

The Quarterly Journal of Political Studies of Islamic World
2014, vol.2 (8), pp: 69-80
**Media and Revolutionary Movements in the Arab
Countries**

Hakem Ghassemi*

Associate Professor. Imam Khomeini International University

Abstract

Revolutionary movements which began in Tunis in 2010 immediately impressed all Arab countries. These movements have led to many essential changes in the Middle East. So far, four presidents have been ousted from power. Revolutionary forces in the Arab world to achieve their goals used media. So the media played a large role in the revolutionary changes in the Arab countries. Given the media's role in revolutionary movements in the Arab countries, in some of the reviews these revolutions have called as media revolutions. Based on these reviews the media are the main cause of revolutions in the Arab countries. But the main question is: What is the media's role in the revolutions in the Arab countries? Were they really the cause of these revolutions?

The study of developments in the Arab countries shows that the media had an important role in the revolutions, but they were not the cause of revolutions. The media helped to spread revolution in the Arab countries and contributed to create the faster victory for revolutionary forces, but they did not cause of revolutions. In this paper effective factors in the revolutionary movements in the Arab countries is explained and the role of media is described. Paper concludes social and political factors created the revolutionary movements in the Arab world, and the media have had an auxiliary role and have acted just as catalyzer.

Key Words: Media, Revolutionary Movements, Middle East, Arab World.

* Received on: 2013/ September/ 1
Email: Ghasemi20@yahoo.com

Accepted on: 2014/ January/ 4

Introduction

Media has had a great role in Arab countries revolutions getting started and expanded since late 2010. In Tunis and Egypt, the protest got started from an invitation made in Twitter and Face Book networks. With the invitation, a movement got started soon resulting in Arab countries powerful rulers' fall. So far, four Arab rulers have been fallen as a result of these revolutions: Bin Ali, the president of Tunis; Hosni Mubarak the president of Egypt, Mo'amar Gaddafi in Libya, and Abdullah Selah in Yemen. Other Arab countries also face protests and revolutionary movements.

Regarding the role of media at the advent, maintenance and promotion of the protests, some analyzers called Arab countries evolutions as Twitter or Face Book revolution. The emphasis of this group on the role of media is so that they introduce them as the establishing factor of political evolutions and protests. Based on the effects media have in political evolutions of Arab world and regarding the view points on their part in transformations, a question is posed as "what is the effect of media in political evolutions and protests in Arab countries? Do they set the scene for the revolutions and protests to happen? Or they just played a complementary role and accelerated the protest flows?" Studying the effects of media indicates that they reinforced the protests backgrounds through production, promotion, and distribution of change-oriented ideas and thoughts. On the other hand, media have had a role to play by communicative and informative functions in commence and acceleration of the protests. Considering the role of socio-political factors, they cannot be ignored in the protests and revolutions established in Arab world and count the media as the germinating factor. This article has an attempt to examine the effects of the media in revolutionary movements in Arab world as well as introducing social and political factors affecting the emergence of revolutions.

Key Factors in Revolutions Dawn

Two groups of factors have a role to play in the appearance of wide socio-political revolutions: one, the grounding processes of the revolutions and the other, accelerator events. The former are factors gradually enacting their effects in a long run and a historical process and providing the chance for change and revolution. And, it is not done instantly, but gradually and as a result of different factors in a partially wide span moving society toward desirable changes.

However, the accelerators are factors affecting social and political processes and streams at the same time they are happening and spur on the revolutions. For instance, an event, a decision and passing an article all can act as a catalyst reinforcing respective processes and flows. Accordingly, grounding factors are recognized as the establishing agents of revolutions, whereas accelerating factors are recognized as facilitators rather than germinators.

In Arab world revolutions, there are also many grounding factors. Their political and social circumstances during the last decades are formed in a way as to move their citizens to revolution. The role of media was to pave the way for revolutionary movements. So, media did not create revolutions, rather they contributed to their accomplishment.

