

The Communicative Interpretation for Arab Social Mobility (Arab Social Movement)

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Комуникативната интерпретация за арабската социална мобилност (арабско социално движение)

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Abstract

The study aims to analyze the social mobility in the Arab countries in 2011, presenting an approach based on considering communication factors that played a crucial role in motivating young people and the Arab masses to participate and influence what was known as the Arab Spring. Indeed, that stage in the history of the media in Arab countries witnessed wide development in the use of satellite channels, websites, and smartphones. As the study shows, these technologies were employed as mechanisms that helped people interact, move, and participate. Based on the paradigm for the knowledge pyramid scheme, the study attempted to highlight the stages of information transmission from the first stage, which is the data stage, through the information stage, then the third stage, which is the knowledge stage, towards the final stage, which is the action stage. The study analyzes that overcoming the gradual stages of information transmission and passing from raw information to action led to the existence of the Arab social movement in the hands of activists who did not have a program or strategy for change in front of a movement that was able to overthrow old political regimes, but it did not have alternatives. As part of the analysis track, the study depends on a careful analysis of the roles of active groups in change. It pertains to the role of politicians, intellectuals, activists, and journalists.

Keywords: Arab spring, social mobility, media, activist, knowledge pyramid

Резюме

Проучването има за цел да анализира от нов ъгъл социалната мобилност в арабските страни през 2011 г., чрез представянето на подход, основан на отчитане на комуникационните фактори, които изиграват ключова роля в мотивирането на младите хора и арабските маси да участват и да повлияят на това, което е известно като Арабска пролет. Наистина този етап от историята на медиите в арабските страни беше свидетел на широко развитие в използването на сателитни канали, уебсайтове и смарт телефони. Както показва проучването, тези технологии са използвани като механизми, които помагат на хората да си взаимодействат, да се движат и да участват. Въз основа на схемата на парадигмата на знанието, изследването се опита да подчертае етапите на предаване на информация: от първия етап, който е етапът на данните, през информационния етап, след това третият етап, който е етапът на знанието, към последния етап, което е етапът на действието.

Проучването анализира, че постепенното преодоляване на етапите на предаване на информация и преминаването от сурова информация към действие е довело до съществуване на арабско социално движение в ръцете на активисти, които нямат програма или стратегия за промяна пред движение, което е в състояние за сваляне на стари политически режими, но няма алтернативи.

Като част от анализа, изследването се основава на внимателен анализ на ролите на активните групи в промяната и е отнесено към ролята на политици, интелектуалци, активисти и журналисти.

Ключови думи: Арабска пролет, социална мобилност, медии, активисти, пирамида на знанието

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Introduction

More than ten years have passed since the start of the Arab Spring. However, Arabs look forward to furthering understanding after revolutions when Arab regimes were taken aback by the uprising. Mohamed Bouazizi, in the small Tunisian city of Sidi Bouzid, doused himself with gasoline and lit himself on fire; afterward, the flames quickly and unexpectedly consumed the regimes of Tunisia, Egypt, and Yemen. Quite likely other fragile authorities come to Iraq, Syria, and others. To that extent, other countries rushed under compulsion to make reforms as a quick response to contain the situation and find a way out of this historical stalemate.

As demonstrators and activists in New York, Madrid, Rome, and Athens, recently or a long time ago, had acted similarly, and despite the different contexts, Arab social mobility's aspirations were inspired by such similar experiences in terms of having common expectations for political and economic change amid an extremely severe economic crisis which arose at the dawn of the new millennium.

If so, why did this happen?

While widespread revolts that took place in different regions of the world intended to preserve the institutions of the state as they are and acted to save all public utilities representing the interests of their peoples, aiming to turn, shift, and change the state institutions and power structures, meanwhile providing the necessary reforms, however, such procedures and concerns led to saving the state from dismantling or failure. Unlike the situation in Arab Spring countries where a regime breakdown had not been experienced, revolutionaries acted as though they insisted on sweeping all institutional structures of the state by making reforms from scratch, which led to the so-called state implosion and then failure affecting state sovereignty as happening in many Arab countries?

Arab spring has become a new reference for social transformations that surprised political commentators, academicians, political forces, and ordinary people as well as military and security forces, in addition to the external powers alike, as a social transformation resulting from new elements unrelated to the political will of national policy-makers, but instead, related to people's demands. Those people were kept away from benefiting from unequal developmental processes, away from shifts and impacts of the various information technology. Broad waves of citizens across the Arab world looked forward to getting rid of the

unresponsive political systems that exhausted all opportunities and conditions, using all the tools at their disposal, including force to suppress discontent and cling to power.

Social networking has been a star of the Arab Spring revolutions in the Arab region and worldwide more generally. Revolts depended in an unprecedented way on social media such as Facebook, Tweeter which led to the constitution of a new generation of web-struggling activists and new circles of active doers.

In the Arab world since 2011, new actors from "Ulama," "Preachers," technocratic elites, and some of the military unexpectedly stepped in alienated to collaborate with the social movements in managing the political change process.

The present study sets out the Arab spring under an analytical framework through a communicative approach mainly based on Media sociology, together with other approaches to provide a particular interpretation adopting communication variable that represents a fundamental shift of how information is being produced, transferred, spread and consumed and its impact on socio-political and communication outcomes, thus allowing to better understand transformations of said Arab Spring in overall terms covering the social change mechanisms that influenced the Arab mindset and the social powers triggering change. It also touches on all the aspects of the current and future political structure.

The study aims at:

- 1- Analyzing the Arab social mobility "Arab Revolts" through a communicative approach to highlight the importance of the communicative factors in providing analysis and interpretation.
- 2- Highlighting the new concepts resulting from the communicative approach through the paradigm of the " Knowledge Pyramid" (DIKA) as shown by its levels:
 - Data "Rumor" hierarchy.
 - Information hierarchy.
 - Knowledge hierarchy.
 - Action hierarchy.
- 3- The study also aims at highlighting the new concepts, Ideas, and movements behind the Arab Spring based on a binary system as follows:
 - "A" Intellectuals –Mediators.
 - "B" Political Strugglers-Activists.
 - "C" Ulama –Preachers.

"D" Military-Civilians.

"E" Physical Spaces-Virtual Spaces.

- 4- It understands the new communication channels in providing a unique framework and adequate capacity to address the issues of vital importance to society.
- 5- Prospecting and developing insights needed for rebuilding this nation in order to create a social change movement able to provide the objective conditions required for a new Arab Age of Enlightenment.

