

**ARAB SPRING OR ARAB AUTUMN: A CASE STUDY OF EGYPT  
AND SYRIA**

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**ARAB SPRING OR ARAB AUTUMN: A CASE STUDY OF EGYPT AND SYRIA**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study aims to identify causes and consequences of Arab Uprising in Egypt and Syria. The main objective of this research is to understand the terminologies that have been used to define the situation and major implications that have influenced the outcome of the revolution. Primary data has been generated to solve research problem. The methods used in this study to collect data were qualitative method and semi-structured interview. The findings of the study indicate that the term of “Arab Spring” is wrongly used in Syria and Egypt. Instead, the study found the best terminology that should be used in describing Arab Uprising is “Arab Nightmare” or “Arab Autumns” since the happiness of the people and prosperity of the country has fallen off. Also, the life of citizens after uprising become miserable and both countries have fallen in major aspects. The study also determined the factors that have caused the emergence of riots and protests in Egypt and Syria including unemployment, inflation, poverty, the lack of public services, the lack of freedom, domination, political exploitation, segregation, abusing power and corruption. The consequences of the uprising are the death of more than 140,000 Syrians, and more than 7000 others in Egypt despite the economic, social and political downturn. The study finds negative international role and indicates that international community failed to stop bloodshedding in Syria and military involvement in Egypt. In all, the study finds negative involvement of some countries such as Russia and Iran that are responsible for the killing of thousands in Syria. The findings of this study also identifies other factors that caused the failure of opposition groups in toppling Assad down from presidency other than Iran and Russia including Jihadist, Al-Qaeda affiliated groups and division between opposition groups. In conclusion, based on the consequence of the revolution and respondents, the Arab Autumn can become the most relevant terminology to define the uprising.

Keywords: Arab Uprising, Civil War, January 25 Revolution, Arab Spring, Arab Autumn

## ABSTRAK

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengenal pasti sebab dan akibat “Kebangkitan dunia Arab” di Mesir dan Syria. Objektif utama kajian ini adalah untuk memahami istilah yang telah digunakan untuk mentakrifkan keadaan dan implikasi besar yang telah mempengaruhi hasil revolusi. Data utama telah diperolehi untuk menyelesaikan masalah penyelidikan. Kaedah yang digunakan dalam kajian ini untuk mengumpul data adalah kaedah kualitatif dan temuduga semi-struktur. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa istilah "Arab Spring" adalah salah digunakan di Syria dan Mesir. Sebaliknya, kajian ini mendapati istilah yang terbaik yang perlu digunakan dalam menerangkan “Arab Uprising” adalah "Nightmare Arab" atau "Arab autumns" kerana kebahagiaan rakyat dan kemakmuran negara ini telah merundum. Selain itu, kehidupan rakyat menjadi sengsara selepas kebangkitan dan kedua-dua negara telah mundur dalam kebanyakan aspek. Kajian ini juga meninjau faktor-faktor yang telah menyebabkan kemunculan rusuhan dan tunjuk perasaan di Mesir dan Syria termasuk pengangguran, inflasi, kemiskinan, kekurangan perkhidmatan awam, kekurangan kebebasan, dominasi, eksploitasi politik, pengasingan, penyalahgunaan kuasa dan rasuah. Pemberontakan ini telah mengakibatkan kematian lebih daripada 140,000 orang Syria, dan lebih dari 7000 di Mesir walaupun dalam kelembapan ekonomi, sosial dan politik. Kajian ini menjelaskan peranan antarabangsa yang negatif dan menunjukkan bahawa komuniti antarabangsa gagal menghentikan pertumpahan darah di Syria dan penglibatan tentera di Mesir. Secara keseluruhannya, kajian menunjukkan penglibatan negatif oleh beberapa negara seperti Rusia dan Iran yang bertanggungjawab membunuh beribu-ribu rakyat Syria. Hasil kajian ini juga mengenalpasti faktor-faktor lain yang menyebabkan kegagalan kumpulan pejuang pembangkang dalam menjatuhkan Assad turun dari jawatan presiden selain daripada Iran dan Rusia termasuk pejuang Jihad, kumpulan bersekutu Al-Qaeda dan puak-puak penentang. Kesimpulannya, berdasarkan akibat daripada revolusi dan responden-responden, “Arab Autumn” boleh menjadi istilah yang paling relevan untuk mentakrifkan kebangkitan.

Keywords: Kebangkitan dunia Arab, Perang Saudara, Revolusi 25 Januari, Arab Spring, Arab Autumn

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

The Arab world has been marred by decades of classical dictatorial and authoritative rule and rulers. The people have been kept away from transparent and true representation government. In the other words, the government sank in corruption, misleading, and democratic principles of government has been undermined. Syria and Egypt are two countries that exhibited nearly same outlook and had their rulers distant from the masses. Most of the states in the region were single party states with little or no place for the opposition forces in political spectrum. Syria was the front runner in this regard and it was a one party state system with no place for opposition parties (Billingsley, 2009, 151). The other major reason that angered mass population was the lack of freedom. In Fact, freedom of speech and freedom of expression is absolutely curbed and little or nothing could be said against political elites.

So, as the anger of people increased incrementally. At first, the Arab uprising started in Tunisia on December 18, 2010. A twist in tale took place in as the Tunisian young Mohamed BauAzizi committed self-immolation as reaction to the social and political injustice in the country Tunisia (Beinin&Vairel, 2011, p.237). The act of BauAzizi soon increased anger among Arab society in general and Tunisian in particular. So, rioters increased substantially in the matter of hours. Rioters refer to

people who went around using violence routinely and other means of disobedience not simply those who exercised unjust violence. They have a cause and they fight over that cause to be achieved. Other factors behind Tunisian uprising were the government corruption, unemployment, poverty, unequal distribution of income, political repression, dictatorship, and so many others. So, the collective action has been taken place and protesters demanded the resignation of the government. Social media has played major role in uniting the voice of the young people (Althani, 2012, p.37). Prior to revolution, strict media curbs were in place and that was the state run and state administered media. Social media in form of Facebook, twitter, Orkut and other similar social networking websites were banned there was little place for freedom of expression.

So, the act was resulted in upraising of a revolt and rebellion against the status quo. Soon, Ben Ali, the ousted president of Tunisia and his family fled to Saudi Arabia and left power to the people. The success of Tunisian uprising known as Jasmine Revolution motivated the people and oppositions groups in other countries to stand against their authoritarian regimes. Actually, at the beginning it was hard to imagine that the fire and flare of the act in individual capacity would lead to a region upraising. But, BauAzizi made this come true. Then, uprising widespread to Middle East and North Africa. The riots, protests, confrontation and strikes then started in Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Yemen, Bahrain, Algeria, Sudan, Kuwait, Iraq, and most seriously Syria. The objectives of the uprising in each of those countries was clear, but the consequences and the nature of the uprising was different. For instance, the Tunisian uprising is totally different from what's going on in Syria, what happened in Egypt was totally different

from the one in Libya. The reaction of the governments also varies and some of them were peacefully transferred power to the people, others used every means of violence and brutally reacted toward their people. Therefore, the protesters have used several ways to maintain their resistance including the use of riots, marches, and they were actively gathered through the use of social media. In the countries like Syria and Somalia, military resistance has been in place to answer the government brutality. However, the protests in Egypt were more peaceful in the first place despite the military interference, but compare to Syria and Libya, military was not so oppressive. So, the number of protesters increased dramatically due to the use of social media networking and there was proper communication between them to raise their awareness.

According to Syrian Observatory for Human Rights 125,835 people dead from the beginning of uprising and most of them are civilians. Wretchedly, more than 6,627 children are included. Despite the death of civilian, the Syrian Observatory of human rights indicates that more than 27,746 rebels has been killed and 50,430 of Bashar solders and supporters of the government has been killed (Solomon, 2013). The data available indicating the number of casualties is much higher than what's available because many of them disappeared or their death has not been reported. In Libya on the other hands, around 100,000 people has been killed and many has been injured (International Business Times, 2014). However, in Egypt the number of the casualties is lower but there were also torturing, killing, missing, kidnaping cases. According to the data published by the Egypt-appointed cabinet in March 2011, more than 1200 missed.

Those people who disappeared in Egypt are reported to be shot or bearing signs of torture according to the Egypt's morgues (Hill and Mansour, 2013).

## **1.2 Background of the Study**

Arab spring was a transformation in the world politics and several terms has been used to define the process. The uprisings adopted the forms of riots, protest, revolution, and civil war. Therefore, Arab springs itself was a series of anti-government protests, uprisings and armed rebellions that spread across the Middle East in 2010. The uprising for many was a revolution that covered larger part of the Arab world. The term Arab World is commonly used to define the geographical area in which inhabited by the majority of Arabs mostly covered North Africa and larger part of the Middle East. The standing of the people and opposition groups was more likes revolutions happened in different period of times against oppressor leaders but in different way and its revolution because revolution is the movement in which creates positive as well as negative changes. Charles Tilly (2006, p.159) defines revolution as forcible transfer of power in the course of a “struggle involving at least two distinct blocs of contenders that make incompatible claims to control the state with some significant segments of the population supporting the claim of the rival contenders”. Revolution could also be defined in terms of the economic and social changes. For instance, ThedaSkopol defines revolution as the change in political and economic structure of the society (Coyne and Mathers, 2011, p.195). However, in some places like Syria instead of revolution, the word of rebellion is commonly been used to define the opposition political parties and

Islamic groups rebellion against Syrian regime. Rebellion is the behavior of publicly expressing a dissenting political view and It goes without saying that rebellion must be public behavior (Ping, 2011, P.186). Rebellion in most of the cases results in civil war between two parties as it also caused civil war and deepened tensions between opposition groups and the government in Syria.

The incidents and political changes in Syria caused bloody civil war between different armed groups even Al Qaeda involved. Civil war is includes high and low conflict and each party tries to control government and in many cases causes several economic, political and social problems and sometimes even the constructional changes (Kumar, 2001, p.5). Civil war escalates conflict and creates situation in which groups clashing over the maximization of their power, dominance and their interest.

As Redeschi, Schlenker, and Bonoma (1973) highlighted that conflict is as “an interactive state in which the behavior or goals of one actor are to some degree incompatible with the behavior or goals of some other actor or actors (Rahum 2011). Similar to Syria, now Egypt divided into several blocks and military turned to be another dictator and controlled all sectors of the government. The military banned Muslim Brotherhood and kept their leaders in prison.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problems**

As the people of the Middle East and North Africa stands against their dictators, several terminologies used to describe the uprising. Therefore, the most common one which uses by the people of Arab counties as well as the world is “Arab Spring.” Spring is the word that defines a situation in which people are happy and everything is calm and peaceful. Therefore, for many the social, economic and political life of the Arab countries is not really looks like a spring. Despite the downturn of the economy and countries infrastructure with having so many blood shedding, protests, riots, civil wars, social and political fragmentation, but people still using the term of spring. Even though, the fall of dictators was achievement for the people of Arab states, but the aftermath of the revolution tells something different. In the absence of the rule of the state, rule of law, judiciary system, it’s not easy to use the word of spring, but the situation tells that the events in Arab states is more to be labeled as Arab winter than Arab Spring, because people lost their security and economic life. Thomas Friedman who claimed in the first place that Arab Uprising could bring better life to the people of Arab World, therefore, as it comes out that uprising outcome gets into violence, he changed his view that he was wrong and believed that Arab Spring was a disaster (Greenfield, 2013). However, he still insists that the former regimes were autocratic and gave a lot of headache in 50 years to the people, but as he described, it was just slow motion disaster in which the corrupt and autocratic leaders gave stability to the countries. He quoted that Arab Uprising “began with fearless, authentic quests for dignity by Arab Youth, seeking the tools and freedom to realize their full potential in a world where they could see how everyone else was living.” However, as he mentioned the situation in Egypt, Tunisia,

Libya, Yemen and Syria gets worse and the country turned a part not because of toppling leaders, but because of the mentality of people which turned the outcome to disaster. On the other hands, indicates that the results of the Arab spring should be identifies by the outcome that Arabs achieved in aftermath revolution (Thomas 2013). In fact, more than 200,000 people dead, 6 million refugees left their house and thousands of children missed schools, civil war still there, corruption still the issue, and according to HSBC Bank, between 2011 to 2014, Arab countries lost \$800bn. He argues that the main concern for the Arab people is corruption, but as he cited after toppling “Mubarak in Egypt we did not have any plan to fight corruption or to (change) the system. “It's like dismantling a machine which is not working properly and failing to fix it again” (Thomas 2013). In contrast, the former Jordanian minister and businessman Masri believes that Arab spring was the best thing happened in the Arab world. Also, he maintains that corrupted autocratic leaders brought nothing to people except troubles and terrible life. So, there are two sided argument which indicates the benefits and the losses. The term of spring referred to benefits or the success of revolution and targeting its objectives, while the term of autumn refers to disaster and the failure of uprising and all the negative impacts that it left over those countries.



#### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. What are the causes and consequences of uprising in Egypt and Syria?
2. How has leaders in Egypt and Syria reacted to the protests and their demands?
3. What are the roles of international community in the recent crises in Syria and Egypt?
4. Why opposition groups in Syria failed to topple Bashar Assad Regime?

#### **1.5 Research Objectives**

1. To identify the causes and consequences of Arab uprising in Egypt and Syria?
2. To demonstrate the way that leaders in Egypt and Syria reacted to the protests and their demands?
3. To identify the roles of international community in the recent crises in Syria and Egypt?
4. To analyze the failure of opposition groups in in toppling Bashar Assad Regime?