Basic Factors in Arab World Revolutions

Occurrence of Arab countries revolutions in the last year has been shaped under a variety of conditions forming in a historical process and providing extensive socio-political movements in the countries which, in sum, are as follow:

1- Increasing demand for political participation despite non-participatory political regimes.

During last decades, there have always been non-participatory and autocrat political regimes ruling in Arab countries in which political participation was not allowed for political groups. While with social evolutions, people's awareness increase, and improved communications and interaction with people of other countries, there has been an increasing demand on the part of Arab people to participate in social and political arenas (Nazari and Ghanbari, 2012, 19). The demand increase on one hand and political systems resistance against them suppressing the possibility for people participation on the other were among factors setting the scene for revolution in Arab countries.

2- Emergence of cultural and identity gaps between Arab countries citizens and political regimes of these countries.

Most people of Arab countries are Muslim with Islamic culture. Many political sects and parties are Islamist in the countries. Accordingly, in Arab societies, people and many politically active groups are defined and recognized based on their Islamic culture and beliefs. While political systems in these countries administer policies bringing about a gap between them and the culture and identity. So, the gap was created between the people and Islamist political groups on one hand and Arab countries political systems on the other. As a result, powerful movements were established to make a change in political systems there with a will for revolution.

3- Neutralization of Arab Nationalism ideology.

With an emphasis put on Arab ethnicity in Arab countries in the past, Nationalism had always been a source of political power and legitimization for political rulers and regimes in these countries. Arab rulers mainly gained and kept political power with an emphasis on Arab Nationalism when facing revolutionary process. However, during the last year, the power and legitimization source was gradually weakened. On one hand, it was drifted away as a result of process such as globalization. On the other, Arab countries with above emphasis in mind and a hope for realization of their big aspirations gradually found out that Nationalism not only has no much power to realize their objectives and dreams, but also is a factor of conflict. Additionally, Arab rulers reached power with the emphasis on Nationalism found out that they have gone far away from Nationalist tendencies when facing the realities of international area. As a corollary, Nationalism was slowly neutralized and no longer allowed Arab rulers to relying on which maintain their own power and legitimization.

4- Incapability and weakness of Arab governments in providing economic welfare.

Arab governments are also weak and inefficient in solving economic problems. When they gained power they made very promises of

improvement and providing economic welfare, but after about three decades and cause of their performance not only economic conditions of Arab countries did not improved but also economic inefficiencies of the governments on one hand and wide economic corruption of Arab rulers' families and relatives on the other led to people cynicism and rebels.

Extensive social evolutions and the advent of a generation with a will for change.

In a concomitant to other parts of the world, a new generation has emerged in Arab countries after several decades having different needs and demands comparing to the past generations based on which they tend to new rulers moving in the same line of wills and demands, whereas the governance of the rulers in Arab countries are mostly long term and for a life time. They have been in power for several decades without any changes. People like Bin Ali, Mubarak, Gaddafi, and Selah have been fallen so far by revolutions were rulers gaining power in Cold War time with no changes to their down time. Regarding the social and generation changes, even if the rulers try to supply the new generations' demands, it does not satisfy the generation. When the generation looks at its rulers, it finds them like not being the representative of its wills. So, it desires a reform and a ruler that reflects the new generations' needs and demands.

Accelerating Factors in Revolutions of the Arab World

In addition to setting-the-scene factors of Arab countries revolution, there are also accelerating factors the most important of which are as follow:

USA democratizing policy

Till 2001, the USA policy was based on supporting Arab governments and rulers in the Middle East. With the policy, it tried to realize its own interests in the Middle East. So, although the scene was provided for revolutions in these countries, USA support and protection prevented from the Arab rulers fall and the victory of revolution-advocate groups. Form 2001 on, USA policy changed in the Middle East. And, of the key factors tapping on the change were anti-USA terrorist groups, Arab governments function change and their significance loss in supplying the interests of the USA, and avoiding the fight against social movements demanding the participation in political and social arenas gained power in the Middle East (Dalacoura, 2005). Since then USA has adopted democratizing policy in the Middle East. So, it withdrew the support and protection of Arab rulers. This results in the Arab rulers' loss of power and revolutionary empowerment of movements.