The study analyzes factors to take into consideration when addressing the problem of Arab spring:

- Intellectuals and the elite were leading revolutions and fueling widespread outrage with ideological fervor toward the democratization process across the world's modern history. Why did Arab intellectuals appear notably absent from these events?
- Why were Arab revolts able to overthrow old authoritarian regimes but couldn't get beyond that to achieve the aspirations in development, freedom, democracy, and dignity that protesters chanted across the Arab squares at the start of the social mobility in 2011?
- Why protesters and revolutionists in many regions of the world presented institutional reforms that rationalized changes to the existing political structures as a reform from within the framework, avoiding the other scenario of "barbarians at the gate," which might lead to the fall of existing regimes, creating a state vacuum situation, as a consequence of States' institutional weaknesses in social, economic, and political areas, as witnessed in many Arab countries like Syria, Iraq, and Yemen?

The study's goals are to conduct such questions in introducing the communicative approach to provide clear explanations of the framework for what came to be known as the Arab Spring.¹, highlight the new dimensions of the communicative element, also to understand the current transformations taking place in the Arab region, as well as analyzing transformation factors responsible for having the most significant impact on this new political alignment between political forces, and increase opportunities available for prospecting and developing insights needed for the rebuilding of Arab society.

The communicative approach of the Arab Spring.

Following the legacy of the French communication theorist Abraham Moles in his book *the structural analysis of the community*, the author depicts a vision highlighting the current

paradigms as driving actors in the development of history, assuming to use historical chronology based on communication means attached to each historical period.

Using the Arab revolution as a case study to prove how information technology /communication systems have a quenching effect on Arab social mobility and explain how information technology/communication has a wide-ranging impact on conventional social mobility.

A-audio visual and satellite TV.

The emergence of satellite TV in the Arab region has come to be a challenge to the monopolistic power of the state media; it has also produced the over-communication phenomenon of "communication opulence," which provides society with more satellite communication than it needs through the uncontrolled growth of private satellite communication services².

Arab satellite communication has been considered one of the most important developmental processes in the region since the 1980s; many direct broadcast satellite TV stations emerged into Arab space, whether these networks are operating from the area or from outside it.

Thus, according to the statistics produced by the Arab States Broadcasting Union in 2014, the number of Arab satellite TV organizations is around 758, 29 of which are public, and 729 are private, but without considering the foreign TV stations oriented from outside the Arab region. The report also reflected that the Arab region had become a distinguished communication satellite market for around 380 million inhabitants. The people of the area are ethnically, culturally, and linguistically interlinked. (Arab States Broadcasting Union - ASBU- 2014).

In such a situation, TV is not only entertainment and news but also employed by political actors, civil society, minorities, business people, and religious-cultural institutions for pragmatic reasons.

The media scene has mainly been characterized by the launching of many religious TV stations from all sides of the spectrum, attracting a wide range of viewers around the Arab world. These uncontrolled direct TV broadcasting clusters produced religious programs anchored by preachers who became opinion leaders. They issue Fatwas on TV, read nasty viewer letters on air, or answer questions about whence they drive people into acting. Some of these programs are breeding grounds for fanaticism and the conditioning of launching sectarian media, leading to inciting agitations in the community and hindering inter-faith dialogue and tolerance.

The outstanding transformations of satellite broadcasting in terms of aired political concepts that enable individuals or groups to interact with media and communication means to make room for widespread influence on decision-making to work horizontally rather than vertically. Furthermore, it established a new system of relations between countries.

B-Evolution of the role of information in Arab societies.

There is no single way to comprehensively analyze media and communication in terms of their role in contemporary societies, including Arab Spring nations, unless we provide convincing explanations of the leading role played by the communication world in such societies.

Analyzing communication resources with particular repercussions on information gathering, processing, and dissemination and its influence on public opinion.

The information diffusion and its growing use at the international level in different contexts, such as in the Arab context. Information has become a key driving factor, Arab Spring highlighted the distinct role of modern information-communication technologies for many socio-economic, cultural and political structures, whether those related to ruling institutions and sectors like economy, media, religion, security, or legal control bodies or related to civil society.

Information has influenced Arab society in a way that gave birth to a new consciousness among broad segments of society and led to the assimilation of the specifications and features of societal change. In the context of the Society of Knowledge or the informational society in which we live, it is most important to provide the possibility of wide use in economic and developmental as well as in socio-political scopes with its unlimited impacts on the Arab mindsets. Different assumptions stand out among others to explain Arab revolts highlighting the distinct role of modern information-communication technologies and social media tools. Information technology and social media established the key background and triggering factor of the explosion that took place later and allowed freedom of expression to Arab societies to reject submission to the status quo or accept tyranny durability. It also enabled Arab people to regain their dignity and confidence to act and change.³

This new society based on horizontal communicative types that demolished all that was considered, till very recently, as a sole and controlled vertical type, providing the public opinion with a sort of media pivoted on publicity and colored news, not on communication, a media less interested in taking into account reactions of the other segments of public opinion.

Mass media society -knowledge/information society.

The new knowledge and information society is based on a horizontal communication type that ended up with the vertical type considered till very recently as one-way flow, where information or messages flow between or among the subordinates and superiors, in which the audience is treated as a consumer receiving the communication from the sender source.

The information and knowledge community is part of globalization and typically refers to economic phenomena. There are ripple effects that make the impact of globalization much broader socially and culturally. Ideas, customs, and cultural movements across national boundaries since the industrial revolution, since Information Society is considered a second phase, or as a Post Industrial Society.

In this regard, no region, state, or form of government can remain immune to the impact of new information and communication technologies on social and political movements. It is not possible to understand the role how trends in new media and the changing expectations in the Arab region without taking into account the current transitional transformations in which a shift from the mass media to a Knowledge/Information Society where social media play a vital role based on a higher ceiling of freedom of expression, partnership, property system, legalizing level and development of local laws, in addition to the motivations and expectations of powers competing for ruling at national or international level in full harmony with the dominating political culture.

Thus, the transition to knowledge and information technology has been linked to the information economics principle providing the key structures for information technology and communication, which play an important role in the development and new techniques of social communication in the Arab region. This factor has contributed to information and information sharing on a large-scale, private media have also influenced the social change process as 125 million internet users in 22 Arab countries, among them 71 million are classified as social media active users³. The same report states that Arab internet users constitute hardly less than 0.5 % of world Internet users and continue to increase by 20% annually, creating new opportunities and challenges for governments, corporations, communities, and existing political structures in light of the digital gap that is still affecting millions of Arabs deprived of access to the digital age and benefiting from audio-visual and satellite services. Internet importance lies in being important news as an information source, which makes it so distinctive from conventional media venues:

Governing concepts of communicative interpretation.

To analyze concepts of communicative interpretation governing Arab Spring, we relied on an explanation of the Knowledge Pyramid, primarily consisting of four hierarchies or thresholds that clarify the communicative interpretation approach of the Arab spring and its relevant concepts: -intellectuals-mediators-fighting, activists-scientists-preachers-military-civilians-physical spaces and non-physical spaces.

The knowledge pyramid.

