore, it can't be said that the role of the social media, observed as a communication platform in the Arab Spring, would always be successful. For example, the protest movement, attempted via electronic mails for overthrowing the President Alexander Lukashenko in 2006 in Belarus ended up without having a result, with the application by Lukashenko of more oppressive methods on the social media. “The demonstrations didn't accomplish the final purpose even though the technologic communication tools are used in the protests organized by the Green Movement, supporting Mir-Hosseini Mousavi, requesting that the election done in the country is repeated in Iran in 2009. The demonstration of the activists, organized by using the social media means in Thailand in 2010 was encountered with the harsh government intervention and was not successful.”⁷⁶

On the other hand, on the contrary to the high usage rates in Iran, Thailand and Belarus, the activists gathered thousands of protestors in the Chişinău square in Moldova, where the internet and technologic means usage is lower, and by this way, Twitter became this noticeable with this incident for the first time.”⁷⁷ Twitter came to forefront more in the events encountered both in Turkey and the Middle East in the last year. The basic reason for this is that it is more reliable and simpler to use for mass communication purposes when compared with Facebook, which tends to focus on communication within a personal network.

⁷⁴ Çıldan, C. (2011). *Sosyal Medyanın Politik Katılım ve Hareketlerdeki Rolü*. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/5166743/Sosyal_Medyanın_Politik_Katılım_ve_Hareketlerdeki_Rolü

⁷⁵ Çıldan, C. (2011). *Sosyal Medyanın Politik Katılım ve Hareketlerdeki Rolü*. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/5166743/Sosyal_Medyanın_Politik_Katılım_ve_Hareketlerdeki_Rolü

⁷⁶ Erbay, N. Ö, (2012). *Sosyal Medyada "Arap Baharı"*. pp. 6 Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38796751/Sosyal_Medyada_Arap_Baharı

⁷⁷ Erbay, N. Ö, (2012). *Sosyal Medyada "Arap Baharı"*. pp. 7 Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38796751/Sosyal_Medyada_Arap_Baharı

However, this comparison and the security problems in the social media are the subject of other researches. The primary point of consideration is how and why the popular social media means are used and their role. Before starting the role of the social media sites in the social movements and especially in the Arab Spring, it would be useful to give detailed information on some of the popular social media means.

1.8. Popular social media channels

Facebook

Facebook is a social networking web site, aiming communication and information sharing between people. This network, founded by Mark Zuckerberg, the student of Harvard University, in 2004 was founded for the Harvard students. Facebook, including the schools close to Boston after a while, got contain all school in the United States of America. New members were required to sign up with the e-mail addresses of their schools. In 2006, Facebook was opened to all e-mail addresses.⁷⁸

The number of active users of Facebook was 100 million in August, 2008. This number doubled in 7 months, thanks to the communication of people with each other. It is stated that the number of Facebook users raised to 250 million in July, 2009.⁷⁹ The number of Facebook users exceeded 1 billion in the entire world as of October, 2012. The increase still continues.⁸⁰

The leading one of the factors enabling that the revolution was successful in Egypt, the importance of Wael Ghonim (the Middle East manager of Google) using social media efficiently is substantial.

Wael Ghonim gives the big importance to Facebook and Twitter channels in the rebellions in Egypt and says that the revolution was an internet revolution and he would call the revolution as the Web 2.0 revolution. Using different social media channels with different meanings during the revolution in Egypt had the dominant role for accomplishing an efficient purpose.

⁷⁸ Telli, A. (2012). *Mısır Devrimi'nde Sosyal Medyanın Rolü* p.65. Retrieved May 14, 2019, from <http://bilgestrateji.com/makale/BS2012-2/Misir-devriminde-sosyal-medyanin-rolu.pdf>

⁷⁹ Gazetesi, H. (2009, July 21). Facebook yine şov yaptı. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/teknoloji/facebook-yine-sov-yapti-12105895>

⁸⁰ BBC. (2012). *Haberler - Facebook kullanıcısı ayda 1 milyarı geçti*. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2012/10/121004_facebook_onemillion.shtml

Rafat Ali, the founder of “paidcontent.org” says on this issue: “Facebook enabled that people are organized, they shared the information on where and how they would gather physically, Twitter was efficient in the describing, sharing and interpreting the events in detail.”⁸¹

Twitter

Twitter is an information network connecting people to one another, information, different opinions, and news. The 280 character long messages by which this information is shared on Twitter is called a tweet. In this channel, the photographs and videos consist of another branch of the communication. Twitter was founded in San Francisco but today it has users from every country in the world. More than 20 languages are fully supported, and it has partial support for many other languages, and continues to add new languages according to user demand. Besides, Twitter has become a new generation of communication means that can be used more efficiently with the new communication means. Twitter enlarges its usage area every day and has an efficient role in many surprising events for “the world being a better place.”⁸² The number of users of Twitter, to which 11 persons join per second, reached above 500 million by February of 2012, though its explosive growth has leveled off somewhat since then.

The number of Twitter users in Egypt is relatively smaller compared with the Facebook user number. Egypt government brought a restriction to the internet connection in January 27th, 2011 for Facebook and Twitter usage, having an efficient role in the organization process of the rebellion movements. However, against this restriction attempt, it was resisted by starting using “voice tweet; speak2tweet” for the first time in the world in February 27th, 2011.⁸³

The application, commencing activities with the active initiative of Wael Ghonim, who was at the time one of the top level managers of Google in Egypt, enabled tweet sharing only by dialing and international number and leaving a voice message, without requiring an internet connection. This application was put into operation with the cooperation of Google and Twitter.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Crovitz, L. G. (2011, February 14). *Egypt's Revolution by Social Media*. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703786804576137980252177072>

⁸² Twitter. (n.d.). About. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <https://about.twitter.com>

⁸³ Crovitz, L. G. (2011, February 14). *Egypt's Revolution by Social Media*. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703786804576137980252177072>

⁸⁴ Crovitz, L. G. (2011, February 14). *Egypt's Revolution by Social Media*. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703786804576137980252177072>

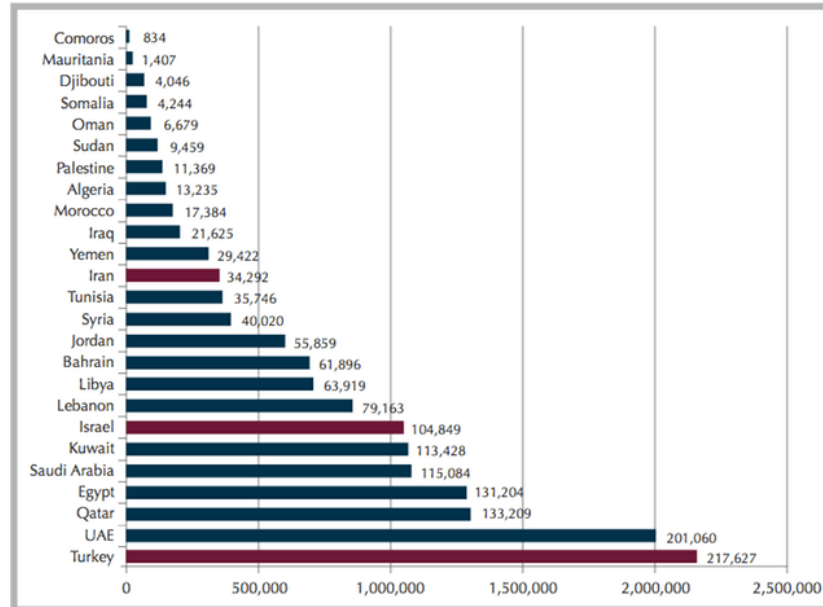
According to the Arab Social Media measurements, done by the Dubai School, the daily number of tweets reached to 155 million in the Arabian geography at the end of the first quarter of 2011. The number of active Twitter users was found as 1,150,292 in the Arabian geography at the end of March, 2011. The total Twitter user number is 6,567,280 across the Middle East. In this process, the tweeting ratio in the most popular titles in the Arabian geography was: #egypt; 1.4 million persons mentioned the subject with this title tag, #jan25; 1.2 million persons shared the tweets with this title tag, #libya contained 990,000 contents, #bahrain 640,000, and #protest 620,000.⁸⁵

United Arab Emirates is in the second rank after Turkey, as the social media usage ratio. Qatar follows her. The Twitter usage ratio in Egypt reached to record levels after Hosni Mubarak, the leader of Egypt, was overthrown in February.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Seksek, T. (2011). *Twitter Usage in the MENA region*. Retrieved April 23, 2019, from <https://interactiveme.com/2011/06/twitter-usage-in-the-mena-middle-east/>

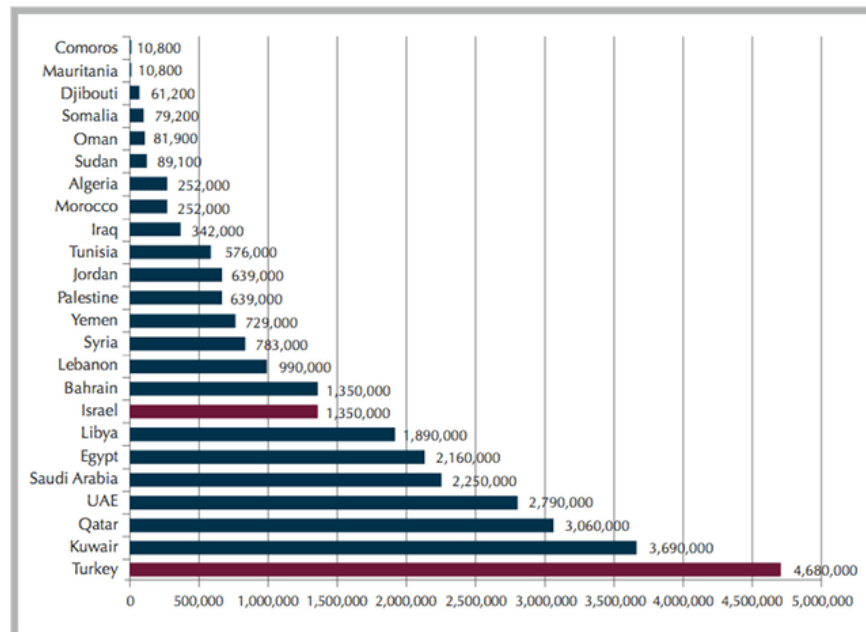
⁸⁶ Seksek, T. (2011). *Twitter Usage in the MENA region*. Retrieved April 23, 2019, from <https://interactiveme.com/2011/06/twitter-usage-in-the-mena-middle-east/>

Figure 1. Number of active twitter users in the MENA region (Jan. 1 and March 30, 2011)



Note: Seksek, T. (2011). Twitter Usage in the MENA region. Retrieved April 23, 2019, from <https://interactiveme.com/2011/06/twitter-usage-in-the-mena-middle-east/>

Figure 2. Number of Tweets in the MENA region (Jan. 1 and March 30, 2011)



Note: Seksek, T. (2011). Twitter Usage in the MENA region. Retrieved April 23, 2019, from <https://interactiveme.com/2011/06/twitter-usage-in-the-mena-middle-east/>

YouTube

YouTube, founded in February, 2005, enables that billions of people discover, watch and share new videos. At the same time, YouTube creates a forum environment for people connecting, informing each other in the entire world. Every month, more than 800 million people visit YouTube. More than 4 billion hours of video in total is watched on YouTube and 72 hours of video is uploaded per minute to YouTube. Approximately 70% of the video traffic in YouTube consists of the videos uploaded outside America. With the “partner program” created in 2007 in YouTube, more than one million video creators earn money via the videos they share in more than 30 countries. With the applications of YouTube on mobile phones, people watch over one billion videos with “YouTube Mobile.”⁸⁷ It may be indicated as a reason for the usage intensity that no membership condition is required for watching videos on YouTube.

The events, developed with the people going out in Egypt, were recorded via mobile phones and unfolded to the public of the entire world through YouTube. The videos presenting the struggle between the security forces and protestors, the protestors losing their lives in the clashes, the video images in the squares where clashes occurred are included in the YouTube videos without hiding anything. This visibility ensured that the entire world public became more closely interested in the events in Egypt.⁸⁸

Blogs

Blogs are the channels where people convey their personal thoughts and experiences. They are the pages consisting of mainly personal opinions. With this respect, blogs are also called as personal diaries. The contents of blogs, with “opinion leadership” characteristic, in many social, political and cultural incidents, have a remarkable size. Besides, blogs are the pages with a nature providing a large cooperation in this respect. The most popular blog platforms can be listed as: <http://wordpress.com>, <http://blogger.com>, <http://livejournal.com>, <http://vox.com>, <http://typepad.com>, <http://www.travelpod.com/>, <http://www.tumblr.com/>.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Youtube. (n.d.). About. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <https://www.youtube.com/yt/about/press/>

⁸⁸ Mackey, R. (2011, January 22). *Video That Set Off Tunisia's Uprising*. Retrieved May 22, 2019, from <https://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/01/22/video-that-triggered-tunisias-uprising/>

⁸⁹ Kee. (2009). *What is the most popular blog sites?* [Blog post]. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090726193217AAWJ0wS>

“Blog usage was started in 1999 with Blogger presenting this service for free. With Google purchasing Blogger in February, 2003, Google placed the “Blog This!” button, enabling directly entering the blog, to the toolbar and many persons knowing English started discovering blogs by this way.”⁹⁰

Considering the blog usage ratios in Egypt, where the role of Arab Spring was really prominent, there were three hundred thousand blogs in Egypt in 2008. Of them, ten thousand was blogs with political content. “Many bloggers didn’t think that their calls reached to big results even after the call messages they formed in their blogs. Another blogger in Egypt said in relation to the developments: “I was fired after my opponent blog writings. Thereupon I sold everything in my home but I don’t sell one thing: my computer”. Another opponent blogger says: “I was taken into custody because of my writings. I was tortured for two days, I was asked why I went to Gaza, why I am not a member or sympathizer of Muslim Brothers or Hamas.”⁹¹ It seems that the bloggers in Egypt had attempts to undermine the regime long before the Arab Spring. Considering the rebellion movements of the people in Tunisia, one does not face a power as efficient as in Egypt. The situation that internet was restricted long before the events in Tunisia interrupted the social media usage.⁹²

The result obtained after analyzing millions of tweets, YouTube videos and blog sharing by Philip N. Howard, Communication Professor in Washington University and his students is that social media played a central role in the process of the formation of the Arab Spring. Social media played an important role for forming the public opinion for the liberty and democracy in North Africa and the Middle East. People built a wide social network for democracy and by this way they organized in the political movements.