#### **1.6 Significant of the study**

The significant of this study could be identified in several points. First of all, this study will be an important literature for the academics and people who want to know more about Arab uprising. It will also become an important literature for the people who wish to have or avoid certain uprising in their countries based on the facts and figures that highlights hidden sides of the Arab uprising. The study demonstrates facts not based

on the emotion which was the main problem from the beginning of the revolution. I will contribute in sharing knowledge on the facts behind Arab uprising and to avoid encourage people to avoid any negative change in which results in economic, social and political downturn.

### **1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The study has certain scoops and limitations. Arab uprising Arab uprising in all Arab countries could be complicated. So, the study selected to predominant country in the Arab world which is more arguable and sides of the uprising could be seen. The first country is Egypt which is one of the most influential Arab state and revolutions took long time and not yet finished despite the change of two presidents and political transformation from secularists to Islamic and then military leaders. The second country which becomes the focus of this study is Syria which become the world most insecure country and attracted the largest media coverage. Syria also becomes the central point for the recent Russian and American allies. So, the side effects of revolution could be mostly noted in the two countries as in other countries. Moreover, the study focuses on the time period of 2010 to 2014. The limitation of this study is the complexity of the situation which sometimes difficult to analyze data collected.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Literature Review is the major part of the research. Through reading previous studies that has been done on the issues of political and regimes changes as well as types of regimes and protests, riots and revolutions in the other part of the world, it will be easier for the readers to understand the main issues of the study and get an idea on what does the researcher tries to accomplish. This study has used several literatures that previously done and to some extent relates to the problems and objectives of the study.

#### **2.2 Political Culture in Arab world**

Most parts of the world transformed from authoritarian regimes to democratic government especially after the fall of Soviet Union. However, Arab states was remained the same for decades until Tunisian uprising in 2010. Therefore, the democratic institutions in Middle East still under question. For instance, if Jordan and Algeria taken as the best democratic Arab example, it could be argued that democracy is highly limited in both of them and there is no clear evidence on government commitment toward democratic principles of government and in most cases democracy doesn't exist or questionable.

The political culture in Arab World is affected by the behavior and mentality of the people. By analyzing the political culture of the Arab world, it could be clarified that people are not strong supporter of democracy but they are in favor of strong control of the government over different sectors of the country. For instance, in 1991, Al-Ahram Newspaper which is one of the predominant Egypt newspapers conducted a survey in some Arab countries. In the study, 4,997 participants answered the questions and gave their preference for democracy as well as authoritarianism. Surprisingly, the poll discovered that 56% of the participants were in favor of democracy, but 52.3% were against democracy and demanded the application of Sharia which banes alcohol, gambling and limiting several principles of democracy. So as cited by Elie Kedourie (1992), there is a huge confusion in the mind of Arab citizens and they are not really in favor of democracy as she quoted “the idea of democracy is quite alien to the mindset of Arab and Islam” (Brynen and Korany, 1995, p.87). The author makes comparison between the political culture in Europe before the peace of Westphalia and Arab world under the influence of political Islam. The author argues that just like the Arab world, regimes in Europe were authoritarian and irresponsible toward their citizens until their falls and replaced by the secular regimes. So, for him Islam could be a barrier since it defines the mindset of the Arab people to reject democracy and prefer radical political ideas and repression. As suggested by her, the only solution could be done with the fall of classical regimes that Islamic become their bases and liberalizing Arab minds to become more open toward democracy (Brynen and Korany, 1995)

Alie Kedourie (1992) explored that the legitimacy of the government and sovereignty of the state to the type of the government. He indicates that states obtained their sovereignty and governments retained their legitimacy after they successfully separated government from religion as well as removing idea that rulers are appointed by God. This idea is applicable to the Arab world. For instance, it could be argued that most Arab leaders see power as a gift from God and they believe that nobody else have the right to govern their country except them and their son after death. This is the actually the root of the issues when leaders look down their people and control all sources of power and leave nothing to their citizens. They even erased the dream in which capable leader outside of the family become the ruler or the king of the country. The image of Arab political culture is dark due to the idea of legitimacy from god by their leaders and rulers. So, for Elie, such regimes have no legitimacy because they are not chosen by public, and their states have no sovereignty since their people are treated like slaves. For him sovereignty comprises of the total citizens with equal right and different opinion and beliefs. Also, good governance could not be achieved unless the government returns sovereignty to the citizens as it doesn't exist in the Arab political culture (Kedourie, 1992).

One of the significant elements to understand Arab Politics is their political culture which sometimes mixed with Muslim political culture. The literature indicates that cultural factors would provide insight why the authoritarian regimes have been able to roll their countries for the long time. It also explains whether the survival of the dictators is because of the smartness of the dictators or its because of the survival

strategies that dictators are using to extend and maintain their power. Studying political culture of the Middle East is also demonstrates why regimes in the Arab World are resistance toward the notion of democracy. To clarify such points, Alie Kedourie (1992) provides three main categories that could be helpful to understand the political culture in the Arab World including essentialists, contextualizes, and critics. The first category sees culture is the most significant determination for the resistance of the dictator regimes and its culture is rooted in religion, history and social norms. So, for him, political culture which is rooted in religion in Middle East is helpful for and empowers regimes to avoid any forms of reforms and maintain their power. The second notion is contextualizes. In this category, the author explains that leaders are using the important elements of culture such as norms, ideas, cultural symbols and metrical conditions more than religion and to dominate their society. This type of regimes could be applicable to Egypt under Hosni and Size, Iraq under Saddam, and Syria under Bashar. Those leaders are successfully using cultural symbols to influence their citizens and become more resistance to democracy and transformation of power. However, the author finally rebutted his points by arguing that not only culture could determines the politics of Arab states, but there are other determinations that could be used as important determination to explain the persistence of authoritarianism including institutional legacies and political economy. Some authors has interrelated cultural factors and non-cultural factors such as political economy as factors that can shape political outcomes and determines the type of the government. For instance, HishamSharabi(1992) discussed that Arab societies is characterized by neorpatriarchy which derived from the interaction of traditions and modernity of particular Arab political economy and culture or social psychology are not the only fundamental motives of Arab history and Arab politics.

Therefore, the impacts of culture could be more explained in resulting and shaping political behavior. Moreover, Lisa Wedeen(1998) analyzed the cult of personality produced by Syrian dictator Bashar Assad. She argues that Bashar secured the obedience of Syrians for many years through the use of symbolic reassertions of hegemony that assists him to sustain his political dominance. In this regard, it could be argued based on this literature that ideology and symbols can reflect and shape the structure of political behavior as well as political dynamics (Brynen and Korany, , p.10)

According to Raphael Patai in “the Arab Mind” published in 1973, several points about the psychology of Arabs and the nature or the mentality of Arabs has been explained and it has been highlighted why authoritarianism and repression is more common in Arab politics compare to other parts of the world. The author illustrates that their psychology and mentality is deeply affected by tribal survival practices, child rearing practices and behavior of social, sexual and personal group produced individuals with extreme mindset and society with full of conflict and as he quoted major part of Arab society are “unwilling to accept institutional authority.”

Alie Kedourie explains that in the Middle East politic Islam is the matter. She argues that we she saw in the west including popular sovereignty, suffrage, political pluralism, secularism, separation of power, western pillars of democracy and human right are alien to the Arab society as it’s rooted in the traditional Muslim politics. Kedourie addressed that secularism and separation of Arab politics from Islam is the pre-condition for democratization and institutionalization of the government.

Samuel Huntington in both *Clash of Civilization* (1998) as well as the *Third Wave: Democratization* (1991) in the Late Twentieth Century argues that the psychology of Arabs and the political culture in Arab countries deepened in violence and little spaces left for democratization and institutional reforms. He believed that the culture and civilization has produced unfriendly environment for democracy and good governance, but their civilization inherently prone to violence and believes violence and repression is endemic in Arab political culture or as Philip Salzman called the tribal DNA rooted in political system of the Middle East and North Africa (Brynen and Korany, 1995, P.4)

In contrary to Huntington and Alie, Bernard Lewis a contemporary write and expert in the Middle East politics emphasized that traditions and culture should not be mixed with political system in Arab countries and should not be mixed with the issue of democracy. He also skeptical about what Alie argued about Islam and authoritarianism. He argues that Islam contains several notions which serves the humanity such as justice, rejection of despotism, corruption, repression, and encourages equality and popular consultation and limits state powers; so, Islam is not the factor that democracy is limited in Arab countries and political instability widespread. Unlike other commentators he quoted that there is “is alien, with no roots in either the classical Arab or the Islamic past, but it is by now a couple of centuries old and is well entrenched, constituting a serious obstacle.” Yet, more recently, “other positive elements of Islamic history and thought could help in the development of democracy. Notably, the idea of consensual, contractual, and limited government is again becoming an issue today” (Brynen and Korany, 1995, p.7).



Daniela Donno and Bruce Russett (2004) are supporting Lewis argument and they raise the question that if Islam is obstacle on democracy, why authoritarian and repression is less noted in non-Arab states than Arab countries. This means, religion doesn't determine the level of democracy and types of the government, but this is culture and environment that produces certain types of system. Other commentators like Aldred Stepan and Graeme (2003) discussed the paradox of Arab versus Muslim and they found out that there is a hug gap between Arab and non-Arab Muslims in terms of democracy and the role of religion in limiting electoral competition in the Middle East. They maintain their argument and stated "while certain elements of democratic culture are required for democracy to take hold, this political culture is not incompatible with any particular religious tradition, since such traditions are malleable or at least subject to reinterpretation" (Brynen and Korany, 1995, p.8)

### **2.3 Democratization in the Middle East**

Democracy and political instability are two major topics in the world politics. Originally democracy is a Latin word which composite of demo means the rule of people. Democracy has certain principles and conditions that allow everybody to equally participate in decision making process and governing. Adegboye (2013) explained democracy in number of ways including public participation in election and electoral process, citizen engagement in governance and policy making, the respect of the government to the voice of people, free and fair election, and exercising civic liberty through election process. However, Williams (2011) defined democracy in the context of government which means the free and fair participation of people in decision that affects their life and facilitating condition that citizens fairly and freely practice their

self-determination and engage in the decisions that impacts on their lives. There is more literature and more definition on the concept of democracy. For instance, A.A. Adegboye (2013) defined democracy as “a theory of government which in its purest form, holds that the state should be controlled by all the people, each sharing equally in privileges, duties and responsibilities and each participants in person in the government” (p.243). In democratic system the government reflects the interests and the prosperity of the entire population. Under the democratic rule people trust their government and it will strengthen the status and the sovereignty of the state. Those principles cannot be achieved in the absence of democracy pre-conditions. The encyclopedia of Britannica listed several components that could be achieved in democratic system which somehow related to the latest popular uprising in Arab World, Thailand, and Ukraine. The outcome of democracy can help people to prevent curial and autocratic leader whose ruling the country through vicious and fire. Secondly, in democratic system, the possibility to social disobedience, civil war and fighting over interest is more common; in contrast, the democratic system maximizes commitment and trust between citizens and their government. Democracy accelerates human capital development, education, innovation, investment, and increases GDP, individual per capita and government services. It will also help to protect the needs and the interest of people. It also creates environment where people can freely exercise their rights and increase the rule of law and institutionalization.

## **2.4 Democracy and political instability**

The term of political instability is commonly used in political arena. The term has been widely used during the recent uprising in Arab World, Thailand, Turkey, Ukraine and several other countries. In fact political instability could happen for several reasons and under autocratic regimes people are seeking for alternative to promote their livelihood. Thus, they use several methods to send their message which in many cases political instability could be the outcome. ObiomaLheduru defined political instability as “the absence of legitimate, orderly, and peaceful process of transforming power (authority) from one leader to the next and the consequences of this condition includes disintegration, civil unrest, intergroup strife’s, economic retrogression, and other attendant social ills” (Lheduru, 2001, p.46).

Moreover, political stability in the Middle East and Arab countries sometimes give a different meaning. James T. Quinlivan argues that political regimes and autocratic leaders in the Middle East are using different method to stabilize their ruling. The methods as highlighted are “the exploitation of family, ethnic, and religious loyalties; the creation of parallel militaries that counterbalance the regular military forces; the establishment of security agencies that watch everyone, including other security agencies; the encouragement of expertness in the regular military.” In some countries like Bahrain and Jordan the government uses full autocracy methods to maintain loyal families authority and stabilize their political life. For instance, in Bahrain and Jordan, the high ranked military officers are from trusted royal family and they will be promoted based on trust and family connection rather than merits (Gordon 2010). This is also similar to Syria in which president family controlled military to stabilize their regimes.

However, the 2011 uprising proved that such methods are not sustainable and leaders in this way cannot maintain their stability forever.

In fact, the world politics has been changed in the last two decades and new waves of democratization emerged in former Soviet Union, Arab World, Thailand, Philippines, Turkey, and so many other countries which were under the control of autocratic and corrupted regimes. Also, Military power in those countries except the Egypt has been lowered and the level of freedom has increased. For instance, military power in Turkey was so strong before, but the Islamic AK party minimized the role of military and no longer can military design the future of the country. However, there is still a huge threat on democracy and political instability which can impose larger effects on world stability. Democracy is something that interrelated with political stability. Whenever politics and situations stabilize, democracy will progress. Actually, many countries have taken long journey toward democracy and political stability. Some Arab countries lately overthrown their dictators or destabilized their powers but still political stabilization is subject to criticism as in Tunisia and Egypt. Before the uprising in Middle Eastern countries, neither countries have full dominance over social and political groups and government institutions, but they were always under threat of people. For that they used every means possible to maintain their power and the international institutions critically reported the situation in which full of crimes, human right violations, poverty and other social and political disorders. For example, in Egypt under Mubarak there was election but civil society and political parties were completely controlled by Mubarak and Military was institutionalized and president had ultimate power military and he was capable of mandating constitution and limits the activity of

political parties (Gordon, 2010). This condition was also noted under the role of Gaddafi of Libya, King Mohammed of Morocco and Bashar of Syria; however, as argued by Gordon, the outcome of such controls, somehow extended their period of ruling. However, at the end in all these countries people upraised and demanded the regime change. So, even though they can stabilize their power for years, but it's not sustainable method and consequently political instability emerges (Gordon, 2010).