The "Knowledge Pyramid" concept illustrates information hierarchy, and the knowledge pyramid refers loosely to a class of models for representing purported structural and functional relationships between data, information, knowledge, and action. It is a gradual process that affects persons' assimilation, and it turns into a sort of power and authority influencing and motivating the behavior of action on the ground.

Understanding processes related to the dynamics of information diffusion flow and its dissemination while the Arab revolts in 2011 and beyond points out that the new transformations of information flow model are represented by the combination of two parallel and sometimes altering models. If the first model represents a smooth and natural way to a four-stage "thresholds" matured project from the base of the Knowledge Pyramid up to the summit. While the second model is reductionist and unconditioned to the compulsory gradual process, in other words moving from threshold "A" to threshold "D" without crossing by threshold "B" and "C," or from "B" to "D" without crossing by threshold "C."

The Knowledge Pyramid model strongly allows the communicative interpretation of the Arab Spring, enabling one to understand better the outcomes and consequences based on a consistent and logical system.

According to the Knowledge Pyramid model, we come to illustrate three basic levels of the particular processes to move into action, and it represents the communicative dynamics of Arab revolts and the role of the communicative element in the Arab Social mobility series as a new authority securing convictions and making decisions and undergone the radical transformations.

The model of communicative interpretation of the Arab Spring includes the following four hierarchies of the knowledge pyramid:

First: Data Hierarchy.

Second: Information Hierarchy.

Third: Knowledge Hierarchy.

Fourth: Action Hierarchy.

Data hierarchy / Data-Rumors.

The first level in the „Knowledge Pyramid" is " Data Threshold", data is understood to refer not only to symbols but also to signals, letters, images, sounds, raw symbols, or stimuli referred to by said symbols. In other words, data is merely raw facts or inaccurate information not based on main news stories that define the news genre and its main components. These media are not journalistically yet formatted; however, they might take pre-news format being processed into information. Hence, society is the information source. In such a case, the data used by a wide range of youth and protesters in Arab societies were drawn into social mobility in 2011. They have contributed by disseminating various forms of news, images, symbols, and banners emanating from direct interaction with objective reality, personal and private experiences, observations, and some other forms of similar media professional practices that lack writing skills and consider media ethics.

These first inputs (threshold "A") provide a mass flow of news lacking processing to be converted from data or rumors into information through examination and revision and ensure its applicability to the source, then classified as a valuable reference of information. Therefore data as incomplete information are considered a verbal communication characterized by inaccuracy in terms of the information source, interpretability, subjectivity, and the reformulation of facts by the sender parties that are in the interests of the communication process so that any raw idea reported story event or any other unprocessed data prepared for use unless the processing is regarded as a part of the process providing the data with the required meaning and significance that influence on the action-reaction and direction. These strong presences of data marked the start of the Arab Spring's dynamics but ended up being a weak factor.

The "inputs sample" had a great role in terms of its communicative specifications and particularity through establishing social-psychological conditions required for what would come of down falling the old Arab regimes, in addition to the advantage of electronic publishing that provided a new condition like the anonymousness which enabled a huge number of activists to publish and post their content as unknown authorship or origin.

While the second model is reductionist and unconditioned to the compulsory gradual process, in other words moving from threshold "A" to threshold "D"

Without crossing either by threshold "B" "C", or from "B" to "D" without crossing by threshold "C".

Information hierarchy:

Information threshold "B" represents one of the significant parts of the communicative interpretation of the Arab Spring, as well as a basic element within the Knowledge Pyramid. This includes information acquired the status of news drafted in any journalistic format known in the media field, based mainly on the core elements of the journalistic genres, being information of high credibility and reliability in terms of sources, meeting standards of objectivity and respect for the code of media/journalistic ethics.

Information as processed data receives a value after being analyzed, interpreted, or assembled in a meaningful form to be formally or informally shared, documented, and disseminated in any journalistic form, which will have assimilations and influences on the future.

This means that the information as a hierarchy in the Knowledge Pyramid includes various forms such as news information, intellectual information, values, theories, and political information fused with the mechanisms of power and decision-making and information centers responsible for motivating social and political behavior. Thus, the Information Threshold is considered an interpretation factor to explain the Arab Spring's fate. Indeed, the early hopes and slogans it raised of successful democratic revolutions were quickly and cruelly dashed.

Media workers are, in essence, interpreters of information. They don't just provide pages of facts, sifting through piles and piles of information to report news or stories. Instead, they weed out the important issues and points, putting them in a context that the average reader and listener can use to form their own opinions during the Arab Spring happenings. The "Information Threshold" had a unique role in shaping and highlighting public opinion and having full knowledge of the historical background of leading stories and events through the following presentation as well as analysis of Arab Spring stories and events, revealing all its dimensions and discussing raised issues, addressing concerns to the public opinion. It also expresses policies and current trends in society, tells the events and fact reformulation, and provides explanations supported by data and logical reasoning.

Amid all that, journalists and the media mediators made a dramatic change turning into influential actors in the events since the journalist, rather than the intellectuals or politicians, have come to be (information threshold) within the Knowledge Pyramid plan to a non-neutral actor who actively has acted as catalysts, mobilizers, and organizers of political actions on the

ground intervening in the events, producing predictable patterns of biased news coverage, especially on satellite channels. Journalists as "Mediators" like ordinary religious preachers promising admission to the paradise of the political regime. The real threat stemming from this situation is that the polarized media, in encouraging the perpetuation of crises, will only serve and support certain ideologies rather than others.

On the other hand, one of the significant ways through which new media aided political transformation in the Arab world was through the spread of citizen journalism, as seen by bloggers⁴, which converted to new journalistic mediators and main mechanisms for producing, publishing and sharing media content, they became a part of the national journalism arena able to manage the conversion process. We also must acknowledge that the new media led to an unbalanced elliptical graduation movement because of the reductionism of stages, lack of tools or capabilities, and clear visions to counter and overcome this new situation⁵.

The Arab spring's events have proved that there is also role confusion since media actors are not limited to their natural role as information carriers. Still, they turned to support certain ideologies rather than others in a media atmosphere suffering from a lack of neutrality, objectivity, and professionalism.

At the international level, it was a Wiki Leaks document about the unprecedented greed and massive corruption as well as the conduct and practices of many leaders of Arab regimes, which strongly quaked Arab mindset, more particularly concerning their rulers, those who govern while deceiving their peoples. The new technology-enabled transmission of trustworthy information brings it to the public despite the secrecy of the authorities. Technology can transmit sound, pictures, and moving images from areas of events, and that is what Arab revolts used in many Arab countries.