Media as Accelerating Factors in Revolutions of the Arab World

Today, media have been turn out as one of the key factors affecting socio-political evolutions. Their role has been gone through an evolutionary process and increasingly grown so that they have transformed into an effective factor in the world. There are a wide range of views about the role of media in the social and political evolutions. The prospective can be introduced in terms of three following templates:

Template of Passive Media-Active Society

In the first steps of mass media commence and growth, they were recognized as message conveying and transportation tools mediating between the source and origin of the message and people as audience. So,

media were considered as the tools for conveying the message from senders to audience/s (Dadgaran, 2005, 6). That was the way they made an effect. In such a situation, the main function of the media is to transport the message from the source to audience and informing. Doing so, they set the scene for influencing public opinion and have an attempt to form social event and sphere.

Based on this view, media are mediators per se. as Craig puts it media are mediating agents and the mediators for making connections (Craig, 2004,3). Accordingly, some researchers put it that principally the media have little influence on the audiences. In the view, "audience is active and selective" (Cazno, 1986, 104-105) whereas the media are passive and just accept what they convey. The audience tries to make a connection with the reality and analyze what the media convey leading to a cognition. So, he has the power of decision making and the effect of the media is limited. Maximum emphasis here is on mental features of the audiences, their individual, cultural, social differences and conditions (Muhammadi, 2003, 39-40). In the view, audience is active and dynamic and media just act as communication tools and are not capable of making a change.

Template of Active Media-Passive Society

Regarding the evolutions occurred in the field of media, their functions and roles were also transformed, and their influence increased. The changes transformed the media from being a conveyor per se to the message itself leading to new theories about them which emphasize infinite effect of the media on audiences and societies. "Mc Luhan's" theory is the most significant of the theories. Acknowledging that "media are the message itself" (Kazno, 1991, 61), he highlighted the effective status of the media in social changes. In his view, there is no distinction and difference between the media as the message and conveyor of the message. They are integrated and as a result enhance the authenticity of what the media say. With an emphasis on the theory, Davari – Iranian philosopher – also writes about TV that: "TV is no way a medium; because the medium is something that humans deliberately use it to fulfill a purpose, but it is the purpose itself. So, is the power itself and transforms wherever it goes" (Davari, 1995, 50-51).

In a space where the media are tuned to message, "the importance of the content shifts from the message to the estate of conveying it" (Tajik, 2009, 154). It is the media then to build our perception of the world outside and what we gain as reality recognition and environment perception is something given by the media. The audience's grasp of the realities of the world is composed of the image the media build for his mind not the existing reality. Based on the view, it is media then to persuade the audience to be mute toward the situation and or stimulate them toward revolutionary movements and change. Accordingly, the revolutions in Arab countries were sparked off by the media.

Template of Interactional Relationship and Mutual Effect of Media and Society

In addition to the two perspectives described above, there is also a view point which considers the effect of media on audience as a relative matter and a mutual relationship based on which neither the media nor the audience have an absolute power over another. "In fact, it can be

concluded that considering two intra- and extravagant perspectives, it must be accepted that mass communication tools are socio-cultural media, so they will have a great effect. Yet the effects are not infinite and at the same time not so as to be trivial" (Muhammadi, 2003, 143). Media are all active in a social environment. So, in one hand, they are affected by the social environment and affect it on the other. Audiences also live in social environments so they are affected by the media as social factors on one hand and affect them as a component of social environment, on the other (Dehghan, 2009, 16-17).