Furthermore, the relationship between leaders and government agencies with people determines democracy and stability. Over the last three decades the military leaders in several Arab countries like Libya and Egypt dominated every aspects of life. Most of scholars concentrate on the point that the military regimes in the world especially in Middle east and Latin America came to power through non-democratic and violent means especially military coup d'état. For instance, Mark P. Sullivan who is a specialist in Latin American affairs argues that in Argentina 25 president come to power in 22 years and mostly used military coup and violence mean (Sullivan, M .2002, p.2). This example could also be applied on Arab world in which military leaders or national heroes used military coup, or used their nationalism to control power. Therefore, after the collapse of Soviet Union, the ratio of military rule has been declined compare to what Sullivan discussed but regimes under the autocratic regimes of the Middle East were still appeared to be a military leader rather than anything else and they found themselves within military and use it to maintain their rules.

However, sometimes military appeared to be the protector of political system of the country despite their feeling toward leaders. For instance, in the first place of

Egyptian uprising military were neutral and only tried to protect the political system even though it was changed later. This condition also happened in other parts of the world. For instance, in 2000 the Ecuador the military ousted the president, but they refused to take power “to embracing democratic values “and “civilian rulers” (Perez-Linan, A .2002, p.12). Here, it can be argued that the military rule changed from taking power to protecting power. However, in Egypt everything changed overtime and military no longer backs democracy and turned their face to do exactly what has been done before. In such conditions, political stability is not easy to be achieved, but people can not support for restoring military rule or autocracy because people are highly victimized under such classical regimes and they were victimized in the past. So, as Perez (2009) argues, in such circumstances people are seeking for better alternative.

On the other hand, scholars argue that spring of democracy can not be achieved without a stable political system. Mass democracy requires stable condition, but scholars like Ai Camp argues the condition of Middle East, North Africa and Latin America are always calamitous, so it restrains them from maintaining long term democracy (Ai Camp, 1996, p.72). In the other words, government institutions and civic authorities are the reflection of passive political environment. Michael C. Dutch agree that “if the country faces significant internal threat, the institutions of civilian authority will most likely to be weak and divided, making it difficult for civilians to control the military” (Aviles, 2006, p.8). Undoubtedly, people are willing to support a system which will provide security for citizens, not a system with dictatorship regime to insecure social and political live.

In the third world countries inequality and the minor role of civil society and non-institutionalized system undermines the hopes for democracy and stability. For that reason, many writers and scholars focused on the issue of inequality. Whenever inequality in income and power exist, the system will probably confronts large disobedience and sometime the direction of this situation will shift to anarchy and violence. In most of the world countries poverty and inequality both in power and income have “produced political instability, social divisions and confrontations, and a brand of political populism that has little to do with the quality of democracy but everything to do with its governability.”(Dominguez & Jones, 2007 p.65). Millet (2002) defined the factors behind political instability as argued:

“every conflict has global political, economic, social and security implication ranging from trade disruption to the growth of the criminal organizations to refugee flows to violent clashed to local and regional political instability, and the condition of instability also undermine efforts to nature democracy and free-market economies, and install anything approaching the rule of the law and human rights. Moreover, no single nation can confront these problems alone.” (Millet, 2002, p.ix)

Besides, financial instability creates further problem for the state. Mark Sullivan talks about the economic issue and how it effects on instability.Timo Behr and Mika Aaltola (2011)asserted that high level of poverty, unemployment, and the lack of opportunities also large number of lower middle class population whose have no hope to improve their life style. Government spending and inflation are causes of political instability and levels of democracy. Blanco and Grier links inflation rate and public

expenditure to democracy and violence. They discuss that the countries that have high inflation rate and lower government spending are likely confronted political issues (Blanco & Grier, 2005, P .13).

## **2.5 Causes of Revolution**

There are several factors that cause popular uprising or revolutions. The factors are varying starts from social, economic and political inequality to marginalization, exploitation, repression, corruption, lack of democratic system and lack of freedom. Literatures mostly stress out that revolution or uprising in most condition arise from the desire of public for equality whether in terms of income equality or rights of the minority and marginalized groups whom they demands to be treated equally with other social groups. Also, other factors such as jealousy, arrogance of the officials, abusing law and lack of law enforcement, corruption, rivalries, the imbalance between social class, race antagonisms and so many others leads to political disobedience and popular uprising.

Foran (20010) listed several factors that will causes revolution and social movement including dependent development, a repressive, exclusionary, personality state, the elaboration of effective and powerful political cultures of resistance, crisis of revolution that created by the combination of economic downturn, international system. These factor will produces the dependency of the country on the capitalist world and economic exploitation as world as competition and rivalry between opposition power. Such factors according to succeeded revolution in Nicaragua, Iran, China, Cuba and



Mexico. However, to be successful, any uprising should poses essential cultural component and resistance and strong opposition. Besides, the revolution must happen on the right time and the right place. For instance, Foran (2010) argues that revolution must happen at the moment when favorable on the world scene in order to destroy the power and forces that oppose revolution as happened in Kurdish people uprising against Saddam Hussein in 1991 at the eve Iraqi invention to Kuwait and Arab Uprising at the end of 2010 in several Arab countries. The liberation movement or uprising starts as the reaction to the restriction of equality, freedom, liberty, and marginalization. In such condition people reacts to the to wrest free from the chains of oppression and supremacy (Jefferson, 2008, p.43).

Uprising also varies from one type of the government to another type. For instance, inflammatory attack on wealth which sometimes alters to oligarchy or tyranny in which the leader become arrogant and use extreme methods in maintaining its power. Therefore, in oligarchies uprising usually emerges as the result of using oppressive tools by the leaders and excluding larger part of population and banes the activity and mobilization of their opponents. However, in aristocratic system, uprising arises from jealousy of those who has been excluded from powers and major economic shares that supposed to be equally distributed on the citizens, but controlled by the elite family or group (Lloyd-hughes, 2009, p.38). According to Plato (1951, p.54) the differences in income and interest will causes political mass protest and revolution. He also indicates that poverty and inequality in income distribution will leads to revolution, cruelty, and

wickedness. To support Plato, Aristotle (1962, p.59) also emphasized that poverty will causes disagreement and unrest.

Other theorists and schools describe the motives of popular uprising in different way. For instance, according to Marxists theory of rebellion, the possibility of upraising increases when economy develops. The theory correlates this phenomenon to the increase of income inequality and political democracy. In both regards, the theory is argued totally different from other theories that associated to uprising. Their justification is the economic performances will indirectly effects on proletarianization, the rise of and empowerment of elite groups which deepen the issue of social class and economic exploitation. In the other words, the theory explains that rebellions and revolution emerges mainly because of class exploitation. They also contends that industrialization and development will also leads to rebellion because it increases the size of exploiting working class by bourgeois or elites (Boswell and Dixon, 1993, p.681). Moreover, Marxists identifies three major reasons that breed conflict such as “working class divisions, a rebellious class consciousness, and liberal democracy” (p.685). Working class division is described as ethnic conflict or religious or race conflict such as the conflict between Irish and English people. Then, liberal democracy could leads to uprising because as Marx’s theory asserted, the demand for democracy and rights will increases the possibility of revolt especially among marginalized groups whom avoided from voting or political participation. However, the Neo-Marxist theorists argues that industrialization and democracy and the struggle over the scarcity of resources, income distribution, middle class conditions, property rights creates compromise rather than

revolution (Boswell and Dixo, 1993, p.686). Surprisingly, modernization theory as cited by Huntington (1968) also supports Marxism that development leads revolution because of the market monopoly over the mode of production. According to modernization theory, the higher income may maximize the demand for democracy and at the same time increases the possibility of revolution (Knutsen, 2012, p.2).

To further explain this point, Knutsen (2012) highlights three channels in income growth that may impacts on uprising including changing values, attitude and beliefs, changing likely profits and costs related to regimes, also transforming power from one group to another. The author provided further argument for the three channels. In the first occasion he believes that when income changes the belief and the attitude of people, it may cause the regime survival or increase the possibility of revolution. However, the income growth also maximizes the chances of democracy, toleration as well as modernization. On the other hands, MacCulloch (2004) figured out the growth of GDP per capita minimizes the probability of revolution and decreases the revolutionary sentiment. This point is supported by Overland and Spagat(2000) that legitimacy of the regimes relies on economic development. Furthermore, in the autocratic regimes, economic performance helps regimes to promote democracy in order to evade economic benefits and possibility of social or political movement. However, through analyses of theories, it could be argued that economic factor is important in defining the reasons that persuade people to rise against elites. So, economy in both regards whether performance or downturn increases the possibility of revolution, but what reduces the chance of uprising is the balance of economy between social class which keep everybody equal

because equality is like a fire and any denying of the this fire leads popular uprising as occurred in Arab countries after the Tunisian uprising.

Moving to the great example that could be helpful to explain some factors of uprising which is the protest or Tibetans uprising in 2008 against PRC as the result of economic, social and political marginalization as the government tightened the control over Tibetan culture whom considered to be religious people and government disregarded their culture and spiritual believes (Dolma, 2008, p.192). Touching religion sacred is a red line for many people and any sectarian or racist government doing so will faces unrest and protest. The people of Tibet also felt unfair treatment by the government and lack of opportunity especially employment. The major factor behind the Tibetan uprising was ethnic discrimination and the government doesn't give them equal treatment compare to other ethnic groups, so their vulnerability and marginalization persuaded them to revolt against Chinese government. Further to the point scholars like Gongmeng stressed out that "thought the entire development process, too little attention was paid to truly understanding Tibet areas, the characteristics of development in Tibetan areas or the boarder need and desires of the Tibetan masses ... in a nationalities state and in other modern system of legal discourse, the Tibetan people face multiple schisms and dislocation including their status as citizens, their status as an ethnic people and their religious status. Any nationality or people facing such hurried and imposed changes would inevitably feel ill at ease and full of contradictions" (Dolma, 2008, p.193).

Other major issues that causes uprising is due to the large scale of corruption in government and controlling economic assets by the elites. According to the reports

issued by the World Bank, people are paying more than USD1 trillion in bribes and millions in other ways (Majeed, 2006). Lately, in the recent uprising in Ukraine is mainly associated to the widespread of corruption that persuaded people to revolt against thieves (Adizes, 2014). Lisa Karpova cited one of the protesters that shout “we will change the leadership; they will not change by themselves.” That means the corrupted officials usually do not set back their act of corruption but in most cases they continue in stealing public funds and that will increase anger among citizens and leave no other chance for reform except popular uprising and riot. In some countries when the corruption rises, the international community imposes sanction on their economy and for some this is also causes problem and widens political and economic issues and raises corruption and division of society. Alas who is another Ukrainian protesters cited that corrupted actors due to the global sanction has made themselves even richer and monopolize market economy and controlled the needs of people. He argues even the international sanction will increase more possibility for the corrupted leaders to exploit their citizens and dominate every sectors of their life as it happened in Ukraine, Iraq as well as Iran in which only citizens suffered.

The issue of corruption is not associated only with one part of the world, but even the most world advanced countries suffering from corruption and possibility of uprising and political disobedience is always there. In the other words, it’s a global phenomenon. For instance, one of the major demands of the occupied Wall Street was due to corruption whom they demanded real social justice and fighting corruption. However, due to the control of media by the US government and elites, protesters

couldn't achieve their demands and in some regards they were even portrayed as extremists (Karpova, 2011). However, the fear of erupting people from injustice could not be extinguished as it even impacts on their psychology and increases their anger. Similar situation happened in Greece where thousands of protesters chanted against government and accused officials for corruption and saw them as the main reason behind financial crises and political disruption. Corruption was among the core factors that breeds Arab revolution through Middle East and North Africa.

Moreover, the latest Arab rebellion marked by the deep corruption problem in the Arab states. For instance, In Yemen where the political and economic corruption was in the highest level despite poverty and unemployment; additionally, the widespread of economic marginalization by the elites and unaccountable officials results in the regime change. Hill et al (2013) demonstrated a survey in which participants in Yemen given a reason for their motives to engage in anti-government protest and uprising. The findings of the research discovered that seven out of ten participants selected corruption is the main motive for the widespread antigovernment chanting and major unrest happened in the country which finally caused the change of Ali Abdulla Salih.

Finally one of the common factors of popular uprising is political repression that state use any means possible to curb the opposition groups and its opponents. For instance, in Bahrain the government used to crackdown activists and jail those who pose against government policies and inequalities. Indicates that Bahraini government used

means of suppression to challenge popular mobilization and systematically repressed the opposition groups through the use of muzzling the media, making widespread arrests, avoiding even peaceful protest. Also, the government divided the population and use sectorial violence against Shi'a majority in the country. This caused uprising in Bahrain at the eve of Arab Uprising. The commentators like Landy and Harrison (2011) defines the situation and they indicates that government forces even invaded hospitals and dragged out doctors from hospital and jailed activists for supporting and giving care to the injured protesters . Besides, the international system was helpful and supportive to the government repression before and during the uprising. For instance, the Bahraini government used to ask help from its neighboring countries to send their military and security forces to crackdown opposition groups and protesters and the United states government was silent in the continue suppression and human right violation in Bahrain (Backenfield, 2012). Political repression makes people to demand freedom and human rights, but in the autocratic regimes such demands is considered as illegal and taboo. So, any criticism to the government policy increases the chance of repression and consequently clashes between security associated to the government and people demands for freedom no matter they practice their rights in peaceful way or using violence. The regimes always consider those people as extremists and agents of foreign countries.