C - Knowledge hierarchy

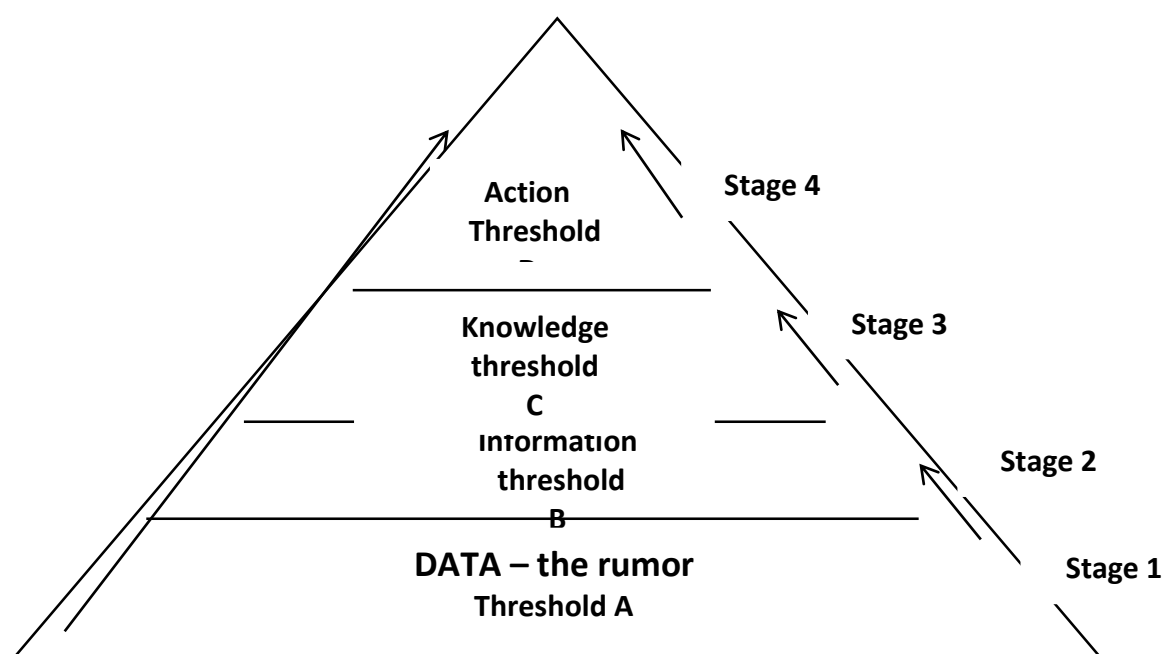
We may feel, or be aware of, or think about Information as material; that is to say, knowledge is inductive reasoning of facts, meanings, beliefs, concepts, and intellectual perceptions of the person as a result of repeated attempts to understand the phenomena related to the existing objects in his surroundings. Do the Arab mindsets of the 2011 revolts have the knowledge to destroy and reconstruct as any successful revolution elsewhere?

The third threshold (C) in the "Knowledge Pyramid" activates an important circle of the communicative interpretation process related to the Arab Spring. In contrast, the knowledge emerges out of a deterministic process that requires to pass gradually and inevitably through

both previous stages, "Data & Information," which is meant to transmit from unverified initial data to the second stage of being reliable information with all required specifications to be able to produce knowledge through analysis and processing in the third threshold "Knowledge" in a way that would allow employing Knowledge and thoughts as efficiently, smoothly and reasonably in all social activities, then allowing decision making to be translated into action. The interpretation paradigm of the "Knowledge Pyramid," as reflected in the figure below, allows understanding and comprehension of the basics of the communicative interpretation of the Arab Spring.

Figure 1

Structure of Knowledge Pyramid



The "Knowledge Pyramid" refers loosely to the four levels of "Hierarchies" of data /information flow to produce knowledge, the level of action representing a crucial stage of the physical transformation on the ground.

D - Action hierarchy

This analysis highlights that Action Hierarchy represents a significant moment in the "Knowledge Pyramid", by developing criteria to measure the success or failure of all the actions. That would be the fated result of the series of revolts of the Arab Spring.

Action, of course, is the culmination of achievement and the essence of a cumulative process necessary before the action, not as an emotion, mood, or automatic act. Action should be based,

as far as is appropriate, on scientific and investigative rules before the formation process, which logically implies the idea that any imbalance in the stages of the activation process will inevitably lead to unscientific action capable of responding to actual requirements and challenges. The Action stage expresses the reflections related to the different dynamics providing people with assimilations from the field and acting accordingly, then moving from the assimilations as intangible inputs into tangible behavior scope interacting with reality.

The risk of rushing into action was justified to realize the expectations of Arab social mobility to downfall the authoritarian regimes as a landmark in the fulfillment of the shared aspirations of a wide range of Arab societies since many Arab regimes had provided reasons for aggravating their crisis, that's why masses taking to the streets had little practical thinking to deal with the outcomes that would later develop, in a context that included dominant inaccurate rumors, data or information manipulating public opinion, and a strong motivating factor that drove masses on the streets lacking a clear perspective.

Preliminary conclusions:

Now, we may say that the preliminary conclusions of the four-stage process indicate the power of data to mobilize Arab public opinion, also the wide consumption of data established a modifier background of verbal communication, symbolic communication, and signal communication for protesters across the Arab spaces, as in Al Qassaba in Tunisia, Tahir square in Egypt, Pearl Roundabout in Bahrain and, Green Square Libya where activists and protesters dealt to a great extent with "inputs" and subsequently with a sample of "information".

The so-called "Information Threshold" constitutes a different moment, an advanced episode for the events affecting the fate of revolts in the Arab region. Satellite TV has played a significant role in acting as an instigator driving the uprisings for alternative communication systems in the Arab world. As for satellite channels (Al Jazeera) in particular and some other TV networks directed to the Arab region² that played a crucial role in transmitting, monitoring, following, and analyzing the news. Social media also established an effective mechanism to keep up with transformations stemming from the events. In more general terms, we may say that investigative journalism and national journalism" played an essential role as catalysts of broad sociopolitical protest through creating psychological motives, objective conditions, and an uprising against the existing regimes.

Many Arab rulers had accused and loathed audio-visual media, particularly some satellite channels. Undoubtedly, the role those satellite channels played in the Arab Spring was unprecedented, many of the audience credited the channels with speeding the overthrow of the authoritarian regimes. However, the absence of independent media, either state-owned or private and government control over information amplified people's cynicism and distrust, even though those satellite spaces reported evidence of unbiased coverage promoting certain events and causes for worse.

Non-neutral criteria dealing with the events.

The Inputs-Data threshold positive points as it constituted the influential circle leading to undermining the authoritarian systems in the above-mentioned cases, such as Tunisia Egypt, Libya, and Yemen, where the threshold launched a revolutionary situation mainly targeting the downfall of the existing systems. It all happened so quickly that no one could predict it.

At the level of information exchange, the transformations led to an unlimited impact on the factors affecting traditional social change and the prominent political actors; it also led to a transformation in the role played by an elite intellectual vanguard and struggling activists.

To highlight the new concepts of Arab social mobility.

