DISSERTATION

REVOLUTION AND JOURNALISM HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA REGION

Submitted by

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Summer 2012

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ABSTRACT

REVOLUTION AND JOURNALISM HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA REGION

The disruptions brought by the Arab Spring revolutions in the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region in 2010-2011 created a series of personal and professional challenges for those involved in higher education in journalism in the region. This research uses narrative inquiry to examine the impact revolution had on a group of educators in the MENA region. The work reveals the impact of transportation woes, diminished student engagement, and personal considerations on a group of individuals involved in higher education in the region. The participants' work in journalism education receives additional consideration due to the restrictions on journalists prior to the Arab Spring and the uncertain space for journalists in the post-revolutionary environment.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Revolts that started in Tunisia in December 2010 brought swift change to the government in that nation and elsewhere in the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region in the following months. Along with sweeping away authoritarian political leaders, the revolts – popularly called the "Arab Spring" revolutions – brought unprecedented challenges to those in institutions of higher education in the region. This research used the qualitative tool of narrative inquiry to examine the lived experience of those engaged in higher education in journalism in the MENA region during this tumultuous period.

Background

The Arab Spring revolutions started in Tunisia when the death of a protestor in December 2010 sparked protests that led to the nation's president fleeing the country in January 2011, bringing an end to nearly 24 years of uninterrupted rule of the country (Chrisafis & Black, 2011). This revolt spawned similar demonstrations in Egypt that led to the ouster of the president there after nearly 30 years in power in February 2011 ("Mubarak resigns," 2011). The Arab Spring revolutions continued with a civil war in Libya that ended a regime that had been in place since 1969 (Spencer, 2011; Black, 2011). These revolutions, all characterized by mass uprisings and popular support, spawned demonstrations in Syria (BBC, June 8, 2011) and Yemen (Terrill, 2011) that were still unfolding in 2012.

The Arab Spring revolutions were characterized by mass protests, significant disruption in all areas of life, an end to authoritarian rule in the affected nations, and the use of electronic media to gather popular support and circumvent the existing political process. Protestors called for democracy, respect for human rights, and increased

religious tolerance (Hotham, 2012). Many participants in the revolutions were frustrated over government corruption (Farrell, 2012). Some had been oppressed by the existing regime for religious or cultural reasons (Hotham, 2012). Observers in the West credited social media, particularly the Internet presence of Twitter and Facebook, for uniting the protestors and driving the revolution (Schillinger, 2011; Taylor, 2011), a point that has been contested (Anderson, 2011).

As someone who taught journalism in public and private higher education institutions in Egypt on three occasions prior to 2011, I know some of the challenges journalism higher education faced in the region before the Arab Spring. An uneasy cultural fit, language barriers, cost structures, and even issues of classroom behavior emerged during my first sojourn in the region (Schafer, 2007). Following the overthrow of governments journalism educators in the MENA region were ripe for research consideration and one that was served well by narrative inquiry.

How individuals in the MENA region responded to the Arab Spring revolutions was and remains critical to national interests in the United States of America (Terrill, 2011). The U.S. has significant ties to the region as a source of oil, in the continuing struggles over the existence of Israel, and in support for the regimes that provided stability – if not freedom for its people – in the region for decades (Steavenson, 2011; Terrill, 2011).

To better understand the milieu, I first look at some of the major topics before considering the literature related to this research, the steps taken in this study, and the results of this study.

Revolution

What makes a revolution has busied thinkers from the time of the ancient Greeks forward. For the purpose of this study, we are looking at the political revolutions that spawned the Arab Spring in 2011-2012. Aristotle defined a political revolution as one that either brought change from one constitution to another, or modification of an existing constitution (Aristotle, 350 B.C.E./1972). Later thinkers added nuances to describe revolutions, with Alexis de Tocqueville describing three layers of revolution: a bloodless political revolution, sudden and violent revolutions that seek to transform a society, and slow but sweeping transformations of a society that take many generations to effect, such as the growth of a religious movement (Boesche, 2006). Charles Tilly considered the direction the power change comes from in revolutions, denoting coups as top-down changes in power that differ from civil wars between two or more factions, or a "great revolution" that transforms economic and social structures as well as political institutions (Tilly, 1995). Jeff Goodwin defined revolution to describe a change in socio-political institutions that were brought by popular movement in an irregular fashion outside of a constitution, or a fundamental societal change that occurs during or soon after the struggle for state power (Goodwin, 2001).

In light of the deaths that have characterized the Arab Spring revolutions in the Middle East/North Africa region – such as the more than 70 killed in rioting in Egypt on February 2, 2012, nearly one year after deposing President Hosni Mubarak ("Egypt riots", 2012) – and the static nature of politics prior to the Arab Spring, Tilly's "great revolution" would appear to be the best description of what happened in the region. When referencing revolution in this work, the focus on the Tilly "great revolution" will predominate. However, since these revolts have taken different courses in different

nations and continue to unfold, the Goodwin definition of the struggle for state power after the tumult will be used as the best working definition of the post-revolutionary environment of nations that removed their leaders without prompting a civil war, specifically Tunisia and Egypt.

MENA journalism education

Postsecondary education in journalism merits additional consideration in the MENA region because of the delivery vehicles for this instruction and the challenges placed on instruction by the previous governments. These challenges from the government were explicit in punishments for journalism professors who challenged governmental authority and implicit in the chilling effect that kept professors from tackling contentious topics because of past government interventions (Ayalon, 1995). Training in journalism in the region has been handled by public and private universities, and through nongovernmental organizations (Schafer, 2007).

Personal experience at a public and a private institution in the region in 2005 made it clear that a more thorough job of training was being done at the private institutions. The ongoing revolutions create a challenge due to the cost of such institutions and the unclear future for those who have paid the additional expense to receive this training. In Egypt for instance, although inexpensive by United States standards, the tuition to a private institution averages \$3,500-\$4,000 per year. This price is exorbitant in a nation that charges a nominal \$40 per year to attend a public institution of postsecondary education (N. A. Rahman, personal communication, July 12, 2009).

Faltering institutions in a post-revolutionary environment could leave fewer able to afford a private education. Lower enrollment could in turn lead to trimming course

offerings. Although the program I reviewed at a private institution in Egypt in 2008 boasted nine full-time journalism and broadcasting professors and nearly 200 majors (Schafer, 2008), the university could easily eliminate these courses in a cost-cutting move. Universities throughout the region may face the same challenge in justifying the cost of programs in journalism relative to the higher return from programs of study in engineering, medical sciences, and other disciplines.

This leaves nongovernmental organizations to fill the void. In the past, these institutions have provided training for student and professional journalists in an effort to raise the bar on reporting and to increase transparency in business and government (Schafer, 2007). Those efforts were suspended in light of the revolutions in the region, and have yet to be restarted (R. Al-Zoghby, personal communication, Aug. 29, 2011). Their future remains unclear.

Journalism educators also face a special challenge because of the relationship the previous ruling hierarchies held over instruction. Saleh (2010) noted that previous regimes had been motivated to avoid one of the fundamental goals of journalism, seeking the truth and reporting it. Instead, ministers in the pre-revolutionary governments used the threat of jail to produce educators focused on the delivery vehicle for journalism – how to write a story, how to prepare a broadcast, how to work with audio – while avoid journalism content that might point out government corruption, poor economic planning, or any other domestic ill.

This problem has been common for journalists and journalism educators working within oppressive regimes worldwide. Journalists in Malaysia and Singapore have a history of struggling to do effective reporting in the face of government restrictions that

limit any work that may be perceived as critical of the status quo (George, 2006). Similar challenges emerged in South America during the unrest of military regime changes in that region during the 1960s, '70s, and '80s, when journalists and journalism educators risked death by attempting to provide a watchdog of government power (Waisbord, 2000). The closest example of how journalism responded to revolution comes from Iran where news gathering went from the repressions faced under the Shah of Iran prior to the 1979 revolution there and gained a new set of restrictions limiting coverage as a religious theocracy took control of the nation (Rasler, 1996).

The void

This research helps fill some of the gulf in the body of knowledge in several areas. First, there is almost no research that looks at how higher education survives an actual blood-and-guns revolution. Almost all mention to revolution talks about changes in delivery vehicles for teaching (Hiltz & Turoff, 2005), the change in approaches to disciplines (Keller, 1983), or the change in the nature of who is trained at institutions of higher education (Kennedy, 1995; Trow & Burrage (Editor), 2010). Dealing with a revolution that actually overthrows a government and brings chaos to a society is a new realm for exploration in delivery of higher education. This research adds to the body of knowledge by exploring an emerging area for scholarly work.

Purpose statement

The intent of this study was to tell the story of how journalism educators, journalism students, and higher education administrators responded to the challenges of the revolution around them and the effect that had in the delivery of higher education training in journalism in the region. Interviews with those undergoing this rapid change

in the MENA region were intended to provide insight on what was experienced during the weeks that brought most of society to a standstill in these nations and the months that followed. Through narrative inquiry, the intent was to develop the story of how this sequence of revolutions in the region was handled by those attempting to provide higher education in journalism. As the interviewer, I sought insight on what was done to deal with weeks of limited to no transportation, shuttered campuses and mass civil unrest, and what was happening in MENA higher education in the post-revolutionary environment.

Research question

The critical question in this research was: How have people coped with revolution and the impact the revolts have had on their institutions of higher education and their personal lives? The research focused on those engaged in journalism higher education in the MENA region. The primary questions in this research revolved around how individuals engaged in journalism higher education in the MENA region responded to the crisis brought by the Arab Spring in their country, how their institutions of higher education responded to that crisis, and how the crisis influenced delivery of journalism higher education in the post-revolutionary period. The research examined professional and personal responses to the crisis spawned by the Arab Spring revolutions during the 2010-2011 period.

Significance of the study

There is a paucity of work in the Western canon related to higher education in the MENA region, and none of the studies have considered the impact of a guns-and-blood regime change. This study has the potential to identify a number of areas that are ripe for research, such as disaster response, reactions in the MENA region to revolution, the

affect of revolutionary changes on the delivery of journalism education, and the malleability of the Western-style universities in facing profound societal change.

Researcher's perspective

I have taught in the MENA region on three occasions. I value my former students and colleagues there, and I have developed a love for the region. Watching the Arab Spring revolutions was a personal challenge. On one hand, I had seen the way the political systems in those countries were hampering free speech, restraining change, and building a disenfranchised class. On the other hand, I worried how the revolutions would affect my friends in the region. I was hoping the changes would be free of violence, or at least the violence that might claim someone I knew. During the year, there were anxious periods as I waited for an email or a phone call from one of my Middle Eastern compatriots.

Since joining higher education as a visiting assistant professor in journalism in January 2004, I have watched disasters unfold that have touched upon higher education institutions in this country and I have been concerned by how those institutions have responded to disaster. With the exception of librarians and information technology professionals, colleges and universities rarely appear to have a disaster response that allows for continued functioning of the institution. This seemed especially true when reviewing the literature on the response to the flooding and chaos brought by Hurricane Katrina. Trying to imagine the response to a revolution in light of how the response to a hurricane led many institutions in the United States to close for months added a dimension to the significance of this research into the MENA region.

Finally, I also appreciate that my former students and colleagues in the region may be facing a backlash for sharing their views and participating in my research. While the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution promises that "Congress shall make no law ..." with regards to free speech and free press, the people I interviewed in the MENA region do not enjoy a similar protection. The dangers they face are very real and potentially fatal. To that end, I put a high value on informed consent from participants and in ensuring that the people who speak with me were able to maintain their confidentiality. I assigned them the pseudonyms that appear in this work, and I personally transcribed all the interviews.

Recognizing these concerns, the research protocol approved by the Research Integrity and Compliance Review Office at Colorado State University (CSU), included a script that allowed for a verbal-only consent from participants, limited email exchanges between the researcher and participants, and required that data be kept on one, password-protected computer with finished data to be kept under lock in possession of the researcher's academic adviser at CSU for three years following the conclusion of research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

This study looked at how institutions of higher education and the people within those institutions responded to the challenges brought by the Arab Spring revolutions in the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region in 2011 and 2012. This study focused on how individuals and institutions reacted to the interruption caused by disaster, specifically the revolutions that swept away longstanding political rulers in the region.

Literature reviewed for this research focuses on how higher education reacts to disaster, how Western-style universities function in the MENA region, and the type of journalism education being delivered in the region prior to the Arab Spring. With the exception of disaster recovery, and appropriate for work attempting to add to the body of knowledge, most of the areas reviewed have limited research history.

Journalism education was singled out for consideration in this research because of my experience as a journalism instructor in the region prior to the Arab Spring, and my contacts in the discipline within the region.

Disaster reaction. A review of research related to major disruptions in society revealed that while study of the impact of revolution is in an embryonic state, the understanding of the impact of natural and manmade disasters on institutions of higher education is a burgeoning field. In addition, researchers have noted that because the definition of a disaster is broad enough to include natural and man-made catastrophes, the study of how higher education responds to disaster could easily include a response to a revolution (Quarantelli, 2001).

E.L. Quarantelli and R.R. Dynes (1977) documented the reactions of institutions of higher education and the people in those institutions to social crisis and disaster. This work spawned research on how disaster can spur a sense of community coming together and working after and through disasters to ensure institutional survival. Quarantelli (1984) revisited this realm and his research findings questioned the beliefs that people behave in a selfish manner in a post-disaster environment. People facing disaster tend to adopt "prosocial" attitudes. They help one another, they seek shelter, and they provide aid.

While disaster response at an individual level can be positive, researchers have found that authorities responding to disaster can often create more destruction, especially when that response is guided by myths of lawlessness following a disaster (Tierney, Bezc, & Kuligowski, 2006). Police and military authority can create increased violence in disaster response and slow aid by resorting to physical confrontations with disaster survivors (Tierney et al., 2006). This destructive response by institutions can slow the rebuilding process after disasters and prolong displacement and generate additional disquiet (Elliott & Pais, 2006).

Higher education reaction. Building on Quarantelli's work researchers have plumbed how natural disasters act on higher education institutions (Burling & Hyle, 1997; McEntire & Myers, 2004; Sacerdote, 2008) and issued calls for planning on how higher education can survive calamities (Federal Emergency Management Agency [FEMA], 2003; Halligan, 2009; Hyatt, 2010; Schaffhauser, 2011). These studies have often focused on how the education level of participants influences post-disaster behavior (Michel, 2007). But in the wake of temblors, floods, and epidemics research has focused

on best practices for higher education institution. Those practices have emphasized quick response times, maximizing the opportunity to communicate with members of the institution and the community around the institution, and the need to imagine the worst when pondering disaster.

In responding to disasters institutions face a campus and surrounding community that seek concrete signs that the disaster is receiving serious attention and respect for the individuals involved is being maintained (Siegel, 1991). The institution's first response must be the care and protection of the community, and individuals with ties to the institution must be held accountable for violation of community standards (Siegel, 1991). While Siegel's work focused on crime and vandalism that might follow a natural disaster, researching a flood at the University of Iowa revealed that the nature of a higher education institution's response to a disaster also can show how important an institution is to the surrounding community (Bourbon, 2008). The university received high regard from students, faculty, and the community for communicating what actions it was taking to minimize the harm from the flooding, how long university operations would be suspended, and when the university would return to normal operations. The University of Iowa also managed to adhere closely to the timeline for affecting the cleanup and returning to normal operations, which helped build credibility in case it faced future disasters (Bourbon, 2008).