⁹⁰ Kundakçı, N. (2013). Blog [Blog post]. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from atabotebde.files.wordpress.com/2012/01/blog.pptx

⁹¹ Tekek, M. (2011). Sosyal Medya ve Arap Baharı. Retrieved May 5, 2019, from <https://www.orsam.org.tr/tr/sosyal-medya-ve-arap-bahari/>

⁹² Tekek, M. (2011). Sosyal Medya ve Arap Baharı. Retrieved May 5, 2019, from <https://www.orsam.org.tr/tr/sosyal-medya-ve-arap-bah>

2. ARAB SPRING IN TUNISIA AND EGYPT

“In the widest sense, the Middle East is described as the geography containing Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Somali, Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, and Oman in the west, covering Turkey, Caucasian and Middle Asian Turkic republics, also where Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan are included, extending to Yemen from Saudi Arabia in the south, surrounding the Arabian Peninsula, and where Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, and Palestine are located in the center. In the narrow sense, it is defined as the region where Egypt is located in the West, Turkey and Iran in the North, and including Oman Bay in the east and Aden Bay and Yemen in the south.”⁹³

“The region is also a region where theocratic and modern democratic countries are next to each other. The importance of the Middle East increased in the western world since the end of 19th century. Behind this competition are the underground resources of the region, especially oil; at the same time, the political structure laid the way for the competition of the western countries. This is why the position of the Middle East on the world became such important.”⁹⁴

“The social changes experienced in the Middle East developed similar to the formation of social classes and changes in the production types in Europe. The events triggering these changes were started by the kings and the west entering the region with the “mandate” regime when the Ottoman State collapsed used this situation. Because of this, it is possible to say that social change was formed randomly and still continues in the Middle East.”⁹⁵

2.1. General overview on the political and social history of Tunisia and Egypt

In order to understand the Arab Spring, the first sparkles of which emerged with Mohamed Bouazizi burning himself for protesting in 2010, then turned into a social protest and virtually spread to the Arab geography, caused regime changes as a result. First of all, it is required to look at the political and social history of the countries.

⁹³ Lewis, B. (2004). *The Middle East: 2000 years of history from the rise of christianity to the present day*. London: Phoenix.

⁹⁴ Tokgöz, O. (1972). *Türkiye ve Ortadoğu ülkelerinde radyo-televizyon sistemleri (mukayeseli bir araştırma)*. Ankara. 100.

⁹⁵ Tokgöz, O. (1972). *Türkiye ve Ortadoğu ülkelerinde radyo-televizyon sistemleri (mukayeseli bir araştırma)*. Ankara. 100.

Well, why are Tunisia and Egypt dwelled on in this study? The answer to this question is that the regimes were overthrown in a short time and both countries constitute an exemption in the Arab world because of three characteristics: the first characteristic is related with historical heritage and structural social and political balances at the macro level. The second characteristic is the clear differences between the society and government system: “Having a press, not directly criticizing Ben Ali and Mubarak but always not completely controlled by the government and universities open do the European and American universities, television channels being able to broadcast a extremely criticizing TV serial, like Yakubian Building, or a book, conveying the daily memoirs of a city traveler, like Taxi, indicate that the societies were ‘boiling’ before the rebellion.” The third characteristic is that the leaders of both countries reacted what happened late and late for sensing.⁹⁶ As it is seen, these common characteristics of Tunisia and Egypt and what was lived especially in Tunisia in 2010 and in Egypt in 2013 describe why this study focuses on these two countries. The effective role of the social media in these events caused that the focus of the study concentrates on these two countries. Because the press and media are the phenomena required to be both criticized and evaluated in the events in these countries.

“One can say that the Arab Spring, starting with Tunisia, causing big scaled events in Egypt, Yemen, Libya, Syria, Algeria, Jordan, and Bahrain and small scaled events in Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Iraq, Lebanon, and Morocco, is beyond an instantaneous rebellion, erupted as a result of many wrong application and oppressive management approaches coming from the historical process.”⁹⁷ In order to understand the reasons of this event, first it is important to look the political and social history of Tunisia and Egypt, the two countries of the region and we deal with. “Considering the development of the Middle East in the history, it is seen that the internal developments and external interventions are mutually interacted and as a result of this, a dynamic and versatile system was formed.”⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Bozarslan, H. (2012). *Ortadoğunun siyasal sosyolojisi: Arap isyanlarından önce ve sonra*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 12.

⁹⁷ Akkuş, B. (2011). Uluslararası Orta Doğu Kongresi Bildiriler Kitabı - Cilt 1 - International Middle East Congress, December 1-2nd 2011, Volume 1. (pp. 214) Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/2499608/Uluslararası_Orta_Doğu_Kongresi_Bildiriler_Kitabı_-_Cilt_1_-_International_Middle_East_Congress_December_1-2nd_2011_Volume_1

⁹⁸ Özkul, M. (2014, July 25). Ortadoğu'daki Halk Hareketlerinin Kaldıraçları: Küreselleşmenin Çelişkileri, İslami Düşünce ve Katılım (pp. 95-115) Retrieved May 22, 2019, from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/17776>

Except for the 19th century having the traces of Europe and 20th century where polycentrism was dominant, the central role of the Middle East in the history is very obvious. As stated by Bozarslan, certain cycles were present, which effects the Middle East during the history and these cycles were affected by the political developments around the region. In the period between 1918-1919 and 1948, the Arab provinces belonging to the Empire were shared, with the break of the Ottoman Empire, mandate regimes were founded and with the conflicts, eventually Arab rebellions were seen. In the period between 1948 and 1979, with the foundation of the Israel state, Palestine problem and social conflicts and military interventions emerged. It is seen that armed left movements emerged in this period in the Middle East.” In the cycle from 1979 to 1989, the event of the Iran Revolution, occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet armies and Egypt recognizing the Israel state occurred and these caused the Iran – Iraq war and Afghanistan war. When 2000s came, Kuwait was occupied by Iraq and the second gulf war erupted. As a result of these, armed Islamic rebellions emerged especially in Egypt and Algeria. As a result of the September 11 in America, occurred in 2001, lights turned to the Middle East for terror and the war against suicide attacks and terror was escalated.”⁹⁹ The political and social history of the two countries; Tunisia and Egypt, located in the Middle East and the focus of this study, will be referred in the parts below. It is beneficial to know the history of the countries for understanding with which developments the Arab Spring emerged.

2.2. Recent history of Tunisia and Egypt

In this part of the study, a short history of Tunisia and Egypt was mentioned, especially the relationship between the colonial period and the historical process of the countries with our study subject were tried to be scrutinized. Tunisia is a North African country; there are Mediterranean countries in the north and east, Libya in the southeast and Algeria in the west. “Tunisia met with Islam with the conquests of Abdullah bin Ebe Sarah in 648 and with the conquests following it, the entire country was connected to the Islamic State.”¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Bozarslan, H. (2012). *Ortadoğunun siyasal sosyolojisi: Arap isyanlarından önce ve sonra*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 19.

¹⁰⁰ Kılıç, E. (2012). *Arap Dünyası nda Entropi: Tunus, Mısır, Libya ve Suriye’de Halk Ayaklanmaları*. İstanbul: TUIÇ - YADAM. 15-37.

It is seen that Arabs won the war with local Berbers, with the coming of Arabs to Tunisia in the 7th century and this made Tunisia a country, with Arabian majority. “Tunisia passed to the Hafids’ management in the 13th century and Tunisia fell under the rule of the Ottoman Empire in 1574. After this, approximately three to four thousand janissaries garrisoned in the country and Tunisia was protected against external attacks. In this period, Tunisia became the harbor of the Turkish ships in the Mediterranean. Ottoman didn’t intervene to the internal affairs of Tunisia much and with the effect of this, the Ottoman soldiers called as ‘Dey’ declared their authority taking the advantage that the central management was far.”¹⁰¹

Tunisia stayed under the ruling of the Ottoman Empire until the end of the nineteenth century however French, with the Ottoman Empire losing power, started to gain power in the region and occupied Tunisia with the support of the British and Tunisia took under the protection of French completely with the Treaty of Bardo signed between French and Tunisian Bey in 1881. “The role of the mandate showed itself in every area of the life in Tunisia under the French mandate. The obligation to use French, instead of public’s language in the public arena was imposed, and French education was necessitated in the schools. The first resistance against French mandate was started by Sheik Mohammad Senusi, then El Mekki b. Azuz, one of the revolutionist leaders of Zeytune Madrasah, continued this resistance. Also, it is seen that the sofi systems in Tunisia resisted against French mandate.”¹⁰²

The real independency fight of Tunisia started with the leadership of Habib Bourguiba, the leader of Neo Destour Party however the World War Two, started in this process, caused that Tunisia turned into a war arena. Following the war, this independency fight accelerated and made that French retreats. French started to the negotiations with the local leaders of Tunisia in 1954. “In this process, Bourguiba struggled with both the in-party opposition and the attempt of the Arab nationalist to solve the problem with military ways. One of the most important reasons that the French government wanted to meet with Bourguiba was that Arab nationalists tended to increasing violence movements between 1952 and 1955. Bourguiba supported the negotiation process.”¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Ulutaş, U., & Torlak, F. (2012). *Mısırdaki Siyasi Aktörler, Partiler, Dini Hareketler ve Medya*. Ankara: SETA.

¹⁰² Ulutaş, U., & Torlak, F. (2012). *Mısırdaki Siyasi Aktörler, Partiler, Dini Hareketler ve Medya*. Ankara: SETA.

¹⁰³ Ayhan, V. (2012, January). “*Tunus İsyanı: Arapların Devrim Ateşini Yakması*” p. 65 Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/209672>

“With the start of this process, 3000 arms were collected from the Neo Destour military resistant groups.”¹⁰⁴ “The fruit of the negotiations started at the end of 1954 was the cancellation of the Treaty of Bardo and French retreat and as a result of them retreating, Tunisia achieving the independency in 1956.”¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, considering the history of Egypt, this country is a land of civilizations, the roots of which dates back to 5000 B.C. Egypt, hosting a lot of civilizations during the history remained to the rule of lower and upper Egyptian kingdoms, Menes Dynasty, Persians, Macedonian Alexander the Great, Roma and Byzantium and passed to the Arab domination during the reign of Caliph Omar in 640. “Managements of Arab and Turkish origin ruled until it passed to the Ottoman Dynasty domination in 1516.”¹⁰⁶

After Selim I. annexed Egypt to the Ottoman soil in 1516, the management of the Egypt was executed by the governors assigned by the center. With the weakening of the Ottoman Empire at the start of the 19th century, Egypt also became a place on which British and French got their eyes, like the other countries of the North Africa and Arab peninsula. “Dominating over Egypt, which is on the India trade route of the west, the country had a great importance for British and French. The success achieved in the wars made with French in this period encouraged the Egyptian governors to rebel against the Ottomans and the weak structure of the Ottoman Empire paved the way for Egypt gaining autonomy in the management system.”¹⁰⁷

“With the opening of the Suez Channel, connecting the Mediterranean to Red Sea and the foundations of which was laid by the Ottoman Empire, by Britannia, the east policy of the Europe changed and Europe added the Arabian world to the trade route and started to reach the Far East in a shorter way.”¹⁰⁸ The country, virtually under the Ottoman Empire when British started to set foot on Egypt, was occupied by the British in 1882.

¹⁰⁴ Salem, N. (1984). *Habib Bourguiba, Islam and the creation of Tunisia*. London: Croom Helm.

¹⁰⁵ Ulutaş, U., & Torlak, F. (2012). *Mısırda Siyasi Aktörler, Partiler, Dini Hareketler ve Medya*. Ankara: SETA.

¹⁰⁶ Academy, K. (n.d.). Antik Mısır Uygarlığı. Retrieved May 30, 2019, from <https://tr.khanacademy.org/humanities/world-history/world-history-beginnings/ancient-egypt-hittites/a/egypt-article>

¹⁰⁷ Academy, K. (n.d.). Antik Mısır Uygarlığı. Retrieved May 30, 2019, from <https://tr.khanacademy.org/humanities/world-history/world-history-beginnings/ancient-egypt-hittites/a/egypt-article>

¹⁰⁸ Kayaoğlu, I. (1985). *İslâm kurumları tarihi*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi basımevi. 199.

“In the same period, British provoked many regions, especially Iraq, Oman, Arabia, and Syria, under the domination of Ottoman and caused them to revolt by stirring up via missionary activities and agents. Egypt, faithful to the Caliphate opposed to the British occupation and colony because it adapted Islamic religion and as a result of that a great majority of its population is Muslim. Even though Egypt achieved the independency under the management of Farouk of Egypt after the World War One, it couldn’t get rid of the British.”¹⁰⁹

Egypt, under the dominion of British until the World War, was occupied by German and Italian troops with the beginning of the war. Egypt, engaging with the war officially until 1945, declared war to Germany and Japan. Just after the war, Egypt declared its full independency in 1945 and ended British ruling. “Farouk of Egypt, ascending to the throne with the death of his father Fuad I, averted the wars and rebellions encountered by his country, couldn’t repair the economy and military coup was staged in 1952 in Egypt burdened with high foreign debts. As a result of the coup, Farouk of Egypt was banished and Egypt was declared as a republic one year after late. General Naguib became the president.”¹¹⁰

In the following parts, the political and social structures, management ways, the groups affecting the management and socioeconomic situations of Tunisia and Egypt will be evaluated. Furthermore, because the formation of the Arab Spring took place after a rebellion, the civil society movements and rebellions in the recent history of these countries and the Greater Middle East Initiative will be mentioned because it is the subject with which the other countries are closely related in the Middle East.

2.3. Political and social structure

As it was emphasized before, the Arab Spring is not a result of an instantaneous incident or instantaneous eruption of accumulated anger. The Arab Spring is a historical process. Because of this, it is required to evaluate the political and social structures of Tunisia and Egypt at this point of the study. In both countries, there are different political structurings, developed in different times and therefore changes in the social life. First Tunisia, then Egypt will be examined from this point of view.

¹⁰⁹ Arı, T. (2004). *Geçmişten günümüze Ortadoğu: Siyaset, savaş ve diplomasi*. İstanbul: Alfa. 179.

¹¹⁰ Arı, T. (2004). *Geçmişten günümüze Ortadoğu: Siyaset, savaş ve diplomasi*. İstanbul: Alfa. 181.

When dealing this part, it should be read considering the events developed afterwards, the rebellions, and that in conclusion how they would cause and affect the Arab Spring.

2.4. Political social structure of Tunisia in the recent history

Habib Bourguiba, just after winning the independency struggle put for years, overthrew the kingdom regime and founded the Republic of Tunisia in 1957 and became the first president of Tunisia. “Even though the Bourguiba had reforms and a more secular management approach, there was a single party (Socialist Destour Party) administration in the country. The soft policy of Bourguiba against Israel caused severe criticisms in the Arabian geography. Tunisian parliament announced Bourguiba as “lifelong president” in 1975.”¹¹¹

In this period, slowly some voices against the regime and economic problems started to rise in the country. The protest actions of the labor union were oppressed with harsh intervention and the union managers were arrested in 1978. “The opposing movements and protests, started in the country, and the rebellion against the single party regime continued to grow. In order to smoothen down the events and decrease the tension, the political parties’ law was enacted and the way for founding new political parties was laid. Tunisia ended to the single party period which lasted until 1981 from the date the country achieved its independency and the elections done in 1981 were performed with multiple parties.”¹¹²

“Socialist Constitutional Party won the 1981 elections with vast majority. President Bourguiba left the office due to alleged health problems in 1987, entering a new political process. Bourguiba leaving the office is defined as a silent revolution in the Tunisian history. Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, the prime minister of the period, took on the presidency after Bourguiba.”¹¹³

¹¹¹ Ayhan, V. (2012, January). “*Tunus İsyanı: Arapların Devrim Ateşini Yakması*” 66 Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/209672>

¹¹² Ulutaş, U., & Torlak, F. (2012). *Mısırdaki Siyasi Aktörler, Partiler, Dini Hareketler ve Medya*. Ankara: SETA.