Such transformations also led towards highlighting new actors different in terms of their structural components, as intellectuals and struggling activists were substituted by the new actors such as mediators and preachers, even military who took their places on streets as well as electronic spaces and TVs as new players shaping the course of events which would have a great influence on later stages.

Intellectuals-Mediators

Following the different hierarchies of the Knowledge Pyramid Model, we can deduce another level of transformations that led to change in the roles of those who have acted as changing forces since it proceeds from an observation that highlights the emergence of the Mediators and their new roles, versus the shrinking role of intellectuals.

The new generation of Mediators, journalists, media workers, political spokespersons, experts, citizens, witnesses, bloggers, and Facebook activists "will cover the entire absence of intellectuals (as the term is conventionally defined)the new Mediators have a strong presence on all media channels and venues, TVs, radio broadcasting programs, talk shows, and daily news.

Unlike the conventional intellectual who exposed his challenging intellectual matters to the average individual who cannot comprehend, as these matters require pedagogical efforts to communicate his message, the mediators who promote their ideas lack a vision for and holistic approach to change momentum, instead, they will go further, and also refer to "instigation", "public incitement" and "propaganda", involving stars and celebrities in media spots, and they will often account for all sorts of the strange stuff.

The presence of Mediators as a new phenomenon accompanying the Arab Spring was different from the presence of intellectuals in conventional revolts. The Mediator's intervention in media and in the new media venues, through its categories based on seeming instantaneousness, excitement, pretty and strange stories, partial analysis, and media coverage by shock as shown in commentary, as well as a brief review of news updates on events of great importance, and testimonies, even when dealing with historical events. In addition that their central focus of attention may have less coherence than what people would want in such works, as history receives a superficial treatment to illustrate instantaneous events.

This means that the contribution of the classified mediators in the "Knowledge Pyramid" Model is under the information threshold; therefore, mediators approach a different vision when compared with intellectuals and thinkers approach.

However, other factors are also behind this, notably owing to factors such as high illiteracy in the mentioned Arab countries, setting a political discourse more descriptive than prescriptive based on emotions. Because there is an almost complete absence of critical discourse, the said laid out a series of general slogans focusing on the socio-economic and political reform demands. That was what made the mediator's discourse dominate other discourses, especially those related to intellectuals in their rational analysis and long-term views. This situation also gave rise to an important role for journalists or mediator to play, where the roles and competencies of a journalist overlapped. Generally speaking, journalists, in their professional capacities, are expected to be neutral rather than active actors contributing to marking events and stories. Unlike intellectuals, Mediators/Journalists had no clear or comprehensive coverage of facts and events, but their approach was descriptive and of a partial vision rather than specific while having a great responsibility in influencing public opinion behavior.

The phenomenon of the relative absence of enlightened minds, as well as the traditional politicians and actors or the lack thereof, in predicting, contributing to, and participating in these meaningful changes from the Arab Spring mobility scene, which made the revolts lack

an actual societal project for change and reform, to achieve expectations of Arabs towards dignity, freedom, development, and modernization.

In addition to the above-mentioned groups of actors, a new phenomenon seemed to come into existence: "the showy intellectual" or „intellectual exhibitionists“ following the widespread of satellite TVs. This happened as soon as the audio-visual spaces were liberated from state ownership. The unique international-orientated satellite system appeared in the region, distinguished by the Arabic language as a common communication language.(Ould bah, S. 2011).

Despite the dominance of such showy, pretentious intellectuals on TV, their quick interventions and analysis delivery of light matters based on excitement affected by marketing finally lead to impulsivity, and is in contrast to the original thought, which requires time and effort that what intellectuals apply to different intellectual spheres.

A key component of the new model would be an integrated system of producing easily memorable and repeatable media content on extremely serious matters. It is a sort of "take away" idea quickly consumed by the audience, these canned media ideas that people trust, without a critical sense and very often follow the message, with the illusion of participating in public issues, through the intensive form of consumption of television talk shows during watching peak time.

Elite participation:

It is not easy to say with any degree of certainty that the intellectual elite was utterly absent from the Arab Spring scene. The nobility was there, engaged to the " Kefaya" Egyptian Movement for Change since 2004. The movement gathered opponents, activists, intellectuals, artists, politicians, and young bloggers. It was a platform for protest against Hosni Mubarak's presidency and the possibility he might seek to transfer power directly to his son Gamal; however, it did not come to public attention.

Besides this movement, some other platforms, such as the lawyers union, the university professors March 9th movement, April 6 Youth Movement, and the Tax employees union, came onto the scene.

National Association for Change came to the scene following the arrival of Dr. Mohamed El Baradei, it is a loose grouping of various Egyptian famous personalities of all political affiliations in opposition to the regime, such as Ayman Nour, a former presidential candidate

Hamdy Kandil a famous media figure, and some leaders from Muslim brotherhood Dr. Mohamed El Beltagy, Dr. Essam El Erian, and some members of several political parties, like Democratic Front, Al Karama, Al Wassat, Socialist Revolutionaries, also some representatives of civil society and young people aims to change Egypt, such as Egyptian women for a change, and April 6 Youth Movement, etc.

The fundamental feature of the 2011 Revolution is that It is a new generation of engineers and IT experts, representing a new generation elite different from the traditional elite.

The influence of digital media on the popular uprisings

The cyber activist Wael Ghonim in his book "Revolution 2.0," was asked about why did he join Google. *I think that Google changed the world, and I would like to change the situation of millions of Arabs through technology support, and working with Google is the best way to do this is to use technology to the best advantage*", through youth who would be at the lead of the information technology revolution that brought down old political regimes and gets rid of them, a mission that had already been experiencing great difficulties for a long time." (Ghonaim, 2011, p. 147) .

The presence of Google, with its digital and IT technology as a sophisticated mechanism, provided the required atmosphere to break the fear barrier, that fear and the cruel and arbitrary use of authority or a tyrannical act by many Arab countries which brought people to the point of despair The Arab world was living a very difficult economic and social situation. Poverty, human rights violation, and high unemployment were the main phenomena the Arabs were facing, leading to a lack of prospects for a decent life.

Digital information came to stimulate a revolutionary sense from the individual level. Then it was largely spread across the country as a common need to get rid of the political systems in many Arab countries, that the common sense of fighting the regime is worth dying for.

Facebook had a role in organizing this revolution. This strike occurred on 6th April 2008 by Egyptian workers, supported by 90000 online Facebook users, exceeding the number of protesters in any opposition protest.

6th April 2008 strike in the city of Mahalla represented a necessary action towards the Egyptian revolution for many reasons, such as:

- 1- The strike was based on a different approach: stay home, do not go out, don't go to work, etc.
- 2- All political affiliations participated in organizing and calling for the strike.