Disaster researchers have also considered the impact of illness, earthquakes, and hurricanes on higher education institutions in North America. Curzon (2000) detailed how the staff, student employees, and community members combined to protect the works in the severely damaged library at California State-Northridge following a 1994

earthquake. Her work looked at the steps taken at Northridge to salvage delicate written works that had been sustained in climate-controlled units prior to the temblor, and the efforts to save books, reference material, and special collections kept in a library building that was no longer structurally sound.

DeVaney, Carr, and Allen (2009) examined how schools at all levels recovered from the damage brought by Hurricane Katrina in 2005. Schools faced the challenge of recovering from hurricane destruction and widespread flooding that closed institutions for weeks if not months. Students left school because of the storm damage and many did not return because of the disaster, taking their talents, numbers, and financial support elsewhere. Instructors and administrators also left. Those who returned battled personal challenges related to the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. Changes in student enrollment and emotional well-being were identified as top school-related problems, while teachers also reported changes in their roles within the classroom and consistently identified the need for emotional and material support (DeVaney et al., 2009).

Alternative delivery. School functions also might make significant change during a disaster or in a post-disaster environment when students and faculty are unable to gather in brick and mortar structures for instruction. A study of the medical community in Toronto's ability to work together to continue to provide continuing medical education during the Sudden Acute Respiratory Syndrome outbreak there in 2003 generated descriptions of how alternative delivery vehicles (online, via teleconference, etc.) kept a higher education mission intact during a crisis (Davis et al., 2004). This use of alternative methods, particularly online, was a real-world case of a trend first identified by Fisher (1998) six years earlier. In researching disaster planning

and mitigation for institutions of public education the emergence of multimedia, Internet, Web sites and e-mail use were seen as enhancements to disaster response. The research proposed that these technologies could be used to speed the recovery of an educational institution after a disaster (Fischer, 1998).

More recently researchers have started to emphasize the role that these alternative delivery vehicles, particularly online learning, could play in how universities respond to disasters. These studies have found gaps in what is being done in alternative delivery, and promising possibilities. A study of the Web sites of 50 state flagship higher education institutions found that two-thirds did not include any reference to online learning as a way to continue coursework. One-third did suggest faculty find alternative ways of delivering courses, using technology or specific tools to do so (Meyer & Wilson, 2011). Additionally a case study out of New Zealand examined how social media could be used to help a university recover after a natural disaster. Following a 7.1 magnitude earthquake in December 2010 in the Canterbury region of the antipodean nation, the University of Canterbury used the "Facebook" site to continue delivery of course content (Dabner, 2012).

So while we await research on the impact of revolution, the study of the impact of disasters on higher education in the past 35 years has revealed guidelines for the behavior of institutions, studies of the actions of the individuals involved in disasters, and recommendations of methods for delivering higher education instruction in the aftermath.

Western universities. In addition to better understanding the response to revolution, educational leadership research is primed to explore how Western-style higher education is faring in the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region, which had

been viewed as an expansion market (Lewin, 2008). While there has been growth in the number of these institutions throughout MENA, the ongoing disintegration of the political structure raises a host of questions on how well these institutions will do in the fissures that remain.

While there is growing research on how higher education in North America functions in the face of disasters there is scant consideration of how the global institution of Western-style higher education confronts rapid, massive social upheaval, such as that which swamped North African and Middle Eastern nations in 2011 and 2012. Politics in this region, often characterized as ossified, consisted of long-serving leaders – often with limited legitimacy – and dominance of a single political party in most states (Cleveland & Bunton, 2009).

While the situation rapidly changed in the region starting in Tunisia in 2011, its impact on Western-style higher education is still being documented. While universities in various forms have existed in the region for centuries (Lulat, 2005), Western-style higher education institutions have been a part of the landscape in these countries only in the past century (Perkin, 1991) and many did not appear until after World War II.

The first modern, Western-style university in the region, Lebanon's American University in Beirut, was founded in 1866 by American missionaries ("AUB History", 2011). A companion did not appear for more than six decades, when Egypt's American University in Cairo was founded in 1919 (Perkin, 1991). This university differed from previous higher education in the region with its emphasis on a professional faculty, a focus on secular learning, and transferrable credits as a measure of student accumulation of learning, and it spawned creation of similar institutions (Perkin, 1991). The Syria

University at Damascus opened in 1923 (Perkin, 1991). The Libyan University was founded in 1955 (Lulat, 2005). Tunisia opened its first Western-style university in 1958 (Lulat, 2005). Jordan followed in 1962 (University of Jordan [Jordan Univ.], n.d.). In Yemen, the first modern universities in Sana'a and Aden were not established until 1970 (Basurrah, 2007).

Research related to Western-style universities in the region is only beginning to identify how those institutions of higher education function relative to the institutions they resemble in the West. To date research produced on the disruptions brought by the Arab Spring revolts has focused on what the Arab Spring might mean to the future of higher education in the region, rather than how the institution of higher education and the people within that institution responded to the revolution. Mazawi (2012) examined how the revolutions triggered reform initiatives by ruling elites in the MENA region in their attempts to contain and navigate the ensuing legitimacy crisis. So far these efforts raise questions on how do the unfolding political upheavals across the Arab region and the reform initiatives introduced by besieged ruling elites affect state—higher education relations. Other researchers noted how the higher education system prior to the revolution failed to meet the economic needs in the region (Amin, Assaad, al-Baharna, Dervis, & Desai, 2012), but did not look at the impact of the revolution on the daily operations of higher education there.

Journalism education. Additionally there is a need to see how the changes ongoing in the delivery of journalism (McChesney & Nichols, 2010) are either creating greater problems in the delivery of journalism education in the MENA region, or if the emergence of new delivery vehicles for journalism has instead bolstered journalism

instruction in higher education in the MENA region. In the West, the collapse of the advertising business model for newspapers has led to new approaches in digital delivery of journalism, and new models of teaching journalism, and what future journalists need to be taught (McChesney & Nichols, 2010). States in the MENA region, which have a history of government-owned media, less competitive environments, and tighter government control of the Internet, had not seen a similar change in the delivery of journalism prior to revolution (McChesney & Nichols, 2010). Currently only anecdotal evidence has emerged on how the delivery of journalism might be changing in these regions following the Arab Spring (Amin et al., 2012).

As noted earlier journalism education and journalism educators are the focus of this research because of my connection to this discipline and those engaged in this discipline in higher education in the region. Journalism education garners additional consideration because of the role that journalism plays in the delivery of crisis communication and because of the nature of journalism instruction in the MENA region prior to the Arab Spring revolutions.

As reporters and editors, journalists are often exposed to the trauma of natural and man-made disasters (Hight & Smyth, 2003). As public relations specialists, journalists are also trained in the delivery of communication during a crisis (Anthonissen, 2008; Veil, 2010; Jordan-Meier, 2011). These two elements were a component of higher education in journalism in MENA region countries prior to the revolution (Schafer, 2007).

In my experience, however, journalism instruction in the region rarely included an outlet for student expression beyond the classroom. Student media productions tied to

higher education institutions were intended for classroom distribution only (Schafer, 2007). Saleh (2010) said this circumscribed delivery of journalism and the limits on instruction were a direct reflection of how ministers of information in the MENA region throughout the years executed a state agenda to control journalism curricula and shape their content, through imprisonment and physical violence aimed at educators. This created the dilemma that:

It is thus trivial to think that journalism education could be a communication tool without empowering it with the capacity to stipulate good governance through governments' effective assistance. The journalists and many of the journalism students are very frustrated with the results of poor governance. The recruitment, capacity building and incentives of employees all need attention. Nevertheless, weak governance imbroglio has given ammunition to the two entrenched forces for censorship within the journalism education fabric, namely; the authoritarian regime and the Islamic fundamentalist opposition. Both would prefer to silence their critics though the evincing outrage through displacement, the authoritarian regime diverted the attention from the local political and military failures and bolstered the religious credentials against the Islamists who seek to unseat them (Saleh, 2010, p. 86)

Saleh noted in an earlier study that this dysfunction in journalism education was particularly pronounced in Egypt (Saleh, 2008), where a number of the participants in this research lived, worked, and attended higher education institutions. In Egypt Saleh described a journalism education system that produced professional journalism that the common Egyptian did not trust. This distrust could be traced to the nature of education

received in that nation's institutions (Saleh, 2008). Instruction there focused on acquisition of the skills needed to work as a journalist, but without any emphasis on the need to seek the truth when doing journalism.

One of the few studies that have emerged from the region since the start of the Arab Spring in 2011 is based on the experience of those working through the Auckland University of Technology to provide journalism education in the Persian Gulf state of Oman. This research documented the difficulties of converting coursework taught in New Zealand to meet the limitations placed by a MENA region government on such education and hopes for what the changes wrought by the Arab Spring might mean to such work in the future (O'Rourke, 2011). Researchers in this case described the difficulty of grafting a Western approach to journalism based on producing news that allowed for critical examination of a nation's government with nations where the government specifically limited such examinations and potential criticisms.

The practice of journalism in the MENA region did not include the protections of free speech or a free press found in the Constitution of the United States and in the governing doctrines in many Western states (Ayalon, 1995). Journalists, and those training to be journalists, have found themselves in a wrestling match between the lure of effective news story telling in MENA nations and the restrictions on telling those stories placed by governments. Free speech was a concept that caught on slowly in the region because it contravened a history of venerating those in power. Attempting to exercise free speech was often seen in the twentieth century as being at odds with the struggle in MENA nations to throw off foreign powers and replace them with domestic governments.

Criticizing domestic governments, even decades after colonial rulers had vacated, was still treated as a somewhat traitorous act and was drawing faint public support into the 1990s (Ayalon, 1995). Prior to the Arab Spring censorship from the state and prior restraint among journalists had effectively rendered a journalism in the MENA region that aided one party states by avoiding taboo topics such as government corruption.

Overt censorship and self-censorship became commonplace in the Arab news media and journalism education programs as both were drawn into a national enterprise for the production of propaganda. Only technological changes, such as the emergence of Internet-driven digital media, could finally increase the pressure for change and make issues of censorship obsolete as journalists found outlets for reporting among transnational media (Amin, 2002).

Traumatic reporting. Finally, the journalism discipline includes a rich body of research into the impact of doing journalism in war zones, during natural disasters, and in revolutionary environments. The Arab Spring revolutions carried with them the death and destruction that journalists previously covered. Covering such events has a history of leading to depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, higher alcohol consumption and suicidal thoughts (Feinstein, Owen, & Blair, 2002). Coverage of trauma is so common in journalism that the discipline has developed guidelines both for treating victims of trauma and self-treatment for exposure to trauma (Simpson & Cote, 2006; Hight & Smyth, 2003).

Journalists often lack training in how to deal with trauma, which only adds to the damage that secondary trauma might inflict (McMahon, 2001). The vulnerability of journalists as human beings coping with trauma has been brought into sharp relief, with

Kevin Carter providing the most famous example of a journalist unable to cope with the horrors seen in news coverage (Ricchiardi, 1999). Carter was a photojournalist who won the 1994 Pulitzer Prize for feature photography for a still photo he had taken of a starving girl in the Sudan trailed by a vulture. Carter had previously covered war in southern Africa and tribal violence in his native South Africa. Shortly after winning the Pulitzer Prize Carter committed suicide. In his suicide note he blamed his prize-winning photo and the controversy it generated for sending him in a deep depression. While it is not possible to say if therapy would have helped Carter the trauma he confronted was seen as a contributing factor in his death (Ricchiardi, 1999).

Carter's experience and the results of other journalists confronting traumatic times led to concerns in this research over what sort of trauma participants might have experienced and whether they were seeing any after effects similar to those reported by other journalists.

Summary

This review of the literature focused on how higher education responds to disaster, how Western-style universities have grown in the MENA region, and the nature of journalism education in the region prior to the Arab Spring, and the challenges that journalists face in traumatic times. In the chapters to follow, through the discussion of my methodology, the presentation of my data, and conclusions based on that data, I hope to provide the reader an understanding of the experience in higher education since the revolutions started.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to better understand how the day-to-day events of the Arab Spring revolutions disrupted the lives of people linked together by their involvement in higher education instruction in journalism. This chapter details how an interview question was used to develop the resulting research. The chapter begins with the design and rationale of the research, focusing on the use of a qualitative approach and the narrative inquiry. The chapter details the selection of the participants and the demographics of that group.

Next, data collection via Skype, the transcription of interviews, and the interaction with participants is described. This set of procedures is followed by the method of data analysis, which revealed the major themes for each interviewee. The process of developing an overall analysis that led to the composite narrative and the elements that went into analysis of each interviewee are described.

Then, the chapter covers the member checks used to ensure the validity of the research. The use of triangulation and peer examinations to ensure trustworthiness of the narrative follows. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of the methodology.

Design and Rationale

Qualitative research seeks to "study things on their own terms, levels, as a whole" (Shank, 2006, p. 9). In trying to understand the personal nature of change that is cultural and potentially traumatic as coping with revolution, this was a relevant and effective approach. Because of the immediacy of the research and the ongoing nature of the revolution, it was also necessary to consider an approach that would accommodate a

dynamic situation. Qualitative research is a "fluid and flexible" (Richards, 2005, p. 34) type of research, which was necessary for this type of study because at the outset it was unclear (Shank, 2006) what might be revealed.

The qualitative approach has an emphasis on understanding and illuminating meanings (Hoshmand, 2006) and studying complex systems. Qualitative research is holistic in nature, and it has a rich history in research in education and other social sciences (Merriam, 1998). Qualitative research views reality as a subjective experience for each participant, giving rise to multiple realities, which is reflected in the reality of evidence (ontology). Simply put, truth is the truth as seen by the participants, and truth is not an absolute. Qualitative research relies on quotes and themes presented by interviewees to provide evidence of different perspectives, while also attempting to remain as close to the participants in the field as possible. Along with this epistemological concern, the researcher also has to acknowledge the role he played in the research (axiology). Ultimately, qualitative research uses terms such as credibility, transferability, dependability, validation, discovery, and meaning (Creswell, 2007).

This research is a narrative inquiry that uses interviews to gain insight into how faculty, administrators, and students coped with revolutions that surrounded their institutions in 2011-2012. This research was designed to develop a narrative that looks at what people in the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region did to maintain higher education, particularly journalism education, while the long-standing state power structures around them faltered or dissolved. The research uses qualitative methods and a purposeful sample.

Narrative inquiry fits within qualitative research as a way of understanding individual experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). It is a "collaboration between researcher and participants, over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 20). A researcher enters the story in the midst of it, and the researcher continues in this spirit, concluding the inquiry while still telling and retelling the stories that make up lives, both personal and social. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) describe it as a method that recognizes the temporal nature of life and research, and narrative inquiry places the research inquiry and the researcher on the continuum of personal lives, institutional lives, and social lives.

As detailed in the work of Josselson, Lieblich and McAdams (2003), a narrative inquiry does not start with a researcher having a hypothesis refined to a single query. I had a interview question, as noted in Chapter 1, and several possible follow-ups related to specifics that might be mentioned in interviews. However, I did not have a series of questions that would lead to a series of answers. Instead, I allowed the stories that emerged to lead to the questions that required further research. In this way, the work permitted the data to emerge through the interviews (Josselson et al., 2003).