¹¹³ Tanrıverdi, N. (2011). Tunus'ta Halk Ayaklanması: Nedenleri ve Etkileri .27 Retrieved May 19, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/1547825/Tunusta_Halk_Ayaklanması_Nedenleri_ve_Etkileri

“Ben Ali, the new president, performed reforms for linearization, took a rigid attitude especially against radical Islamists in Tunisia and found an authoritarian regime in the country.”¹¹⁴ Ben Ali maintained the presidency duty until 2011 when the Jasmine Revolution took place and had to leave the country after the revolution.

2.5. Political and social structure of Egypt in the recent history

“The role of Egypt is big in the balances in the region with respect to both population and economy. There are requests from socialism, liberalism, authoritarian republicanism and conservative part in her political structure. The date of political party formations dates back to the beginning of 1900s in Egypt. The National Party, founded by Mustafa Kamil in 1907 gained a strong place in the political life of Egypt. El Umma (the Nation) founded by Ahmed Lutfi a short time after this started a fight for rescuing the country from British occupation.”¹¹⁵ “Another important party was Wafd Party, supported by the powerful spheres in Egypt and got authorization for negotiation with British for rescuing from the occupation. Egyptian Communist Party, founded by Husni Urabi in 1922 and El-Islah party founded by Sheik Ali Yusuf are the other two important political parties in the political history of Egypt.”¹¹⁶

The recent political history of Egypt is needed to be assessed under four titles: Kingdom and Monarchy (1923 – 1952), Gamal Abdel Nasser period (1952 – 1970), Anwar Sadat period (1970 – 1981) and Hosni Mubarak period (1981 – 2011). Morsi period and the 2013 coup are needed to be studied as two separate titles for assessing the current political position of Egypt.

“Until 1920s, the dynasty of Muhammad Ali of Egypt, considered as the founder of the country and landowners played an effective role in the government. Egypt announced unilaterally her independency against Britain, prepared a constitution and passed to the constitutional monarchy in 1923. In this period, the bourgeois class started to come to the efficient power position in Egypt.

¹¹⁴ Koçak, K. A. (2012). Yasemin Devrimi'nden Arap Baharı'na Tunus. pp. 45. Retrieved June 3, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/6998522/Yasemin_Devriminden_Arap_Baharı_na_Tunus

¹¹⁵ Yıldırım, R., & Abdülcelil, T. (2011). *Mısırda Siyasi Aktörler, Partiler, Dini Hareketler ve Medya*. Ankara: SETA.

¹¹⁶ Arı, T. (2004). *Geçmişten günümüze Ortadoğu: Siyaset, savaş ve diplomasi*. İstanbul: Alfa. 187.

Because the political life and parties developed disconnected from the social links, King and the British forces continued to have an effect on the country.”¹¹⁷ “Wafd party, nationalist and independency supporter, had a more serious social base compared with the others. The public support of the King Fuad I. was weak and in a struggle for securing his throne by using the conflict between Wafd party and Britain.”¹¹⁸

However, Fuad I. was timid against nationalist reactions and repealed the constitution because of this. Wafd had the position of a real representative of the public. The idea supported by this party was getting rid of the British domination and making equating the constitution with the authorities of the king.

“Wafd Party, even though it succeeded that Fuad put the constitution in effect but couldn’t end the British dominance. Following Fuad I, Farouk of Egypt and Fuad II. came to the power and this period didn’t make a good impression on the Egyptian people because of the abundance of corruption and bribe and the pressure of the British. The socioeconomic and political problems couldn’t be solved. The Egyptian people became angry gradually because of the British dominance, they couldn’t get rid of in any way and the other reasons listed above. This is the situation that set the ground for the foundation of the Muslim Brothers in 1928.”¹¹⁹ The Muslim Brothers Organization will be elaborated in detail in the oncoming parts.

“The foundation of Israel and rising of Arab nationalism ensured that fuel is added to Wafd party and secular nationalism approach. The political and social conditions mentioned above prepared an environment very suitable for the expectation for the emergence of a forceful leader in Egypt. Following the Arab-Israeli War, erupted in 1948, Free Officers seized the power with a coup in 1958. Egypt was announced as a republic in 1953.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Örmeci, O. (2011). Mısır: Siyasal Tarihi ve Bugünü Caspian Weekly. Retrieved June 3, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/428000/Örmeci_Ozan_2011_Mısır_Siyasal_Tarihi_ve_Bugünü_Caspian_Weekly

¹¹⁸ Binder, L. (1978). *In a moment of enthusiasm: Political power and the second stratum in Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 28.

¹¹⁹ Örmeci, O. (2011). Mısır: Siyasal Tarihi ve Bugünü Caspian Weekly. Retrieved June 3, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/428000/Örmeci_Ozan_2011_Mısır_Siyasal_Tarihi_ve_Bugünü_Caspian_Weekly

¹²⁰ Baker, R. W. (1978). *Egypt's uncertain revolution under nasser and sadat*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press. 29.

Three years after the declaration of the republic, Lieutenant Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser was elected the president in 1956, being a single candidate. Nasser, consulting the opinions of the other members of the revolution at the beginning of coming to the office, he managed to determine a single party authoritarian-bureaucratic regime in time.

“A constitution founded on a single party political system was put into effect. Abdel Nasser, having a socialist economic opinion, was actually an Arab nationalist. With the effect of this, he closed all the other political parties and suppressed the opposing Muslim Brothers. Nasser was the charismatic leader, waited by the Egypt, but he conducted his administration depending on this charisma, not political bases. It can't be said that the public is completely represented in the Nasser period, empowered because it was supported by the nationalist movement.”¹²¹

“The crisis that emerged related with the Suez Channel was actually both the continuity and inevitable result of the tension between Britain and Egypt after the World War II. Even though the Anglo-Egyptian treaty, signed in 1954, seemed to solve the Suez problem, actually the role of Britain in the Middle East and its base in the Suez Channel still was not wanted by Egypt. The Baghdad Pact was signed in 1955. The developments occurred as a result of this, alienated Egypt from the west. The crisis erupted with the nationalization of the Canal by Nasser and can be considered as a result of these developments.”¹²²

“The foreign policy of Nasser, while it was moderate at the beginning, became sharper and rigid in time. The eruption of the Suez Crisis in 1956 was caused by the Nasser's attempt to nationalize the Canal. Nasser, domineering the Canal, reinforced his leadership charisma. It wouldn't be wrong to call the administration system built by Nasser as populist-authoritarian. Egypt was modernized in this period. Egypt and Syria were merged in 1958 but this merge ended after three years with the withdrawal of Syria. Nasser, turned to a more pro-Soviet attitude against the attitude of the west. Thanks to the leaps both with respect to the industrialization and in the women rights and education, Nasser remained as a popular leader.”¹²³

¹²¹ Efegil, E. (2013). Mısır ve Ürdün'ün Dış Politikalarını Şekillendiren Unsurlar. (pp. 22-24) Retrieved June 4, 2019, from <https://www.ozelburoistihbarat.com/Content/images/archieve/ortadogu-dosyasi-misir-ve-urdunun-dis-politikalarini-sekillendiren-unsurlar-4d6d44ea-bd5a-4791-bb0b-ecc963bf8ba2.pdf>

¹²² Kürkçüoğlu, O. E. (1972). *Türkiye'nin arap orta doğusu'na karşı politikası: (1945-1970)*. Ankara. 85.

¹²³ Kılıç, E. (2012). *Arap Dünyası nda Entropi: Tunus, Mısır, Libya ve Suriye'de Halk Ayaklanmaları*. İstanbul: TUIÇ - YADAM. 22.

“Various rebellions became almost a part of the daily life in Egypt since 2006: the incidents and organizations such as the April 6 Movement, March 20 Movement, March 9 Movement (for the independency of universities), Kefaya, i.e. Egyptian movement for change, Women for Change (Mesreyat Maa el-Tagyir), Coordination Committee for Defending Labor Rights, Committee for Defending Insurance Funds, Egyptian Hand Workers Center, Retirees Federation, Engineers against Seizure, Neighborhood Committee for Labor Consciousness, Intervention for Change are in the foundation of the resistance in Egypt.”¹²⁴

3. Role of social media: “Arab Spring” – Egyptian and Tunisian events

It is beneficial to mention this title which will be studied in detail in part three of the thesis, by linking it with the social media notion. In the events started in Tunisia, the public, tired of social injustice, unemployment, and poverty, poured into the streets and this situation occupied the internet and social media platforms within a short time, brought to the agenda of the central media from there and kept the world politics busy.

“A similar time was lived in Egypt too. With the computer programmer, called Khaled Said, 28, who broadcasted the images related to the drug dealers of the polices over YouTube and Facebook in June, 2010, was consequently killed by the police when in custody. This resulted in the fact that the role and power of the protests in Egypt increased.”¹²⁵ Social media user, the Egyptian youth founded a group called “we are all Khaled Said” in Facebook and reacted against the police violence. “The Facebook page, founded by Wael Ghonim, one of the top managers of Google in Egypt, announced the demonstration to be performed in Tahrir Square on January 25, 2011, reached to 400 thousand participants in a short time. Pages were opened for the protests demonstrations in Algeria, Bahrain, Syria, and Morocco. In a short time, the Egyptian and Tunisian governments fell.”¹²⁶ “The social media revealed her collective action means side in Tunisia and Egypt and enabled that the rebellions gained a lot of power.”¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Prashad, V., & Alpagut, S. (2012). *Arap baharı, Libya kışı*. İstanbul: Yordam Kitap. 37.

¹²⁵ Erbay, N. Ö, (2012). *Sosyal Medyada "Arap Baharı"*. P.4 Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38796751/Sosyal_Medyada_Arap_Baharı

¹²⁶ Erbay, N. Ö, (2012). *Sosyal Medyada "Arap Baharı"*. P.4 Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38796751/Sosyal_Medyada_Arap_Baharı

¹²⁷ Gerbaudo, P. (2012). *Tweets and the streets: Social media and contemporary activism*. London: Pluto Press. 55.

“It was seen that the public announced the victory with the Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, Tunisian Prime Minister, escaping abroad on January 16, 2011. With the rebellion movements jumping to Egypt from Tunisia, the Egyptian government seen the effect of the social media on organizing, blocked off the Twitter usage. It was seen that he substantially minimized the access to Facebook, Yahoo, and Google. It was seen that the Egyptian government closed the internet access and mobile phone networks on January 28, 2011. How much these block offs damaged the economy of the country is a known reality. OECD announced that the loss of Egypt as a result of these block offs reached to 90 million dollars.”¹²⁸

“In conclusion, after all attempts done against internet access, Hosni Mubarak, the President of Egypt, resigned on February 11, 2011. While Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Jordan, and Yemen are the countries where the Arab Spring is the most efficient, in Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and Morocco, small sized effects were seen.”¹²⁹ “Bouazizi in Tunisia and Khaled Said in Egypt were the icons of the Arab revolutions and their lives ending as the victims of the existing regimes accelerated the activism of especially young population using social media in these channels.”¹³⁰

“Aside from provoking the denominational differences in the Arab Spring, the first one of the causing events was the request for democratization, increasing gradually in the recent years, in the countries where the Arab Spring was lived and the desire for regularly making the election procedure based on a certain calendar. The other reason is that the young population does not respect the old leaders like the previous generations and their wish to increase their communication with the world thanks to the means increasing with globalization. The youth, as seen during protests, communicated via internet and mobile phone and this empowered political participation, even if via protest. By this way, the young population having an efficient role in establishing communication with the world was at the forefront of the Arab Spring.”¹³¹

¹²⁸ Çıldan, C. (2011). Sosyal Medyanın Politik Katılım ve Hareketlerdeki Rolü. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/5166743/Sosyal_Medyanın_Politik_Katılım_ve_Hareketlerdeki_Rolü

¹²⁹ Çıldan, C. (2011). Sosyal Medyanın Politik Katılım ve Hareketlerdeki Rolü. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/5166743/Sosyal_Medyanın_Politik_Katılım_ve_Hareketlerdeki_Rolü

¹³⁰ Erbay, N. Ö, (2012). *Sosyal Medyada "Arap Baharı"*. p. 9 Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38796751/Sosyal_Medyada_Arap_Baharı

¹³¹ Erbay, N. Ö, (2012). *Sosyal Medyada "Arap Baharı"*. p. 9 Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38796751/Sosyal_Medyada_Arap_Baharı

Furthermore, it formed another important dimension of the rebellion that most of the Arab population in North Africa and the Middle East is under 30 and that the young unemployed ratios are at of the highest ratio, reaching to 10 percent and 30 percent in some places.

It is obvious that the usage ratios of satellite televisions, mobile phones, YouTube, Facebook, Twitter showed an increase with the technological developments. Besides, considering the intensity which the social media was used in the Tunisia and Egypt events, the substantial increase in the usage ratios of Facebook, Twitter and microblogs at the end of 2010 and the first quarter of 2011 when the rebellion started is remarkable. "In this process, social media channels and internet were used for organizing and announcing the protest demonstrations. At the same time, YouTube and Podcasts became effective platforms for ensuring that the images and voice on the events are distributed. All these were also distributed to the conventional media."¹³²

"Erbay, in his study, says that "there are more than 60 million internet users, consisting of 17 percent of the Arabian geography population, today covering the countries in the Middle East and North Africa."¹³³ While the number of the internet users in Egypt was not even 500 thousand at the beginning of 2000s, it became 17 million with an increase of 3 691 percent in the last decade. The number of internet users, which was 100 thousand in 2000s, became over 3.5 million today in Tunisia. Erbay, in his essay, says that Tunisia, with the internet usage ratio of 34 percent, is the leading among the countries where internet is used most commonly on the African continent.

"The internet and social media means, forbidden from time to time during the demonstrations in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt raised to record levels after the lifting of the prohibition. In the research made among the Facebook users in Egypt and Tunisia in March, 2011, by Dubai Social Sciences School, 31 percent of the participants defined Facebook as a social media platform used for raising awareness among the people during protests. Twenty four percent of the participants in Egypt, participating in the research and 33 percent of the Facebook users in Tunisia stated that they used Facebook for spreading the demonstrations and also for sharing all information with the entire world. 22 percent of the activists in Tunisia stated that they used these channels for organizing.