## 2.6 Uprising: Success or Failure

The fall of dictators can not always brings freedom and equality, but there are so many uprising and revolutions that created even worse situation to human rights, political activity and economic well-being. For instance, Castro for years fought Batista dictatorship in Cuba, but he become a new dictators. Similar happened in Zimbabwe in which Robert Mugabe uprising against colonial forces and achieved independent for his country; then he appeared to be a national hero. Since the independent day until today he is remained on powers as president of the Republic of Zimbabwe. He is also accused for his action against his opponents (NPR, 2014). Besides, Zimbabwe now is one of the most corrupted world countries; there are examples of human right violation, restricting freedom of speech, and the lack of free press, corrupted education system, and high inflation rate. So, the outcome of revolution is not actually could be expected to be positive, because it could also bring a nightmare to the people. In fact similar expectation could be done in case of Arab uprising because nobody knows what will happen tomorrow in Syria or Egypt. Egypt now is turning to dictatorship and this is exactly what Diehl (2011) cited in WashingtonPost during the rule of Muslim Brotherhood and even before anybody think about military coup and return of authoritarian militarist regime. He actually quoted that despite the possibility of falls of the dictators “But the history of revolutions against dictatorships — in Latin America, Eastern Europe and the Middle East itself — tells a different story: The more immediate and uncompromising the justice for a dictator, the worse it is for the post-revolution regime.” It’s actually not easy to see the post-uprising situation because sometimes it results in sectarian violence, ethnic violence, revenge, and country division. For instance, after Ukrainian uprising the country split into two parts and international



community has intervened. One part of Ukraine claimed its independent and then reunion with Russian Federation. The issue not even remained inside Ukraine but the danger is much serious than we are expecting as the world is divided into front similar to the Syrian uprising which each country back a side. This is really become an issue and can tells that uprising is no longer the solution but sometimes it's actually an issue for democracy and human security.

The fall of the autocratic regimes throughout the world not always brings positive outcome. The autocratic regimes in Russia and Belarus were stepped up their oppression, in this case the revolution failed to achieve its final goals of democracy, but autocratic regimes remained on powers (Lucan, 2008). Furthermore, the role of international community in the revolution could also be taken as essential motive of revolution. For instance, the role of the United States and EU in Romania, Belarus, Ukraine and Georgia become an important tool to avoid the sustainability of autocratic regimes. For that, people upraised again regimes and their power has been restrained as the consequence of foreign interference. So, opposition groups gained an important support in Eastern Europe to get advantage from such external pressure and change the behavior of the regimes (Lucan, 2008, p.61).

In addition, the success of Russian Bolshevik revolution was seen to be a new era in Soviet political and economic life. Though, Russians has experienced different consequences and Bolshevik started to be different from what has been expected. They first curbed their allies and counterparts, opened several concentration camp to the

government opponents, thousands had been imprisoned and killed. The economics of the country as expected to be based on socialism discipline turned to be more to exploitation and in some context was a new form of capitalism because the government exploited workers and monopolized means of production (GPGB 1973).

Geddes, Wright, and Frantz (2012, p. 26) provides an important literature on Arab uprising and believes that the outcome of revolutions could not be expected. They believe that outcome may be positive and more to democracy or as in case of Easter Europe and Central Asia, the regime breakdown will results in political instability and continuation of autocracy and traditional government. They claims that outcomes of post revolution maybe more positive and democratic if the policy makers decisions responsive to the instability and breakdown of the autocratic regimes.

Finally, not every attempt to topple the regimes or persuading government could be done through uprising. There are so many cases in which the opposition groups or public gave up without achieving any outcome. So, it's possible that Syrian uprising fails to get its outcome which is toppling down Ba'th regime. In fact, the failure of the revolution is because the authoritarian regimes control over economic life of society and wealth. This makes people to admit to the authoritarian role because they cannot independently develop their economy, but due to the absolute control of the leaders, they cannot develop easily. Also, in such cases leaders using bribes and other sources to fight their opponents. So, people in such cases denies their support to opposition groups and revolution. For instance, in Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Belarus government controlled

private sector; in the other words, the leaders through their corruption methods bought private market. Thus restrained opposition movements to be funded. So, as argued by Lucan (2008; p.65) only through volunteer and personal sacrifices opposition groups may gain support. For that reason, the revolutions fail to continue.

## **2.7 The Widespread of Authoritarian in Developing World**

Authoritarian or autocracies are terms that usually used to describe regimes that are not reflecting public demands and use some coercive methods to remain on power. The two terms are interrelated and quit similar. According to Mariam Webster dictionary authoritarian is the type of regime in which power concentrates in the hand of one leader or elite groups and people are required to be fully obey or subjective to the authority and individual freedom is limited. However, autocracy is the system of government in which the autocratic leader “determines all policies, techniques, and activity steps and dictates the particular work tasks and work companions of each member. The autocratic leader tends to be personal in his or her praise and criticism of the work of each member but remain aloof from active group participation” (Choi, 2012, p.245). Authoritarianism is a common system in the world politics even at this moment there are so many autocratic regimes especially in developing countries and mainly in Arab and African countries, but most recently they have experienced a great shock as the result of popular uprising and global political changes. In this regard, some of them replaced by democratic regime; however, some people are still suffering under such coercive and baffling regimes. According to Geddes (2004) from the end of World War two until 2004, more than 125 authoritarian regimes have been collapsed and many others ended after this

period. Most recently, the Libyan, Ukrainian, Egyptian, Tunisian autocracies removed from power; therefore their alternatives are not yet clear whether democratic or autocrat.

Actually, autocracy is a broad term and could embrace several types of regimes that commonly discussed among politicians. Some commentators even consider totalitarianism as autocracy. Peruzzotti and Plot (Choi, 2012, p.266) argues that totalitarianism, tyranny, absolute monarchy, despotism, kinds of emergency rules, militarism, functional modernization and many other form of power as autocracy. Based on this explanation countries like Syria, Egypt, Yemen, Morocco, Algeria, Eritrea, Sudan, Jordan, Oman, Bahrain, UAE, Qatar, Kuwait are autocratic countries because they are either militarists or use types of emergency rule, or they are using the forms of absolute monarchy system. In this form of government or leadership, leaders are overcome issues and make policies based on their understanding and information without getting any input from public, but the final decision is concentrated in their hands. As cited in the work of Choi (2012) the party gains information through the use of society, youth, workers, teachers, peasants groups as well as family unites. The system makes everyone spy on everyone else. Unflavored people or groups will be penalized and methods such as fear, penetration, atomization and material incentives will be implied. In this way as (Magaloni, 2006) claims the system will traps citizens into supporting the party and its leadership.

Authoritarian regimes could be classified into several types. For instance, Geddes (2004, p.5) classified authoritarian regimes into military, single party, and

personalized. These types of authoritarian regimes are common in Arab countries. Major part of the Arab world rules by the single ruler who is encounter of any aspects of the government and have authority over different aspects of public life. However, the author forgot one important type of authoritarian regimes which is absolute monarchy and common especially in the rich oil countries like Gulf states, Morocco and Jordan. Moreover, authoritarian leaders come to power through the use of different procedures and different process. They could also be selected from different ethnic and social groups with different background to influence decision for the best of the wider group or elites and sees popular view or citizens as their opponents. Besides, some of them come to power through democratic process but soon they turn to be dictator. However, any types or forms of authoritarianism harm public interest and not favored by majority. For that, Przeworski (2009) cites that dictatorship in all forms is not solution but problem. He claims that such regimes sustain their power through the use of coercion and fear no matter citizens have alternative during election or not but overall people are suffering under authoritarian regimes. Thus means they have nothing in their agenda to serve their people or sustain their country's development except maximizing their power and wealth on behalf of their citizens. Therefore, autocrats are unable to deny the role of public in absolute term, but as Geddes (2004) argues, autocrats needs support from citizens as he maintains that even autocratic regimes required to obtain some level of civil obedience and public support to maintain their rule and protect their interest. The author indicates that despite the fact that authoritarian leaders do not love their citizens and disturbed by their demands; but, they are still considering some of their demands to attract them as they need some people to support them. Otherwise it will be difficult for them to continue their legitimacy without giving incentives and bonuses to some interest groups

who deliver benefit from their autocratic rules. The literature of this study tries to explain some common types of autocracy especially the types that are common in the Middle East and relates to the recent uprising in the Arab states. The literature provides scholarly argument to clarify each type of autocracy that rooted in the Arab politics and more generally in the developing countries.

### **2.7.1 One Party System**

The autocratic or authoritarian system has been widespread at the end of twenty century and world has experiences unprecedented expansion of authoritarian regimes especially one-party system. In one party system, a single political party monopolizes power and control over policy and sectors of government without giving a single chance to other political parties. According to Magaloni and Kricheli (2010) one party system has become a dominant type of authoritarian rule and it has been proved that this type of regime is more stable and developed compare to other forms of authoritarian rules. The author supports his statement by data and indicates that after 1990s, one party system become a dominant authoritarian rule and comprises 57% of the authoritarian that come to power between 1950 to 2006 and 33 percent of the all regime types globally. When discussing one party system, maybe some asks why autocrats need to have political party while leaders in such system have absolute authority over decisions and policies. Obviously, the autocratic leaders need political party to utilize it as an instrument to mobile public support and not all types of one party system can control every aspects of government.

One party system could be classified into two types of political rule including single party and dominant party. In single party system, the country rules by a single party which leaves no room for opposition parties even to exist such as communist regimes in China, Vietnam, North Korea, Iraq under Saddam Hussein, Syria, and Cuba. However, in the dominant party system, parties permits the opposition to compete in election and have certain political activities even though they are not fully free but in most cases the election and political process already decided on their selection. The example of the later one is Zimbabwe, Egypt under Mubarak, Venezuela, Tanzania and so many other countries. Therefore, this kind of regime is a bit tricky and complicated to understand because autocratic leaders let political parties to but to the extent that he demand so as to justify his/her legitimacy. Actually, in the right time the autocratic leader will dismiss them and dissenting their voices as they also faces revenge and arbitration. Moreover, Boix and Svulik (2008) further stress the point and arguing the dominant party could only be trusted if with the join party could punish those people who cheat the agreement between the parties, otherwise rebellion and uprising may occurs when the dominant party abuse the agreement. However, parties in such regimes not always abide by agreements.

The autocratic regimes under one party system possess several characteristics. Autocrats not only use means of fear, terror and punishment against their rivals but sometimes they use extreme means of repression against their member when they see or doubt about their loyalty. Tullock (1987) explains that autocrats purge, imprison or send their enemies into exile when they feel uncomfortable with their action or attitudes.

They destroy parties that functions outside the instruction of ruling party, they control over economy, natural resources, salaries, fertilizers, banks, mortgages, education, food, scholarship, public services and so many other privileges (Magaloni and Kricheli, 2010). Therefore, recourse and services will not equally be distributes; but, regimes under one party system will give a share of the resources and incentives to their citizens and elites as giant patronage system to buy their support (Pepinsky, 2007). This is a common system and leaders are producing a group of people who talk on behave of them, support and justify their legitimacy and action due to their economic gains which they receives in exchange to their support. Diaz-Cayeros et al (2001) describes this patronage network as a tragic brilliance which assists the party to remain in power without political reform and economic performance. To maintain this tragic brilliance game, the party usually targets poor citizens especially in the dominant party regimes to buy their votes and sustain their support. Havel (1978) portrays citizens under this tragic brilliance policy become a victim as well as perpetrator and he points his finger to the people who lives under communist regimes. He claims that under communism, citizens are vulnerable to the party and access to the resources, jobs and other sources of life are mainly under the control of the party. So, as he maintained the rejection or criticism on the party policy, they will be excluded from any privileges and will be severely punished by the regime. Hence, since one party system restricts the existence of other political parties, they can live longer and leaders secure their power for decades. For instance, in Iraq Saddam Hussein hold power for 35 years. Ba'th socialist party in Syria heads by Assad also secured the power of Assad family for several decades and any political activity other than Ba'th party is strictly banned.



In fact, the survival of one party system in both types depends on several methods that those regimes using repression and other told to extend their durability. The major tools as explained are resources which can be used to buy supports. Marrison (2009) discuss a point which is applicable on Arab countries which is the control of natural resources by autocrats. The autocratic regimes in one party system as he discussed maximized mass dependency on their resources and imply the methods to make them inefficient citizens to destructive and consumer rather than independent and productive. The party in the dominant party system also has to make sure that resources are outside the control of opposition groups or sharing the resource, but their control must be in the bottommost in the way they cannot survive without the support of the dominant political party. Thus, according to (Greene 2007; Lawson 2002; and Langston, 2006) the opposition groups cannot mobilize mass or to affect them or attracting voters to support them. Moreover, The regimes under one party system will spy on their citizens and try to understand what everybody do and the level of their loyalty to the party and the leader. For that, they seek for information on every single citizen in the country so as to control over everybody easily and punish those who act against the will of the party.