Participants

Interviewees came from a group of 20 individuals in the region. These 20 had previous contact with me during my time in the region between 2005 and 2009. I collected names in a resource database that included contact information. To preserve confidentiality, I removed several people from the potential pool of interviewees because I had spoken with them in my past research work where several had been referenced. Instead of my closest associates in the region I sought acquaintances.

The six participants live in two different nations in the region. All six interviewees were engaged in journalism higher education in the MENA region. They work for and/or attend public or private universities in the region. The six interviewees included one administrator, three faculty members, and two graduate students. The participants range in age from 23 to 58. All are natives of the region, ethnic Arabs, and practicing Muslims. All were fluent in English and interviews were conducted in English. Additional information is provided on each individual in Chapter 4.

Data Collection

I used email to ask if they would be interested in participating in my research. I explained that their names would be protected by pseudonyms and no place names would be used in the finished work. Eight individuals expressed an interest in participating. Another individual, who was not on the original contact list, was added based on the recommendation of a person who would not be able to participate. This additional individual chose to participate. From this group of nine, six indicated that they had schedules conducive to at least a one-hour interview, a follow up email exchange, and another 15-20 minute interview.

After being contacted by email, each participant selected a time for a one-hour online conversation via Skype and voice and data service using Internet protocol. I chose this method because of the travel concerns in the region. Befitting relationships that I have nurtured through the past six years via electronic means, all the potential sample group members had the ability to reach me through Skype. Two participants did not have Internet access at home, which created limitations on interview availability and shortened blocks of time for interviews.

I incorporated a consent form in the script read to each participant and asked them to agree to the terms at the start of the initial interview over Skype. The interviews commenced with the open-ended interview question on what the participant did to cope with the revolution and continue to be engaged in higher education in journalism as a student, instructor, or administrator. The interviews unfolded from there with the interviewees providing direction on what topics they considered significant. Follow-up questions during the interview were designed to provide more detail or examples to highlight comments that interviewees made. As I conducted more interviews, and especially during the follow-up interviews, I would ask participants questions about subjects that other interviewees had mentioned, which added to the richness of the data and served as another form of trustworthiness. This aided in the formation of themes that stretched across gender, role and national boundaries between the participants.

I transcribed the initial interviews. Afterward, I contacted participants via email to discuss the key points I saw in their interviews and to schedule additional time for a follow-up interview on Skype. It took several email exchanges to confer over major points and to schedule follow up interviews. This method of data collection reflects the co-creative nature of narrative inquiry. The participants and I worked together to craft the narrative of participants' lived experience (Lieblich & Josselson, 1997).

Data Analysis

I read through the individual transcripts looking for areas that the participant and I would note as the major themes of our interviews. I collected those items for each individual and then sent an email containing the portions of the interview that I thought were important to that interviewee. These emails were followed by one to three

subsequent email messages to each interviewee. In these exchanges, interviewees were able to create their stories with me. We then used follow-up interviews on Skype to ensure that I was accurately recording and reporting their experiences.

The sharing of transcriptions and analysis of data follows a content analysis path detailed by Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998). Unlike the structural analysis of narrative that Riessman details, with its nearly line-by-line coding (Riessman, 2008), Lieblich takes a holistic content approach. In this approach, the researcher uses the transcribed interview to ascertain the major themes that emerged in the interview (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998).

To identify the themes that were most important, I printed each transcript. I read each transcript several times looking for themes. I crossed out sections deemed less important, and then copied and pasted the other sections into email messages. It was these items that participants responded to prior to the follow-up Skype interviews.

The exchange of information guided crafting of each individual's interview in Chapter 4, and the development of the themes that emerged from the interviews. These exchanges led to the composite in Chapter 4 that covers major themes in coping with revolution. In addition to this overall analysis, following each person's account I provided an analysis of their section. This analysis covered the themes that emerged and summarized the direct quotes and paraphrased statements from the transcripts. Each individual story concluded with an interpretation of that person's narrative. I based the interpretation on my interaction with the participant prior to the interviews and the impressions generated by the interviews in areas such as what people deemed significant and why.

Validity

In narrative inquiry, "people are looked at as embodiments of lived stories," (Clinchy, 2003, p. 43) and interpreting these stories leads to an endeavor with multiple truths (Josselson et al., 2003). As someone operating in "being in the midst of a three-dimensional narrative inquiry space, and being in the midst of a temporal, storied flow," (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 65) the only route I was to explain that this research was a continual negotiation, and part of that negotiation was to explain myself. What I gathered in interviews or observations must be considered within contexts that consider social, cultural, and political contexts (Daiute & Fine, 2003).

Ultimately the interviewees provided some rich data, but they lacked the emotional depth I sought. Interviewees proved effusive in describing the physical impact of revolution on their movements within their countries, but proved more guarded in describing the emotional impact and safety concerns. One participant, a graduate student, seemed particularly unmoved by the revolutionary experience in her country and a close brush she had with demonstrators. The study's lone administrative participant talked at length about his institution's reaction, but he would change the subject when asked questions about his personal reaction.

Trustworthiness

When conducting qualitative research it is important to consider trustworthiness because there is only the possibility for inferring meaning because the process of thinking is not observable (Morine-Dershimer, 1983). In order to ensure trustworthiness in this study, I used triangulation with subjects. In this case, I am referencing the triangulation described in Brooks, Kennedy, Moen, and Ranly (2008), where each interviewee was

also used as a means of leading an interviewer to different human sources. In this research, the triangulation occurred after the initial interviews had been transcribed. I noted where interviewees described similar experiences, such as dealing with traffic or the influence of social media, and I asked additional questions about these experiences during the follow-up interviews.

In each case in the study there were interviewees with unique experiences.

Triangulation was helpful, however, in examining some general experiences and exploring common reactions. Trustworthiness was established through this process of triangulation because multiple sources allowed for greater credibility when looking at the findings (Lichtman, 2009).

Sharing sections of the transcript of each initial interview with each interviewee allowed participants to help guide the research. Negotiating between me and each interviewee provided additional details for each theme. This process allowed interviewees to check the emerging work. It also created an audit trail of interviews, interview segments, participant commentary and follow-up interviews.

In addition, I used peer examinations of my emerging work by sharing it with my methodologist. My methodologist helped me avoid some of my reductionist tendencies by sending me back to transcripts to seek additional details. He also encouraged me to look at those items that participants might not have deemed as important, but that appeared to be a common part of the Arab Spring experience, which produced richer description.

Throughout the process, I kept identifying my bias toward the data I was collecting and the people I was collecting it from. My past relationship with the

participants, my knowledge of their institutions and locales continually emerged as I was analyzing the transcripts and negotiating with participants. I started to compile in a separate file with the intention of bringing those items back for the interpretation sections of individual interviews in Chapter 4 and the analysis in Chapter 5.

Summary

This research faced the same challenges of any work done in qualitative research. Steps were taken to account for researcher bias, validity concerns, and trustworthiness concerns. Further complicating the situation was an inability to be physically present for the interviews, and the decision to use a purposeful sample. Every attempt was made to preserve the confidentiality of those participating in the study, an overriding ethical concern.

I used electronic communication to conduct interviews with participants on another continent. This method fit within the narrative inquiry approach to qualitative research. The interviews started with an open-ended question about coping with a monumental change and the aftershocks of such change. The resulting interviews were then transcribed. I read through the transcripts multiple times seeking emergent themes. Sections that illustrated the emergent themes were then sent via email to the participants. We then conducted a negotiated follow-up interview that tested the validity of the themes I saw.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Introduction

The findings in this study were derived directly from the narratives of the six individuals engaged in higher education in journalism in the Middle East/North Africa region. The background below details the disruption to their lives and provides a backdrop through which this study may be understood. Through the interviews, three major themes emerged and will be explained further in this chapter.

Background

The Arab Spring revolutions were a series of popular uprisings that swept through countries in the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region, beginning in the final days of 2010 and continuing into 2012. The Arab Spring revolutions ended years of authoritarian rule in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, and threatened rulers in Syria, Bahrain and Yemen. As detailed below, the Arab Spring revolutions were characterized by popular movements demanding change through protest.

The Arab Spring revolutions started in Tunisia when the death of a protestor in December 2010 sparked mass demonstrations that led to the nation's president fleeing the country in January 2011. The flight of president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali ended nearly 24 years of his uninterrupted rule of the country (Chrisafis & Black, 2011). The Tunisian revolt spawned similar demonstrations in Egypt that in 18 days in February 2011 led to the ouster of the President Hosni Mubarak, who had been in power nearly 30 years ("Mubarak resigns", 2011). The Arab Spring revolutions continued with a civil war in Libya that ended a regime that had been in place there since 1969 (Spencer, 2011; Black,

2011). These revolts spawned similar demonstrations and calls for regime change in Syria (BBC, June 8, 2011), Bahrain (Surk & Khalifa, 2012), and Yemen (Terrill, 2011).

The Arab Spring revolutions varied by country, but contained some common threads. Protestors called for democracy, respect for human rights, and increased religious tolerance (Hotham, 2012). Many of the participants in the revolutions were frustrated over government corruption (Farrell, 2012). Some had been oppressed by the existing regime for religious or cultural reasons (Hotham, 2012). Observers in the West credited social media, particularly the Internet presence of Twitter and Facebook, for uniting the protestors and driving the revolution (Schillinger, 2011; Taylor, 2011), a point that has been contested (Anderson, 2011).

The participants in this research were all engaged in higher education in journalism in the MENA region when the Arab Spring blossomed in their countries. The revolution in each country caused significant disruption to their lives, and to the daily operations of higher education. The participants detailed the impact of revolution in interviews. Items from those interviews related to the revolutions appear in the following stories, with direct quotes from the interviewees' transcripts in italics, and paraphrased transitions based on the transcripts. The topics included in the description of each person's experience have been organized from the most to least important. Each participant and I determined the topic's import and what material to include in each section in a negotiated process between the interviewer and the interviewee, as detailed in Chapter 3.

Concluding each person's story is an analysis of the themes that emerged. This is followed by my interpretation of that story using my experience as a journalist and professor who previously taught journalism at higher education institutions in the region.

Susan's experience

Susan is a professor of journalism at a private university. She holds a doctorate and undergraduate degrees from large public institutions in her home country. She has taught journalism in that MENA region country at several small, private institutions in the past two decades. All Skype interviews were conducted from her laptop computer at her home. For her, the Arab Spring started with more time at home.

When it first started, it was scary. Everything, everything was shut down. There was nothing to do but for people to protest or to stay home and watch protests. Or they stayed home and used their mobile phones to talk about protests or watch protests, or watch people talking about protests.

For several weeks, her institution was closed. Her children's schools were closed. Her husband's office was closed. The local sports club closed and her daughter's basketball league was suspended. The family waited at home. The only trip out she could recall was to prayers on Friday during the three weeks the family stayed home. With hindsight, Susan expressed wistfulness for the opportunity to teach that was lost while the university was closed.

It is funny now because that was probably the one time in the past year where anyone could have gotten across town, easily.

As she noted in the follow-up interview, the time when the revolution was at its height was the period with the fewest transportation woes. No one was going anywhere,

so whenever someone did go out, they just had to avoid the demonstrations and the military's presence. If they took those steps, all went well. Once the universities and businesses reopened, the roads were overwhelmed with drivers and public transportation overflowed with riders. Gridlock ensued.

Overall, Susan's institution was ill-prepared for revolution. Past emergency preparedness had been focused on more probable events, like a fire, than the upheaval that came in the Arab Spring. As revolution unfolded, the institution reopened and immediately started work to provide an education as close to normal as possible.

University operations restarted with a message from a dean explaining that classroom policy changes would have to be implemented.

They asked us, the faculties, for a plan. This was the crisis plan. We had to reduce the semester, right away. We took three weeks off the 15-week semester. We followed up through the dean ... on what we would do. We had more assignments in less time. We had meetings ... to make the crisis plan. And attendance policies were reduced for students.

The crisis plan worked well. Although pieced together in less than 24 hours, the plan provided everyone with direction. Faculty knew what was expected of them and students had a clear path for completion of coursework in a truncated semester schedule. The relaxed attendance policy also seemed appropriate in light of continuing unrest related to revolution.

Repeated closings, many made at the last moment, created a new set of concerns.

These centered on student attendance and the condensed form in which course content was being delivered.

I love what I do. I love to be with my students in my class. This was ... more difficult. Lesson (plans) were gone. Some students were here every day. Some must have been here when we were closed. They were all here and all they brought to class was up-to-date material. Some were here and not here.

Students in her country have a tendency to arrive late for class, and Susan was always accepting of this. It was normal in a three-hour class to have two dozen students and half of them might arrive 20 to 30 minutes late. Following the revolution, the late half became the absent half. Those who arrived with out-of-class assignments completed were the group that Susan considered up to date in the course.

There were some who had trouble attending in the past. And this was too much for them. We knew the penalties were not there for the students. But some of the students, they made the most of it. Others would miss, and then they would be back, and then you would not know if they would be back again. My lessons, they were not my lessons. I would go over material, and then in one class, I would go over it again.

A minority of students stayed current on their assignments and came to class prepared. To try and keep the bulk of her students on track and to meet the goals of her courses' curricula, Susan reverted to using in-class assignments. She would have liked to have used more electronic submission, but Internet reliability was a problem. The changes in delivery of journalism course material created a new concern.

I wondered what this has done to my students. I worry that if I had to ... compare the students from the past year to my other students, then I do not think they would do as well. I do not know if I gave them the same test, if they would do as well.

This realization created lingering ill feelings. Susan's students in 2011 were not less capable than previous students, but they did not receive the same educational opportunity. The experience hurt her, but it also renewed her hope for what she was doing in class the next year.

We get another chance. What will that do? If we have class, we have another chance. This is good.

In follow-up questions, Susan revealed that the chance she was mentioning related to the students she had in the fall 2011 semester, and not to the students she had in spring 2011. Whatever those students missed was gone. The chance with them passed, but the lessons learned from the spring 2011 semester proved important for Susan as an instructor.

She now looks at her class preparation with an emphasis on what is critical for a course and what would be a beneficial addition. Her syllabi preparation starts with a plan that would allow her to teach the bulk of a course in a compressed amount of time. She then completes syllabi with items that she would like to include, but does not feel that students have to have. When she used this approach in fall 2011, courses had higher workloads in the early weeks.

I thought this would be for the best if we had any more protests or closings.

As the fall 2011 semester progressed and there were fewer class cancellations,

Susan started to feel more comfortable about students completing course objectives. This allowed her to relax some assignment deadlines. However, she felt that she had to keep many of the accelerated plans in place when even small protests threatened to siphon away her students.

I love to teach. And when I hear my students asking to cancel class, it hurts. I want to be there. I know they need to be there, but ... they are not getting the experience that they would have before. I wonder what that means to them and to their education.

Susan's observation on educational quality prompted a question on whether she felt her students of the past year were receiving a good enough education.

No, I cannot say that. I make a difference and I know I am doing the best I can. I think they are doing the best they can. Is it enough? I want to think so.

We will know in a few years.

Away from the classroom, the revolution also had an unexpected impact on her family. Her children, both teenagers, spent stretches at home with Susan and her husband. With few opportunities to leave the house as businesses were shuttered and social activities were suspended, the family talked.