- 3- Websites highlighted that the workers' strike plan morphed into a popular struggle following clashes with the police who used, it was unprecedented at the time, the open defiance of a city to the regime for the first time images of a tarnished trampled poster of Mubarak circulated on the internet, signaling the beginning of a new era for a non-state owned media, and enabled the technology to play an important role in revealing facts and producing unprecedented effects on the state-owned media or even the private media controlled by the state as well.
- 4- Internet dynamics and organization have become a new active player in the media space.

Ulame (Scientists)- Preachers

Ulame-preachers represent a binary that needs to be analyzed under the third threshold of the "Pyramid Knowledge" as an important concept providing a crucial platform for the interactions and practices linked to the Arab Spring to conclude an analytical and comprehensive vision. A new type of intellectual elite recently emerged through the dynamics created by Arab revolts, composed of different actors; "Ulama" religious men, preachers, and opinion leaders. The new intelligentsia related to the Islamic reference movements found the right conditions to appear on the ground to be on the move.

Following the failure of the liberal model to provide society with effective solutions thus, the way has been paved for the Islamic movements, and their preachers - Ulama became a new type of intellectuals adopting a different approach (Hanafi , H. 2016).

Uluma (plural) are "those recognized as scholars or authorities" in the "religious hierarchy" of Islamic religious studies. Most Ulama specializes in fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) through Quran and Sunnah and is considered the arbiters of Sharia law based on the Quran and Hadith by mainstream Muslims. Ulama also introduces themselves as advocates for people's rights and expectations, as the sole interpreters of the Quran, as well as they, are considered the new advisors and spokespersons of the peoples.

Furthermore, Preachers-Ulama is characterized by their direct physical presence in places, particularly in mosques, places of mass gathering, and private spaces, using eloquently delivered religious speeches, expressing themselves in prophetic tones as the voice of the people, addressing their issues, concepts, existential concerns, as well as their daily life problems through direct interaction by hearing their questions and providing them with instantly, spontaneously and competently answer recalling from their memory. Hence, their

capacity to comprehend the information and then reproduce knowledge, and their charismatic and influential holy presence are expressed best in prayers through their daily transcendental communication, which established force factors for the religious "sphere" to play a role that exceeds the role played by intelligentsia's figures.

However, the intelligentsia engaged in such transactions found themselves facing a situation embedded in a deadlock, competing with Ulama preachers who have better trusted and considered by the community.

While civil intelligentsia suffered from the collapse of its leftist wing and the deadlocked liberal wing, it became "estranged" from the majority of the audience, as its intellectual structure is based on enlightened concepts that don't suit the reality of Arab and Islamic societies, in addition, that they lack the credit of Ulama in championing resistance to "Emir" the ruling regimes. (Hanafi, 2016, p. 38-83)

Ulama-Preachers established an effective interference formula that brought changes to the previous situation since they, as interferers, adopted popular religious discourse.

Ulama - Preachers have been empowered to gain a popular base through the formula of interference between "Daawa"⁶ and politics; in other terms putting faith into politics, they also worked underground for a long time, whereas the state considered them as a competing force over the religious authority. Since the state considered religion an integral part of the regime where no completion or overbidding could be acceptable, that led to portraying Islamists as defenders of the utopian Islamic state, and the protectors of the religion, meanwhile promoting their high capability to counter the western cultural invasion (Hanafi, 2016, p. 67-72)

Bearing that the transformation cannot be achieved without influence, the Iranian revolution highlighted the transformation precursors that helped the Islamic regime in Iran attract the intellectual elite to believe in Islamic Republic values, as Dr. Hanafy analyzes.: "So it has been proved that the intellectuals often linked to the Islamic Republic turned to the Ulama guidance, as their thought was moved by faith as well, faiths of both were alike....Following the Islamic revolution, the gaps between "enlightened" intellectuals and traditional clerical intellectuals were bridged; there were many reasons to explain this situation that elements within the clergy promptly moved to hold over positions of power which enabled them to play a central role in the new regime. Hence a new generation came out to appear from the conservative platform values; however, they would continue with their process of formation, which will help them to rediscover the world according to the parameters of modernity, which enabled them to

control the intellectual discourse and regain control over the world, but without any denial to the Islamic culture.

The preacher became a competitor to Ulama, journalists, and intellectuals, despite discrepancies or subtle differences between their respective areas. Since the Ulama- Preacher tends to capture the space for the religious discourse monopolizing the interpretation of the religious text and all terms linked with the Sharia and the truth, this monopolistic interpretation is based on an unchallengeable and irrefutable holy concept, and that people are bad by nature, they always need a reformer nearby, to promote the individual salvation values in the name of the religion. Thus Ulama–The preacher, has come to play the reformer's role in reducing the gap between the world of apostasy and the world of faith, bringing it more into line with the latter.

According to the preacher's discourse, the independent state is a western concept opposed to religion, and the conception of a state in Islam is borderless and inclusive. State of a commonwealth of all the Muslims living as one community, and that preachers-Ulama are the most effective and efficient to facing up to the western cultural wars, and that a return to history sharing stories and tales with charismatic figures and their heroisms, all that would recover Muslims from the defeats inflicted upon them at present, furthermore, the return to history would also lead to self-exculpation, and create a historical pattern to counter its dogmatic adversaries. The Preachers-Ulama discourse calls for a pure dogmatic divide which would allow us to exculpate ourselves and create a historical pattern to counter its dogmatic adversaries by intensely recalling texts, bibliographies, events, and tales without citing their resources or references or investigating their accuracy, opening the door to all stories including those uninvestigated and inaccurate, which might lead to an extreme nostalgic backward at history, and feel incapable of resolving current problems. However, it should be a discourse that gives hope to the poor and confidence to the rich. The Ulama- preachers, discourse contradicts that of the journalists-intellecutuals, the journalist's duties and tasks that, they educate the public about events and issues, follow national and international updates, comment on news stories, focus on public opinion concerns, have a general understanding of current events. In addition to serving the public interest (reporting and questioning), and must also follow the rules of law.

While the Preacher-Ulama discourse focuses on the unhistorical world, the journalists-intellecutuals discourse focuses on entirely highlighting the historical background of events,

analyzing and commenting on current events, thoroughly researching and fully exploring the subject, addressing issues of national concern, expressing their opinion of policies and currents within the community, as well as providing data-based explanations, logical reasoning (analysis).

Public Spaces-Virtual Spaces

The Arab social mobility came to produce new concepts according to the Knowledge Pyramid, these concepts are related to the use of physical and nonphysical spaces such as mosques and gardens, radio and TV stations, as well as virtual spaces like social media, which shaped a new element to push the Arab revolts forward in order to achieve its objectives.

The excessive use of such new forms helped reuse a number of conventional spaces or rediscover exceptional formulas employed during the Arab mobility, like Facebook and tweeters, as a response to breaking the media monopoly held by governments conglomerates or local power brokers, and some lobbies and groupings to pillage the media its capacity of information control.