¹³² Erbay, N. Ö, (2012). *Sosyal Medyada "Arap Baharı"*. p. 9 Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38796751/Sosyal_Medyada_Arap_Baharı

¹³³ Erbay, N. Ö, (2012). *Sosyal Medyada "Arap Baharı"*. p. 9 Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38796751/Sosyal_Medyada_Arap_Baharı

A part less than 15 percent states that they use Facebook for amusing or social needs.”¹³⁴ How the social media means are used gained importance in for the Arab Spring for reaching the masses. For example, the rebellions in Tunisia started to spread on Twitter way before appearing in the conventional media, Al Jazeera Television, centered in Doha, Qatar, broadcasting in the international arena, starting from the sharing in the social media sites, broadcasted all developments to the world. “The activist in Tunisia collected the information and images from the streets, by this way, organized the protests, performed their communication via Mumble application, they think as safer than Skype. The activist in Egypt send the live images to Tunisia via telephones with satellite link, the images there, after becoming sharable over Facebook and Twitter, spread to the entire world. Especially the images of the activist, injured as a result of the fire shot by the police shared over Facebook and YouTube. Then the result of it was that the protests spread even faster.”¹³⁵ “It should be stated that the importance of Al Jazeera Television in the process was big. The flexible structure of the Al Jazeera television, compared with the other international news networks, the channel preferring Facebook and the other social media networks, which are rich with respect to the content and images made that the power of the conventional media, in addition to the internet, in the revolution, were visible.”¹³⁶

“Türkden also points out that the “social media gun” used in these change movements was not used only inside the country.”¹³⁷ Considering the strategic location of Egypt and Tunisia countries, it is seen that the activists of the other countries did some supporting attempts too. In a news published in BBC Turkey, Hillary Clinton, Foreign Secretary of United States of America, stated that “she would help the activist in the countries oppressing and where the freedom of organization is restricted and said an aid package of approximately 25 million dollar would be provided, including technology, equipments and training.”¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Erdem, B. K. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye*. Çağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 176

¹³⁵ Erbay, N. Ö. (2012). *Sosyal Medyada "Arap Baharı"*. p. 9 Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38796751/Sosyal_Medyada_Arap_Bahari

¹³⁶ Gökçe, O. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye*. Çağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 58.

¹³⁷ Türkden, H. (2014, August 20). Bu neyin baharı? Retrieved May 16, 2019, from <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/90284/bu-neyin-bahari>

¹³⁸ Türkden, H. (2014, August 20). Bu neyin baharı? Retrieved May 16, 2019, from <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/90284/bu-neyin-bahari>

By this way, one sees that the USA, very clearly indicated that they would make attempts supporting the opposing movements according to their interests. “For these social movements described as Arab Spring, some analysts assess the situation that the USA was behind the events and it is the restructuring of the geography in the scope of Greater Middle East Initiative. With this respect, a perspective that what mobilized the internal dynamics in the Arab geography was the external forces gaining strength.”¹³⁹ The opinions of Hüsni Mahalli, supporting this perspective, seem as very important. Hüsni Mahalli says in his article titled “Democracy is an excuse” that: “Even the American newspapers comes and says ‘CIA supports Syrian opposition’ but some people still mentions the democracy struggle in this country and don’t see the big game tried to be played there, don’t want to see or it is not permitted that they see”. Mahalli remarks the existence of a hegemonic perspective doing everything as planned and scheduled.”¹⁴⁰

“Sinan Oğan is more moderate but gives the big share again to the USA, saying “USA converting these revolutions to a transformation project by triggering doesn’t invalidate the righteous democracy requests and endeavors of the Tunisian and Egyptian people.”¹⁴¹ Oğan points out that the USA, is described as the hegemonic power of the world which monitors the important events that emerged worldwide. Kutlay and Dinçer also interpret this situation as the necessity of being a global actor in their essay. Kutlay and Dinçer say the “USA wishes to shape the period after Hosni Mubarak in Egypt in the framework of her interest, therefore USA is in contact with the key actors in the country.”¹⁴² “The G-8 countries, in September, 2011, in order to support the free and democratic passage processes of the countries experiencing Arab Spring, decided that the World Bank would give 10 billion and 7 million dollar credit; African Development Bank 7 billion and 8 million; and Islam Development Bank 5 million dollars. Despite that the Arabian geography is the other of the west for hundreds of years.”¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Kutlay, M. & Dinçer, O. (2011). Arap Baharı, ABD'nin Hegemonik Projesi" midir p. 103 Retrieved May 22, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/35823965/Arap_Baharı_ABDnin_Hegemonik_Projesi_midir

¹⁴⁰ Kutlay, M. & Dinçer, O. (2011). Arap Baharı, ABD'nin Hegemonik Projesi" midir p. 103 Retrieved May 22, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/35823965/Arap_Baharı_ABDnin_Hegemonik_Projesi_midir

¹⁴¹ Kutlay, M. & Dinçer, O. (2011). Arap Baharı, ABD'nin Hegemonik Projesi" midir p. 104 Retrieved May 22, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/35823965/Arap_Baharı_ABDnin_Hegemonik_Projesi_midir

¹⁴² Kutlay, M. & Dinçer, O. (2011). Arap Baharı, ABD'nin Hegemonik Projesi" midir p. 104 Retrieved May 22, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/35823965/Arap_Baharı_ABDnin_Hegemonik_Projesi_midir

¹⁴³ Erdem, B. K. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye*. Çağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 178.

Chomsky summarizes this situation: “Stage a coup if there are democratic elections. If there is no environment for staging a coup, make the environment available, then bring a dictator to power; if the dictator doesn’t follow the international money rules, mentions being free in economic sense, god forbid doesn’t want to share oil and other social richness, pour the people to the streets again, and continue the cycle.”¹⁴⁴

With this respect, Erdem, in his essay, points out the imperial cycle on the Arabian geography and wants to point out the existence of the claims that the west is keeping Arab people under control even until today, lifted the break for the regimens which she made that survived almost without problem for years, and it is targeted to break the Islamic regimes and to establish the regimes to be shaped by the hand of the west. Therefore, it is emphasized that the support and intervention news, emerged in the Arab Spring have a nature injuring the local and spontaneous identity of the rebellions. For example, it is mentioned that the people didn’t communicate only over Facebook and Twitter in the demonstrations in Daraa. “A communication network was created by the activists with the Thuraya mobile satellite phones, procured from the United Arab Emirates. These phones were provided by a crown prince of an emirate, furthermore it was ensured that guns smuggled to the country, and their money was paid by Prince Bandar, former Washington Ambassador of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.”¹⁴⁵

With this respect, Albrecht Hofheinz points out to another perspective by saying “the Arabian societies, fighting for determining their own independency and destiny, are required to defend themselves for they are not the puppets of a new colonialist American company, ensuring that the western ideas are imported.”¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Erdem, B. K. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye*. Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 164.

¹⁴⁵ Erdem, B. K. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye*. Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 169.

¹⁴⁶ Erdem, B. K. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye*. Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 180.

3.1. Administration model and approach of the countries

Considering the Arab Spring as a domino, the first domino was Tunisia. In the Tunisia's process of passing to the democracy university student Bouazizi, who burnt himself, as a reaction that his cart was seized by force by a police officer in December, 2010, was an important starting point. "This incident can be accepted as the starting point of the road to the revolution. In October 23rd, 2011, a free election was performed for the first time in the country nine months later, after Zine el Abidine Ben Ali's overthrown. The winner of the election was the En-Nahda Movement. The leader of resurrection/renaissance movement, Rashid al-Ghannushi stated that both the Islamic traditions are adhered to and it is required that it should be open for reforms."¹⁴⁷

The 217 council members, forming the new constitution and government, were elected via votes by the Tunisians. The En-Nahda Movement won 90 chairs with 41 percent votes; Republican Party Congress, leftist and secular, had 30 representatives, Ettakatol, another leftist party, i.e. Democratic Forum for Labor and Liberties 21. Hechmi Hamdi, one of the rich businessman of Tunisia, living in London, could carry 19 candidates from the Popular Petition. En-Nahda still needed 19 candidates more.

Ones knowing the Arabian world and Tunisia wasn't be surprised that En-Nahda movement came to the power after the escape of Zine el Abidine, whereas western opinion very surprised for this situation because Tunisia was the most modern country where the literacy rate is the highest of the Arab countries, and also can be considered as the most secularist one. In this case, how come an 'Islamic' party, like En-Nahda comes out of the elections? "The foundation of En-Nahda movements goes back to 1970s, however it couldn't be organized adequately because of the oppression of Bourguiba and Zine el Abidine. It remained mainly as a civilian movement until Ghannushi and his friends could bring the movement to the political arena in 1981. Some concerns emerged in the world public because of the incidents seen after the elections took place in a transparent and democratic environment. Ghannushi acted in a moderate manner on how the foreign affairs progress and how the new government would affect the secular structure in Tunisia.

¹⁴⁷ Kılıç, E. (2012). *Arap Dünyası nda Entropi: Tunus, Mısır, Libya ve Suriye'de Halk Ayaklanmaları*. İstanbul: TUIÇ - YADAM. 15.

According to the political program stated by Ghannushi before the elections, the life styles of the people wouldn't be intervened, laicism would be maintained and "pluralist – equalitarian" administration model would be continued."¹⁴⁸

"Ghannushi, according to the messages he gave to the international press organizations, would give importance to the women's rights, raise the role and voice of women in the political arena and he would rule by internalizing laicism."¹⁴⁹ What was understood here is that Ghannushi wouldn't do radical Islamic changes. French colony, maintained by means of Ben Ali, was ended with the revolution, the USA's interest on Tunisia increased and the signals were given that Tunisia can be turned into an international competition area later on.

Considering the administration model of Egypt before and during the Arab Spring, it is possible to say that the law system depends on both Islamic and civil law approach. The executive power in Egypt belongs to the president. Broad authority was granted to the president with the 1971 constitution. The president, responsible for defending the country, is also considered as the highest ranked commander of the military force. The known history of Egypt is approximately six thousand years old and because of this there is a very diverse demographic structure in the country. "With respect to the political structure, there is a wide political approach mosaic covering authoritarian socialism, liberalism, authoritarian regime, and conservative perspective. The party formation started at the beginning of the 19th century. However, in the reigns of Gamal Abdel Nasser (1952-1970), Anwar el-Sadat (1970-1981) and Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011), the political developments in the west couldn't be followed adequately. Hizbu'l Umme (People's Party) founded during British occupation became the symbol of the national resistance of that time. The Wafd (Delegate) Party, founded in the next period conducted negotiations with the British and supported for years by many parts in Egypt. El-Hizbu's Şuyui'yyu'l-Mısırî (Egyptian Communist Party) founded by Husni Urabi in 1922 and Hizbu'l-Islah (Reform Party) were effective on the social structure after khedivate."¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Yıldırım, R., & Abdulcelil, T. (2011). *Mısırdaki Siyasi Aktörler, Partiler, Dini Hareketler ve Medya*. Ankara: SETA.

¹⁴⁹ BBC World. (2011, January 13). Tunisia President Ben Ali 'will not seek new term'. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12187084>

¹⁵⁰ Yıldırım, R., & Abdulcelil, T. (2011). *Mısırdaki Siyasi Aktörler, Partiler, Dini Hareketler ve Medya*. Ankara: SETA.

“Administrators of Egypt didn’t act adequately sensitive against the requests of the public and some attempted reform movements didn’t give the expected result. Especially in the Mubarak reign, the problems gradually increased with the rise of the social problems. Muslim Brothers formed two third of the parliamentarians with a vote ratio of 71.5 percent in November 28th, 2011.”¹⁵¹

The first tour of the presidential elections was done in May 23 – 24th of 2012. The resulting panorama was very interesting: Mursi, the representative of the Muslim Brothers and Ahmed Shafik, the last prime minister of overthrown leader Mubarak were the two candidates who survived the first round. The participation in the second round, made in June 16-17th, 2012, was only 46 percent. Mursi won the elections but there was only small support difference between them. The concerns on reshaping the state increased with the election of Mursi. In short, the old – new struggle still continued. Anyway, this process played an important role for Egypt in the development of the Arab Spring.

3.2. Economic situation

“During the French Revolution people in France reacted to the extremely high bread prices, the staple food and the end of Marie Antoinette, known to comment the hunger by saying: “Let them eat cake. People’s need for “the bread” overcame the fear against power. It is a known fact that this situation is also effective in the Arab Spring. The public, rebelling as a result of the authoritarian regime and economic problems, started a revolution current.”¹⁵² The pacifist approach and strategies of Tunisia is interesting for USA and EU. In the country where more than half of the soil is agricultural soil, unfortunately all of these soils are not suitable for agriculture. The stable and competitive economy of Tunisia made it to become one of the strong economies of the region. Tourism sector and service sector are the essential means of living of Tunisia. “Phosphate production is among the important income sources. The biggest leg of the revenue consists of the tourism sector.

¹⁵¹ TRT, H. (2012, January 21). TRT Haber. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <http://www.trthaber.com/>

¹⁵² Prashad, V., & Alpagut, S. (2012). *Arap baharı, Libya kışı*. İstanbul: Yordam Kitap. 38.

Besides, the service sector, agriculture, textile, light industry and phosphate production are the other income sources.”¹⁵³ “Following the announcement of the republic, the state intervened to the economy substantially until 1970s. The soils hold by the foreigners as a result of colonialism were expropriated and distributed to the villages. The incentives to the private sector increased since 1972 however full transition to the free market economy goes to 1987. The socialist economy policies pursued in 1960s, impeded the foreign investments and caused devaluation in the Tunisian Dinar for the first time in 1964. The irregularity and bottleneck in the economy pushed the public to the equal life rights struggle and caused protests.”¹⁵⁴

The protests, continuously increasing, put the regime into trouble. Consequently, the economic reform attempts were done. “Habib Bourguiba dismissed the minister of economy, Ahmed Ben Salah, former prime ministers of UGTT and who gave importance to the socialist economy and appointed Habib Ashura, who believed in liberal economy replacing Salah. This is a symbol of the reform attempts. However, the attempts for transition to the liberal economy couldn’t be successful until 1987 because of the opponents that were supporting social economy against Bourguiba.”¹⁵⁵

“The development of the trade unions increased the pressure on the government. Some of the pressures for improving the salaries turned into strikes. In the general strike in 1978, Bourguiba government killed approximately 100 people, caused that many were injured and a lot of arrest incidents were experienced.”¹⁵⁶ Most of the trade union leaders, attracted attention in the strike, were arrested. One of the most important ones of these protests is the Bread Rebellion in 1984. As a result of this and similar events, even though the governments suppressed the trade unions, the actions continued. “Considering the recent history, just before the occurrence of the Arab Spring, the publication of the World Economic Forum, called Global Competitiveness Report, selected Tunisia as the foremost country for investment in Africa. On the other hand, the neoliberal policies applied didn’t satisfy the laborer people of Tunisia.