It made us closer. We had discussions on things we had never had before. We had discussions on the country, on the experiences they were having. They were lucky, I think, to have this experience. We had so many discussions on who is wrong and who is right. It got us closer.

One area where Susan differed from the other participants in the research was in her post-revolutionary transportation experience. While travel now took longer for many, she did not consider it a significant aspect of her life. She had hoped for improved travel times when protests died down, but this had not happened. Still, her 30 minute daily commute to work seemed to take only nominally longer following the Arab Spring.

She allowed that transportation might have been a bigger concern for someone living farther from an institution or for someone relying strictly on public transportation.

Students struggled with transportation issues, and she took that into consideration when looking at class attendance. However, she dismissed most transportation concerns.

While Susan worried about the quality of education students received in the postrevolutionary environment, she was not planning any changes in content spurred by the praise social media received. She expressed confidence in what she teaches and little need to change.

Although she deemed the impact on her personal life unimportant, in asides Susan offered glimpses in to how her life had changed since the Arab Spring's first disruptive blooms. She described taking different routes to drop off her children for school, but she noted that she still shopped in the same locations, did laundry on the same day, and ate out in the same restaurants.

She also noted that one of the amenities of her pre-revolution life was gone. She used to visit a bakery in a city neighborhood for her favorite pastries. She stopped going there because many senior members of the old regime had homes in the neighborhood and she worried that she might wind up in the middle of a violent protest if she ventured there.

Originally, fear kept her from traveling through that area. After a few months, the fear was replaced by a new habit. It would take a change in mindset to even consider going to the bakery now.

I have not been there in a year. That's sad. But, I have not been back.

Susan also was sorry that she did not have more people to share the experience of going through a revolution. While there are millions in the MENA region living through or with revolution, she was sorry more of the world had not felt the change that swept her

country. Revolution, while scary, created an environment of liberation that she still was pondering.

I wish you could have been here.

When asked for further comment, Susan struggled to find an explanation. It was unlike anything she had experienced, and finding a more explicit description remained out of reach at the time this research was conducted.

Analysis. Revolution brought disruptions to daily life and significantly reshaped the academic calendar for Susan. When her university resumed operations after closing during the height of the revolution, the tumult manifested in poor student attendance and difficulty in reaching learning objectives in courses. Revolution represented an extraordinary challenge to Susan as an instructor, and she expressed doubt that students had gained as much in her courses as students who took her courses in previous semesters. The one positive to come from the revolution for Susan was a tightening of familial bonds and the deeper issues on matters of right and wrong that her children shared with her and her husband.

Interpretation. I have taught journalism with Susan previously in the region. She was always an instructor who focused on her students. She stated and demonstrated in class prior to the revolution that she wanted her classroom to be a space where students felt safe to ask questions. She was atypical in my experience with instructors in the MENA region in that she wanted to reduce the distance between professor and student in her courses. In my experience, Susan always exhibited a very liberal attendance policy that did not punish students for arriving 20 or 30 minutes late for a class.

I have spoken with Susan inside and outside of classrooms prior to and since the revolution in her country. Susan is a pleasant and amiable colleague, but she truly comes to life when teaching a class. It can be seen in her straightened posture, the ease with which she addresses students and the smile that she greets them with in each class. The hurt that she described in not teaching courses or in having students call for classes to be canceled came across in the interviews as she lowered her voice, she stopped smiling, and she labored to make even a joke about the situation.

Susan's concerns about the quality of education reflect a continuing concern for her. While these concerns cannot be discounted because of their frequency, my reaction to her worries was somewhat muted because she regularly expressed very similar concerns prior to the revolution. Since she did not continue these concerns into a discussion about accreditation, the disruption appeared to just exacerbate her worry about the quality of instruction and the lessons that her students took from her courses.

Susan's emphasis on student attendance surprised me because our previous teaching experience had not indicated that was ever a concern. In the class, I had been the one unhappy with late-arriving students or those who missed the course all together. Susan had counseled me on the need to work with those who were absent and to not become too demanding of tardy students. Her comments of concern appeared to be connected with her fears that students had already missed too much because of the revolution, and that any more absences imperiled what they might learn in her courses.

Her concern about student attendance and her relative lack of concern about transportation issues created a conundrum. She did not offer a connection to her atypical commute and the problems that students and colleagues may have faced in getting to and

from the university. Her relatively short commute may have created indifference toward the transportation challenges for others.

Finally, Susan has always emphasized the importance of family. I had worked with her a brief time when she introduced me to her children. She has described her family as a joy. With her children now teenagers, and her eldest child nearing university age, I would have expected Susan to enjoy the experience of talking with her children and being surrounded by them. She added in a follow-up that there were limits to being at home with nowhere else to go. She was grateful when the sports club reopened and pleased when her daughter started basketball again.

Ishmael's experience

Ishmael is a dean at a public university in the MENA region. He has been a dean for more than 10 years. He is in his 50s, and has spent most of his working life in higher education. His bachelor's degree was in journalism and mass communication, and the departments he oversees include a journalism department.

Unlike all other participants in the research, Ishmael played an active role in designing his institution's plans for disasters. He appreciated the planning that was done to help meet what the university faced during the Arab Spring in 2011.

Yes, we had a disaster plan. I helped write the plan. We have used the plan before. We have had turmoil on the campus. We have had students demanding this or some other thing. We have had protests. Students have protested wanting courses, or what students want. We have had these protests, and we have used the plan.

The plan, as Ishmael described it, was designed to deal with emergencies from fires to chemical spills in a lab to warfare. Even in the event of war, the plan was focused

on threats from outside of the nation, and not designed to deal with large-scale domestic protests and the threat of civil war.

We had never considered revolution. Why would we? What would we do planning for a revolution? There was nothing, nothing to indicate this was useful. I can not foresee that anyone would think of revolution. A fire? A fire for sure. This was a reasonable plan. We had practice for this. How can you practice for revolution? You cannot. I cannot, and you cannot. There is no practice for revolution.

Although planning was an ongoing activity at his institution, it was not enough to meet the demands of the Arab Spring. The university had to close, but it opened a few days after the nation's leader was deposed. Ishmael gave his institution, his faculty, and students high marks for how they handled the shutdown and quick restart of university classes. The institution reopened for classes less than one week after regime change.

We are here because we faced the impossible. We had our plans, but our plans had to change. We had to take what we had been and we had to start over. The faculty were ideal. We went from no plan to a plan in very little time, a few days.

Although pleased with his institution's disaster plan and the adjustments made in 2011, Ishmael remained concerned about the impact it had on the quality of education. His concerns, however, were different than those expressed by other participants and addressed the institution's future.

Curriculum? Accreditation? These were the very things I did not let myself worry about them. Oh, I thought about them ... I did lots of thinking. Still, I think our students were getting an education. It was an education far beyond what we could, what we taught. They learned a great deal.

In attempting to measure student learning, Ishmael focused on two specific areas: student conversation on campus and student action. Although not a classroom instructor Ishmael regularly walked the halls before and during classes to hear what students were saying.

In walking around last year, and listening, I was hearing things I had never heard. It was so ... lively. The students were saying so much. There was so much in the air. It was not just the (language and rhetoric) classes. I expect that. No, it was all of them.

I was hearing a lot that I had never heard before. My ears were ringing. It was more than talk. Students began protesting on campus.

We had them before, but those were usually small. They were over the little things, the protests. They were the usual things ... the exam dates ... new policies ...

Then, you get a revolution, and everything changes. The students saw democracy.

And they brought the revolution with them. It seemed there were protests every few days.

Two or three days would go without a protest, and I would feel good about it.

Student desire for change meant chanting groups of protestors, complete with protest signs, marching on campus. The signs stopped short of calling for execution of deans, but some of them carried threatening messages and some of them were directed at Ishmael and other administrators. If he had not been singled out for protest, Ishmael would have admired the student effort.

I would have been impressed. I would have enjoyed what they were doing. But, no, I'm a dean. I have to respond. So ... my colleagues and I, we gathered. We

considered what they said. We tried to find ... their leaders, so we could talk to them. We talked. We made some changes.

The university made changes that students wanted in attendance policies, but most of those changes administrators had already planned to make. Calls for mass ouster of administrators and professors were beyond consideration.

They wanted to have more, more control. I remember listening to their demands and thinking 'Oh, my.' It was angry. It was irrational. We just had to do what we do to let that pass. And it passed.

The fall 2011 semester went much more smoothly. Because of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, which calls for fasting during daylight hours for a month, the university did not open until September, after Ramadan ended. Ramadan is planned based on the lunar calendar, so the dates of Ramadan will vary each year. The university had planned the September start date years before the Arab Spring revolution.

So, we started, and the protests started. It was like the protest started because classes started.

The scale of protest and the persistence of protestors had greatly diminished.

It was nothing like before. Classes started. We all got back to work. It was nothing like last year.

Student action in fall 2011 led to questions about enrollment. Enrollment remained nearly the same as one year ago. Ishmael dismissed that question earlier when discussing accreditation. He also dismissed questions about student retention and graduation rates. His institution faced little if any government pressure related to those areas. Instead, the government prior to the revolution expressed concern that higher

education institutions were producing too many graduates with too few job prospects.

Occasionally there would be a push to produce more graduates in critical fields, such as engineering or health care, but beyond that there was little external pressure.

Overthrowing the government had yet to change the focus on retention or graduation rates. Spring graduation numbers, even with a revolt, were similar to previous years. With fall enrollment stable, Ishmael dismissed concerns about student numbers or their persistence to graduation.

Ishmael provided few details on the impact of revolution in his personal life. He mentioned in passing the school and business closures during the height of the revolt in his country. Commuting had been more challenging in spring 2011, but most of the problems he saw cleared up by fall 2011. He dismissed concerns about his family, but he noted that the spending a couple of weeks at home during a school semester did put a strain on the family.

Ishmael and his family enjoyed the first few days of being off from school and work. After that, Ishmael's son, a university student, grew increasingly bored. Ishmael never developed an effective method of dealing with his son. Ultimately, he left it to his wife, who crafted methods that worked, but remained a mystery to Ishmael.

I'm not sure what she did. But children are not a (MENA country's name) man's duty.

Besides, Ishmael was too busy trying to fulfill his obligations to his institution.

He did not have the time to deal with a restless child. He characterized the split in duties with his wife as one that had worked well in his household for years. Revolution had not changed that relationship.

Analysis. Ishmael's observations on revolution focused first on how well the institution had performed relative to its plans for meeting disaster. He gave his institution high marks for its response. He also commended administrators, faculty, and students for adjusting plans in light of the extraordinary events of 2011.

Ishmael noted that he admired some of the student protestors who emerged on his campus following the regime change. Still, he was dismissive of some of the demands students made for wholesale change. He also noted that top-level administration did not change following protests.

Following course cancellations brought by the revolution, Ishmael said he feared what might happen to his university's standing and accreditation in higher education.

These fears appeared to subside when the fall 2011 semester did not require any class cancellations due to civil unrest.

As a dean, Ishmael was among the administrators responsible for developing and enacting the university's disaster plan. He expressed pride in the planning and some frustration toward my asking him about the plan. His comment on how no one could prepare for a revolution summarized his reaction to those questions.

Interpretation. Ishmael was the lone administrator among the participants in this research. He was also the participant with the most fully formed concerns about accreditation and the impact revolution might have there. He expressed confidence that students had gained significantly knowledge outside of the university curriculum during the revolution, but that confidence did not appear to assuage his fears about accreditation.

After a quiet and relatively normal fall semester, Ishmael seemed to enjoy the actions protestors took on his campus earlier in the year. He smiled when describing the

protests and laughed several times when discussing some of the students' demands from spring 2011. While he appeared to enjoy the protests as an intellectual experience and an outgrowth of revolution, his tone changed when describing the calls to get rid of all administrators. He acknowledged in the follow-up interview that the student demands were important to consider, but too many of them proved petty and not worthy of additional discussion.

Ishmael also expressed a belief that starting classes after Ramadan brought an unexpected benefit of student good will. Students appeared to be ready for the university to operate on a normal schedule. He expressed some happiness that the fall 2011 semester has gone smoothly, and that he now had enough distance from spring 2011 to appreciate what had been accomplished in keeping the university operating.

Throughout the interview and follow-up, Ishmael kept much of his personal life shielded. Other than mentioning an issue with his son, he treated the impact of revolution as largely an issue for administrators to solve. Unlike the other participants, he provided few details on how his day-to-day life outside of the university changed. My attempts to gather more information with additional questions during the interview and follow-up session were ignored or dismissed with a request for another question.

This may have been because he was focused on telling the story of how his university responded, rather than how he responded, to revolution. After a few weeks of tumult, his life outside the university may have looked very similar to his life prior to the revolution. His reluctance to share personal detail may have also been in keeping with Ishmael's previous relationship with me. I have never been Ishmael's peer, but occupied a rung or two beneath Ishmael in our past work.

Jen's experience

Jen is a 23-year-old graduate student at a public university in the Middle East/North Africa region. She lives in her nation's capital city with her family. She conducted her interviews via Skype at a friend's home.

The revolution in her country rearranged Jen's day-to-day life. After the initial upheaval, when the university returned to operation, she had trouble getting to the university via the local bus system. The university and most institutions of day-to-day life, the shops, the street vendors, etc., had suspended operations for weeks because of the revolt. Once Jen was back on campus, the atmosphere there was less than ideal for learning.

It was awful. No one wanted to be at school. Getting there was awful. We take the bus, and we'd just sit. I would bring lots to read and all my grading. And I'd just sit there.

When asked if traveling to her university via bus ever became threatening, Jen was never worried. She never felt that the journey was dangerous, and her experience was not like the news coverage of the revolution that she gathered from Internet sources.

On the worst days, we were not going to school. Most of the time, we would see something, and it would be a long way away. We were not going through (the city center) to get to school. If that was the way, then we would not have been there. My parents were really worried about me and my sisters. They wanted to keep all of us home.

Concerns about violence spurred her parents to insist that the family remain home, even on some days when the university was open. Throughout the mass protests, the demonstrations only came close to Jen once while in transit.

One day we got close to a protest. And you can tell. It was, like, 'Hey, wait, the bus does not go this way.' We start going down these different streets. Then, we're looking down, and you can see the road is just full of people. They're marching on the road, and it just fills the road. And then the bus is going.

When her university returned to session after being closed for several weeks due to the civil unrest, Jen saw some of the same demonstrations that characterized the rest of the Arab Spring make their way to campus. As the protests became daily occurrences, Jen described how she and other female graduate students watched the protests from a professors' office window.

From there, you can see the parking lot, the whole parking lot. So, (the graduate students) would all go across the hall. We knew from classes that they were going to protest, that they were going to get together. We would listen, and there it would be. We would hear what they were chanting. It was like 'reform now' or 'change' or 'no more exams,' or something. And we would go across the hall, and there it would be.

When asked to expand on what she saw and commenting on what Ishmael had seen – the two are in the same city but at different institutions – Jen was not impressed by the student protesters and their motivation to demonstrate.

It was, sort of exciting, but it ... did not mean much. Everybody got out and made a lot of noise. The grad students, we all just watched. It did not really change anything.

Most of the protestors she noticed were male, undergraduate students. Jen knew some of them from the courses where she worked as a graduate assistant. She became suspicious that many of the protestors wanted to protest as a means of escaping from class work or upcoming exams. After watching several protests, she was convinced that a number of people marching were there specifically to avoid the journalism classes for that day. She believed this because they were protesting on days when assignments were due.