New communication status enabled public transmission issues to be discussed in different platforms like mosques or on the internet. The various satellite channels provided a direct and instantly open discussion on public issues and interaction with the citizen, through presence availability or remotely. This status also enabled the activists and groupings persuadable to mobilize the masses and make a generic change.

However, the 2011 protesting movement of youth and other groups of society was not limited to the tangible activities in physical spaces, but it created other parallel spaces to communicate known as nonphysical spaces. Activists had been relying on social networking services, including Twitter, Facebook, and other social media, to be used effectively in news stories analysis, commentary, and organized media campaigns, to manage the protests.

Now, we are dealing with both physical and nonphysical "virtual" spaces as different but integrated spheres of public socio-political action, their integration into new functions and roles through mass mobilization and promoting discussion of such events and practices events that led to the fall of the then-existing regimes in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and Yemen.

On the other hand, these spaces established scopes for socio-political practices, either to specify forms of struggle or to develop countering measures against the authority through creating temporary or permanent organizations according to the needs of countering the public

powers or any forces the movements of youth might face. Thus, new non-conventional forms of organization and communication emerged to practice politics across spaces.

This mosaic of ideas gathered broad scopes of youth, citizens, and activists from different political affiliations. With various and even contradicting statements ranging from Islamists, Arab nationalists, liberals, and leftists, they all succeeded in removing despotic political regimes ruling for decades. However, these forces had no clear political program or common demands, but that was a strong point during the mobilization process that would influence the later developments of the Arab social mobility dynamics.

Physical spaces

Turning public space into a place for carrying out explicit political action, direct physical presence, and peaceful confrontation with the public authority, established a new generic turning point in the Arab mind and conscience.

According to this specific context created by the wave of Arab revolts, all squares and public spaces turned into spaces for expression, aspirations, and expectations of a better future through political, emotional, spiritual, human, and rational abreaction by wide ranges of Arab peoples against years of repression and persecution by despotic regimes.

Public spaces, squares, and historically famous mosques symbolically representing historical importance acquired particular attractiveness for the protesters having such huge areas of land easily accessible and easily operation ability for media activities. Finally, these public spaces turned out to be, functionally, mobilization fields, enjoying a high level of dramatic scenery⁷. There are exciting features related to those Arab squares and spaces "Green square", "martyrs Square" in Tripoli, "al kasba" and "Al Habib Bourgueiba in Tunisia, "AL Tahrir Square" in Cairo, "Pearl Square" in Bahrain.) have established physical and tangible spaces for different forms of expression such as protests or even civil disobedience against existing political systems, creating a new generation that could be called "Youth Of The Squares" and public spaces.

30th June 2013, "Rabaa" and "Tahrir square"⁸, together with the mosques, represented a landmark where the demonstrators line streets to demand president's removal, it was a historical moment when millions of Egyptians filled the streets across Egypt to call for the ouster of Mohamed Morsi. The uprising adopted a new method to topple the president through collecting signatures to depose the president, and the movement announced it had collected more than 20 million signatures in a press conference.

23th January, Hundreds of Tunisians traveled hundreds of kilometers in what they call a "Liberation caravan" to join protesters in the country's capital, chanting the same "we are here to remove dictatorial residues, the number of protesters soon grew up to thousands.

On 27th January 2011 Prime Minister Mohamed Ghannouchi announced that apart from the prime minister, the new government had new names as ministers for the first time. This move was seen as meeting one of the demands of the protestors in Tunisia. On February 20th 2011, protesters camped back in Al Casabah⁹ beside Mohamed Ghannouchi's office, protesting against Ghannouchi remaining in the interim government, as he had been collaborating with Ben Ali's regime for years, to declare a general legislative amnesty, dissolve the parliament and establish a constituent council, suspend the ad-hoc fact-finding committee to be reconstituted as independent and trustworthy, dissolve former ruling RCD, suspend the constitution, to form a national salvation government, also suspending the trial of the former regime to guarantee a fair and impartial trial to the regime, remove all unionists and syndicalists proved to have been collaborators with Ben Ali's regime, also reformulation of the judicial reform bill, and to establish a new electorate bill. Casaba's set in 2 was more solid than Casaba's 1, fully covered by media, then appeared the so-called set-in of departure targeting the removal of the government.

On 27th February 2011, Ghannouchi resigned; He was replaced by Béji Caïd Essebsi. On 3th March 2011, the president announced that elections to a Constituent Assembly would be held on 24th July 2011, according to a new electoral bill, a National Fact-Finding Commission on corruption, bribery, and kleptocracy, and to investigate all incidents during the revolution.

Virtual spaces

The internet has established communication spaces affecting Arab society's mindset. Virtual places, by nature, represent spaces for freedom and a free zone by excellence related to the virtual space with both dimensions, the tangible and intangible. It came to break the stereotype of internet addiction by the Arab youth just for fun or breaking the taboos, and they creatively converted the internet into a virtual space by excellence.

As a consequence of the more openly expressed virtual spaces that might cause the collapse of the referent group; however, the virtual space is committed to common interests, not to geography, these common interests gathered Arab youth who did not know each other to discuss the common issues openly, communities discussing, communicating to take important decisions about the future, ideas about revolting and rebelling against the political regimes.

Military-Civilians (Armed Groups)

It is crucial, however, to proceed with the pyramid analysis pattern to analyze the role of the military in Arab social mobility; as one of the most influential elite actors on the ground, the military represents the material force able to interfere and take control by force, the Armed Forces enjoy considerable power, prestige in Arab countries, for their contribution in the independence struggle in addition to their role in countering foreign aggression.

The military elite in Arab countries had been formed at military academies by the first third of the 20th century, which enabled them to play a decisive role in different conflict cases.

In the south, particularly Arab countries, the military by nature is considered not only a critical institution but also it is the most important institution compared with other institutions, the fact that it has, on many occasions, acted to secure its particular institutional interests and not acted for the interests of the nation.

In Arab countries in recent years, the military is ready and willing to do anything to get power by force and to use it violently; the army has managed to ensure control of the political system by force, not through the peaceful electoral process, in other words adopting military coups using state army, security forces, and media to ensure their interests. Throughout the 20th century, the military used coups to control power in nonstable countries across the Arab world, Africa, and Latin America. A series of coups d'état, almost 25 coups, from the military coup against Rashid Al Kilany in Iraq to the military coup by Houthi that took place in Yemen against Mansour Hady in 2014.

All manifestations of the Arab spring were expressed in political polarization, struggle for power, and fueling the conflict that led to the use of violence and mutual eradication among political forces, leftist, liberal, or Islamic, across the Arab World.

During the Arab Spring, the army had three different options to choose from in how to handle the growing unrest within their borders:

- 1- Take a neutral stance, as the armed forces' primary function, is to protect state sovereignty, national institutions, and national security, as occurred in a small country like Tunisia.
- 2- Nonneutral position: Egyptian military chooses to move away from neutrality performing its duties in maintaining security and protecting state sovereignty. However, the army became one of the critical active players competing to get to power through the nonelectoral cycle approach.