¹⁵³ Kılıç, E. (2012). *Arap Dünyası nda Entropi: Tunus, Mısır, Libya ve Suriye’de Halk Ayaklanmaları*. İstanbul: TUIÇ - YADAM. 31.

¹⁵⁴ Kılıç, E. (2012). *Arap Dünyası nda Entropi: Tunus, Mısır, Libya ve Suriye’de Halk Ayaklanmaları*. İstanbul: TUIÇ - YADAM. 32.

¹⁵⁵ Ayhan, V. (2012, January). “*Tunus İsyanı: Arapların Devrim Ateşini Yakması*” p. 68 Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/209672>

¹⁵⁶ Kılıç, E. (2012). *Arap Dünyası nda Entropi: Tunus, Mısır, Libya ve Suriye’de Halk Ayaklanmaları*. İstanbul: TUIÇ - YADAM. 30.

It is possible to see that economic reasons like these lied behind the protests.”¹⁵⁷ “Considering the economic situation in Egypt, it is not very difficult to see the role of the political events in the recent period on the economy. Before the events, the poverty figures in Egypt reached to serious sizes. Half of the population had an income less than 2 dollars per day which is considered as the poverty limit.”¹⁵⁸ “After the political protests in January 2011, the Mubarak regime leaving the office in February 2011 left an economy under heavy damage. In Egypt where the industry didn’t receive investments for almost 30 years, where the infrastructure services were lacking, where the institutionalized structures gradually weakened the country’s economy, new economic reforms were needed.”¹⁵⁹

Summarizing the situation of the Egyptian economy in the recent history: following the World War II, the Arab-Israeli War erupted in the region and ended with the defeat of the Arabian forces. As a result of this, like in all Middle East, also in Egypt, the government crisis between the nationalist parts and monarchy supported by British deepened. Even though there are different political opinions among the Free Officers taking over the power, their common denominator was that they were against the British dominance and their wish to liberalize the Egyptian economy and politics.

“Nasser administration also targeted to industrialize the Egyptian economy. The plan of Nasser on this issue is first of all creating the infrastructure and realizing big projects by the state. In the administration of Nasser, who didn’t present an attitude against the private sector or foreign investments, the “conventional import substitution model” was adapted and also, agriculture, an important foundation of the Egyptian economy, would be given priority because the role of agriculture on financing the industrialization process is big.”¹⁶⁰ A big part of the population owned land thanks to the land reforms performed in 1952, 1961 and 1969 according to these purposes. Researching the foreign sources for more investment by Nasser is one of the factors triggering the Suez Crisis. “The economists of Egypt, after the 1952 coup, brought the idea to construct a second dam on Aswan, i.e. in Nile into agenda again.

¹⁵⁷ Prashad, V., & Alpagut, S. (2012). *Arap baharı, Libya kışı*. İstanbul: Yordam Kitap. 41.

¹⁵⁸ Prashad, V., & Alpagut, S. (2012). *Arap baharı, Libya kışı*. İstanbul: Yordam Kitap. 41.

¹⁵⁹ Telli, A. (2012). Mısır Devrimi'nde Sosyal Medyanın Rolü (p.65-86). Retrieved May 14, 2019, from <http://bilgestrateji.com/makale/BS2012-2/Misir-devriminde-sosyal-medyanin-rolu.pdf>

¹⁶⁰ Atacan, F. (2004). *Değişen toplumlar değişmeyen siyaset: Ortadoğu*. İstanbul: Bağlam. 23.

However, the cost of the construction was calculated as 1 billion dollars and this figure exceeded the financial capacity of Egypt. A response came to Egypt, in search of foreign assistance, from the World Bank to the end of 1955: A credit package, participated by USA and Britain too, was approved but some conditions were imposed because of the strained relations of these two countries with Egypt. USA suddenly announced that it would revoke this offer in July, 1956. Following this, Nasser nationalized Suez Channel and stated that “he would use the revenue of the channel in the development projects, which the West rejected to undertake the sponsorship”. This news, encountered with a great enthusiasm, took the reaction of the western states because of Suez Channel, the symbol of colonialism.”¹⁶¹

Egypt, while fortifying its relationship with Soviets after the Suez Crisis, used the Soviet – USA competition in the Middle East. The importance of Nasser with respect to the Egyptian economy reign can be summarized as below:

“In the Nasser reign applying the statist model, self-sufficiency and import substitution were adapted in the consumer products. These policies of Nasser kept the opponents under control on one hand and preserved the achievements of the military elites. Egypt, in Nasser reign, went beyond being a country exporting only cotton and did the industrialization thrust and realized a income distribution on behalf of the middle class via statist policies.”¹⁶²

3.3. The applications and role of the Greater Middle East Initiative on the geography

The Greater Middle East Initiative, declared by USA, was immediately put into effect after the October 11th, 2001. As a result of the September 11 event Afghanistan, which has a strategic importance in Asia, was occupied. “Following the occupation, an operation was hold in Iraq, in the heart of the Middle East. Assessing the results of these operations seemed as successful at the first stage. Today it can be said that they didn’t accomplish the target exactly.”¹⁶³ In order to see the role and applications in the region it is required to look at the effects on Iraq which can be considered as the start point.

¹⁶¹ Cleveland, W. L., & Bunton, M. P. (2018). *A history of the modern Middle East*. New York: Routledge. 344.

¹⁶² Mabro, R. (1974). *The Egyptian economy, 1952-1972*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹⁶³ Tekkaya, D. (2009). *Büyük Ortadoğu Projesinin arka planı: (ABD-Türkiye-Ortadoğu üçgeni)*. Ankara: İmaj Yayınevi. 92.

The United States continuously mentioned the weapons of mass destruction before the Iraq operation. Powell stated that they don't abstain from fighting if required for cleaning the weapons of mass destruction in Iraq in February 3rd, 2003. "Even though he barked to the entire world that there were nuclear organizations and weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, it was proven later that this was not true. "¹⁶⁴Overthrowing Saddam in April 9th, 2003 can be considered as the most important role of GMEI in Iraq. USA performed the second gulf operation and tried its weapons by using technology power again as always. Following the overthrowing of Saddam, a lot of looting took place with street fights.

"The transition to the civil administration was performed in Iraq in June, 2004. The constitution was prepared by the constituent council and the Iraq administration would come to the power at the end of 2005. However, the 150000 occupants wouldn't go out of Iraq. In this case, it is not possible to say that the sovereignty is handed over the Iraqis ."¹⁶⁵

After the global economic crisis in 2009 rebellions and economic crises emerged in many countries in the world. There are various reasons listed above of the various revolutions that happened both in the internal order and the external relations in the Middle East. It is obvious that the rebellion of the public against the oppressive regimes in the Middle East would have radical results. In this part of the study the role, the causes and the results of the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt will be referred.

"In general, the cause of the rebellions and civil society movements depends on the economic and political regimes."¹⁶⁶ "As a result, Tunisia and Egypt, like every country in the Middle East, affected each other in this issue. It is obvious that especially Egypt was affected by the events developed in Tunisia. It should be questioned that the nation state approach in the region was changed after the Cold War. It is seen that the regimes, which are totalitarian and can't get the approval of the public, encourage the rebellions in the new world order."¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Tekkaya, D. (2009). *Büyük Ortadoğu Projesinin arka planı: (ABD-Türkiye-Ortadoğu üçgeni)*. Ankara: İmaj Yayınevi. 92.

¹⁶⁵ Tekkaya, D. (2009). *Büyük Ortadoğu Projesinin arka planı: (ABD-Türkiye-Ortadoğu üçgeni)*. Ankara: İmaj Yayınevi. 93.

¹⁶⁶ Coşkun, M. K. (2007). *Demokrasi teorileri ve toplumsal hareketler*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 100.

¹⁶⁷ Sandıklı, A., & Kaya, E. (2014). *Orta Doğu'da değişim ve Türkiye*. İstanbul: Bilgesam Yayınları. 120.

In this part of the study, especially the reasons and development processes of the social events in Tunisia and Egypt will be referred and also the role of the social media in the development of these events will be mentioned.

3.4. Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia

The protest in Tunisia, called as the “Jasmine Revolution” surprised the administrators in both the western world and the Middle East. The administrators in the Middle East continued the suppression on the public with the support of the West. After these protest movements started with the Jasmine Revolution and later on a domino effect started and the protests leaped on the other Arabian countries, especially Egypt. “The Arabian administrators started to fall out with their allies in the West. The starting point of the Jasmine Revolution was that Mohammad Bouazizi, university graduate and 26 years old, reacted by burning himself to seizure of his cart. The public, reacting on this event, started a rebellion. Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali who has been administrating the country for 23 years left the country. This incident has a symbolic meaning. For the first time, an authoritarian Arab administrator left the administration and fled from the country as a result of public rebellion.”¹⁶⁸

The message given by this situation is very clear. Now, the leaders, even if they are elected as ruler for life time, may draw reaction from the public as a result of the state of the siege they do and the economic crises they caused. These demonstrations were supported by the society too.

For the persons who do not master the Middle East studies and geography, all Arabian countries are interpreted and sensed as similar to each other. In fact, each one, especially Tunisia, is different from the other Arabian countries. “Tunisia considered with the West Europe’s door nature is the first Arabian country carrying the traces of many civilizations. Furthermore, considering in the scope of the Arabian world, Tunisia was the first Arabian country abolishing slavery (1848), which has a constitution (1861), legalized abortion (1973), and told to a dictator to leave (2011).”¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Koçak, K. A. (2012). Yasemin Devrimi'nden Arap Baharı'na Tunus. 53. Retrieved June 3, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/6998522/Yasemin_Devriminden_Arap_Baharı_na_Tunus

¹⁶⁹ El-May, M. (2011). “The Jasmine Revolution”, Turkish Policy Quarterly. 56. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <http://turkishpolicy.com/Files/ArticlePDF/the-jasmine-revolution-winter-2010-en.pdf>

“It can be thought as the country most respectful to the liberties among the other Middle East countries. However, this country deprived of the freedoms and economic rights and equality as a result of the bad and oppressing government. Again, as a result of the quest for freedom, the events ended up with the Jasmine Revolution.”¹⁷⁰ “Zine al-Abidine delivered a country, cleansed of corruption from Bourguiba who drove the country to corruption and poverty for 23 years. If there were no money stolen by the Zine Al-Abidine and his wife and his family from the country according to the predictions of the World Bank the economy of the country might be two or three points higher. The administration of Zine Al-Abidine ended in an unexpected way such that the ally France was shocked.”¹⁷¹ In Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia the young man burned himself, the fruit and vegetable cart of Mohammad Bouazizi was seized by a female officer and this university graduate young man didn’t have a job and other income resource for providing him and his family and he was faced the derogatory attitude from the officer. The reactions to this didn’t take too much time. The groups started protests in the streets and the government sent police to the public for two weeks. Behind the organization and motivation and quick spread of these demonstrations, lies the social media reality.

The slogans in the demonstrations gradually turned into slogans supporting that Ben Ali leaves. Ben Ali, in his speech in January 13th, 2011, stated that everything could change and a committee would be formed against the corruption and also he might abdicate in 2014. After the speech, even if there were ones advocating giving him some time, the result of this discussion ended up with 30,000 people coming to the Bourguiba Square in January 14th, and shouting slogans for Ben Ali to leave. This occurred in all big cities at the same time and for the first time an Arab leader was told to leave and “the game is now over”. During these demonstrations, the situation of the Tunisian army was praiseworthy. The army acting with the awareness of the constitutional rights of the people, both rejected using violence and placed tanks between the police using violence and the public. It was again the army stating the Ben Ali that he had to leave in January 14th, 2014.

¹⁷⁰ El-May, M. (2011). “The Jasmine Revolution”, Turkish Policy Quarterly. 57. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <http://turkishpolicy.com/Files/ArticlePDF/the-jasmine-revolution-winter-2010-en.pdf>

¹⁷¹ Taylor, P. (2011, January 17). Tunisian economy to be purged: Economist. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-tunisia-protests-economy/tunisian-economy-to-be-purged-economist-idUSTRE70G2HV20110117>

3.5. Tahrir Square, the center of the rebellion against the regime in Egypt

Egypt, where the protests and solidarity organizations have almost become a part of the daily life for years, having a population of 80 million, was affected by the successful protests in Tunisia of 10 million inhabitants. The public went to the squares in January 25th, 2011 and acted to the actions experience during many years. The public filling the Tahrir Square in the capital Cairo in a short time virtually turned it into a residential area. The security committees were founded, health teams were established, and people shared their opinions in the discussion platforms. The squares are the most suitable areas for protests because they are both the common areas and suitable for gathering of large numbers of people. “The Tahrir Square, similarly, is seen as the place where the fuse of the rebellions in Egypt was fired. Blumer defines the social movements as the incidents which emerged with the new order request and quest and dissatisfaction as a result of discomfort from the existing order.”¹⁷² With the events in the occurrence process of the Arab Spring, the importance of the public arenas was understood better. In the public arenas, face to face communication is possible as well as today electronic communication is taken a place, which describes how people organizes over the social networks like Twitter and Facebook.

“Thousands of Egyptians poured into the streets for protesting the dictatorship of Hosni Mubarak in January 25th, 2011. Following the rebellion, the center of which was the Tahrir Square and the protests lasted for eighteen days, Mubarak left the office and the power was taken by the military council. The protests brought the power of the social media as a mobilization means into the forefront.”¹⁷³ Social media should not be taken as a reason for the revolts, as Gerbaudo says, it should be assessed as a factor with which its power is understood better.

“Especially Tahrir and Rabia squares became the center of anti-regime movements in Egypt, Pearl Square in Bahrain and Green Square in Libya.”¹⁷⁴ The Mugama Building constructed in the reign of Nasser in the Tahrir Square in Cairo is the symbol of the government in the minds of the public.

¹⁷² Blumer, H. (1995). *Social movements: Critiques, concepts, case-studies*. New York: New York University Press. 59.

¹⁷³ Gerbaudo, P. (2012). *Tweets and the streets: Social media and contemporary activism*. London: Pluto Press. 64

¹⁷⁴ Coşkun, M. K. (2007). *Demokrasi teorileri ve toplumsal hareketler*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları. 100.

“The buildings such as parliament buildings, ministries are the areas restricted for entering and accessing by the public everywhere in the world. However, public may not comfortably meet and enter into opinion discussions in the public arenas too. Even, in the spaces open to the public, like the bazaars, markets and parks, the state tries to make that its existence is felt by placing security forces like police. This state control feeling in the spaces open to the public even can be considered as a reason for the public gathering and resisting against the authority in such spaces.”¹⁷⁵ “The squares as spaces open to the public are the physical extensions of the public arena, in theory they are open to everybody, they are the areas where public socialize and enter into interaction with each other. In practice, we encounter these areas as the places where the state makes that her monopoly on power and political decision mechanisms is felt by the public.”¹⁷⁶ In conclusion, the spaces like Tahrir Square can turn into areas where the ones having anti-state thought comes across the state just because of these reasons.