I asked Jen several times about how the institution responded. In the initial interview, she failed to come up with any specifics for what had happened other than the university closing due to demonstrations and later reopening. She was not sure how many weeks of class were missed and guessed that it might have been three or four weeks. Through email exchange, she finally clarified her thoughts in the follow-up interview.

There was a plan for what to do. The deans rushed around. They tried really hard to let us know what was going on. They put in so much work. They used Internet and text to let us know if school was closed. After we were opened for a while, it all was back to normal. Classes were still classes, students were still students, and we had more papers to read.

I mean, my life's just normal. It's kind of boring.

Even with the follow-up, she was still unsure how many weeks she and other students had missed. She was unable to identify any specific curricula or course topics that were missed in the undergraduate classroom. She emphasized that the material appeared to be very close to what she experienced a few years ago as an undergraduate

student. She disregarded any missed learning opportunities, in contrast to other interviewees.

Revolution's greatest impact on Jen came in her social life. She and her friends were not able to spend their out of class time together as they had in the past.

Demonstrations shuttered many of the businesses that university students frequented.

Some businesses reopened, but some of her favorites did not. It took until the fall 2011 semester before she and her friends found a new favorite. In addition, the club where she and one her sisters worked out and swam on a regular basis closed because of the revolution. It reopened after a few weeks, which she appreciated.

I was feeling awful. There was nowhere to go. I could not even go swim. I felt awful.

Her fall 2011 semester echoed the experiences of Ishmael. She described it as a return to normalcy and discounted its importance when looking at the impact of revolution on journalism education in her country. Student protests were brief, half-hearted, and evaporated within days of classes starting. After finding new locales to meet with friends, she felt few lingering effects of the revolution on her daily life.

Analysis. Jen saw the violence of the Arab Spring revolution mainly through electronic news media. Her closest experience with the revolution came while in transit to her university and her bus passed near marching demonstrators. The revolution in her country had the greatest impact for her in her daily commute and in the life of her campus when the university reopened.

Jen expressed doubts on the intent of protestors on her campus. Her position as a graduate student, and her knowledge of course schedules, convinced her that many of the

campus protestors were more interesting in getting out of class or avoiding an exam as opposed to seeking actual reform of the university.

Although she mentioned it as only a fleeting experience, Jen came closer to the civil unrest of the protests than any other participant in the research. She expressed ambivalence toward what she saw. This ambivalence carried over when she tried to define the goals of protestors on campus. She referenced the protestors as "boys," and she questioned their motives and their maturity. The majority of protestors were undergraduates at her institution.

Interpretation. Beyond some cancellation days and student protests, the Arab Spring left her largely unchanged. She described a routine of grading, aiding professors, attending classes and reading texts that looked similar before, during, and after the revolution in her country.

Jen provided almost no description of the emotional or mental impact of revolution. Beyond her parents' concerns, she expressed no concern for her physical or mental wellbeing at any time. She was unique in that aspect in this research. However, Jen is the youngest participant in this research, and the participant who had the least interaction with me prior to this study. A participant in the pilot study recommended Jen, and her interaction with me was limited to contact email messages, the interview, follow-up email messages and the follow-up Skype interview. These factors may have played roles in the limits on her commentary.

Lisa's Experience

Lisa is a journalism professor at a public university in the MENA region. She has worked in higher education since she completed her doctorate. She is single and in her

30s. She struggled to make sense of the impact of the Arab Spring, but believed that it made her reexamine her priorities.

Probably all my life, I've been secure. I felt safe. My country felt safe. I think it made me realize that I had always assumed security. I think I felt safe, but I do not think I ever considered what I was trading to feel safe. It made me think about what am I giving up, what am I willing to give up? I do not think I ever thought about that much.

Lisa indicated that her family traveled internationally when she was younger.

This exposed her to other countries and other ways of life. Her travels took her to Europe and the Far East. This exposure became more important following the Arab Spring uprisings. Revolution made her ponder what she had lost in supporting a government simply because that regime made her feel secure.

Maybe I was just supporting the government because I had not really considered it going away.

The speed at which the regime fell startled her. It had been in place all her life, and the thought of it going away had never received serious consideration. Only in the past five or six years had she even heard people complaining about the president in a way that concerned her. Prior to that period, the nation had been too proud of gaining freedom from colonial rule and having one of its own as a leader that replacing the regime had not been an issue.

As she continued to piece together the changes revolution brought to her sense of self, the physical changes in her life were much easier to define. First, she had to get used to driving a different route to work to avoid the protests. Next, she had to consider what was happening in her classes.

I felt bad for my students. Here they were, writing in the inverted pyramid. And all they wanted was to be somewhere else.

Her sympathy for the students did not translate into a change in assignments or a reworking of course material. She did, however, make an attempt to get students to talk about what they were seeing outside of the classroom as a means of connecting an ongoing event to the course material. At first, the revolution made it easy to get students to engage in discussion. All she had to do was mention the topic. This changed as time passed.

Later, after all the change and the people in the square, it was a new problem.

I'd try to get my students to engage. If I brought up the revolution, all I did was split the room. Some would want to get on one side. Some would just want to go home.

Absences became a problem in the post-revolutionary classroom. Student attendance dropped, tardiness increased, and the flow of student work slowed.

Administrators and faculty worked together to develop a plan that compensated for weeks of missed classes.

We made plans. We changed deadlines. We made it so work could come in at all times. But it never was what I would call orderly. But, it was a plan.

Lisa investigated what was keeping students from her classroom. In her country, the revolution has been characterized by spates of domestic unrest since the nation's president was overthrown by mass demonstrations in early 2011. Lisa contacted students and, when possible, their parents. Many of her students live with their parents, making contact with parents easier to maintain. In addition, Lisa did not have to worry about federal regulations limiting what educational information can be shared with third parties.

Her country does not have anything equivalent to the United State's Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act that would limit access to educational records or discussion on a student's academic performance.

When she talked to parents of some of the students, Lisa learned that many students were staying home because of family concerns. She sympathized with this group, but encouraged parents to send their children to class. Other students used the unrest as an excuse to stop attending classes, leaving frustrated professors in their wake.

This was not just for a week or two. It would come and go. Yes, we would be out and then we would be back. But we thought we were past all the revolt. This semester, this has been just as bad. It's not so bad in the protests, but the attendance — which you always complained about — has been just as bad. It's like the spring was just the start, and now they are not coming to class. It's a year, and it's still the same.

Frustration mounted for Lisa as students continued to stay away from class. The frustration also spawned restlessness and plans to change careers.

I know the most lasting impact of the revolution. It has me thinking about going somewhere else. Do not tell anyone, but I do not really want to be here anymore. I've already talked, and I have been offered another position. I am going to wait until the end of the semester. Then I am going to go.

Although she did not consider it critical, Lisa's new position would be with a private university at a different nation in the region. She did not express concern about relocation. She believed the student body would be similar to the one she knew from her collegiate career. Rather than eager to change, she seemed more frustrated about the possibility of staying.

While the Arab Spring revolution has meant the removal of one regime and the introduction of a new government, in her country, the removal of the president did not bring immediate change to the government. Many of the former regime's senior personnel have stayed in place, which has spawned additional demonstrations and deaths. While her campus has not been the scene of many protests since spring 2011, Lisa described herself as tiring of revolution.

Like other participants in this research, Lisa has experienced transportation problems. She described the problems as erratic transit service and unexpected delays on the roads. She did not consider these to be major inconveniences for herself or her students. None of the inconveniences of closing businesses in the face of protests or changing travel plans had a significant impact on her daily life. Transportation woes were the greatest immediately before and after regime change. Transportation's reliability has varied since then but remained acceptable.

Although she expressed concerns about student engagement, her solution stopped at asking more questions of those in the class. She offered no changes in curriculum or her approach to courses in light of the revolution. While she wondered about the security tradeoff for the limits placed by the previous regime, she did not detail other concerns. She dismissed the role of social media in the revolution, and thusly did not consider its presence as critical to her teaching in journalism.

Lisa declined to provide details on whether there were other issues that prompted her to announce plans for leaving her university and relocating to another country.

Although asked repeatedly about other factors, she demurred with comments that she

either did not want to explore those issues or thought them unimportant. Her most frequent comment was that those items did not matter.

Lisa added that parental concern was one area where she felt a common bond with her students. Although she has lived on her own for some time, she was surprised when her mother started asking about Lisa's safety on a daily basis. Lisa and her mother talk or exchange electronic messages daily. Lisa had not expected the tone of those messages to change. Her mother expressed fear that Lisa was putting herself at risk by travelling alone to and from the university. Lisa dismissed her mother's concerns, but noted that she rarely drove during the worst of the protests and instead relied on public transit. She reasoned that traveling in a group was enough to keep her safe.

Analysis. Lisa's revolutionary experience robbed her of the safety she felt in her home country. Watching the government she had grown up with crumble unsettled her. The Arab Spring left her questioning the tradeoffs she had made in personal freedom in return for a sense of security. She referenced the exchange of freedom for safety multiple times on the transcripts. It was the recurring theme of the initial interview. It led her to plan for relocation to another country.

Lisa expressed concern over student engagement, and distress over student attendance. On one hand, she worried about what students were taking away from her courses. On the other hand, she expressed frustration over students using revolution as an excuse to skip classes. Her frustration grew as the revolution quieted, but the students continued to miss classes. She appeared unwilling, one year later, to make any significant changes in her courses to boost student engagement or attendance.

While the internal dilemma brought by the security versus freedom debate was her most frequently referenced concern, frustration was the overriding theme of her interview. She used frustration to describe her dealings with students, but all her remarks included some mention of irritation, discomfort, and occasional disgust. She deflected my questions on whether her frustration could have come from her university, colleagues, administrators, or others in her life outside of the institution.

Lisa produced the most extreme reaction of all participants by deciding to quit her post. She regularly referenced her frustration with her students prior to the revolution. The experience of students in the post-revolutionary environment had driven her away from the university. Although she was leaving the institution for another post, she was unwilling to say where she was going, other than out of the country. She indicated her new position was in another MENA nation, but she would not say which one.

Interpretation. I have worked with Lisa briefly, and she often made vows of unilateral action. She previously threatened to leave her current university for other positions. If she acts, this would be the first time that she had followed through on such a statement. She has been with her current employer for at least 10 years.

She rebuffed every attempt to flesh out her frustration beyond difficulties with her students. She was dismissive of the follow-up questions on the topic and commented that I either could not understand or I should already know how she viewed her current employer. Her protestations and vague non answers left me suspicious that there may be other forces spurring her desire to leave. Or, her desire may be entirely spurious.

Although she did not connect the two in our interview and follow-up, I suspect that her mother's concern over safety was adding fuel to Lisa's concern over the tradeoff

between personal freedoms and security in her country prior to the revolution. Her regular contact with her mother was a factor that I neglected to ask more questions on in the follow-up interview, and only emerged while looking at transcripts weeks after the follow-up interview. Her concerns over how she abetted the previous regime by saying nothing were unusual in this research. While she mentioned a feeling of guilt, she was either unwilling or incapable of sharing a verdict on her actions or the actions of others prior to the revolution.

Mohammed's Experience

Mohammed is in his 40s and teaches journalism at a public university. He is married and has four children; two are younger than 10, one is a teenager, and the eldest is in a private university. Of all the interviewees, he has the longest commute to his institution. Prior to the revolution, he was driving 90 minutes one-way to his university.

Mohammed shared many of the same class disruption and transportation woes of the other interviewees. His institution was closed for approximately three weeks, and had several one- or two-day closures after reopening following regime change. The only trip away from home he recalled from the height of the revolution was to prayers one Friday. Once the university reopened, he ran classes on a shortened semester schedule, and getting to and from the university was difficult.

After three weeks of cancelled classes, I was ready to be back. I was so happy to be back. Then, on the first day's drive, I was sorry. It took hours.

While the first day back was bad, the commute got worse. Mohammed estimated that he spent about five hours in transit each day for the first several weeks after the university reopened. Over time, the commute shortened as he tried alternative routes.

Mohammed detailed his commute in turn-by-turn details, listing street names, roads, and neighborhoods for each route he navigated or considered.

I could take (a ring highway) before the revolution. Then, everyone started taking that same route to avoid the demonstrations.

After several weeks it was possible to tell if there was a demonstration happening in the city's center by measuring the amount of traffic diverting to one of the roads that ringed the suburbs. Eventually, Mohammed said he did not need to check a news source to know if there were demonstrations, he only had to count the cars and trucks between him and the university.

I have never seen so many trucks. Maybe 15 years ago they tried to move trucks out of the city during the day. I saw so many then. I saw even more this time.

A commute that was never pleasant became tedious and dangerous. Mohammed saw the worst crash he had witnessed during his years of driving to work. He blamed the disruptions from the protests for a bus-truck accident that left three dead in spring 2011.

It was the revolution. These people, the dead, they were also victims of revolution.

Students also protested for change on his campus. Mohammed said he recalled three or four major protests involved hundreds of students. There were also smaller protests consisting of a few dozen students. None of the protests produced violence, or the threats of violence that Ishmael detailed. Mohammed also differed from the other interviewees in the way the revolts affected his classroom.

"When I think about how it affected me, I really think it affected me in the classroom. It was a different classroom. The students were different. The class was different.

Specifically, students appeared disinterested and disengaged. Mohammed struggled to motivate them. He added quizzes and reemphasized the importance of meeting deadlines. As future journalists, he encouraged students to display an adherence to deadlines. However, as he was taking these actions in class, Mohammed reported feeling a growing sense of doubt in what he was teaching. Part of this erosion of confidence came from a realization that his journalism students would be going to work in a changed job market.

My students, they went to work somewhere after graduating. If they worked in journalism, they were working for a party, a political party. Or, they worked for a government department. Or, they went to work for a government newspaper. If they got jobs, these were the jobs they got.

Now we are talking about revolutions. And I am wondering where my students will work. When I am preparing people to work for a government-run newspaper. Will there be a government-run newspaper.

The media environment in Mohammed's country has been dominated by state-run publications. There were a small number of independent media organizations and news outlets controlled by opposition parties prior to the revolution. After the Arab Spring, a once stable, if low-paying future working for a government-run entity was now in doubt. These changes have continued to prompt questions for Mohammed on what to teach.

I'm thinking about my classes this semester. I am thinking about what my students need. What do I need to be teaching them? What do they need? I do not think I know. Do you know?

I asked Mohammed how this differed from any of the challenges that a journalism professor faced when teaching in a time of changing economics and changing delivery vehicles that have undermined the profitability of print productions. The changing economics brought by moving from print to Internet delivery of news had been much less pronounced in his country. Large, government-owned publications still circulated hundreds of thousands of copies daily prior to the revolution.

While circulations remained high, they slipped after the revolution. The lack of clarity on who might rule in the future and whether there would be a continuing commitment to state-owned media muddled lessons in the classroom. Mohammed ultimately referenced an anecdote about making accessories for the horse industry when motor cars dominated the highways.

Yes, it is what you said about training people to make buggy whips. Am I the last buggy whip trainer? I do not think I want to be.

Mohammed described the challenge in the classroom as something that pointed to a revolution that went beyond the change in political power.