Finally, Public support to the party is so essential and will extend the terms or power of the ruling party. Besides, if the party gains mass support and controls the distribution of power, resources, position, rival groups cannot overcome the regime and collapse the dictator as everyone become a guard of the system (Magaloni. 2006). Wintrobe (1998) claims that the autocratic leaders can not always become too tough to

their people because if they rely on using fear, suppression, pressure and banning their citizens in any political or economic activity, they will confronts moral hazards and threats from their security apparatus as they definitely depend on them. Several solutions has been explained by Haber (2006) who believes that to remain in power, autocrats usually using the available resources to silence their opponents and encourage elite members to protect the regime and avoid any attempts to overthrow the regime.

### **2.7.2 Military Regimes**

In the military regimes, a group of people decide to take power and influence policy through their people within government apparatuses and directly shapes the policy of the country. In this kind of authoritarian regime, the power frequently changes and the possibility of military coup or political destabilization is higher. Majeed (2008) Provides an over view on this form of the government and argues that conflict may raise between rivals and if that become intense, the military will splits into within military elite as it commonly happened in Latin America. Then the regime collapse will become something inevitable.

Military regimes in many cases emerge as the result of having dictatorship regimes in which repress its citizens and limits individual liberty. So, military leaders are using such situation to justify their military coup or conspiracy against non-democratic regimes (Acemoglu ,Ticchi, and Vindigni, 2008). They show to their citizens that military protect their rights and stand by them. However, the fact is different from what they are calling for but the main objective of their standing is due to their will in taking

power. For instance, Nordlinger (1977, p.78) argues that major coups that occurs in the world politics is mainly due to the defense of military on corporate interests. Other commentators also provide literature on this issue. For instance, Needler (1987, p.59) clarifies that military involvement in politics and government is because of their interest or the interest of the economic elite. Military regimes can also come to power in democratic regimes after they undergo military coup against the democratic elected government. This form of regimes is more common in Latin America, Arab countries and Africa where military controlled by leaders or they will face coup as happened in Egypt several times.

Furthermore, military leaders are more likely to increase their influence during crises and when the government is in the process of transitional democracy which helps them to attempt a successful coup against democracy (Acemoglu, Ticchi, and Vindigni, 2008, p.49). This point is proved in the case of Egypt in which conducted military coup against the first democratically elected government and arrested president and his cabinet members. This happened in the time where Egypt was expected to be a newborn democratic country and believed to be the role model of 21<sup>st</sup> century democracy especially in the Arab World.

More to the point, military regimes are usually come to power through military coup or undemocratic means such as Muamar Gaddafi who ruled Libya for 42 years. They are not elected by anyone and directly interfere in political process of country and gradually increasing their power when they find their interest in the process. Majeed (2008) claims that military regimes are damaging democracy and harmful to the accountability of the system. Besides, the military that engages in politics poses threats

on national security and sovereignty of the state and thus impacts on the policies that government makes to serve its citizens. The policies under such regimes must reflect the demands of the military leader which they are lack of knowledge and information about public policy making and redistribution of income and allocation of budget. The author argues that not necessarily military rule the country but even with their minor intervention in country politics, they gradually threats on the political parties and shapes the preference of the voters and undermine any force that stand against their will. As he quoted if the military take over the government the government will be unable to “function effectively then the economy will pose high risks for foreign business and full scale military regime poses the greater risk and then the system will be corrupted and the continuation of such a government may create an armed opposition (Majeed (2008).

In military dictatorship there are two kinds of regimes; one of them is called indirect military rule which refers to the regimes that political leaders or parties are chosen thorough fake election. Fake election here means that military is supportive in preventing other political parties in participating in election or their supporters cannot vote freely (Geddes, Wright, and Frantz, 2012, p.9). So, the major political parties especially those which have popularity among people will be banned in support to the political leaders that backed by military. Secondly, there is another military regime that directly involves in politics and controls the important assets of government and dominates cabinet ministers as during the time of Mubarak, Sadat and Gamal Abdul Nassir of Egypt.

None democratic regimes especially military dictatorship has to use forces so as to protect their power. Thus, creates ethical and political problem which military turns to establish a regimes in which more close to their agenda and in line with their objectives (Acemoglu, Ticchi, and Vindigni, 2008). The author claims that such regimes can not survive without using certain degree of repression against their opponents. So, military will be used to undermine critical voices and opponents who harm military interest. So, as cited in their work, the best approach to use in order to remain on power is using the perfect agent which is a synonym to military.

Unlike civilian government, the military government opens up more doors for corruption and leaders work together with foreign businessmen to monopolize market economy. Besides, politicians act according to the approaches set by the military leader and restrain the power of opposition groups (Majeed, 2008). In the other word, military functions like legal and legitimate institution and everybody subject to their decisions. Majeed (2008) maintains his argument by claiming that those military regimes have created several problems to public and the most serious one is increasing the level of corruption. For instance, he indicates that military leaders such as Mobuto, Abacha, and Suharto had made over \$5 billion in public money. So, this indicates the engagement of military in politics will results in maximizing the level of corruption, kickbacks and misusing public fund.

Ball (1981) on the other hands contends that when military take over the system, government will be least responsive to the needs and demands of majority especially in

poor and developing nations which Arab countries could also be classified under this category. Moreover, Ball maintain his argument and believes military dominance will results in using armed forces to control the scarce resource to manipulate criticizes and limit their voices.

### **2.7.3 Personalistic Authoritarian Regimes**

In Parsonalistic regimes, the power and policy reflects the idea and understanding of the individual leader. In this type of regime as argues by Geddes (2004) , leaders have better control over the security, politics and economy. Besides, leaders can better exercise their power over rivals even when disagreement happens. However, when it reaches to the condition of uprising or when the leader realizes that his power is endanger, he will do anything possible to secure his rule. For that as asserted by Samuel Huntington (1991) leaders responding opponents with repression rather than negotiation and discussion and they are more likely to become a vampire and end up with bloody war in confronting opposition groups or protesters. This means that they are more dangerous than any other types of authoritarian types of regimes.

In personalized dictatorship, the leader, the government, the party and the people are all synonyms. In other word, the government is under the absolute control of president and no one could ever criticize and do something in opposite to the president will. For instance, during the time of Idi Amin in Uganda, he assassinated and executed so many officials including some of his cabinet ministers. This kind of regimes is even

more dangerous than military or communism because in communist system, the leaders are leaving their position or replaced by another leader after their death, but in personalized regime the leader is the if the first and the end for anything relates to the state and government. However, in one party system as seen in communist China, the party is more important and it's not dominated by one head, but people within political party have some sorts of authority and influence over the party decisions (Geddes, Wright, and Frantz, 2012, p. 11). Thus could be possible except when a strong leader take power which may exclude others such as China during Mao.

This type of regime is more complicated than others because even after the collapse of the regime it's not sure that the country will be democracy. However, in personalized dictatorship the transition is more toward autocracy than democracy, while in dominant party system, there is a better chance for the success of democracy. So, any changes happen in the political system or any transition to democracy will results in a very bad fate to the leader in this type of regimes. According to the data provided by Geddes in the regime classification, in personalize dictatorship, leaders with the percentage of 69 percent faces imprisonment, exile or death after they leave their office. Means they have little chance to remain safely in the country and this could be the main reason that forces those dictators to extend their power and do anything possible to remain on power since leaving their office brings a very bad consequences even endanger their lives. This examples is common in Arab countries and the most obvious example is Saddam Hussein who faced death penalty and in Syria president fear of the same consequences if he leaves power. However, in Tunisia and Uganda, presidents

were run away from their countries and continued their lives in exile. However, comparing to personalized dictatorship, in dominant party dictators less than 37 percent of the leaders face similar fates while in military the percentage remained somewhere between them (Geddes, Wright, and Frantz, 2012, p. 11).

## **2.8 The Effects of Media in Global and Regional Political Changes**

There are three main types of media which are print media such as newspaper and magazine, broadcasting media such as TV, satellite channels and radio station, and the third type of media which recently emerged to be more influential in the recent global dynamics is internet media includes websites and social media networks. Some traditional media such as print media and radio is no longer effective as before and to some extent replaced by the modern media and technology. Therefore, social media is now emerged to be the most effective tool especially among young generations. Social media is defined by Hansen, Shneiderman and Smith (2010) as a “set of online tools that supports social interaction between users.” In practice the authors portrays that “it’s a catchall phrase intended to describe the many novel online sociopolitical system that have emerged in recent years, including services like email, discussion forums, blogs, micro blogs, texting, chat, social network sites, wikis, photos and video sharing.” So, by analyzing recent political changes, global interconnectedness, and literatures provided by scholars, we can get to the conclusion that media become part of everybody’s life and it occupied our life. As Taylor (2003) states that if in the past radio stations were important to the world powers during the war and conflicts between countries,



nowadays, broadcasting media such as satellite channels and internet is more important and rival groups trying to end up political competition through the use of available media. Obviously, to be part of the competition and global changes, most recently Russia established Russian Today (RT), Iran launched Press TV, France opened France 24 and China also opened its international channel and they broadcast their programs not only to the people of their countries but to the world in order to transmit the agenda of their countries and groups behind them. So, the role of media is more important than ever before. The following literature describes the essence and the role of broadcasting media as well as social networks in global political changes.

### **2.8.1 Broadcasting Media**

The recent incidents especially after American 9/11 attack tells us that media shapes the agenda of politicians and can poses strong impacts on the political and economic changes. There are some broadcasting media that are too popular and disseminating information worldwide such as CNN, Aljazeera, Fox News, Al Arabiya and some other. CNN seems to have longer experience compare to Aljazeera but they are both effective in global politics (Robinson, 2013). Also, CNN in many cases played positive role especially in Somalia, Bosnia and Kosovo and persuaded world countries and humanitarian organizations to intervene and provide their aids to the people of third world countries (Seib 2008). Moreover, Robinson covers the humanitarian intervention in Kurdistan after millions of Kurds left their country due to the bombardment and threats of former Iraqi regime. Under the influence of European and American Medias

including CNN, UN has adopted United Nations Security Council Resolution 688 to protect Kurdish people and provided a safe haven so as to shield Kurds from attacks by Saddam Hussein forces (Shaw, 1996). So, international media especially when it comes to the humanitarian intervention shapes the responses of politicians and international community toward the crises. Aljazeera together with France 24 and CNN was able to influence NATO to provide aids to the opposition groups in Libya and limit Gaddafi air strikes on civilians in the recent Libyan civil war and to some extent tried to play their role in Syria but they failed. Most recently, superpowers are trying to manipulate the mentality of people and influence their followers through Media.

Philip Seib (2008) argues that broadcasting media especially Aljazeera restructured the identity of the global politics and transformed the way that state and citizens are interacting. Also he cited that media has created opportunities for individuals and provided them information to be able to achieve some certain of autonomy and knowledge. Therefore, the role of Aljazeera is more important compare to other media channels because it's the only and dominant media that covers all the world and broadcasting its program in the heart of global south and thus influenced the decision makers and global actors to reshape their political agenda when it comes to the global south. Aljazeera was also the most effective channels in Arab uprising throughout Middle East and supported the revolutions against autocratic regimes with regard to Al-Arabiya which its role also considered in the recent political changes in the Middle East. In Srib (2009, p.9) there is discussion about media and its positive impacts in terms of local politics and governance. The author believes that media accelerates transparency and accountable government. Scholars providing an overview on the Arab countries and

claiming that media fosters debate on the democratic discourse and facilitates physical political process and regimes changes (Shapiro, 2009; Hafez, 2005). For that reason, Seib advises Aljazeera to be more ethical and accurate when transmitting information and better encourage active citizenry to engage in public life. The issue will become more sensitive when it comes to the Middle East politics. Mark Allen for instance argues that Middle east is in the transition into democracy and new age of information, so the risk is higher because sometimes media channels covering news that negatively impact on public or public some propaganda or hate inciting communication campaign which may results in social and political conflict. Seib names the situation as weaponization of the media. So, when it comes to the sensitive issues, media should carefully act. For instance, in the last few years, the Danish Cartoon Affairs has created worldwide protest and angered Muslim countries, even some people in Afghanistan has been killed as they protested their anger against such acts. So, publishing or showing such images will destroy peaceful coexistence of the ethnic and religious groups as well as urges people to commit crime and hate each other.

### **2.8.2 Social Media Networks**

When talking about social media, there are three main websites that are popular especially among young people and widely used through the world even by those who have little or no knowledge on using technology. Examples of social media network that are popular today are Facebook that was created in 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg with sum of 845 million active users worldwide until 2012; Twitter that was established in the

Mid of 2006 with over 300 million active users up to 2011; also YouTube which is older than Facebook and Twitter and allows the distribution of videos. Social media could have several influences on the mindset of the global citizens. People normally use social network websites to speak up the truth and engage in indirect political actions. Participating in political action is to achieve some objectives including community maintenance, civic involvement, political and social negotiation, identity development (Boyd, 2008, p.112). Technology can have both positive and negative influence on our life. For instance, using video games makes us more violent as well as lazy, internet gives us more information on what's going on in the world, social network websites make us politically activated and assist us to engage in decision process and shape political dynamics (Boyd, 2008, p.113)

The role of social media in politics is so crucial and this role has proved in the last 4 years in which the world has experienced several political shocks in which social media is seen as the motive behind those changes. Giroux (2009) claims that YouTube, Facebook, Text Messaging and Twitter has become created an important political bridge that gives opportunity to everyone to engage in political and public life. Besides, (Etling et al, 2010, p.38) states that those technologies have shaped activities of civil society groups, social and political mobilization, the movement of information and facilitating the formation of mass protest. Thus, the numbers of active users are increasing. For instance, After the Tunisian uprising the number of the Facebook users in Arab world has grown by 78% and reached to 21.3 million and 40,000 active blogs (Kahaleej Times, 2011).