- 3- States where the military acted against the protests: Yemen, Libya, Syria, and the formation of quasi-military bodies fighting to get to power by violence; it is worth mentioning that the third model is linked to failed countries.

Regardless of the contradictions related to the military intervention to seize power, the armed forces are still considered a state institution and a national professional and integrated body which serves the nation's interest and not that of the regime.

However, the weakness of the intellectual and cultural elite in influencing the Arab Spring outcomes, but the major disadvantage remained in the biased intervention by the military in the events, creating congestion in the Arab political sphere. Instead, the fluctuating social mobility has given way to political stagnation toward the democratic transition.

“Sidi Bouzeid”, “Al Habib-Bourgueiba Tunisia”, “Tahrir Square” Cairo-Egypt, “Sahet Al Taghier Taaz”Yemen, “Green Square”- Bab Al Azizia-Tripoli- ,Tahrir” Benghazi Libya Spaces and squares witnessed previous resistance against foreign occupation and social protests, such as Tahrir square in Cairo during 1919,1935 revolts against British occupation and the bread revolt on 18/19 January 1977.

In light of the points discussed above, we may come to highlight some conclusions using the communicative interpretation approach in analyzing the Arab Spring:

Conclusion

-From the above data, it can be seen that the transition and change to translate data into appropriate actions amid socio-political and psychological conditions that are not comprehended by a majority of drivers and political forces contributing to the change process in terms of the scope of change and the major players, and also the scope of all political forces, regardless of what background they come from, whether it be the military or the civil society or the existing regime.

-Nevertheless, all humble outcomes of Arab social mobility are negligible compared to the significant loss of ineffective participation by intellectuals and thinkers as a motivating force for the process of change in the Arab world.

-Furthermore, the lack of consistency and absence of clear strategies in the countries of the Arab spring this particular problem is largely the result of the rise of an inexperienced new ruling class who can give no insights into occupying positions of power, so this new ruling class needs a long time to train on the job, while the increasing social demands are mounting by wide ranges of the society, those who have driven the new ruling class to rule.

-Civil political discourse where politicians and intellectuals should play a significant role in mediating between the ruler (executive power) and the society through communication means and techniques (the arsenal of media tools), targeting the renewal in the de facto world where people live, to achieve the desired Renaissance, and avoid the actual failure.

-The political-religious discourse sing a different tune employing all (the arsenal of media tools) through a destiny concept that there is no wrong choice; what is destined will reach you what is not destined will not get you. This is all to justify the authoritarian power and keep citizens from contributing to the renewal of the de facto world.

-In conclusion, as a matter of priority, the Arab intellectual nowadays needs to restore his position in our Arab societies. The Arab intellectual should assume the responsibility of leading people to choose the path of enlightenment as to what is happening or to tell them about the required values for the new era, like respect for others and accepting them accepting others as they are and not as we would like them to be, promote dialog, prevent fanaticism and extremism, countering the backwardness to strengthen the Arab social fabric, acting out of maintaining the rights of all parties, intellectuals have a massive responsibility for the transition, and they are likely to assume such a responsibility today rather than tomorrow.

-There is a joint mission shared by the intelligentsia and the enlightened Ulama for countering the extremist ideology adopting violence, exclusion, and hater, a mission in which Ulama and preachers play an important role in promoting moderate Islam that expresses the central values of Islam and its bright civilization.

-In this study, the researchers showed that the governing concepts related to the communicative interpretation to explain the Arab Spring through the knowledge pyramid plan with its thresholds as the required components to analyze the new political forces coming out into the light and different relations governing the interaction and struggle between major players (intellectuals-mediators-struggling activists-Ulama-preachers-military-civilians-physical spaces-nonphysical spaces), which allowed us to take a clear line right to the driving dynamics of the Arab Spring, in terms of its strong and weak points, and the inherent constraints that limited the progress towards reaching its declared goal.

-Based on the knowledge pyramid pattern designed with a communicative interpretation through 4 level model to understand the Arab Spring.

-The Arab revolts arose in 2011 out of rumors that had a significant role; since word creates psychological and socio-political effects generating a collective spirit, protesters acted out of that and came up with real works to bring the despotic and old regimes down.

-There were, among the political forces, those protesters and activists who had a destructive vision; all their concern was how to depose the regime, as they had to take this an unmatched opportunity that nobody had expected.

-Mediators (journalists) and opinion leaders could not play a more significant role in providing anything rather than following the latest developments or exciting news and stories; they proved to be as unable as activists to contribute effectively to the change process.

-The majority of intellectuals remained surprised before the accelerated and unexpected events and stories; the intellectuals remained as shocked as an ordinary citizens, and that's why they missed the citizen's support of them instead of providing the citizen with enlightened views to help them analyze and overcome a new and highly complicated situation.

-The one hundred years of mutual extirpation among all intellectual currents in the Arab world, whether liberals, leftists, Pan-Arabists, or Islamists, led to generate more eradicated practices and new forces adopting violence and arming for a long time as a tool to seize power, however, they took the region into a new dark path.

Communication interpretation shows that the reunion of intellectuals regained through the Arab Spring and the knowledge pyramid missed the enlightenment spirit that could be a common platform for all political and intellectual forces to overcome the era of mutual extermination, which did nothing but destroy.

Notes

1. In this study, we use the concept of "Arab social mobility" to define what is known as the Arab Spring that the Arab region witnessed in 2011.
2. Moles wonders about a social interaction that might be called communicational luxury, in which quantities of available products and resources outweigh the latent needs and desires of the individual, as a new social situation concerning communication. This situation applies to satellite broadcasting. (Moles, p. 233)
3. The role of modern information-communication technologies and social media networks facilitated mass forms of sociopolitical protest, particularly about their organizational and communication aspects, while contributing to reform demands and

democracy since 2004 when the Egyptian Movement for Change "Kefaya", and April 6 Youth Movement, and others.

4. Bloggers have located their practice between threshold A and threshold B and strongly influenced the course of events.
5. Bloggers played an essential role before the revolution and during its various phases, and digital tools were an effective weapon against the blackout policy in many Arab countries.
6. Daawa is an Arabic word that generally means calling towards Allah, calling non-Muslims to enter the religion and Muslims to remain firmly in this religion.
7. Mohamed Bouazizi, whose name was associated with the Tunisian revolution in the winter of 2010, committed suicide, publicly and publicly, on the public street.
8. Tahrir Square was a symbolic place for the Egyptian revolution in 1919, the demonstrations against British colonialism, and the Bread Revolution on January 18-19, 1977.
9. Al Casaba represents a very symbolic place for Tunisian memory, it has been the central quarter of the central rule since the era of Hefssi throughout the Turkish period till the emergence of the Tunisian national state.

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