There was so much talk of social media. This was the revolution of social media. So, I start thinking about this for my class. I'm thinking about what does this mean. I still have to teach. I still have to teach my students. I am thinking that I will have to teach them something new.

Feelings of inadequacy reached a zenith several weeks after the university reopened in spring 2011. Mohammed selected a path for his students and an outlet for his concerns by redesigning course materials. He went back to the basics of writing news in the inverted pyramid, and placing the critical details at the top of the story, with lesser items following.

What I wanted to do I did by going back. I went back to what I did when I'm first learning. It was telling stories. So, I'm back to teaching students how to tell stories. Social networking, CMS, Twitter feed ... whatever they make next, they need stories to tell. I went back to telling stories. For my students I think this is much better.

Mohammed also felt some satisfaction in his instructional choice as research on media use in the Arab Spring started to emerge. A recent study questioned the accuracy of popular commentary on the importance of social media (Anderson, 2011). I shared this study with Mohammed.

Yes, I read this and I loved it. It made me wonder what I was worrying about.

By the time of the follow-up interview in February 2012 Mohammed was expressing rising hope for his students and what they were learning. He remained frustrated, however, by the drudgery of his daily commute.

It's been a year. I keep thinking it will get better, but it does not. I still spend more time with my car than with my family.

Mohammed made little mention of his family in the initial interview, but his comment on travel time spurred a question on how his children dealt with the revolution. His youngest two asked the most questions. His teenager would have crying fits and

refused to talk to Mohammed or his wife about the revolution. His university-attending child became an activist.

Yes, now she's a democrat. She's always democracy. I would blame her mother, but I know it's all my fault. I always thought she was my most conservative (child). Now she is the one I have to worry about joining a protest.

His daughter's activist awakening did not hamper her relationship with the rest of the family. In fact, the family felt closer because of the experience of revolution.

Mohammed felt closer to his eldest because she regularly shared what she was thinking about revolution. The change in her comments reminded Mohammed of how outspoken she had been when she was younger, and appeared to be a renewal of her sense of social justice.

Before about age 12, she was always like this. I thought she was going to be my politician. Then we heard nothing for years.

Mohammed and his wife worried about letting their eldest child attend protests.

However, after allowing her to attend one demonstration with a group of her female friends, it was hard to stop her.

We had to trust her, but she is still my daughter. It does not seem to me that it was so long ago that she was the same age as my youngest.

Mohammed worried the most when reports surfaced about foreign journalists being assaulted while covering protests. His eldest continued to attend protests, and had not been harmed. He credited her judgment and ability to stay home when the worst violence was happening. He also expressed confusion at what might become of her

because of this experience. His daughter is working on a business degree, but seemed to be drifting away from a future in for-profit companies.

I do not think she will go into politics. Maybe an NGO, something with a social voice.

Away from the university, Mohammed's wife carried much of the burden of the family's post-revolutionary life. His wife already was responsible for keeping track of their four children's schedules. She oversaw the household. With Mohammed lost to an even longer commute, he was no longer able to provide even emergency help. He expressed some disappointment in not being able to play a larger role, but also resignation to his current situation.

This is true, but this is the way it is.

Analysis. Revolution took an extended commute and turned it into a longer and deadlier one for Mohammed. His daily drive has not returned to the level it was prior to revolution. While the drive got longer, the length of the semester was shortened by revolution-related closings at his university.

While Mohammed expressed less concern about the shorter semester than others interviewed, he described a significant crisis of confidence in what he was teaching. The uncertain future for government-run media, which had previously been the destination for his students, and the apparent rise of social media in reporting left him questioning the value of what he was teaching. Mohammed said he took solace in returning his teaching to the fundamentals of storytelling. A recent study that questioned the importance of social media in the Arab Spring's success buoyed his confidence.

Although he placed less emphasis on the impact revolution had on his family, Mohammed acknowledged that revolution had changed the outlook of his eldest child, who is attending a private university. He now doubts her original plan of study to go into business. He suspects she will seek a new career involved with social causes because of the revolution.

Interpretation. As a professor, I only knew Mohammed tangentially in my previous work in the MENA region. We did, however, find common ground in complaining about our commutes and worrying about how course content met industry need.

As a commuter, he faces a debilitating drive. In the past decade, he moved into a newer suburb that is poorly served by public transportation. His university was not convenient to his home before the revolution. In the initial interview, he described each of the eight or nine different routes that he had attempted to reduce his commute.

Mohammed is a heavy man and drives a small car. It is easy to pity him sitting in gridlock traffic for hours each day.

As a professor Mohammed was facing a double-shock from the revolution and the commentary on social media. In a few weeks he saw his students' likely future employer – government-run newspapers – go from robust to shaky. Simultaneously he saw media coverage lavishing praise on a news delivery vehicle unlike any Mohammed had trained his students to use.

Mohammed essentially decided to stop worrying about government-run media because he felt powerless to do anything about its future. In the classroom, he decided to turn his back on what technology was being used to deliver news and go back to basics in teaching storytelling in journalism. His abandonment of technology would have been easy to effect at his university. Mohammed teaches his classes in lecture halls that can accommodate more than 200 students. His classroom technology consists of a microphone, an overhead projector with a screen, and a blackboard. His university is poorly equipped to deliver training for delivering news via any means other than print.

Although it was not mentioned until the follow-up interview, after Mohammed and I had set the major points in his initial interview, the change in his eldest daughter was fascinating. When I met her six years ago, she was a shy girl. She did not speak during the light dinner I had with Mohammed and his family. Hearing Mohammed say that the outspoken version was what his daughter had been prior to her teen years opened up possibilities for future research on gender, age, and revolution. Unfortunately, it was not possible to arrange an interview with Mohammed's eldest child during this research.

Anne's Experience

Anne is a graduate student in journalism at a public university in the MENA region. She hopes to become a journalism professor after completing her graduate studies. In her current role, she assists instructors, but she does not teach any courses. She does, however, spend a great deal of time grading student assignments.

As a graduate student in journalism watching a revolution unfold, Anne spent many days in 2011 pondering what sort of changes the revolution might bring. While commentators focused on the impact of social media, she focused on what traditional media (newspaper and television) produced during the revolution. She found that the experience reignited her passion for journalism.

I was here with revolution all around me. And the ... uprising ... it was making me think about journalism. I mean, journalists were a critical part of the revolution.

They were there covering the rights, they were covering the demonstrations, the fires.

This was all things we were teaching.

Anne described the experience as gratifying. Journalism in her country, which had been dominated by government-run publications and broadcasters, started to fulfill its potential for providing more than government propaganda. This change came in part from the work she saw from media sources originating outside of her country, such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Al-Jazeera, and in part from the small, independent outlets in her country. The quality of coverage changed what she was reading and viewing on a regular basis. Changing coverage also made her happier with her career plans. It also brought some surprises.

This was all journalism that we had been taught. This was all the journalism we were teaching people to do. But, I do not think the result was ... expected.

In expanding on her comment during the follow-up interview, Anne explained that her coursework as an undergraduate had taught her that journalists were successful when they followed news writing formulas and met deadlines. She had not questioned this as an end goal, even when professors had talked about journalists as seekers of truth. Following the coverage of the revolution in her country, she felt that she was seeing domestic journalism done in a truthful manner for the first time.

This comment prompted an exchange on finding truth and journalists' quests for facts. I commented that I teach my journalism students to seek facts, to be accurate, and to let readers and viewers determine the truth. This sounded like her undergraduate

professors speaking and she was unhappy with this as a goal. She commented that truth should be the objective of journalism. She rejected the comment that truth may be relative to each individual and substituted the notion that truth could be obtained for all. She noted that the truth is that a clear sky is blue anywhere in the world. She questioned if journalists should settle for less than the truth when it could be so obvious.

Are you doing enough if you are not searching for the truth?

Because coverage in the West had focused on the role of social media, I asked Anne for clarification on why the Arab Spring in her country renewed her commitment to print journalism. I also shared with her the same article on the overstatement of social media's role in the Arab Spring (Anderson, 2011) that I shared with Mohammed. Like Mohammed, she agreed with the article and felt it helped validate her perspective on media during the revolt. Anne added to that article her familiarity with a two-part series from broadcaster BBC2 that credited the social networking site Facebook with spawning and then organizing the Arab Spring.

Yes, we all used our phones and Facebook. These were all there. This is part of the story of the Arab Spring. But just listen to what you said. You know about what happened because of journalists. You know how it happened because of journalists. This, to me, this was very powerful.

Watching and reading news coverage inspired Anne to start applying the skills she gathered as an undergraduate student in journalism. Prior to the Arab Spring, her journalism work had been done to meet class assignments, but had not been intended for publication. Coverage of the revolution made her want to put her skills to work.

"All of this, as sad as all the people dying, reminded me of 'Why journalism?'
Why did I study journalism? This is why. These stories are why I studied journalism."

Watching demonstrations, in the city and on her campus, inspired Anne to start shooting video of the protests, she said. This led Anne to discover the thrill of reporting news. She found excitement in everything she covered, to the point that she got goose bumps on her arms and felt a knot in her stomach when she would start to record the protests. Using video equipment that she borrowed from her university, she tried to branch out from her training in print journalism.

I was not working for anyone. I was just out shooting this. It was all very exciting. I mean, I felt like a real, professional journalist. For a few days, I felt like I was doing what I was trained to do. It was all very exciting.

While exciting, the shooting also revealed a deficit in her journalistic skill set. She had never taken a course on working with video. She had never done any video editing. The sense of professionalism she felt when attempting to practice journalism evaporated when she saw her results. Her video was low-quality, poorly lit and poorly composed. Attempting to edit it was frustrating and produced disappointing results.

I do not know what I am going to do with it. Most of it's not very good. If I were in class, I would have to give myself failing marks.

Despite unhappiness with her video work, Anne felt a new vigor in her work in the journalism classroom. During the fall 2011 semester, Anne said she hoped some of her renewed passion for journalism rubbed off on her undergraduate students.

I know I'm much more excited. I'm much more excited to be at the university. I want the younger students to be excited.

She feared students were not sharing her enthusiasm. She blamed students' inexperience as journalists, their lack of life experience, and the continuing fallout from the Arab Spring in her country. In a nation where the old regime is gone, but new leadership is emerging, it was much easier to passively observe journalism than it was to engage in learning how to be a journalist. When I asked her for additional clarification on the passivity of students, Anne could not provide a specific example, but explained her views as a feeling she got from students.

Most of them, they want to get a grade and get out of the class. Oh, they might be kind enough. They might be sweet. They might say 'oh, professor, thank you.' They are here for a grade. They just want to get done.

This sounded similar to students in all disciplines all over the world. Anne agreed and added that the presence of protestors and mass demonstrations only made those students who wanted to get out of class more likely to leave.

These are the same students that want to have the classes cancelled when they hear that people are marching. You could probably have a march in Denver, and they would want classes cancelled for a day.

Student indifference to journalism education caused an affront to Anne. Based on the importance of doing journalism well, as illustrated by the coverage she saw on the Arab Spring in her country, she no longer felt indifference was appropriate. Instead, she wanted journalism students to be excited and motivated to apply their skills. Even if their skills needed work, she wanted students to focus on doing journalism that revealed the truth.

I just wish that if they were going to do this, to be journalists, I just wish that they would feel like journalists. I want them to feel like it matters. Will that happen? I do not know. Maybe it will happen.

Impeding her goal of developing caring students has been the continued unrest in her country. Her university closed for several weeks early in 2011 because of mass demonstrations. Civil unrest has continued to reignite, sometimes for a day, sometimes for days, in her country. This has made it difficult at times for students and professors to make it to the university in time for class. It has also served as an explanation for poor attendance.

Anne was reluctant to blame the spasms of civil unrest for poor student attendance. Prior to revolution, many students missed classes for reasons ranging from military service call ups to a lack of motivation to get out of bed. These factors remained and could be the reason students were not on campus or in class.

Still, Anne had experienced long bus rides getting to class and late-arriving buses. As this was her only means of transportation, she appreciated that interruptions of public transportation could make it harder or even impossible to get to the campus. She dismissed these points as poor excuses and pointed to her experience as a reason students could be in class.

I get there. Why ca not they?

Analysis. Anne found inspiration in revolution. It inspired her to apply her training as a journalist. As a graduate student, revolution motivated her to want to inspire undergraduate students in journalism. Changes in the nature of coverage during the Arab Spring, in particular coverage from government-run media that now included more than

government propaganda in reporting, placed a greater emphasis on the role of truth in journalism.

Anne felt moved to try doing journalism outside of the classroom. Her experience brought excitement, and revealed deficits in her journalistic skills. Undaunted by her shortcomings, she continues to push for journalists who seek an objective truth. She is also unfazed by the impression that social media and those without journalistic training were critical to the Arab Spring's success in overthrowing regimes.

Anne expressed disappointment in undergraduate journalism students following the revolution. She was displeased by their level of engagement in class and poor attendance. She did not blame ongoing civil unrest for students failing to attend classes. She faced the same unrest and the same transportation woes as other students, but she made it to the university for classes every day. She expected others to do likewise.

Interpretation. Anne's level of disgruntlement with undergraduate students and her renewed excitement toward journalism were closely linked. In interviews she shared her excitement about using her reporting skills. She had taken her renewed zeal for journalism into the classroom with her following the reopening of the university. She was disappointed that others were not as quick to embrace doing journalism as she had.

Anne's reaction to undergraduates may have also been influenced by her educational experience. She attended a private university for her undergraduate degree. Class sizes there were small, and she rarely had more than 20 fellow students in a class. At the public university where she is now, undergraduate classes are held in rooms filled with more than 200 students seated on risers. Even graduate courses have 50 or more students. Anne disagreed with my statement that she might have also been feeling some

frustrations with her own skills shortfall as a video journalist. I still believe she may have been feeling some bitterness for her shortcomings that she projected on to her students, but that would be only one factor in her disappointment with how undergraduates performed in the classroom.

Her renewed passion for traditional print journalism was unique among the participants. Mohammed had found a new route to teach journalism students by going back to basics, but even he did not express as much hope as Anne. She emoted when she talked about print journalist as if she had rediscovered a long lost love. Elsewhere in her interview, Anne had answered deliberately. Her comments on the value of print journalism came quickly and in flurries. It was one of the times where she spoke to me as if I were a colleague rather than a professor.

Global Impressions

Interviews with six individuals revealed common themes in the impact of the Arab Spring revolts on people engaged in the delivery of journalism higher education in the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region in the 2010-2012 period. The following explores the themes that developed from this research.

Disruption was an everyday occurrence in MENA region countries during the Arab Spring. The actions of revolution – demonstrators, police, military forces, etc. – became a part of the landscape that demanded adjustment. Uncertainty and the challenges of transportation were common barriers. Each interviewee mentioned transportation as an impact of the Arab Spring revolt in that person's country. Each interviewee mentioned a new set of challenges in the presentation of course material. In some cases that shift manifest itself in the way the person approached classes or students.

In some, the shift appeared in home life and world view. Following is a narrative based on the collective experience of the six individuals.

Theme 1 – Mobility. When a nation's schools, shops, and social organizations suspended operations due to the Arab Spring revolutions, participants in this research stayed home. The six interviewed spent the Arab Spring indoors. This brought time for reflection and discussion with family members on topics relating to the revolution outside. The participants did not venture far from home for weeks. Although all six participants in the research were Muslims, and are called to pray five times per day, only two (Susan and Mohammed) made even passing mentions on attending Friday prayers until after the autocratic regimes crumbled around them.