3.6. Spreading of the social rebellion in the Arabian geography

Arabian geography, in other words, the Middle East consists of countries that interact with each other. Because of this the changes and rebellions occurred in one country these sort of events can spread to the other countries. The events that took place in Egypt after the Jasmine Revolution started in Tunisia is an indicator for this. “The revolution fire, fused by Bouazizi in December, 2010 spread to the Arabian geography quickly. The public going to the streets and organizing protest demonstrations for administration change and mentioning a new political and social order caused that the other people in the region could think critically about the regimes and the international factors effective in the politics of the region were shaken.”¹⁷⁷ In the protests in the scope of the Arab Spring, the public was in a quest for political, economic, and social rights. The spirit created by the public poured into the squared in the quest for these rights reflected on the entire world.

¹⁷⁵ Tripp, C. (2013). *The power and the people: Paths of resistance in the Middle East*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 71.

¹⁷⁶ Coşkun, M. K. (2007). *Demokrasi teorileri ve toplumsal hareketler*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları. 106.

¹⁷⁷ Koçak, K. A. (2012). Yasemin Devrimi'nden Arap Baharı'na Tunus. 44. Retrieved June 3, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/6998522/Yasemin_Devriminden_Arap_Baharı_na_Tunus

The entire world remembered the struggle in the streets again with the Arab Spring. “There were times where the rebellions were messed up, yet however, thanks to the success of the Tunisian and Egyptian rebellions a rebellion started in Syria too because when the regime in the Egypt collapsed. It already looked impossible that the administration in Syria can carry on considering the history and dynamics of the Arabian geography and the importance of these countries in the region.”¹⁷⁸ The uprising movements started in Tunisia at the end of 2010 spread to the key points of the Middle East like Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Libya, Oman, Syria, Bahrain, and Yemen. “In these demonstrations, the people ruled by remaining under pressure for years surprisingly and clearly questioned the existence of the dictators. Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali retired from the politics in Tunisia, Hosni Mubarak in Egypt and Kaddafi in Libya. This is a rebellion movement unprecedented in the history of the Middle East and it is obvious that the countries affect each other and be affected by each other .”¹⁷⁹

3.7. The role of the social media in social revolt

The rebellion movements in Tunisia and Egypt were supported via the new communication means in the new world order. Considering the fact that twenty percent of the population has access to the internet and social media accounts, it is not very illogical that the demonstrations in Tunisia could be organized that quickly. Wael Ghonim, the Google Manager in Egypt, summarizes the situation shortly: “If you want a free society, it is enough to give them internet.”¹⁸⁰

However, these revolutions while being supported by internet gave a hope and opportunity to the people against the oppressing regimes. It is obvious that the masses are affected by the social media and thanks to this communication, it is possible that they act together. In the protest demonstration process called the Arab Spring the social media has a big role in the process of creating a revolution against the dictator and this is a fact accepted by the entire world.

¹⁷⁸ Şen, A. F. (2012). Toplumsal Hareketler ve Medya: Wall Street İşgali'nin Medyada Temsili 138. Retrieved April 25, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/36806714/TOPLUMSAL_HAREKETLER_VE_MEDYA_WALL_STREET_IŞGALI_NİN_MEDYADA_TEMSİLİ

¹⁷⁹ Şen, A. F. (2012). Toplumsal Hareketler ve Medya: Wall Street İşgali'nin Medyada Temsili 139. Retrieved April 25, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/36806714/TOPLUMSAL_HAREKETLER_VE_MEDYA_WALL_STREET_IŞGALI_NİN_MEDYADA_TEMSİLİ

¹⁸⁰ Watson, I. (2011, February 10). Wael Ghonim: Negotiation days with Mubarak are over. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/africa/02/09/egypt.protests.google.exec/index.html>

In today's technology internet is included in the computers. Internet became usable not only in computers, but also with the smart phones and even more, a notion called "social media" has entered our lives. The importance of the social media is great for these events started in Tunisia and reflected to most of the Middle East countries turning into mass movements. The importance of the social media is great that big dictator leaders left ruling within couple of months, i.e. this political change process accelerated much as a result.

When mentioning social media, what comes to the mind most are the social networking sites like YouTube, Facebook and Twitter. Through these sites, the people in the Arab countries could share more with each other. By this way, a common awareness arose against these oppressing administrations. The individuals mentioned the administration with which they have troubles via the social media and supported each other. The individuals, like Wael Ghonim, mentioned above, who deal with the work in Google during day and revolution movements at night used the social media as a means."¹⁸¹ The critical milestone of the political and social issues opened for discussion in the social media and related with the Arab countries took place by means of Al Jazeera Television. This television channel, when the internet wasn't that prevalent, eluded from the censor pressure and became a channel which can make broadcasts enabling that the public can notice the problems.

"Furthermore, as it can be expected from this channel, the role of Al Jazeera Channel was great that the demonstrations started in Tunisia spread to the entire Arabian geography. For example, following the start of the protests in Tunisia, France offering assist to Ben Ali changed her attitude after the news of the channels supporting transparent broadcasting like Al Jazeera."¹⁸² We can notice the role of the internet and social media in the rebellions not only in the events in Tunisia and Egypt, but also in the presidency elections in Iran. Comparing with the probability of catching up by the police and encountering with the police violence, it is clearly seen why people prefer social media and internet. "According to the research conducted by, of the University of Münster, the risk of being subjected to the police violence in the collective movements goes to almost zero by means of organizing via internet.

¹⁸¹Giglio, M. (2011, February 13). *How Wael Ghonim sparked Egypt's Uprising*. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.newsweek.com/how-wael-ghonim-sparked-egypts-uprising-68727>

¹⁸² Korkmaz, A. (2012). *Kamu'da Sosyal Politika, İstanbul: Memursen*. 26.

The word entered most in 2011 in Twitter was “Egypt” and this indicates that Egypt and Arabian countries have such an important position across the world in the Arab Spring through social media.”¹⁸³ “The scientific researches made for studying the Arab Spring events stated that there are more than 3 million tweets and thousands of blog writings entered. There are also YouTube videos covering hundreds of gigabytes of data covering the events. According to the conclusion obtained, the social media had a central role in the events developed in Tunisia, Egypt and other countries (in 2010 and 2011), the events caused the managers to leave the political arena thanks to the social media inputs, especially the ones regarding the revolutions, criticizing the administrations and engrained in the thought of freedom.”¹⁸⁴

The age we are in is equipped with internet, visual media and social networks. Our age now passed way beyond only using computer. The information presented by internet can be shared instantly and people reflect their daily lives in the social networking sites like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. The number of blog writers is increasing every day. It wouldn’t be wrong to say that there is no period when the mankind is addicted to a machine it created.”¹⁸⁵ A “Wikileaks” paper, leaked in the Tunisian events, erupted in the December of 2010, which is considered as the starting point of the events consisting of the Arab Spring and its role give information on the results of social media and internet.

“In this paper, the ambassador of the United States in Tunisia conveyed to the Department of State that Ben Ali was a person who is getting old and is surrounded with corruption accusations and a lack of knowledge. Because of this “leaked” paper the belief that America wouldn’t support Ben Ali started to spread amongst the Tunisians. The result that can be concluded here is that a “mass manipulation” which could take months and handled by a lot of agents could be obtained in very short time by means of Wikileaks.”¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Tekek, M. (2011). Sosyal Medya ve Arap Baharı. Retrieved May 5, 2019, from <https://www.orsam.org.tr/tr/sosyal-medya-ve-arap-bahari/>

¹⁸⁴ Korkmaz, A. (2012). *Kamu’da Sosyal Politika*, İstanbul: Memursen. 27.

¹⁸⁵ Kışlakçı, T. (2012). *Arap baharı / Turan Kışlakçı*. İstanbul: İlimyurdu. 138.

¹⁸⁶ Birdal, A., & Günay, Y. (2012), “*Arap Baharı*” *Aldatmacası: Ortadoğu’da Emperyalist Restorasyon*. Yazılama Yayınevi: İstanbul. 28.

Notwithstanding that the role of the social media in the rebellions in Tunisia and Egypt is considerably big, the starting point of the revolts was not the news spread in the social media or the “leaked” information from the internet pages like Wikileaks. “The wish of the people lived under oppression for years and in a fight for bread to say halted to this course is the point at the foundation of the Arab Spring. Social media has mainly an auxiliary role for gathering people together. People come together, and a common awareness is formed.”¹⁸⁷

The mass media brought these activist attempts, following each other and called as the Arab Spring, to the agenda as a product of social media and defined these revolutions as the “social media revolutions” with a remarkable approach. “These Arab revolutions, erupted with the Egyptian and Tunisian event in 2011 and indicated domino effect, were elected as the most important event of 2011 and protestors as the person of 2011 by Time Magazine. Even though these demonstrations, which are the events creating influence in the international arena, indicated that social media is efficient in mobilizing and organizing the individuals, they also indicated that social media is the accelerator, not the preparer of these movements. Furthermore, there is no common consensus that the social media is the only means in democratization movements.”¹⁸⁸ Bringing a criticizing perspective to the relationship between the social media and revolutions, Morozov reflected that the power structure of internet doesn’t always bring democracy with these words:

“Government cut the internet connection in Egypt but the demonstrations continued. The power of social media can’t be mentioned in the Libya example too. In my opinion, there is very important detail, ignored, that: the Egyptian and Tunisian governments had a very weak internet control. They had a obsolete structure left from the 20th century. Yes, they closed several internet sites and arrested blog writers but they were unaware of the cyber attacks, digital propaganda and monitoring systems, of the style we see in Russia and China”. Hence, internet provided benefit in Tunisia and Egypt because of this. However, this doesn’t mean that the same method would work in the rest of the world too.

¹⁸⁷ Kırık, A. M. (2012). Arap Baharı Bağlamı'nda Sosyal Medya-Birey Etkileşimi ve Toplumsal Dönüşüm 90. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/5214005/Arap_Baharı_Bağlamı_nda_Sosyal_Medya-Birey_Etkileşimi_ve_Toplumsal_Dönüşüm

¹⁸⁸ Telli, A. (2012). Mısır Devrimi'nde Sosyal Medyanın Rolü 71. Retrieved May 14, 2019, from <http://bilgestrateji.com/makale/BS2012-2/Misir-devriminde-sosyal-medyanin-rolu.pdf>

Do not think that the opposition uses the internet and states are mere spectators.”¹⁸⁹ Morozov assesses the opinions that people living in the authoritarian regimes can be liberated through social media as internet illusion. Morozov emphasizes that state can easily access the information that who does what where and with whom by the means of the social media. He points out that police found out and arrested individuals thanks to the images in Flickr and YouTube. Besides, Morozov reflects that if the state is strong, like in the Green Revolution of Iran, social media is useless. Morozov says that the social media is unique information sources for the secret intelligence agencies and this thing was done via torture by the intelligence services in the past, now presented for free in Facebook.

3.8. The results and role of the rebellions

The most important two results of the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia: Zine al-Abidine left the country and this event triggered the rebellion in Egypt. In the events lived in Egypt, the public filled the Tahrir Square in 2011 and Rabia Square in 2013 and managed the change the administration. Uprising movements started in December, 2010 and ended with a revolution in Tunisia and Egypt and a civil war, described as a “nonsense occurred with the support of Nato” to the end of 2011 however resulted with the Kaddafi leaving the country after this. The uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt indicated a domino role and caused insurrections in Bahrain, in Syria and in Yemen; protests in Israel, Algeria, Morocco, and Jordan, smaller sized protests in Lebanon, Sudan and Saudi Arabia. It is thought that the conflicts in the border of Israel in May of 2011 were inspired by the Arab Spring.”¹⁹⁰ “Behind the events started by Bouazizi in Tunisia lie the reasons such as the public’s unemployment, lack of food, corruption, restriction on the freedom of speech, and problems in the living conditions.

¹⁸⁹ Telli, A. (2012). Mısır Devrimi'nde Sosyal Medyanın Rolü 72. Retrieved May 14, 2019, from <http://bilgestrateji.com/makale/BS2012-2/Misir-devriminde-sosyal-medyanin-rolu.pdf>

¹⁹⁰ Doğan, G., & Durgun, B. (2012). Arap Baharı Ve Libya: Tarihsel Süreç Ve Demokratikleşme Kavramı Çerçevesinde Bir Değerlendirme. 64. Retrieved May 23, 2019, from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/215801>

These events effected and triggered the people living the similar problems in the Arab countries.”¹⁹¹ With the role of the rebellions in Tunisia and Egypt, a rebellion occurred in Libya in February, 2011. This is one of the important results. Afterwards, the arrest of Fatih Turbel (a human rights advocate) increased the anger of the public. “The preference of the administration to use extreme force and violence brought the human right issue into agenda, which was already problematic. Hence, the Arab League membership of Libya was suspended, and United Nations Human Right Council warned the government for the breaches.”¹⁹²

“In March, European Union Council took the restrictive sanction decisions for some people in the Libyan administration, UNSC (United Nations’ Security Council), in order to protect civilians, declared Libya as no-flight zone and approved air intervention and taken all precautions which may be required, coalition forces started air attacks. In the conference themed Libya, organized in London with the participation of 40 foreign affairs ministers and representatives, Kaddafi government was accepted as illegal and additional sanction decisions were taken and NATO took over the command of the air intervention.”¹⁹³

The rebellion movements indicated their role in Iran and Iraq too. Stating shortly, the most important result of the rebellions, by indicating domino role, is to increase the awareness in the other Middle East countries and to enable that the public, complaining about the government, is encouraged. Furthermore, it caused that the oppressing regimes act more vigilant and controlled on the social media issue. The administrators in these regimes requested censor and restrictions and also assist on the confidential information from the managers of the social media networks like Twitter and Facebook and the rumors spread that Facebook leaks information in this subject but the other important social media networks protect confidentiality better. With the role of this, people got the feeling that now they are not adequately secure in the social media and internet and started to act more cautious and use fake user names. All these indicate how the social media can be effective in the today’s politics.