More importantly, the United States Institute of Peace (2011) indicates that social media has decreased the cost of revolution and decentralized forces to support revolution and form some kinds of anti-regime groups. The institute argues that such groups are similar to political parties and their roles are more apparent in the autocratic countries in which political activities are banned. Manuel Castells (1997) on the other hand provides a literature on the importance of social networks in formulating political movements. He supports the previous argument by the United States Institute of Peace (2011) and specifically focuses on Arab countries. The author highlights the fact that in most Arab countries the formation or activities of political parties are limited and there is little opportunity for social, religious, cultural and ethnic groups to interact and mobilize their energies to demand their rights. Therefore, he argues that social media has been supportive toward such groups to break all barriers and determine their actions through possible alternatives which are social media.

Moreover, Clay Shirky, the author of *Here Comes Everybody*, thinks that social media increases coordination between groups and maximizes social awareness and helps members to understand each other and share knowledge and awareness by propagating messages. Furthermore, according to the United States Institute of Peace, social media can influence the transformation of individuals and empower them in the political arena simply. For instance, just by taking a picture or taping a video of an event and posting online can attract thousands of audiences and the attention of the government inside and outside the country. This was the main weapon in the hands of civic society groups

during Arab uprising and draws the attention of millions outside of their countries and achieved world wide support to reach their goals in toppling autocratic regimes.

The first emergence of the role of social media was on January 2001 in Philippines after the trial of Philippines president Joseph Estrada. In the matter of days, millions of people marches against the court. Protesters throughout the country and the Capital Manila protested and alarmed Philippines legislators that they are reversed course and allowed the evidence to be presented (Shirky, 2011). Hence, that event was the first move of social media even before the establishment of Facebook and twitter. Therefore, the incident in Philippines was not a revolution but it was an event to mobilize people against unfair decision by the country legislator. Therefore, the role of social media networks appeared to be more effective as it become a tool for political revolution in 2009 in Moldova. Mungiu-Pippidi and Munteanu (2009) claims that due to the widely using social networks the number of protesters has grown to nearly one million from just 10,000. They also explains that due to the use of social media the words has widespread and the picture, videos of the riot has shared online in the real time and that increased the number of protesters and support their rally. So, they believe that digital activism has become the main source of power in today's world politics.

Move to another incident that social media has played its role which is Iranian Green Revolution. The death of Iranian activist Neda Agha Soltan in the middle of June has captured the attentions of thousands of Iranians to join the revolution after the video

of her death was tapped on a cell phone and posted on YouTube, Twitter and Facebook. Other international Medias like CNN, New York Times soon published the picture of Neda and that become a symbol of Iranian Green Revolution (Amin, 2009). Atling argues that in Iranian anti-government revolution of 2009, Twitter and other SMN have replaced press and print media. Moreover, after the Iranian revolution the Arab Uprising has started in Tunisia at the end of 2010 in which Bouazizi committed self-immolation and his attempt captured and posted on YouTube which they resulted in exploding the anger of people against Bin Ali government (Cottle, 2011). The role of SMN in Tunisia was higher compare to Iran because in Iran the government has limited internet activities, but in Tunisia the number of people who were using Facebook was 16% and for Twitter was 18%. That helped people to mobile their voices against government. The protesters soon named their revolution as Jasmine Revolution. Rash illustrates that social media in Tunisia was the main factor of Jasmine Revolution which ended the economic and political exploitation of Bin Ali and as quoted by Rash “Facebook and Twitter will fill the leadership Vacuum that now exists in the country.”

After Tunisia the flame of revolution has reached to Egypt. In Egypt more than 4 million using Facebook which is about five percent of the total population. According to the New study Quantifies just during the revolution the number of tweets that’s demanded political change has increased from 2300 to 230000 a day. In contrast, compare to Tunisia and Egypt, the role of social media in Libya and Yemen was weak because in Yemen not so many people using internet due to government control as well as their economic and education background. In Libya on the other hands, social media networks were banned at the time of Gaddafi. In Syria the role of SMN is still important

but what's more important is the role of satellite channels like Aljazeera and Al Arabiya that posed larger impacts on protesters and anti-government groups than Social Medias. However, the roles that such networks play could not always be positive as not every revolution brings prosperity to people. Some protests create several problems and may destroy social ties and uniting of the country.

Malcolm Gladwell (2010), the prominent writer of New Yorker quotes that “the platforms of social media are built around weak ties. Social networks are effective at increasing participation by lessening the level of motivation in participation requires.” Means that social media creates a political groups in which have less influence on political decisions and lack of motivation. Rosenberg (2011) on the other hands claim that despite the influence of social media, but what people needs is different because without close relationship and close connection between political participants, it's not possible to take a common and legitimate action especially when it come to the changing of regimes and cited that social media is not supportive in high risk situation. Moreover, in some cases social media causes the destabilization of democratic and accountable regimes, but due to the political interest of some opposition groups, social media would be used as a tool to topple down democratic elected governments.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the research method that is employed in this study. Among the discussion is on the research design employed, methods used to collect data, population sampling, types of data collection procedures, data analysis tools.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

Research design spells out how the research is carried out toward the accomplishment of research objectives and answering of questions. In other word, research design constitutes. The outline for the collection, measurement, and analysis data (Cooper & Schindler, 2008). Zikmund, Babin, Carr, and Griffin (2010) defined research design as a master plan that outlines the methods and approaches for collecting and analyzing data. Moreover, Research design helps the researcher in the allocation of inadequate resources by posing important choices in methodology (Cooper & Schindler, 2008). In fact it's a framework for guiding a researcher in choosing the relevant method to collect data and answering research questions.

In this study qualitative method has been used to provide proper answer to the research problem. This research used qualitative methods because this methods concentrates on the question that starts with why and how things are; it's also easier to

obtain data on human behavior, information on certain issues related to social science, opinion which is a bit difficult to be achieved through quantitative methods. This type of method commonly used in social science fields including anthropology, education, psychology, politics, sociology and marketing. Defines qualitative method as “a broad term that can be applied to a range of research approaches that have their theoretical origins in a range of disciplines including anthropology, sociology, philosophy, social psychology and linguistics” (Moriarty, 2011). The author also identifies the important characteristics of qualitative method including the significant of this method to understand and interact with social world, individual experiences, history and perspectives. It also selects small number of participants according to their salient criteria while in quantitative method large number of participants would be selected. The methods of data collection normally between two person or the researcher and a group of participants who directly contact each other. In this regard, certain issues could be explored and several answers could be provided to the research.

### **3.3 Population Sampling**

Cooper and Schindler (2008) define sampling as the process in which some elements from the population are selected to represent the wider population. This section clarifies the population, sample, and the sampling technique. It specifically discusses and explains the people who have been taken as sample population and the way in which they have been selected. On the other hands, population is defined by Cooper and Schindler (2008) as people, events, or records that contain the desired information and capable of answering the most essential research problems. The study selected ordinary

citizens, academics and politicians. For this it selected 10 participants from Syria as well as Egypt to answer the research question and generate several answers and discussion to solve the main problem of the study. Participants who have been chosen to answer interview question have some background information on politics and from both parties. For instance, if only pro-Syrian government participants chosen to answer interview questions, then the result would be biased. Therefore, it covers participants from both sides. Similar to Egypt, not only Islamic brotherhood affiliated participants chosen, but also secularist who were against the revolution.

Sample size on the other hands, is the number of units that is required to get accurate findings (Fink, 2002). Gay and Diehl (1992) indicate that selecting appropriate number of sample population is essential to obtain proper outcome. The research selects 10 participants as it employs qualitative method which requires smaller number compare to quantitative. It also generates data from secondary data. For that reason sample population of 8 person is enough to get relevant data to answer research problems.

### **3.4 Data Collection Procedure**

According to Sekaran (2003), there are many methods that can be possibly used to collect data from respondents such as interviews and questionnaires. So, this research generates data through the use of interview. Besides, the study uses both types of data which are primary and secondary data.

### **3.4.1 Interview**

Interview is defined as a particular tool to get data and story behind participants experience and it will peruse in depth information on issues relating to the topic and helps the research to investigate their responses (McNamara, 1999). There are several types of interview including formal interview, informal interview, general interview, open ended interview, closed fixed-response interview, structured and semi-structured interview. Interview could be conducted in several ways such as telephone interview, face to face interview, personal interview, and online interview which is common nowadays. This study employs structured interview. This type of interview helps the interviewer to structure the entire question that intended to ask the interviewee and considered as the mode of choice and interviewee knows what he exactly want or doesn't want to ask. Therefore, in structured interview, the interviewer doesn't exactly know what he knows and mainly depends on the responds provided by the interviewee and more flexible (Lincoln &Guba, 1985, p. 269). However, in structured interview the researcher controls the discussion, more consistent and is in orderly manner (Hair et al., 2007). Since respondents are mostly resides in Syria and Egypt, the study advantaged from modern technology and social networking. So, some of the participants provided their responds through e-mail, social networks. Additionally, all interviews contacted prior to the interview and left free to prefer their best methods. So, some of them preferred phone interview as its faster and doesn't consume to much of their time. However, some of the participants luckily further studied in Malaysia. So, four interviews has been done in Malaysia including Kuala Lumpur, Penang and Sintok.

### **3.4.2 Primary Data**

Primary data as defined by Hox and Boeije (2005) are data that are collected for the specific research problem at hand, using procedures that fit the research problem best. On every occasion that primary data are collected, new data are added to the existing store of social knowledge. In other words, the data will be generated from original sources and researcher generates data. The data that are already published and ready to be reused are not considered as primary data. The importance of this type of data collection is knowledge contribution. Producing any outcome through collecting primary data will be an important tool for the researchers, academics and institutions to find more research gaps and understand the root of the problem better. So, researchers are highly recommended to collect primary data to solve their research problems even though it requires time, effort and capital, but the contribution is higher. This study generates data from primary as well as secondary sources. Thus will be a very relevant way to provide clear outcome and target the objectives of this research.

### **3.4.3 Secondary Data**

In research field, researchers can allowed to use secondary data that relevant to their study especially when it comes to official statistics, official publication, statistical data, and some political issues in which researchers cannot interview high ranked officials to get data, but this method can help them to analyze the issue. Secondary data refers to the data that has been used before by other researchers or the data that is available by other people and doesn't focus on the original data but derived from secondary sources (Hox and Boije. 2005, pp.593). Therefore, using this method could

also become difficult for researchers because they have to decide which information is relevant to their studies while in primary data collection procedure they only ask questions that relevant to their study. So, analyzing data is easier. Furthermore, in issues like Arab uprising, primary data can not alone provide the real answer to the issue because not everybody can answer research question but political affiliation maybe stronger than the real situation. That makes participants to answer interview questions based on their emotional motives as well as their party interest. However, by using the real data published by none governmental organizations, human right groups, international organizations and expertise, better and more reliable outcome could be achieved.

#### **3.4.4 Confidentiality**

To protect the safety of the respondents, the study uses acronym instead of using their real names. This will avoids any ethical issues that may causes by the research. So, due to the unstable situation in Syria and Egypt and major threats on activists and people who critics government or oppositions, the study decided not to use the real name of the respondents.

#### **3.5 Data Analysis**

Data collected in this study would be analyzed through the use of certain instruments including figures, tables, charts and any other necessary tools that required analyzing data. Besides, to support interview responds and qualitative debates, certain statistics and number would be used to support arguments. For this, Microsoft office excel used.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter discuss and analyzing data that has been collected through interview. The analysis of this study also depends upon the figures and the facts that are available in some secondary sources. The findings of the study reflect the responds that has been provided by the interviewees. To obtain an answer to the research questions, different questions has been asked and proper responds provided.

#### **4.2 Causes of Arab Uprising**

A glance to the entire modern history of the Arab countries, it is clear to the viewer how much darker reality over the deteriorating of Arabs who lived during the years of the twentieth century and the beginning of the third millennium. Since independence from European colonizers in the first half of the twentieth century, in most cases- national elites faltered in the process of establishing the rule of law and institutions for many reasons, especially the control of military coups in many countries, where the military imposed the control on the reins of power for decades.

In Egypt and Syria, power has become the preserve of the military councils that subjected the state to their standards. One of the participants of this study who is also a Syrian claims that in Syria and Egypt the government re-structured society on the

method of "Procrustes" where opponents thrown in prisons and detention centers and excluded political parties and associations, and pushed their parties to the front of political action. These parties took control of all institutions and components of the State, and gradually devoted leaders of coups as eternal rulers. Moreover, he relates the causes of uprising in Syria and Egypt to the control of power for many years by the absolute despotism and logical. Also, he believes that corruption became an inevitable product of this tyranny. Kutiba Nanaa, a PhD student from Syrian mentioned some factors that are not so different from what AbdulQader cited and he believes corruption, economic deterioration, political despotism and the inability of political regime to reform are generators of uprising and anger of people toward their regimes. Hisham Sharabi describes the situation before Arab spring and taken as significant factors of Arab uprising which are corrupted political system, "the lack of free elections and freedom of speech and religious fundamentalism" (Jamoul, 2014).

On the other hands, the lack of public services also mentioned by the respondents as the main motive that pushed people to go for riots. 33 years old Haitham Hamid cited in his responds that dictatorship Governments failed to deliver the basic necessities to general public and moved to Egypt and Syria. Moreover, at a later stage there was mismanagement in the performance of successive governments, which has hampered development and reflected directly on the citizens of the two countries. A 27 years old teacher, Husna provided clear respond to the questions regarding the motives of Arab uprising and correlates the events to the inflation and poverty. Arshad Sabah from Egypt



relates the Arab uprising to social injustice, the lack of freedom, violation of human rights especially by the dominant political party same goes to Syrian Ba'th regime.