After the revolutions reached a crescendo, schools, shops, and social organizations attempted to return to normal operations. This return to normalcy meant a return to commuting for all the participants. Some drove private cars and others took public transit, primarily bus service.

Overall, their post-revolutionary experiences put an emphasis on the importance of a reliable daily commute. After several weeks at home, every participant saw increased commuting time, which ranged from a marginal difference of a few minutes for Susan, to an addition of an hour or more in travel one way each day for Mohammed. All participants, however, saw their commutes become more complicated and take a longer amount of time. Even when more than one year had passed the participants were still feeling the effect of longer commute times and, in one case (Lisa), less reliable public transportation. A longer commute also put greater stress on the rest of the family in one case (Mohammed).

All six participants in this research noted that commuting woes translated into increased student absences. Two participants, Lisa and Anne, blamed the students for not attending, regardless of the quality of transportation. Other participants, Susan, Mohammed, Ishmael, and Jen, attempted to be forgiving. Regardless, all participants saw poor post-revolution transportation systems as strongly tied to attendance.

Theme 2 – Classroom changes. In addition to limiting mobility, the post-revolutionary environment produced changes in the classroom. These changes manifest in classroom schedules, curricular concerns, approaches to education, and professorial confidence. In the case of Anne, the revolution precipitated a renewed admiration for journalism and higher standards for students.

Scheduling was a foremost concern for Ishmael, the lone university administrator among the participants. All participants mentioned a loss of class time in the spring 2011 semester of at least two weeks or longer. Most listed specific changes that had to be made to meet course goals in a shorter time span. Professors Susan, Mohammed, and Lisa each noted that they had to operate classes where 15 weeks of instruction was fitted into 12 weeks or less of course time. Graduate students Jen and Anne also mentioned the disruption in class time, but provided fewer specifics for the impact on content. Ishmael, a dean, saw the condensation of course material as proof that his institution's crisis plan worked under extreme conditions.

Professors Susan, Lisa, and Mohammed each expressed concern that the education students received in the spring 2011 semester, during the height of Arab Spring disruption, may have been of poorer quality than the instruction in prior semesters. Only Ishmael mentioned taking his concerns on content to the level of worrying about future

accreditation for his institution. Graduate student Jen provided a counterpoint to this concern and speculated that undergraduates in the university in spring 2011 received essentially the same quality and quantity of instruction that she received several years earlier.

Anne, the other graduate student in the research, was less concerned about the content and more concerned about the lack of classroom engagement. All participants noted some level of student absences coupled with malaise for those in attendance. None of the participants were as passionate as Anne in describing their disdain for student engagement in their education as journalists.

Ishmael, the dean, saw student engagement manifesting itself in lively classroom discussion and on-campus demonstrations. Others heard the conversations in the classrooms and saw the demonstrations on campus in a different light. Jen openly questioned the motives of protestors and speculated that many of the ones joining demonstrations were just ducking their class responsibilities. She backed up this speculation by listing students who appeared to protest only when there was an assignment due in their classes. Lisa appreciated the demonstrations as a means of engaging classroom discussion, but she saw the effectiveness of that approach fade as protests continued after her nation's president was deposed. Mohammed and Susan each saw demonstrations. While they were each less questioning than Jen of student motives for demonstration each expressed relief when the demonstrations died down and frustration when protest movements flared again. Anne was annoyed when demonstrations led to calls for class cancellations.

Along with a compressed timeframe to teach subject matter, what some teachers taught changed following the Arab Spring. Mohammed took the most active stance in how he taught his students following the revolution by revamping course material to put a renewed emphasis on storytelling. His action was a direct result of the coverage he saw of the revolution and his concern about the future of print journalism in a radically changed environment in his country. His solution was to abandon technology and go back to the fundamentals of storytelling. Susan abandoned many of her planned lessons and found herself providing multiple lectures on the same topic as student attendance remained irregular. Lisa made no changes in course material or delivery of that material. Jen, who does not teach, but does attend classes as a graduate assistant, believed few changes were made in course work. Anne wanted change in what students were learning, but she did not attempt to effect change.

Theme 3 – Attitude changes. Another major theme for participants was in the way revolution created ripples in their attitudes and outlooks. Every participant revealed some element that came from self-reflection following the disruption in their lives. These reactions ranged from a personal crisis related to the teaching of journalism to a belief that the revolt had effected little personal change.

Susan found a benefit in the revolution for the deeper bonds it spawned between her and her children. She expressed feeling much closer to her two teenagers, and she credited the time they spent at home talking while the rest of the national was shuttered and riding out the storm of revolution. She expressed a gratitude for the weeks of forced togetherness. In the post-revolutionary period, she also described how it hurt her feelings

when students would call for classes to be cancelled for any minor protest. The hurt grew out of her passion for teaching and the joy she found in the classroom.

The passing of time gave Ishmael a new appreciation for the vigor of student protests, something he could not enjoy while it unfolded. As a dean, he was forced to respond to student protests, and some of the protests were directed at administrators like him. This had been uncomfortable at the time. Months later, he spoke with pride over how bright his students had been in organizing their protests. While he worried about the quality of education available in spring 2011, he described a greater admiration for faculty and students after the revolution.

Mohammed had the most radical reaction to revolution and suffered a crisis of confidence in what he was teaching. Prior to the revolution, he had been confident in how he was teaching journalism. After the revolution he had doubts about whether the education he was providing was relevant. Nearly a year removed from the dawn of the Arab Spring in his country, and he was still openly questioning if the education he was providing was appropriate. He had picked a direction for his instruction that emphasized storytelling, but he still seemed to be settling into his choice and was eager for any validation.

An unintended consequence of the revolution was a renaissance of social activism for his eldest daughter. While he and his wife feared for her safety at the height of protests, Mohammed was excited by the change. He worried that her new activism made her current plans to get a business degree and go to work at a for-profit corporation at odds with the rhetoric and actions she displayed in her personal life.

The revolution brought Lisa disappointment and increasing frustration with her students and institution. She was disappointed with herself for giving away personal freedoms to an autocratic regime on the belief it made her safe. In the post-revolutionary environment she had lost her sense of safety, and the transition to a new order had done little to guarantee personal freedoms. Simultaneously, Lisa expressed frustration at her students over the lack of engagement in the classroom and in the events going on outside the university. The insecurity and frustration led Lisa to a plan to quit her job and relocate to another country in the MENA region. Although she offered few additional details for her planned departure and her planned landing site, she emphasized that she was committed to this plan.

Anne's experience with revolution reignited the zeal she felt for journalism before she arrived at university. Her experience in trying to be a journalist brought renewed energy to the classroom that she hoped would fire the undergraduates there. She was unhappy with the undergraduate instruction she received and that she heard undergraduates receiving at her university after the Arab Spring. She was convinced that journalists could find an objective truth in news coverage, and she was unhappy with any commentary that fell short of this goal.

In the post-revolutionary environment she demonstrated how her passion for news was tangible in her decision to start recording the protests on her campus. She detailed the excitement of gathering news. She explained the frustration she felt with journalism professors for not doing enough to stoke this fire in students. She decried the apathy of undergraduate students, but hoped that her exuberance would rub off on the students she saw in her graduate assistant's duties.

Jen insisted that revolution had done nothing to change her world view. The revolution interrupted her daily schedule. The post-revolutionary environment was only notable in how it affected transportation for her. Other than relocating where she met with friends after school, she felt she was back to her boring life. Whatever reflective time she had, she devoted to reading for her graduate classes. The revolt in her country had not lingered into the fall semester, and she was happiest with having her sense of normalcy restored, even if she thought her life was uninteresting.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Participants in this research revealed key themes of coping with the Arab Spring revolutions and maintaining higher education in journalism that may assist in better understanding the impact of such events in the lives of those facing such a disruption and coping with the aftermath. Many of the findings in this research may be linked to previous research and to theories explored in the literature review chapter. In this chapter I review my findings, discuss the link between findings and the literature, share personal reflections, present research limitations, present areas for future consideration, and provide a conclusion for this research effort.

Review of Findings

The six participants in this research were all engaged in journalism higher education in the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region during the Arab Spring revolutions in 2010-2011. All six were identified through my previous work teaching journalism at universities in the region in 2005, 2008 and 2009.

The participants were interviewed twice via Skype. The interviews were arranged through e-mail and consisted of an initial discussion of 45 minutes to one hour. Those interviews were transcribed, and I identified the most important themes in each interview. Those items were then sent by e-mail to each participant and a follow-up interview on Skype was arranged. The follow-up interviews lasted about 15 minutes and allowed for time to negotiate the most important themes according to each interviewee. The follow-up interviews were transcribed. The initial and follow-up interview transcriptions along with the guidance from participants formed the basis of Chapter four.

The Arab Spring revolutions created roadblocks on the physical and mental maps for participants in this research. Participants took new routes to work, and they also took new routes within their work in higher education in journalism. The overall themes of coping with revolution that emerged from the interviewees included the impact of the revolts on the mobility of faculty, administrators, and students; significant changes in the classroom after revolution; and changes in attitudes of the participants in their relationships to family, their homes and their teaching. Participants also provided practical links to theories on the nature of revolutions. The location of the participants also revealed how the differing nature of the revolutions in their countries created differences in their perspectives on the impact of revolution.

Revolutionary response. As the participants explained there is no set of rules for responding to a revolution of the type defined by Goodwin (2001). Such revolutions are characterized by a change in socio-political institutions that were brought by popular movement in an irregular fashion outside of a constitution, or a fundamental societal change that occurs during or soon after the struggle for state power. Depending on location – some of the participants were in Tunisia and some were in Egypt – the fundamental societal change had either largely occurred in the first few months of 2011 or was still unfolding nearly one year later.

Tunisian participants were recalling revolution's impact in the past tense. While there might still be the occasional moment of unrest by the time classes started in fall 2011 most of the revolutionary disruptions were gone. The tumult at the start of 2011 had swept away the long-time leadership. Reformers had taken lead roles in the new government and the Tunisian participants described lives that had returned to a state very

close to what they considered "normal" before the revolution. The day-to-day disruptions in routine such as mass protests along the route to school or campus demonstrations had vanished.

Egyptian participants described continuing turbulence in society as factions within that nation continued battling over power. The popular movement there swept away an authoritarian president in February 2011 but violence and street protests continued as the military, religious organizations, and secular groups vied for power. The continuing struggle manifested itself in daily disruptions for most of the Egyptian participants. Daily commutes were longer and student excuses for tardiness or missing classes often centered on the instability of travel borne out of sudden or continuing protests. Even a participant who expressed little lingering impact on her commute from the Arab Spring revolution revealed that she had made changes in her daily routines during the height of the revolt in early 2011 and those changes had continued nearly one year later. Although the participants were all in a major metropolitan area they referenced ongoing turmoil throughout the nation.

In addition to the impact on movement the revolts also produced changes in the classroom. Participants typically identified those changes in terms of student engagement in the course work. Along with the rest of society students in Tunisia and Egypt suffered from divided attention during the spring 2011 semester. Courses were being delivered in condensed formats to compensate for the shutdowns prompted by the revolts.

Demonstrations outside of campus spurred similar actions on campuses. Some of the participants viewed students joining these campus demonstrations as a means of simply getting out of class or avoiding course work for a day. All participants expressed concern

about student involvement in their courses in the immediate post-revolutionary environment and a sense that lessons in journalism were not being absorbed as effectively as they would have been prior to the Arab Spring.

Whether concerns over student engagement carried over into the fall 2011 semester varied by location. Participants in Tunisia expressed almost no concerns about student engagement during the fall 2011 semester, and noted that demonstrations in the nation had essentially ended by the time the semester started. Egyptian participants continued to be concerned about student engagement and student attendance in fall 2011 because the revolution was continuing in that country. Protests against the military leaders who took control of the country after the fall of President Hosni Mubarak continued to regularly interrupt the capital city and the classroom during the fall semester, according to participants.

Along with mobility and engagement concerns many participants expressed emotional and personal attitude changes that grew out of the Arab Spring revolutions. Several participants described changes in family relations brought on by the revolts, with most of those changes being a tightening of family bonds. Participants also described the revolts in terms of what they were delivering in the classroom. Two participants discussed changes in the curriculum or openly questioning the value of teaching journalism as the revolts unfolded. Two other participants described how the revolutions had reinforced the values they associated with journalism's ability to inform in a timely fashion.

All but one participant referenced the Arab Spring in terms of how it had undermined a sense of safety or brought in larger questions about how they viewed their

nation. Many emerged with a diminished sense of security. Most expressed this concern as a natural outcome of surviving the irregular socio-political change that Goodwin (2001) described. Again, the safety concerns and questions related to national identity were receding among the Tunisia participants but remained an ongoing concern for the Egyptian participants. One Egyptian participant expressed this concern as a desire to leave her home country for another, more stable nation in the MENA region. The Egyptian participants expressed wariness about the future and limited excitement about the post-Mubarak country.

Government oversight. Journalism educators prior to the revolutions faced a special challenge in the MENA region because of the relationship the previous ruling hierarchies held over instruction. Saleh (2010) noted that previous regimes had been motivated to avoid one of the fundamental goals of journalism, seeking the truth and reporting it. Instead, ministers in the pre-revolutionary governments used the threat of jail to produce educators focused on the delivery vehicle for journalism – how to write a story, how to prepare a broadcast, how to work with audio – while avoiding journalism content that might point out government corruption, poor economic planning, or any other domestic ill (Saleh, 2010).

Participants did not suggest that they had changed the content they were delivering in the post-revolutionary environment. Several mentioned being reinvigorated in their teaching by the revolution. One of the graduate students participating found the revolution a chance to go do journalism, and the revolution reminded her of why she was drawn to journalism in the first place. One instructor suffered a crisis of confidence related to the revolution and the rise of social media in delivering information but

ultimately found his teaching methods affirmed by what he saw in the need for effective story telling.

Saleh (2010) had noted that the impact on journalism education had been explicit and implicit. The explicit threat of jailing or other government-sanctioned punishment was not identified as an immediate concern by participants. The implicit impact of past policies could be seen in the action that instructors were not taking. They were not remodeling coursework to put a greater emphasis on speaking truth in journalism. Most of the changes they were making or considering corresponded to the changing technologies to deliver journalism and moving away from a print-based approach to journalism to one based on dissemination of news via Internet technology. The ethical underpinnings of delivery using this new media appeared unchanged by revolution.

In my previous teaching experience in the region I was not exposed to explicit threats from the government. This was in part because I was doing my work at universities through a nongovernmental organization that had been invited by those universities to provide outside instruction related to business and investigative journalism. I also believe I was shielded somewhat by instructors at those universities who either advised me on course content or joined me in classes while I taught.

My experience there did lead me to question the lack of student journalism production at institutions. I noted that student journalism was either produced for a course and only had the instructor as an audience. Or, if it had been distributed to a larger audience the content was entirely controlled by the universities with news stories that were largely promotional items on the virtues of each university and devoid of any critical observations into those institutions. I viewed this as a manifestation of the

implicit threat of doing journalism that might be critical of any societal institution. This limited journalism appeared to be continuing following the Arab Spring. None of the participants mentioned any change in student journalism productions in the post-revolutionary environment.