¹⁹¹ Dede, A. Y. (2011, April 01). The Arab Uprisings: Debating the "Turkish Model". Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.insightturkey.com/commentaries/the-arab-uprisings-debating-the-turkish-model>

¹⁹² Doğan, G., & Durgun, B. (2012). Arap Baharı Ve Libya: Tarihsel Süreç Ve Demokratikleşme Kavramı Çerçevesinde Bir Değerlendirme. (pp. 61-65) Retrieved May 23, 2019, from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/215801>

¹⁹³ Doğan, G., & Durgun, B. (2012). Arap Baharı Ve Libya: Tarihsel Süreç Ve Demokratikleşme Kavramı Çerçevesinde Bir Değerlendirme. (pp. 61-65) Retrieved May 23, 2019, from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/215801>

3.9. International approaches to the Arab Spring

“The European Union and USA will be dwelled upon as the international states. Just after the event in Tunisia, Catherine Ashton of British Labor Party visited Tunisia. The purpose of this visit was to present the president the support of EU and that they support the new regime.”¹⁹⁴ Similarly, European Foreign Affairs Service withdrew their representatives from Egypt between January 25 and February 11th, 2011. As a general reaction to the events, European Union suggested ‘New Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity’ (NPDSP). “This partnership, basically brought no novelty, made the position of EU more consistent. The possible result of this new partnership would be sanctions and restrictions which would guarantee the interests of the democratic principles of both Arab Countries and EU.”¹⁹⁵

“Considering the reactions of America, first of all we are required to check the interests. While the belief on the dominance of America on the developments on the world continues, the Tunisian and Egyptian rebellions, considered as the first sparkles of the Arab Spring were a result of the internal dynamics.”¹⁹⁶ “Before the Arab Spring, the America’s interest in the region were establishing close relationships with Israel, easing the flow of oil to the west and making the access of the other global forces to the region harder.”¹⁹⁷ Before Arab Spring, Iran was one of the most important threat factors for USA: “It is known by everybody that Iran is seen as one of the most important threats by USA before the Arab Spring. It made possible that Iran is considered as the most important threat by all American administrations that she pursues nuclear weapons, that she wants her to export religious ruling style and ideology, that she intimidated the emirates and kingdoms cooperating with USA in the Gulf, that she is a country most cruelly questioning the existence and legitimacy of Israel, and that she pursues Shiite-based influence policies both in Iraq and across the region after Saddam was overthrown.”¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ Koçak, K. A. (2012). Yasemin Devrimi'nden Arap Baharı'na Tunus. 57. Retrieved June 3, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/6998522/Yasemin_Devriminden_Arap_Baharı_na_Tunus

¹⁹⁵ Commission, E. (2011, September 27). EU response to the Arab Spring: The SPRING Programme. Retrieved April 26, 2019, from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-11-636_en.htm

¹⁹⁶ Prashad, V., & Alpagut, S. (2012). *Arap baharı, Libya kıışı*. İstanbul: Yordam Kitap. 51

¹⁹⁷ Oğuzlu, T. (2011, December). Arap Baharı ve Yansımaları. Retrieved May 2, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/3214717/Arap_Baharı_ve_Yansımaları

¹⁹⁸ Oğuzlu, T. (2011, December). Arap Baharı ve Yansımaları. Retrieved May 2, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/3214717/Arap_Baharı_ve_Yansımaları

The events in the Tahrir Square had an impression in Washington. The probability that the protests, ever-increasing, spread with a wave role was disturbing America. Because the events, out of control, brought these questions to the minds of American politicians: is the American power in the region being shaken? What kind of reaction will Israel give to the overthrown of Mubarak regime? How will the confidence and enthusiasm brought by the overthrown of Mubarak and Ben Ali be interpreted and encountered with by Yemen and Saudi Arabia and the emirates in Persian Gulf?

“Considering the GMEI, described above, the targets of the US in the Middle East are shown different but different interests underlie behind it. Because of this the civil disturbance in the countries encountering with revolution like Tunisia and Egypt may serve the interests of the United States. Therefore, the attitude of the Americans was endeavoring for how to turn this in their favor instead of soothing the events.”¹⁹⁹

3.10. Developments lived after the Arab Spring

The Arab Spring process, started with the public uprising in Tunisia, is actually a process that still continues. The rebellion in an Arab country spread out by affecting another one. A consciousness started to form also in the countries such as Jordan, Morocco and Algeria. The Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions herald a new Arabian age where people can have more freedom.

Even though the regional policies after the Arab Spring stays in the role of rebellions it is nevertheless important to understand some formations in the foundation in order to make estimations about the policies in the upcoming period. The anti-regime rebellions started in Tunisia and also were seen in the other Arabian countries. The regional role these rebellions actually emerged in the rebellions in Egypt. The regime shift lived in Egypt, one of the leading ones of the Arabian countries, disturbed the Arabian countries, which are parallel to this country. For example, Saudi Arabia took the side of Mubarak from the moment when the rebellions started. Similarly, Israel, which has a peace treaty with Egypt (1977-1979 Camp David) was concerned because of the regime shift in Egypt. One of the most important common elements of the Arab Spring is that the public arenas were occupied, and public showed up in the squares.

¹⁹⁹ Oğuzlu, T. (2011, December). Arap Baharı ve Yansımaları. Retrieved May 2, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/3214717/Arap_Baharı_ve_Yansımaları

These actions are called as “resistance” each: like resistance against corruption, resistance against injustice and resistance against oppressing regime. Especially in the big cities arrangement of the public arenas by the political powers and the projects in these arenas are actually some kind of show of force. Because the public is excluded from this process they are affected differently from these arrangements. Mugama Building, built in the Tahrir Square in Cairo in the reign of Nasser, aroused a feeling like a symbol of the power of the government and hierarchy.

Under the light of the information above, it is possible to deduce that Arab Spring was not a process affecting only the Arab countries. America and EU always declared their sides and comments in this process and the countries neighboring to the Arab countries worried against the regime shifts. It would be beneficial to look at the connections between the Arab Spring process and the Gezi Park resistance events, erupted in May of 2013, linked with respect to the power of the social media. If we leave the foundation and way of occurrence of the events aside and make a comparison with respect to the role and importance of the social media, the social media was used efficiently both in the events forming the Arab Spring and the Gezi Park events in Turkey. Public protesting the restraining censor applications brought to the TV channels shared live broadcasts and videos over the social media networks. Considering with respect to this angle, we see that social media was efficiently used in the Gezi Resistance. The public took the decision for not following, watching and buying the media organs other than certain TV channels and newspapers, conveying the resistance, and used the social media for communication and presenting their opinions.

CONCLUSION

The western competition in the Middle East region was seen after the First and the Second World Wars. In addition to this competition, the oppressive regimes in the region and the relationships of these regimens with the west left an affect that can be perceived on the public. As it was narrated in the previous parts, there are a lot of reasons in the background of the social movements occurring in the Middle East region: such as the public got tired of the oppressive regimes, the increase in the poverty, the other rebellions occurred across the world. In addition to the conventional media, thanks to the “social media” of today, the developments in the world are now heard of much more quickly. It is known that the social media played an active role in the process known as the Arab Spring. Whether the contribution of this role to this process is positive or negative is an issue discussed. In this research, the relationship between the social media and Arab Spring was evaluated starting from the Egypt and Tunisia examples and it is seen that the social media didn't have a provocateur role, triggering the Arab Spring, it only provided an environment with respect to gathering of the people and sharing the opinions freely in this process.

Thanks to the today's technology and social media, now every individual is a journalist and a media factor. By this way, it is getting easier to hear about the realities, tried to be hidden by the conventional media in the shortest time possible. One of the best things learnt from the Arab Spring process is the fact that now the public can easily gather and reveal their reaction. As it is known, the media is effective substantially for the formation of the social movements however the Arab media was not adequately neutral in the Arab Spring process. This caused that the only hope of the people became the social media. Arab media didn't give a good account of herself and sided by the dictators and oppressive regimes even though she had to side with the public.

Squares enabled that the peoples declare themselves. This situation occurred in similar ways both in the Occupy Wall Street movement and in the Tahrir Square. The social movements were not reflected completely and honestly by the conventional media. The states and rulers are aware of the role of the social media in today and it can also be said that social media journalism contributes the improvement of the democracy. Because now the conventional media is aware that it can't hide the realities as it wishes, it would be criticized when it hides and wins the general approval of the public when it uncovers the truths. This makes that the media becoming braver and stronger.

The role of the media should not be forgotten in the advanced democracies, that it is possible to see that the democracy will be affected positively by means of the social media. The Arab Spring process, scrutinized throughout the research, has a very intense relation with the social media and conventional media channels because this process has proven that the social media can prevail on the conventional media. The purpose of this research, dealing with it by taking two countries in the Arab Spring process: Egypt and Tunisia is to prove that the social media usage didn't cause this process but supported it by analyzing how the social media affected the Arab Spring process.

The Arab Spring process, triggered in 2011 with the suicide of Bouazizi in Tunisia, spread by leaping to the other Middle East countries too. The people had started to make itself heard of with the role of the problems continuing for years like oppressing regime, unemployment, corruptions, and poverty. The rebellions started in the squares upon the death of Bouazizi, which can be considered as symbolic, the public showed an extraordinary accomplishment on organizing and gathering in the squares in this process in which we deal with the Arab Spring as a general process. In this accomplishment, the contribution of the social media channels is big. Even though it is a fact accepted by everybody that the social media is kind of a revolution, it would not be correct to say that Arab Spring is a social media revolution. Social media channels are the places with an effect accelerating the events, but several examples are needed where it is seen that they are affective singlehandedly in order to mention its revolution bringing characteristic. While the revelation bringing power of the social media in the east is emphasized, it is an important discussion topic whether it has a power to create the same effect or not.

Castells had an approach, they referred in the internet/new media context, which I consider as extremely important. Castells mentions that the new media can institutionalize the "Athens Democracy". However, he, looking this situation with a criticizing perspective, emphasizes that the uneducated parts of the world, far from the reach to computers, would stay outside this democratic core, like the situation of the slaves and barbarians at the start of the Greek democracy. On the other hand, Castells remarks that if the "political representation and decision making processes" can integrate with these new media technologies with the contribution of the related citizens, other than the powerful elites, a new civil society can be built and a new electronically base democracy can be created.

Considering the role of the social media in the Arab Spring, we see that social media doesn't pull anything out of thin air. It is obvious that the economic situation which the public in the Arabian geography is in, the wish to liberalization, and the geopolitical importance encountered when it is thought deeper disrupted the primary importance attributed to the social media. Furthermore, what the visibility in the social media makes brought and lost indicates us much more different perspective. In conclusion, it is very hard to say that the social media is the generator of the rebellion in the Arabic countries.

The public struggling for life with the oppressing regimes and the problems brought by these regimes for years in the Middle East region saw that they can be heard of and they can affect the administrations with the process called Arab Spring. However, the only role of the public rebellions is not only the administration. The media also got its share because the conventional media means didn't act neutral in this process and, by continuing their sided attitude and indicated that it is at the service and command of the rulers, not the public. Like in many places of the world, as a result that the conventional media couldn't preserve its independency, the public started to prefer the social media channels which are faster and more transparent.

The administrations, seeing the power of the social media in the public rebellions resorted to the prohibitions and restrictions on the internet and social media from time to time during the demonstrations in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. We experienced this situation in Turkey too: we just got out of a process where access to social media channels like YouTube and Twitter were prohibited. This situation is the most obvious and important proof that social media can be considered as a threat factor with respect to the oppressive regimes.

Saying that the public uprisings lived especially in Tunisia and Egypt are directly related with the social media, as a result of the literature survey, becomes an effort to some sort of a smearing campaign. Because this is the excuse for preventing the access to the social media from time to time, sometimes for a long time or permanently in the countries where the Arab Spring was lived and, considering that how the results is oppressive and restrictive on the freedoms of communication and statement, it is an antidemocratic solution. Of course, the power and role of the social media can't be denied in this critical process which the conventional media became unsuccessful for fulfilling its duty and acted sided and by focusing on its benefits.

However, simplifying the blame of the bloody conflicts, arrests and tortures lived as the rebellion of the peoples in the social media is not only wrong but also a dangerous approach as it was seen at the same time. The purpose of this study is to prove that the social media channels didn't make the Arab Spring process, yet however, they are the means enabling the people's ability to organize themselves and convey the correct information to each other and even to the world in the shortest time, within seconds.

References

- Academy, K. (n.d.). Antik Mısır Uygarlığı. Retrieved May 30, 2019, from <https://tr.khanacademy.org/humanities/world-history/world-history-beginnings/ancient-egypt-hittites/a/egypt-article>
- Acar, A. (2012). Wall Street'i İşgal Et Hareketi. *Milliyet*, 5-16.
- Akkuş, B. (2011). Uluslararası Orta Doğu Kongresi Bildiriler Kitabı - Cilt 1 - International Middle East Congress, December 1-2nd 2011, Volume 1. (pp. 214) Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/2499608/Uluslararası_Orta_Doğu_Kongresi_Bildiriler_Kitabı_-_Cilt_1_-_International_Middle_East_Congress_December_1-2nd_2011_Volume_1
- Arı, T. (2004). *Geçmişten günümüze Ortadoğu: Siyaset, savaş ve diplomasi*. İstanbul: Alfa. 179-191.
- Atabek, Ü. (2007). *Medya metinlerini çözümlemek: İçerik, göstergibilim ve söylem çözümleme yöntemleri*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi. 25-30.
- Atacan, F. (2004). *Değişen toplumlar değişmeyen siyaset: Ortadoğu*. İstanbul: Bağlam. 21-28.
- Ayhan, V. (2012, January). "Tunus İsyanı: Arapların Devrim Ateşini Yakması" (pp. 60-70) Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/209672>
- Babacan, M.E.(2011), "Sosyal Medya ve Arap Baharı", Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi (pp. 60-77) Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/17775>
- Baker, R. W. (1978). *Egypt s uncertain revolution under nasser and sadat*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press. 28-33.
- BBC. (2009, June 29). Iran frees five from UK embassy. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8123579.stm
- BBC. (2012). Haberler - Facebook kullanıcısı ayda 1 milyarı geçti. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2012/10/121004_facebook_onemillion.shtml
- BBC World. (2011, January 13). Tunisia President Ben Ali 'will not seek new term'. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12187084>
- Binder, L. (1978). *In a moment of enthusiasm: Political power and the second stratum in Egypt*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 28.
- Birdal, A., & Günay, Y. (2012), "Arap Baharı" Aldatmacası: Ortadoğu'da Emperyalist Restorasyon. Yazılama Yayınevi: İstanbul. 26-29.

Blumer, H. (1995). *Social movements: Critiques, concepts, case-studies*. New York: New York University Press. 59-66.

Bozarslan, H. (2012). *Ortadoğunun siyasal sosyolojisi: Arap isyanlarından önce ve sonra*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. 12- 27.

Bray, H., (2009), “*Finding a way around Iranian censorship*”, Retrieved May 24, 2019 from The Boston

Globe:http://archive.boston.com/news/world/middleeast/articles/2009/06/19/activists_utilizing_twitter_web_proxies_to_sidestep_iranian_censorship/

Castells, M. (2003). *The power of identity the information age: Economy, society and culture*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. 527-530.

Castells, M. (2004). *The information age. economy, society and culture: The rise of the network society*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing. 440-485.

Cleveland, W. L., & Bunton, M. P. (2018). *A history of the modern Middle East*. New York: Routledge. 344.

Coşkun, M. K. (2007). *Demokrasi teorileri ve toplumsal hareketler*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları. 66-140.