Hence, most of the respondents consent that abusing, controlling and mismanagement of power by autocrats as well as corruption are main factors behind Arab. Another respondent from Syria who currently living in Jordan believes that Arab uprising to the long period of cruel dictatorship which tried suppressing the instinct nature of freedom. He indicates that such factors forced people to take out their anger through riots and confrontations with their regimes to demand the enforcement of the change at all levels of political, economic and social life.

Finally, two of the participants claimed that the uprising was planned by outside forces and the motives are not internal but it's previously planned by Arab opponents. The Egyptian Shaima Faruq sees Arab uprising as international conspiracy planned by the west. Surprisingly, one of the participants from Egypt who is also civic activist sees the uprising as conspiracy that planned by Jewish and quoted that Arab uprising is a "Jews plan to make people fool and use them for their own interests."

Finally, one factor that was not really mentioned as the main motive of the revolution is economy and social gaps. For instance, William Shaib argues that Egyptians suffered due to the economic downturn, poverty, income gaps, and

unemployment. The author indicates that half of the Egyptians live only with two dollars or less per day. Moreover, Korotayev and Zinkina consider inflation as the major factor of the Arab uprising and political instability in Egypt (Korotayev, 2011).

### **4.3 Consequences of Arab Uprising**

Surprisingly, during the interview, none of the respondents explained any positive impacts or consequences of the uprising but they all defined the dark sides. Actually, as the result of uprising thousands of people have been killed, tortured, imprisoned, displaced, kidnaped and the countries infrastructure especially in Syria has been destroyed and may require two decades to build up what has been destroyed. According to Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, more than 146,000 people have been killed from the beginning of the civil war which is another name to describe the uprising in Syria and half of them are civilian including 7,796 children (Rayman, 2014). Besides, the United Nations report indicating that as the result of fighting between rebels and the government, 5.5 million Syrian children are in need of humanitarian aids. The United Nations also more than 2 million people have registered by the UN agencies as refugees who fled the country and 4 other millions have been displaced inside Syria.

In Egypt, the death toll is lower but according to the Arab Network for Human Rights information, more than 846 civilian have been killed and 6,467 injured by security forces that resulted in toppling Mubarak in 2011. After the fall of Mubarak, the death toll incrementally increased. In the football riot 40 people dead and many has been

wounded. Then, the anti-military riot caused the death of 11 people on May 2012 and 15 more people has been killed in Suez in the second anniversary of the revolution as anti-protesters clashes erupted (IRN, 2013). After the fall of dictatorship in Egypt, for the first time in the history of the country, a free democratic election held and Muslim brotherhood Freedom and Justice Party took 45% of the votes, Salafis 22%, secularists and leftists 16% and Felool with only 5% (Aljazeera, 2012). After Muslim brotherhood took power, media and communication has been controlled by the government and Morsi started to abuse power, but that doesn't take long time. Soon, the situation gets back to the first point and military took over power and military coup has ended the short term of democratic elected government on July 2013. As the result of military coup, thousands Egyptians have rioted against military and many people has been killed by security forces. If comparing casualties before and after the fall of Mubarak, it could be explained that the number has increased by large. The number of the people who has been killed by military reached to 4,000 and 23,000 has been detained illegally (Hamed, 2013). Also, the GDP of the country fall by 15% in 2013 and many companies has been closed and tourism industry has been fallen.

Many people have sentenced to death and Muslim brotherhood activities have been banned in the country just like the time of Mubarak even worse. Both countries economically collapsed and resulted poverty and unemployment. However, what are more serious are the casualties that most of the participants cited and most of them lost their family, friends or relatives. Unfortunately, one of the participants just lost his brother. Another participant from Egypt lost 10 members of his family and most of them

are his cousins. One of the participant sadly said that he know some cases that the entire family has been killed. For Hussein Karim the consequence of Arab spring is economic downturn, unemployment, scarcity of food, shelter, and other basic needs. A 27 years old teacher from Syria in the interview claimed that she lost her job in Syria and her school was shut down. Besides, she says the price of good and services have been raised up and we can not afford basic needs as the result of uprising.

Therefore, for Hussein “human loss was indeed the worst thing, those who got to be killed in front of us and the remaining living dead.” Shaima just like other lost her relatives and beloved once. She describes the result of Arab uprising and believes violence, bloodshed and tremendous human loss are core characteristics of the uprising. She sadly said “I lost my Friend, relatives and saw destruction of property.” Furthermore, another participant from Egypt explained the consequences of Arab uprising in relations to the international community. He argued that “people think it started when a fool set himself on fire but in real it is a game played by international community supported by media to demolish Muslims states. The worst thing happened was fall of all patriotic leaders who have been serving their nation for years.”

Regarding the worst thing happened as the result of uprising respondents gave different answers. Some of them see civil war as the worst thing that resulted by the revolution. Also, another participant indicates that the worst things happened during the uprising “were war crimes and many criminal minded used this chance to kill, rape and

abuse innocents. The worst things that happened right after the uprising were “stillness” in the progress and crimes have become more common.” Mustafa Said further explain the results of and sees Inequality and disparity among people those who supported ex-president are given no chance and are victimized are consequences of uprising. Haitham Hamid in respond to the interview questions wrote “things have gone worst. Some of us have to take refuge in other countries. A huge number of citizens were brutally killed. Unemployment has increased and things could not seem to settle yet.”

Similarly, Al-Hussein lists several problems that resulted in Arab uprising. He says many problems have emerged to the surface, some of which are temporary and will disappear with the end of the current phase, for example: economic instability, insecurity as a result of the volatility of events, the sharp division in the community between the claimants and naysayers of change. On the other hand, there are a set of existential problems that threaten some countries, including: the risk of division, access to the civil war, the penetration of some extremist groups, and loss of sovereignty of national decision. Finally, to convert the negative consequences of Uprising to positive, there may be some challenges and strategies. For them, Economic growth, reconstruction, confusion and sense of regression are main challenges.

#### **4.4 The life after Arab Uprising**

The life of Egyptian and Syrians has dramatically changed after the uprising. The respondents of this study determine whether changes that happened and their life now

compare to the past is positive or not. Different answers provided but the interviewees but most of them explaining tragic stories. Husna points out that her life is horrible and she is depressed, while before the uprising she felt so happy. She asserts that the uprising increased violence, political and economic stability and that negatively effects our live. The worst thing that happens is when someone loses his/her beloved one. Hussein Karim a student from Syria sadly said that he lost his brother. When he mentioned his brother name, he shed tears and you could find how sad he is deep inside. Moreover, Mustafa Said from Syria defining the life after Arab uprising as the following:

“After the uprising, life becomes miserable!!! The situation has worsened! These people are lost now. They have always lived under pressure and a tyrant and never did anything so they are used to get things done by a dictator. Some people have better life and some not!! Members of dictator`s tribe are being victimized and are not given their rights. Dictators have left but their legacy still prevails. No matter what system comes in the name of democracy but people`s attitude and stance is non-Democratic as there have never been Democracy. We lost our property, loved ones and a dignified life. We haven`t got anything except a hope.”

Further explanation has been given by Nanaa and they are a bit similar in their responds as he also states that he is frustrated and quoted “I was feeling Inability contributing to reform and I predicted that there is coming revolution. No because of anti-revolution, civil war and political instability.” By analyzing what Nanaa stated, it could easily be discovered how disappointed he is since he finds no way to support his country. Moreover, despite the fact that Hamid was a businessman and economically maybe better than other Syrian participants, but he maintained that he feels so bad as he

see everything gets worse and more than 12000 Syrian has been killed and millions have fled the country. Moreover, he has compared the life in Tunisia and Egypt to Syria after the uprising and believes that they got a better life, but he believes Syrians are living in the tragic life that even portraying it is difficult. He finally told the story about his personal experience and said that he lost his friends, property and peace of mind and in a short sentence described how life looks like in Syria now and quoted “we have got nothing.”

What Hamid stated regarding the life of Egypt has been rebutted by all the Egyptian participants and none of them supported his argument on Egypt as he mentioned that life in Egypt is getting better after the uprising. For instance, Shaima simply said nothing has been changed positively but “thing have become uncontrollable and People are being dragged into it for political motive. No one has thought about its citizens. They are being used for some foreign agenda.” Hilal Sultan supports Shaima and indicates that Arab uprising didn't bring a major difference in a common man's life but “a few changes of rules and that is it. Do people have better life now? If yes how? If no, why?” Finally, Ahmed Sharif quoted “we have no life anymore. People are confused. They do not know they are being made fool of by their enemies.” So, based on their explanation life in Egypt as well as Syria has been abolished and things are getting worst and people are not more suffering than ever before.

#### **4.5 Advantages of Arab Uprising**

Arab uprising has brought several changes in Syria and Egypt. The changes for some people were positive, while others are skeptical for what happened in their countries. However, in any change especially political changes some people get benefits and other are losing their status and power. So, in each change it's possible to argue the two sides of the argument that might brought advantage or disadvantages for the countries. Mr. Al-Hussein from Syria cited that one of the major advantages of the Arab uprisings is the restoration of peoples' ability to make the event, and determine their options, what indicates to try again for the advancement after stumbling attempts in the past. On the other hands, Mustafa Said believes that Arab spring was a chance for many to involve in politics and change their political behavior which was difficult to do before. He also believes that Arab uprising was a chance to maximize your power both economically and politically.

Hussein Karim on the other occasion shows both sides of the argument in his respond and believes that the uprising was a judgment in which some people get the punishment for what they have done to their citizens before, but at the same time they lost peace. Thus means justice to some extent has been in place for oppressors, but that created more political instability.

Unlike other participants Arshad Sabah from Egypt claimed that Arab spring has positively impacted on people and people now have a better life. However, the activist



Sharif rebut Arshad responds and believes that in the first place Arab uprising was good because Muslim brotherhood democratically took a power and for the first time Egyptians voted for their president in a very fair and pure election. However, Sharif is disappointed with the latest incident which causes the military coup and toppling down the regime in a very undemocratic way and restoring the country into dictatorship. Kutiba Nanaa who is the opponents of Bashar Assad stated that the advantages of Arab uprising was yearning for freedom - Awareness of the importance of building cohesive robust community - not to succumb to tyranny.

#### **4.6 Disadvantages of Arab Uprising**

Arab spring has also brought some disadvantages to the Arab people. Some of the participants have explained those effects that are not favorite by people and negatively impacted on the country. For Nanaa the use of weapon and violence are the most negative impacts of Arab uprising in which destroying the country infrastructure and economy. For instance, the major part of Homes which is one the most populated cities in Syria has been destroyed by the regime. Besides, the uprising has resulted in ethnic and religious segregation and fragmentation. Also, the blood-shedding and violating democratic principles of the government in Syria and Egypt are two major disadvantages stated by Hamid. Shaima Faruq in one word described the dark sides of Arab uprising and stated “it has made things worse.” Ahmed Sharif on the other hand believes that they were tortured and beaten by the groups that have power now and their leaders has been disrespected.

#### **4.7 Government Reaction Toward protesters**

The reaction of the regimes in both Syria and Egypt has been questioned by the human rights organizations and international community. The government reaction toward protesters was different from one country to another. In Egypt the army was a bit softer comparing to Syrian army who used every means possible against protesters and opposition groups. The study found that in 10 respondents only one of them agrees with reaction of government toward protesters. An activist Ahmed Sharif who is supporter of Army believes that not only government should be criticized because what government did was a reaction of what have been done against them. So, for him the way that military reacted protesters in Egypt were normal and show not be criticized. In contrary to Sharif, Arshad Sabah quoted that “the worst thing happened was Military interference and coup.”

Participants from Syria were totally disagreeing with the reaction of Bashar Assad against protesters. For example, Haitham Hamid disagree with reaction and stated that “ It all started with a peaceful movement but government started bombardment.” Al-Hussein, Said and Nanaa argued against military in their responds and believe Syrian government should reacted protester demands in political way rather than violence, fire and other undemocratic methods. They also claimed that the function of security services and military is to protect the citizens and to provide security for him as well as ensuring their freedoms, not vice versa. But what happened during the uprisings is threatening the lives of citizen by security prosecution, arrest, and murder sometimes.

Different from all participants, Husna is not satisfied with anyone neither government, nor protesters. She believes that both sides should choose different method to deal with the issues and demands. She contended that opposition groups should had to take different directions and suggest policy changes and democracy in the rational way instead of toppling the government. For her this way could become more effective and the number of casualties in Syrian protests would be different from now.

#### **4.8 The failure of Opposition groups in toppling down Bashar Assad**

Al-Hussein Abdul Qader Journalist 42 Syrian: First of all, you cannot talk about groups or parties and formations of the Syrian opposition as a whole homogeneous. For many years, the Syrian regime emptied the public life from any political practices by prohibiting any dissenting political activities, as well drags his opponents in prison and gave many of them to mock trials that resulted in the execution of thousands.

These opponents had not belong to the same intellectual affiliations, they were from the extreme religious right to the far left Marxist, and between these two extremes there was a lot of trends of democracy, secularism, nationalism and moderate religious beliefs.

There was no command combines among these opponents only of anti-Assad and his autocratic way, but they differed in the perceptions of the solution to the problems that have put the country at the bottom of the ladder of international development. When protests broke out in some areas of Syria, many opponents - who owned of the prestigious political experience - failure to catch up with the revolution that quickly engulfed most parts of the country, for objective reasons, and the other self.