Also, looking at the quality of journalism education through a Western prism makes it easy to question what was being delivered in the MENA journalism classroom prior to the Arab Spring revolts. Coverage of corruption and providing oversight of what government does are staples of journalism and often referenced as part of the reason for a U.S. Constitution that protects speech and the press. While I share the incredulous feeling that some readers noted, I have to temper it with the observations of how journalists in the United States have treated wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Despite conducting wars on two fronts over a period that has stretched from 2001 to 2012, U.S. newspapers have shown fewer than six images of dead American soldiers during that time period despite more than 6,000 combat fatalities.

Alternative delivery. This research also added to the growing body of work on how institutions of higher education might turn to alternative methods of delivering instruction when responding to disasters. Fisher (1998) proposed methods of delivering course content and receiving student assignments using electronic means when classroom space was not available. Researchers in Canada (Davis, et al, 2004) and New Zealand (Dabner, 2012) added support to using alternative delivery methods when responding to a health crisis and an earthquake, respectively. The New Zealand case study added the use of social media in describing how a university could recover after a natural disaster.

Following a 7.1 magnitude earthquake in December 2010, the University of Canterbury used the "Facebook" site to continue delivery of course content (Dabner, 2012).

The presence of social media was particularly relevant to the Arab Spring revolutions because of the attention social media received in describing how the revolutionaries organized protests and how they spread their messages (Schillinger, 2011; Taylor, 2011). The prevalence of social media also produced anxiety for some participants in this research over what it meant for the future of journalism in the region. Journalism in the MENA region has been slow to embrace the digital changes that are reshaping the industry elsewhere (McChesney & Nichols, 2010).

While none of the participants described responses to university disruptions that included social media such as "twitter" or "Facebook" many mentioned the use of email as a means of delivering content to students and as a method of receiving student work. One participant also noted that administrators suggested allowing student to use mobile phones to complete assignments. Alternative delivery may have come out of necessity rather than because of planning, but the MENA region experience indicated that such delivery can help university instruction recover from the disruption brought by a revolution.

Traumatic times. There's a rich body of research into journalists' experience with war and other traumatic times. There are examples of acclaimed journalists dying in war zones for stories or dying after exposure to traumatic events. Participants in the research were caught up in the trauma that came with the revolutions in their countries. None of them reported being exposed to trauma directly. Even when protests came to

campus no one reported those protests turning violent. Only one participant described a close call with protestors that produced any concerns.

This lack of direct exposure to revolution-related trauma may explain why participants did not express the reaction to trauma that others engaged in journalism have reported. Other than losing some sense of security participants did not describe continuing fear, a loss of inhibitions, or a feeling of hopelessness that other journalists have expressed.

None of the participants mentioned an increase in alcohol consumption as a result of exposure to the revolution which would have been one of the common reactions found in other research. Since all the participants are Muslim and adhere to that religion's ban on alcoholic consumption any mention of drinking any alcohol would have been unlikely and stunning.

Campus Protests

This research might lead to questions on whether the campus protests in the United States during the 1960s and in China during the late 1980s might relate to some of what participants experienced in Egypt and Tunisia. This was an early consideration in building Chapter 2. I was unable to find relevant linkages and rejected those considerations.

First, the campus protests in neither of those examples produced the sort of change that would have been identified as revolutionary by Goodwin (2001), or the other researchers mentioned in Chapter 2. Second, the revolts in the Arab Spring were directed at autocrats leading ossified political systems as compared to student protestors in the United States opposed to the Vietnam War and the military draft. The protests in China

were closer to the Arab Spring protests in calling for freedom and democracy, but those protests failed where the ones in the MENA region have been largely successful. Finally, the protests in the United States and China were centered on college and university campuses while the protests in the countries examined in this research were centered off campus but produced some on-campus activities.

I commend readers who find linkages between U.S. campuses during the 1960s or the Chinese campuses in 1989 and campuses in the MENA region in 2010-2012. I see those experiences as lacking common focal points, producing vastly different results, and carrying very different resonance signatures. For instance, U.S. protestors did not produce a governmental change. MENA protestors did not burn campus buildings or fight a draft related to an unpopular war. Although I cannot connect them, I appreciate readers who see similarities that I did not.

Researcher Concerns

I have taught in the MENA region on three occasions. I value my former students and colleagues there. Watching the Arab Spring revolutions unfold from my home in the United States was a personal challenge. On one hand, I had seen firsthand the way the political systems in MENA region countries were hampering free speech, restraining change, and building a disenfranchised class. On the other hand, I worried how the revolutions would affect my friends in the region.

At the outset of this research I was concerned that my former students and colleagues in the region might face a backlash for sharing their views and participating in my research. As Ayalon (1995) noted before the revolution there were already threats to journalism education and educators. Ministers arrested educators for challenging the

status quo before the Arab Spring. After the revolutions journalism education is being conducted in an environment without clear boundaries. This lack of clarity led me to put a premium on confidentiality. My concerns that discussions might be overheard, or that participants might be targeted for speaking, have not been realized. When I shared my concerns with participants, I either drew laughter from them or reassurances that my participants felt safe talking to me via Skype. Even Lisa, who is planning to leave her home country, said I worried too much about this element of the research.

Using Skype created an additional concern for me. In the midst of conducting research I became aware of a security failure in the service. Skype encrypts data at the point of origination and at the point of reception. While this appeared to add security, research emerged in December 2011 that showed a potential flaw in Skype security (Le Blond, Zhang, Legout, Ross, & Dabbous, 2011). Researchers reported that they managed to locate machines that used Skype and the general information of the Skype user of that machine, if that machine had been used for file sharing. While this was heralded as a useful policing device for those protecting copyright issues, it does make any Skype user who likes to share music or videos vulnerable with BitTorrent software vulnerable (Le Blond et al., 2011).

I conducted interviews via Skype on a password-protected computer that is expressly not used for sharing and downloading videos or music. I am a journalism professor and ardent supporter of copyright, which makes engaging in such file-sharing a dubious choice at best. However my stand only protects the end-user of the computer in the United States, but it does nothing for those in the MENA region who engage in file-

sharing and participated in the research. None of the participants expressed a concern about this security shortcoming but I remain concerned.

Future Work

This study raised questions that were beyond the scope of this research but may bear future consideration. Those questions include how the perception of the institutions' disaster responses might change over time for those involved in the revolutions, the gender difference between me and some of the participants, the impact of the lack of participants from the upper echelons of academic institutions, and what sort of environment those working for nongovernmental organizations will face when they restart journalism higher education in the MENA region. In addition this research and other accounts that are now emerging could provide a rich vein for journalism worldwide by infusing them into journalism curriculum through case studies.

No preparation. Initially I expected disaster preparation to be prominent among the concerns expressed by participants. I believed that they would be critiquing how well their institutions' disaster plans had performed. I was wrong. Each participant dismissed those concerns. Revolution was beyond the scope of the disaster plans at their institutions. The participants expressed a belief that it was beyond the scope of anyone's disaster plans.

This was surprising among journalism educators because of the history of journalists covering revolutions. Most famously there is the work of John Reed (1919), who provided a first-person account of the 1917 revolution in Russia and the resultant collapse of the czarist system. Journalists also provided first-hand accounts of the Spanish Civil War, the civil war in Lebanon in the 1980s, and the violent disintegration

of Yugoslavia in the 1990s to name a few. Despite this history the participants expressed no sense that their institutions should have better prepared for revolt.

Instead of looking at disaster preparation the participants focused on how their institutions responded to the revolution. Since each institution withstood several weeks of closure but returned to normal operations, participants gave favorable evaluations to institutions. Participants commended institutional leadership for the quick return to operations and successful completion of spring 2011 semesters that had been interrupted.

Institutional disaster planning relative to revolution might merit future consideration. As time passes from the mass uprisings and school closures the opinions of those engaged in higher education in the MENA region may become more critical of institutional performance. Conducting that study is beyond the scope of this work but may deserve future research.

Gender. Four of the six interviewees in this research identify as female, and two identify as male. I am a male. How productive might the interviews have been if Susan, Jen, Anne and Lisa were speaking to someone of the same gender? How productive might the interviews have gone is Ishmael and Mohammed were speaking to someone of the opposite gender? What role did gender play in what was revealed? The impact of gender was beyond the scope of this research. However it does bear future consideration as other work has noted how gender differences can influence results in interviews.

Position. The original pool of prospective interviewees included four people with the title of "Dean" or higher. The finished research contained only one of those four, as the other three declined to participate due to the time demands. Future studies might consider how the positional power and the relative lack of representation from those in

administrative roles for this research influenced the perceptions of how well an institution is operating.

As noted earlier, although separated by position and gender, a female professor and a male dean registered similar concerns about the quality of education the students were receiving from their institutions as a result of the interruptions created by the revolutions and the ongoing struggles for political power.

While in agreement there, the dean was much more vigorous in defending the institution's planning and its reaction to the tumult than all other respondents. The dean was also resistant to share his personal feelings on issues related to the revolution. I believe part of this resistance came from our relationship where I have always worked in positions subordinate to him. Future study into how the difference in positional power influenced perceptions of institutional effectiveness in responding to disaster merit consideration.

Class considerations. At least one reader raised a concern about how the socioeconomic status of the participants might have influenced their reaction to the revolutions
around them. The difference in class was not noted in this research in no small part
because the participants all came from essentially the same class. All six identified as
members of the middle class in their countries. Gathering participants from my teaching
experience in the region and then using Skype to conduct the interviews would have
further narrowed the possibility of participation for those less economically well off.
Although the inclusion of participants from other classes was beyond the scope of this
research, it does represent a rich opportunity for future interviews.

No NGOs. One of the surprises of the research was the lack of nongovernmental organization (NGO) involvement. I knew from experience in the region that nongovernmental organizations regularly brought professionals from outside of the MENA region to further journalism education. The list of possible interviewees included several employed by NGOs that work in the region promoting governmental transparency.

Contact with these NGOs revealed that journalism programs in the region have been suspended in the past year. This essentially ended one avenue for exploration, but it is an avenue that would be worthy of a future look. It will be particularly interesting to see how these programs change in light of the Arab Spring and how they are greeted by participants in the future.

Self Critique

After reviewing the transcripts I concluded which interviews produced the most fruitful discussion and the greatest depth, and which interviews were the least productive. I also realized that as an interviewer there is a "familiarity threshold" that I have to be aware of when interviewing. If I am too familiar with an interviewee I will neglect background questions that can lead to greater insight. I will also make assumptions about what I understood from an interviewee without asking some of the additional questions that might verify my assumptions. At the other end of the spectrum I used valuable interview time becoming acquainted with the interviewees I knew the least. Those participants that I would have characterized as acquaintances prior to this study tended to generate the most productive interviews.

I did the poorest job interviewing Jen. She was the fourth of four interviews in one day, and I was tiring. She was also the person I had the least experience with prior to the interviews. I had the least experience with Jen. She was added to my sample because of her association with one of the people I interviewed in August 2011 for my pilot study. The pilot study participant worked for an NGO and said she did not want to continue to participate because her organization was not providing any journalism training since the revolution. Her neighbor Jen was working in journalism higher education in the MENA region before and after the Arab Spring.

Listening to Jen's interviews while working on the transcript startled me. I had not noticed how much she sounded like a Valley Girl from the Middle East. I did not notice this when using Skype, but as I continued to type "like" on every other line, I started to tire. This use of language made the follow-up email and follow-up conversation less productive. Looking at these, I feel that I discounted some of what she said because of her use of language.

I have known Susan the longest of the participants. We had talked via Skype previously and exchanged numerous email messages. I have met her family.

Unfortunately this familiarity led me to make assumptions about behavior that I did not make with the other participants. When Susan mentioned her family concerns relative to the revolution I did not ask additional questions about her family. When Mohammed made similar comments I asked him questions about his family and his relationship with his family members. Those questions of Mohammed generated more thorough responses than I generated when talking to Susan.

Anne was the only interviewee who formerly had me as an instructor. This did give a slightly different relationship than the other interviewees. She was the slowest to respond in answering questions. In fact, she was so slow I thought the connection might have been interrupted. It has been long enough since I had Anne in class that I cannot remember if she was always so deliberate in her answers.

Some readers have commented that they felt they received the most relevant information in Chapter 4 from the two youngest participants, Jen and Anne. I do not share that view, and I believe I received more meaningful information from Susan and Mohammed. However, this may reflect my biases. I am closer in age and position to Susan and Mohammed. I may have failed fully appreciate what the two graduate students offered.

Other readers have also raised questions about the impact of interviewees operating in their second language. All of the participants are fluent in English, but that does not mean our interviews were without misunderstandings or the potential for misunderstandings. Those differences in meaning may also explain why some readers had different reactions to mine when reading Chapter 4. There is no adequate way I can compensate for those reactions, but I can acknowledge them and honor the impact that would have on each reader's perception of this research.

Conclusion

Narrative inquiry was an effective tool for examining the impact of revolution on the delivery of higher education in journalism in the MENA region. The approach provided personal perspectives and descriptions of the impact of revolution. I believe the interviews would have been more revealing if they had been conducted in person. In my

experience as a journalist there is no substitute for the intimacy that is generated and the details that emerge in a face-to-face interview. This shortfall could only be corrected by hurdling the boundaries of cost and distance, which I was not able to do for this study.

Ultimately this research on the Arab Spring revolutions and their impact on the delivery of higher education in journalism revealed that individuals and institution are not adequately prepared to deal with a violent change in political power, but they are capable of adapting to those changes. When revolutionary change occurred in the MENA region participants found several common themes for the impact it had in their lives.

Transportation became impossible at the height of revolution and commutes were often significantly longer even months after the revolts. Student engagement plummeted as long as revolution was vying for student attention. Feelings of security, national pride, and confidence in delivery of educational materials were all tested by revolution.

Some readers have expressed dismay that so many of the concerns of the participants seemed mundane. Transportation, classroom engagement, and introspection on teaching appeared banal to these readers, and represented the sort of concerns that anyone engaged in higher education at any time or location might experience. I agree, it was singularly unspectacular, but it was the accurate representation of what participants experienced. As a trained journalist with more than 20 years experience as an interviewer, I am reluctant to put words into participants' mouths. Yes, I had hoped they would be wrestling with the greater questions of the day. They were not. They were not asking questions about whether their university should have been swept away by the Arab Spring. They weren't asking questions about whether they would have jobs in the coming semester.

Instead, the participants were trying to find some consistency in their lives. They were trying to return to the equilibrium they enjoyed prior to the revolution in their country. One reader compared this striving for routine to the banality of evil that Hannah Arendt coined in her 1963 work. Arendt was describing the ability of ordinary people to engage in unspeakable acts through their ability to accept those acts as routine.

Participants in this research were not engaging in horrible acts, they were just trying to find a new normal for their lives. This may make their concerns appear banal to an outsider, but the perception that participants were that these were their concerns at the time they were being interviewed.

Knowing what impact revolution had in the MENA region puts an added emphasis on how broad disaster planning for higher education institutions might need to be. The experiences in the MENA region also indicated that there is a premium to be placed on the ability to deliver course materials in condensed time frames, via alternative delivery methods, or both when facing such a disruption. Finally, higher education institutions engendered a greater confidence from the individuals engage in those institutions when disaster response was quick, communicated to all parties, and focused on educational delivery.

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