Crovitz, L. G. (2011, February 14). Egypt's Revolution by Social Media. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703786804576137980252177072>

Çayır, K. (1999). *Yeni sosyal hareketler*. İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları. 10-40.

Çetinkaya, D. (2008). Toplumsal Hareketler: Tarih, Teori ve Deneyim (Social Movements: Histoy, Theory and Experience). (pp. 9-25) Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/1197686/Toplumsal_Hareketler_Tarih_Teori_ve_Deneyim_Social_Movements_Histoy_Theory_and_Experience

Çıldan, C. (2011). Sosyal Medyanın Politik Katılım ve Hareketlerdeki Rolü. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/5166743/Sosyal_Medyanın_Politik_Katılım_ve_Hareketlerdeki_Rolü

Çoban, B. (2009). *Yeni toplumsal hareketler: Küreselleşme, direniş, ütopya: Küreselleşme çağında toplumsal muhalefet*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları. 10-44.

Çoban, B. (2009). *Yeni toplumsal hareketler: Küreselleşme, direniş, ütopya: Küreselleşme çağında toplumsal muhalefet*. İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları. 174-190.

Commission, E. (2011, September 27). EU response to the Arab Spring: The SPRING Programme. Retrieved April 26, 2019, from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-11-636_en.htm

Dareini, A. (2009, May 22). Iran reformists hope for high election turnout. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.latimes.com/sdut-ml-iran-election-052209-2009may22-story.html>

Dede, A. Y. (2011, April 01). The Arab Uprisings: Debating the "Turkish Model". Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.insightturkey.com/commentaries/the-arab-uprisings-debating-the-turkish-model>

Doğan, G., & Durgun, B. (2012). Arap Baharı Ve Libya: Tarihsel Süreç Ve Demokratikleşme Kavramı Çerçevesinde Bir Değerlendirme. (pp. 61-65) Retrieved May 23, 2019, from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/215801>

Dolgun, U. (2011). İNTERNET VE DEMOKRASİ - dergipark.gov.tr. (pp. 221-234) Retrieved April 30, 2019, from <http://dergipark.gov.tr/download/article-file/101294>

Efegil, E. (2013). Mısır ve Ürdün'ün Dış Politikalarını Şekillendiren Unsurlar. (pp. 22-24) Retrieved June 4, 2019, from <https://www.ozelburoistihbarat.com/Content/images/archieve/ortadogu-dosyasi-misir-ve-urdunun-dis-politikalarini-sekillendiren-unsurlar-4d6d44ea-bd5a-4791-bb0b-ecc963bf8ba2.pdf>

El-May, M. (2011). "The Jasmine Revolution", Turkish Policy Quarterly. (pp. 56-60) Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <http://turkishpolicy.com/Files/ArticlePDF/the-jasmine-revolution-winter-2010-en.pdf>

Engin B. (2011). *Cesur Yeni Medya* Retrieved May 23, 2019 from <https://ekitap.alternatifbilisim.org/files/cesur-yeni-medya.pdf>

Erbay, N. Ö, (2012). *Sosyal Medyada "Arap Baharı"*. (pp. 1-14) Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/38796751/Sosyal_Medyada_Arap_Bahari

Erdem, B. K. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye*. Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 166-189.

Fenton, N. (2012). *New media, old news: Journalism & democracy in the digital age*. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Fenton, N. (2016). *Digital, political, radical*. Cambridge, GB: Polity.

Gazetesi, H. (2009, July 21). Facebook yine şov yaptı. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/teknoloji/facebook-yine-sov-yapti-12105895>

Gerbaudo, P. (2012). *Tweets and the streets: Social media and contemporary activism*. London: Pluto Press. 10-75.

Giddens, A. (2013). *Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity. 540-541.

Giglio, M. (2011, February 13). *How Wael Ghonim sparked Egypt's Uprising*. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.newsweek.com/how-wael-ghonim-sparked-egypts-uprising-68727>

Gladwell, M. (2010, April 22). *Small Change*. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/10/04/small-change-malcolm-gladwell>

Gökçe, O. (2012). *Hepimiz globaliz hepimiz yereliz: Gutenberg Galaksiden Zuckerberg Galaksiye*. Çağaloğlu, İstanbul: Alfa. 40-58.

Hamzawy, A. (2011, January 28). *The Day of Anger-A New Protest Scene in Egypt*. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://carnegieendowment.org/2011/01/28/day-of-anger-new-protest-scene-in-egypt/fll>

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2012). *Declaration*. S.I: Argo-Navis. 38-59.

Hardt, & Negri. (2009). *Multitude: War and democracy in the Age of Empire*. New York: The Penguin Press. 113-115.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2011, October 11). *The Fight for 'Real Democracy' at the Heart of Occupy Wall Street*. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/north-america/2011-10-11/fight-real-democracy-heart-occupy-wall-street>

Işık, G. (2015). *Sanaldan sokağa toplumsal hareketler: Nükleer santral karşıtı toplumsal hareketin analizi*. Ankara: Nobel. 15-36.

Kayaoğlu, I. (1985). *İslâm kurumları tarihi*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi basımevi. 198-219.

Karaçor, S. (2009). "Yeni İletişim Teknolojileri, Siyasal Katılım, Demokrasi" (pp. 122). Retrieved from <http://dergipark.ulakbim.gov.tr/yonveek/article/view/5000069247/5000064151>

Kee. (2009). *What is the most popular blog sites?* [Blog post]. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <http://answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090726193217AAWJ0wS>

Kırık, A. M. (2012). *Arap Baharı Bağlamı'nda Sosyal Medya-Birey Etkileşimi ve Toplumsal Dönüşüm* (pp. 90) Retrieved May 24, 2019 from https://www.academia.edu/5214005/Arap_Baharı_Bağlamı_nda_Sosyal_Medya-Birey_Etkileşimi_ve_Toplumsal_Dönüşüm

Kılıç, E. (2012). *Arap Dünyası nda Entropi: Tunus, Mısır, Libya ve Suriye 'de Halk Ayaklanmaları*. İstanbul: TUIÇ - YADAM. 15-37.

Kışlakçı, T. (2012). *Arap baharı / Turan Kışlakçı*. İstanbul: İlimyurdu. 75-155.

Koçak, K. A. (2012). Yasemin Devrimi'nden Arap Baharı'na Tunus. (pp. 22-61). Retrieved June 3, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/6998522/Yasemin_Devriminden_Arap_Baharı_na_Tunus

Korkmaz, A. (2012). *Kamu'da Sosyal Politika, İstanbul: Memursen*. 26-29.

Kundakçı, N. (2013). Blog [Blog post]. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from atabotebde.files.wordpress.com/2012/01/blog.pptx

Kutlay, M. & Dinçer, O. (2011). Arap Baharı, ABD'nin Hegemonik Projesi" midir (pp. 102-110) Retrieved May 22, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/35823965/Arap_Baharı_ABDnin_Hegemonik_Projesi_midir

Kürkçüoğlu, O. E. (1972). *Türkiye'nin arap orta doğusu'na karşı politikası: (1945-1970)*. Ankara. 85-88

Laçiner, S. (2009). İran Seçimleri ve ABD. [Blog post]. Retrieved May 10, 2019, from <http://slaciner.blogspot.com/2009/06/iran-secimleri-ve-abd.html>

Laçiner, S. (2009). İranda Devrimin Öz Çocukları Kapışıyor. Retrieved May 10, 2019, from http://www.kureseldenyerele.org/HDF_detay.asp?bicim=M&ID=1258

Lelandais, G. E. (2009). *Theories of Social Movements and Globalization*. London, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan. 62-90.

Lewis, B. (2004). *The Middle East: 2000 years of history from the rise of christianity to the present day*. London: Phoenix.

Lilla, M. (2007, August 19). The Politics of God. Retrieved May 24, 2019 from <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/19/magazine/19Religion-t.html>

Mabro, R. (1974). *The Egyptian economy, 1952-1972*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mackey, R. (2011, January 22). *Video That Set Off Tunisia's Uprising*. Retrieved May 22, 2019, from <https://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/01/22/video-that-triggered-tunisias-uprising/>

Mashhur, M. (1995). *Jihad Is The way*. Palestinian Media Watch.

Melucci, A. (1980). *The new social movements: A theoretical approach*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 90-99.

Möller, M. (2011). *Gefangen im Dilemma?: Ein strategischer Ansatz der Wahl- und Revolutionsteilnahme*. Münster: CIW.

Mutman, M. (1999). *Sivil toplum için "kent, yerel siyaset ve demokrasi seminerleri*. İstanbul: WALD Yayını.

OccupyWallSt. (n.d.). About. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <http://occupywallst.org/about/>

Oğuzlu, T. (2011, December). Arap Baharı ve Yansımaları. Retrieved May 2, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/3214717/Arap_Baharı_ve_Yansımaları

Osman, T. (2011). *Egypt on the brink: From Nasser to Mubarak*. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Owen, R. (2010). *State, power and politics in the making of the Modern Middle East*. London.

Örmeci, O. (2011). Mısır: Siyasal Tarihi ve Bugünü Caspian Weekly. Retrieved June 3, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/428000/_Örmeci_Ozan_2011_Mısır_Siyasal_Tarihi_ve_Bugünü_Caspian_Weekly

Özkul, M. (2014, July 25). Ortadoğu'daki Halk Hareketlerinin Kaldıraçları: Küreselleşmenin Çelişkileri, İslami Düşünce ve Katılım (pp. 95-115) Retrieved May 22, 2019, from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/17776>

Prashad, V., & Alpagut, S. (2012). *Arap baharı, Libya kışı*. İstanbul: Yordam Kitap. 25-54.

Reuters. (2009, June 28). European Union Warns Iran Against Acts of Intimidation. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/29/world/europe/29europe.html?_r=0

Salem, N. (1984). *Habib Bourguiba, Islam and the creation of Tunisia*. London: Croom Helm.

Sanlı, L. (2005). *Politik kültür ve toplumsal hareketler*. İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık. 45-105.

Sandıklı, A., & Kaya, E. (2014). *Orta Doğuda değişim ve Türkiye*. İstanbul: Bilgesam Yayınları. 120.

Seksek, T. (2011). Twitter Usage in the MENA region. Retrieved April 23, 2019, from <https://interactiveme.com/2011/06/twitter-usage-in-the-mena-middle-east/>

Stevenson, N. (2010). *Understanding media cultures social theory and mass communication*. London: Sage Publications. 295-299.

Şen, A. F. (2012). Toplumsal Hareketler ve Medya: Wall Street İşgali'nin Medyada Temsili (pp.138-153). Retrieved April 25, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/36806714/TOPLUMSAL_HAREKETLER_VE_MEDYA_WALL_STREET_İŞGALİ_NİN_MEDYADA_TEMSİLİ

Şener, G. (2011). İnternet ve demokrasi ilişkisine dair eleştirel bir yaklaşım (pp.63-67). Retrieved April 29, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/4458593/İnternet_ve_demokrasi_iliskisine_dair_elestirel_bir_yaklasim

Şentürk, Ü. (2006). Küresel Yeni Sosyal Hareketler ve Savaş Karşıtlığı. Retrieved April 15, 2019, from <http://eskidergi.cumhuriyet.edu.tr/makale/1361.pdf>

Takeyh, R., & Gvosdev, N. K. (2004). *The receding shadow of the prophet: The rise and fall of radical political Islam*. Westport, CT: Praeger. 5-10.

Tanrıverdi, N. (2011). Tunus'ta Halk Ayaklanması: Nedenleri ve Etkileri (pp.27-31). Retrieved May 19, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/1547825/Tunusta_Halk_Ayaklanması_Nedenleri_ve_Etkileri

Taylor, P. (2011, January 17). Tunisian economy to be purged: Economist. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-tunisia-protests-economy/tunisian-economy-to-be-purged-economist-idUSTRE70G2HV20110117>

Tekek, M. (2011). Sosyal Medya ve Arap Baharı. Retrieved May 5, 2019, from <https://www.orsam.org.tr/tr/sosyal-medya-ve-arap-bahari/>

Tekkaya, D. (2009). *Büyük Ortadoğu Projesinin arka planı: (ABD-Türkiye-Ortadoğu üçgeni)*. Ankara: İmaj Yayınevi. 90-95.

Telli, A. (2012). Mısır Devrimi'nde Sosyal Medyanın Rolü (p.65-86). Retrieved May 14, 2019, from <http://bilgestrateji.com/makale/BS2012-2/Misir-devriminde-sosyal-medyanin-rolu.pdf>

Tokgöz, O. (1972). *Türkiye ve Ortadoğu ülkelerinde radyo-televizyon sistemleri (mukayeseli bir araştırma)*. Ankara. 99-110.

Touraine, A. (1997). *Critique of modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell. 270-275.

Touraine, A. (1981). *The voice and the eye: An analysis of social movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 44-45.

Tosun, N. B. (2010). *İletişim temelli marka yönetimi*. İstanbul: Beta Basım Yayım Dağıtım. 385-390.

Tripp, C. (2013). *The power and the people: Paths of resistance in the Middle East*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 70-76.

TRT, H. (2012, January 21). TRT Haber. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <http://www.trthaber.com/>

Türkden, H. (2014, August 20). Bu neyin baharı? Retrieved May 16, 2019, from <https://www.evrensel.net/haber/90284/bu-neyin-bahari>

Twitter. (n.d.). About. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <https://about.twitter.com>

Ulutaş, U., & Torlak, F. (2012). *Mısırda Siyasi Aktörler, Partiler, Dini Hareketler ve Medya*. Ankara: SETA.

Usak. (2009). 2009 İran Cumhurbaşkanlığı Seçimleri ve Sonrasındaki Gelişmeler (pp. 4-48). Retrieved April 28, 2019, from https://www.academia.edu/1157896/2009_İran_Cumhurbaşkanlığı_Secimleri_ve_Sonrasındaki_Gelismeler

Uyar, T. (2003). *Toplumsal hareketler konuşuyor*. Alan, Cağaloğlu, İstanbul. 136-138.

Vafa, A. (27 Sept. 2010). Gladwell's (and My) Thoughts on Revolution [Blog post]. Retrieved from azv321.wordpress.com/2010/09/27/gladwells-and-my-thoughts-on-revolution/

Yıldırım, R., & Abdulcelil, T. (2011). *Mısırda Siyasi Aktörler, Partiler, Dini Hareketler ve Medya*. Ankara: SETA.

Youtube. (n.d.). About. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <https://www.youtube.com/yt/about/press/>

Wallerstein, I. (2011, October 15). The Fantastic Success of Occupy Wall Street. Retrieved May 12, 2019, from <https://www.iwallerstein.com/fantastic-success-occupy-wall-street/>

Watson, I. (2011, February 10). Wael Ghonim: Negotiation days with Mubarak are over. Retrieved May 24, 2019, from <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/africa/02/09/egypt.protests.google.exec/index.html>

Wiktorowicz, Q. (2002). *The management of Islamic activism: Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and state power in Jordan*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. 35-45.