Al-Hussein AbdulQader asserted that revolution had acquired its special language and tools which not able to do by Syrian opposition political parties. He also maintained that political tactics that practiced by the opposition for many years were not feasible with the popular movement, few opponents realized the nature of the emergency to the new Syrian society, so they joined. Thus the development of Syrian Revolution was on this statue for months, and then moved on to reaction armed phase, in response to the regime's crimes.

Another participants claiming that revolution produced revolutionaries, new journalists and politicians and at the same time new forces and bodies were formed at home and abroad to speak on behalf of the Syrians. Emerging councils (The Syrian National Council, National Coalition of Syrian Revolution and Opposition Forces) included groups and individuals from the rebels on the Assad regime opponents in addition to various citizens who have lived for years in exile.

Ideological dispute between members of these groups reflected negatively on the performance of the devices that represent the Syrian revolution, in some cases, personal differences have had a significant impact on the practices of the Council and the Coalition. Kutiba Nanaa provided an answer of why oppositions failed to topple down Bashar from power. He argued quoted that “the absence of a united opposition and supporters in addition to different ideologies of fighting groups” is the core factor of their failure.

More importantly, all Syrian participants in this study highlighted the role of international community in removing Assad from power. They believe that Bashar had external support that helped him to secure his position and successfully fight opposition groups. For Husna, Iran and Russia become two main characters in the issues and provided all kinds of support to Assad. Al-Hussein further explained the factors and quoted that “the catastrophic matter of Syrian Revolution path was Arab and international support - in spite of its limitations - where it was Selective and conditional on all levels of political and relief, media and even armament.” He also claims that Syrians have been unable to overthrow the Assad regime by peaceful demonstration, due to the unprecedented criminality and implausible that confronted. Furthermore, the case has not changed, but the worst has occurred, where the way to Syrian battlefields was opening for suspected organizations and individuals under the pretext of Jihad including Al-Qaeda. One of the participants portrays the factors that helped Bash and asserted that some Arabs wanted to transform the revolution into a sectarian war in the face of Iranian involvement along with the regime, while some Western countries wanted to shuffle the cards in the region. Thus, weapons flow to some extremist forces while the free army battalions that assigned to the defense of the Syrians were experiencing a shortage of ammunition and weapons.

Finally, the rule of Islamic groups especially the Jihadists such as Islamic State of Iraq and Sham (ISIS) influenced western countries to re—consider their agenda whether to support oppositions or leave them alone due to the dominance of Jihadists. So, the fear of the west from those groups have helped Bashar more to secure his power.

Besides, groups have been divided among themselves and Assad used this point to confront them and limit their extension over Syrian territory.

#### **4.9 The role of International Community in Arab Uprising**

The role of the international community in Arab spring especially in Syria and Egypt is a bit skeptical. For instance, at the beginning of the uprising in Egypt the US and some other European government just let the final decision to the Egyptian. They have backed neither Muslim brotherhood nor Mubarak. Faruq criticized the roles of international community in Egypt and quoted “thanks to those who opened their doors for refugees but we didn’t get enough support from international community.” She also says that her citizens were not favored by the international community to get support even though some of them tried to help. Hilal Sultan, another Egyptian participant claiming that “Every country takes care of its interest. Those who can get benefits from insurgency supported it and others not.” Thus means that because western countries did not have such interest in Egypt and Syria they have not played their real role and stay way to far from those people who needed their assistance at least to stop government brutality.

In Syria things were different and their rules are not clear enough also fluctuated overtime. For instance, at the beginning of the revolution international community actively supported protesters and Free Syrian Army, but as Jihadists involved, things getting out of control and their roles have been changed. Also, due to the interference of Iran and Russia as cited by 24 years old Syrian student. He believes their involvement have made the works harder and forced the west to be neutral and doesn’t not interfere

as they did in Libya. Even though, thousands have been killed and millions have been displaced but international community failed to intervene to stop Assad brutality as well as keeping things in control to avoid civil war and national fragmentation. Hussein Karim supports this argument and says “international community has played no effective role in bringing down Bashar’s regime, which we expected that they would.” Similarly Nanaa doubt on their role and claiming that there is absence of international will to end the conflict in Syria. Haitham Hamid provided a direct answer that “they are waiting and watching but some are backing Bashar.” What he meant by some is Iran, Russia, Iraq and Hezbollah who supports Bashar and providing all kinds of support without considering the live of Syrians.

Another participant of this study evaluating their role in the issue especially in Syria believes that all forms of international intervention in the Syrian issue works to perpetuate the war in Syria. Despite the sparks, which now blowing to neighboring countries and threatens regional war, but the outcome of the international reaction combines to fixing the current situation in the country with no victor or vanquished. He also classified international intervention in Syria into two types: political, financial and direct military support for one party in the conflict so as to contribute to the prolongation of the war, and verbal - political (remote) support without access to the depth of the crisis.

Unlike others, Husna and said praise the role of international community and positively evaluating their support to the people of Syria. Husna articulated that international community “have been very supportive, they may have some political interests but they have eventually have done something which people demanded. Many

people say that they had some political interests but they listened to us and helped us.” Moreover, Husna believes that international community and some neighboring countries have supported victims and refugees. For instance, thousands of Syrian refugees fled to Turkey, Jordan, Kurdistan, and Lebanon and those countries have embraced them with respect.

#### **4.10 Arab Spring or Arab Autumn?**

Until now the term of “Arab Spring” is commonly used by people when describing the revolution in the Arab countries emerged at the end of 2010. However, it’s important to analyze whether the name is really suitable to describe this revolution or it’s mistakenly using by people and should be changed. Out of 10 participants who answered the interview questions, seven of them disagree with the use of this term and believing that it wasn’t a spring but a nightmare or autumn and only one of them agree for the term to be used. Shaima Faruq from Egypt eagerly describe the term of spring as misleading and she says Allah knows our future but meanwhile it seems very unfortunate but in all it’s not a spring. Ahmed Sharif also agree with Shaima and believes that it must be called a conspiracy instead of spring and spring will not bring negative impact to the country but what have been seen Arab Uprising did.

A journalist Al-Hussein also disagree with the use of spring and indicates the situation in Arab Countries which was produced by the Arab uprisings may seem a nightmare that imposed on the people by the dictatorships, but this uprisings -as a historical inevitability- heralds the passing of the dark ages, and marks to admittance of people into the modern era Across due democratic change gate which will blooming as



spring. Another participant from Syria using the term of oxymoron instead of spring. He also prefers a nightmare as better term to describe the situation as thousands has been killed and many millions have been displaced.

Moreover, Haitham Hamid and Sultan articulate that the term could not use in the countries that even a single drop of blood has been shed. By analyzing the situation in Egypt and Syria, it could be discovered that thousands have been killed. So, according to Haitham this term is not applicable to Syria and Egypt.

On the other hands, two of the participants believing that name is not matter and its early to decide whether its spring or autumn. On them claims that it is early to identify current events in Middle East as “spring”. It may need several years to conclude the produced results. However, Husna maintains that “name does not matter. Its consequences describe it all.” So, based on Nanaa people must wait for several years to decide since it’s not accurate for now to say so.

Out of ten participants only Mustafa Said agree with the use of “spring.” In respond to the interview question regarding this issue he says “Yes I do agree with term “Spring”, in the beginning everyone was optimistic but it really depends on people whether we make this spring or a new nightmare. However, he is not so sure and he believes that it could turn to nightmare.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

#### 5.1 Conclusion

According to the findings of this study that has been obtained through analysis of interview responses and secondary data, there are several factors that motivated public to raise their voice against their regimes. Some of the causes are internal such as abusing power, autocratic leadership, political despotism, economic deterioration, corruption, social gaps, inequality between social groups, human rights violation, restricting freedom, the lack of free election, high number of political prisoners, one party politics, torturing and imprisoning oppositions members, the lack of public services and controlling all sectors of society by a family or a small group of elites. There are also external factors such as the outset of Bin Ali of Tunisia influenced people to protest as well as some regional power interests.

The consequences of Uprising in Egypt and Syria are different but in Syria it's more terrible. The popular protest resulted in overthrowing Mubarak three decades rule and the emergence of Muslim Brotherhood rule that lasts less than one year. Then, Muslim Brotherhood government was replaced by the military leaders after seizing power through military coup. Now, the government is administrating by the military leadership and more than six thousand people have been dead since then and thousands has been impression, tortured and injured by the security forces. The life of majority of population has become terrible and many of them even lost their beloved once and not

easy to reconcile and forget about what has happened. The process of reconciliation mainly takes years and decades to happen. Also, the economy of the country has fallen down, unemployment raised, poverty increased, GDP growth decreased and the country is not destabilized and daily protests have made things worse. In Syria, the uprising caused a civil war. As the result of three years of civil war more than 140 thousand people killed and millions have fled the country. Also, the country infrastructure has been destroyed and country has been divided. No one is in control of Syria anymore and most parties have contributed in this catastrophic situation. Moreover, the reaction of leader in both countries considered harsh and unacceptable. They used every means possible to deteriorate protesters and to end up the protests. Opposition groups also used violence against government especially in Syria. The government could become more civilized and avoid the use of violence against the protesters, but in both countries the government was unable to use soft language.

Move to another point, the role of international community in some aspects is positive, while in some other aspects they played a very tragic role. The international community have given millions of dollars to the government of Egypt and provided logistic supports to the country. However, they failed to protect the country from turning into dictatorship again. They also supportive of military coup in certain occasions. Similar to Egypt, international community provided assistant to the refugees but they failed to stop Assad aggression on its population. As the result of Iran, Hezbollah and Russian support, thousands have been killed and international community has done nothing to stop them. The finding of the study also highlights the factors that have

limited opposition groups to overthrow Assad regime. The most effective factor is the support of Iran, Russia, Iraq, and Hezbollah to Assad. This has also become the main obstacle in the United Nations security to issue and resolution regarding Syria. Other factors are diversity and homogeneity of Syria. Opposition political parties have divided into several parties. Some of them are Jihadist and linked to Al-Qaeda. Thus, have made the international community to limit their supports to opposition groups and fear of the fall of Bashar and replacing by international terrorism. Their actions inside Syria also makes people to keep away from rebels as they are beheading and killed hundreds of civilians.

Finally, the study discovered that the name that has been used from the beginning of uprising is mistaken and should not be used. The study found that what happened in Egypt and Syria was a nightmare and an autumn. As spring is using to describe something beautiful, colorful, peaceful, joyful, positive, cool and constructive, but what Arab uprising brought to the people of Egypt and Syria was destructive, sorrowful, tears, blood-shedding, beheading, poverty, unemployment, fragmentation, division, hatred, exploitation, revenge, anger, and so many miserable outcomes. So, based on the findings of the study, it's simply "Arab Nightmare" or "Arab Autumn." Because all the joys and peace fallen as the leaves start to fall off of the trees.

## **5.2 Suggestions for Further Study**

There are some others gaps to be studied especially about the Arab Uprising. The main gaps that is possible to be studies in relation to this field are why the USA and other western countries have kept silent in all stages of revolution? Is that because those countries don't have any natural resources or there are other factors that limit their interference. Also, it's possible for researchers to conduct a research on post-Arab Uprising reconciliation because it's one of the most important things that needs to happen in order to let people to return back to the normal life. Finally, there could be research on Syria to discover whether Syria is better to be divided into three countries, or it's still possible for them live together. If it's not possible why they should still continue?

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**APPENDIX**  
**Appendix A**  
**Interview Questions**

Please indicate your gender, occupation, age and nationality.

1. What are the causes and consequences of Arab spring in Egypt and Syria?
2. How do you define your life after Arab Uprising?
3. Do people have better life now? If yes how? If no why?
4. What are the worst thing happened during and after Arab Uprising?
5. What are the main problems that people challenging as the result of Arab Uprising?
6. What were the advantages and disadvantages of Arab Uprising?
7. What did you lose and what did you get as the result of uprising?
8. Are you satisfied with the reaction of the government and Army against protesters? Why?
9. Have you lost any relative or friend?
10. Why opposition groups unsuccessful to topple down Bashar Regime?
11. How do you evaluate the roles of international community in the crises in of your country?
12. Are you agree with the use of term “Spring” for Arab Uprising? Or it was just a nightmare that brought darkness to the people of Arab Countries?

## Appendix (B)

### Interview Respondents

No	Name	Age	Gender	Occupation	Types	Nationality	Date
<b>1</b>	Al-Hussein AbdulQader	42	Male	Journalist	Face to Face UUM, Sintok	Syrian	26/4/2014
<b>2</b>	Ahmed Sharif	56	Male	Activist	Phone Interview	Egyptian	13/4/2014
<b>3</b>	Haitham Hamid	33	Male	Businessman	Phone Interview	Syrian	16/4/2014
<b>4</b>	Arshad Sabah	28	Male	Employee	Phone Interview	Egyptian	23/4/2014
<b>5</b>	Shaima Faruq	36	Female	Housewife	Social Media	Egyptian	29/5/2014
<b>6</b>	Husna Salm Hamdani	27	Female	Teacher	E-mail	Syrian	20/5/2014
<b>7</b>	Mustafa Said	31	Male	Unemployed	Social Media	Syrian	30/4/2014
<b>8</b>	Kutiba Nanaa	32	Male	Postgraduate Student	Face to face Penang	Syrian	5/5/2014
<b>9</b>	Hilal Sultan	26	Male	Postgraduate Student	Face to Face Penang	Egyptian	9/5/2014
<b>10</b>	Hussein Karim	28	Male	Postgraduate Student	Face to Face Kuala Lumpur	Syrian	11/5/2014