As a social agent and beside other agents like family, school, university and ..., Media directly and indirectly, tangible and intangible, in transient or short term and long term affect people of the society and their behavioral patterns, ideas, habits and treatments (Blumler, 1974, 20). Media select messages based on their own priorities and convey them to the audience using different a variety of tactics. Accordingly, they try to draw their desirable image of reality in the mine of audience. So media are recognized as an active actor, but the audience receiving the message is not passive to accept whatever the media convey. They choose by evaluating the message. They may accept or reject the whole message and or accept a part and reject another part of it. In this regard, a range factors are effective confining the influence of the media (Saroukhani, 1989).

Different analyses of the effect of the media on Arab countries' revolutionary movements are provided. In some of them, regarding the function of some media in the events and active media-passive audience theory, the role and impact of the media are highlighted and they are introduced as the generator of the evolutions. In the same regard, Face Book group has played a great role in Tunes and Egypt's revolutions so that the rise was known as Face Book revolution (Mehr News, 2011). Rejecting arguments not considering Face Book and Twitter as generating factors of the revolutions, CNN's Commentator wrote: real Face Book revolution is globalized and it is the only reality showing off, as "why not knowing them as Face Book revolutions" (Taylor, 2011).

However, there have been interpretations and analyses provided in which in turn socio-political processes and active role of people are considered as generating factors of the revolutions. In a report as "the Legend of Face Book Revolution" and quoting from critics using the concept in describing Arab world's revolutions, Flanagan writes that the role of Face Book and Twitter in the revolutions is exaggerated (Flanagan, 2011).

In criticizing the view which considers Egypt revolution as Face Book revolution and a result of young Face Book and Twitter users, Fahmi Huveidi - Egyptian intellect – writes: it was not "Face Book" to stimulate the people for revolution, but the Egypt nation participating in the revolution from different social classes (poor and rich), age and religious groups (Muslim and Christian). They all rose to protect their respect and honor and their will did not form under an instant change, but after ages of suppression and tyranny they felt that it was the time to rise. The powder store was about to change and when they found out that they are more powerful than all autocrats; they rose without keeping waiting for a hero to come, to make their own fate with their own hands (Huveidi, 2011). From this perspective, generating factors of the revolutions in Arab world included social and political processes in these societies leading to people's dissatisfaction and sparking their protests off.

However, based on the third template in which both media and audiences are introduced as active; media are not highlighted as the generator of the revolutions nor they are underestimated as being passive so as to only convey the message with no effect on the evolutions. Social and political processes of Arab world set such conditions for the people of the countries to protests and establish revolutions. Nevertheless, media also played a role in political processes to make an effect. So, they could manage to influence socio-political transformations of Arab world. "There is no question that social media played a significant role in the political movements in Tunisia and Egypt, but one should not overstate the role"(Khondker, 2011, 678). As Linda Herrera wrote, revolution of Egypt (and other countries) are not Face Book revolution, yet the role of users of the medium cannot be ignored (Herrera, 2011).

The Effect of Media on Revolutionary Movements in Arab Countries

Although media are under the government control in Arab countries, the control could not make it to constrain the access of citizens to media cause of the diversity and expansion of communications facilities. So, despite imposed limits by the governments, Arab countries citizens have access to a wide range of the media. This has resulted in direct or indirect access of the audiences to views and debates distributed, and promoted by the media."After analyzing over 3 million tweets, gigabytes of YouTube content and thousands of blog posts, a new study finds that social media played a central role in shaping political debates in the Arab Spring. Conversations about revolution often preceded major events on the ground, and social media carried inspiring stories of protest across international borders"(Howard, & Others, 2011).The effect of media on Arab world's revolutionary movements can be addressed in a variety of features.

Media and Inspiration of Change Idea

Producing new and change-centered opinions and ideas has been among the most significant effects of the media in Arab countries. The function of media in these countries led to a wide expansion of civil society and reinforced critical groups with a will to reform governments (Rorton, 1995, 7). As a result, the concept of citizenship was grown in the countries of the region and human rights groups, women populations and social groups became active and took action to make their own desirable changes (Messava, 1992,53). Media tended to inform people, instruct and promote new ideas, and on the other hand, set the possibility for people of the Middle East to compare current and desirable conditions and thereby inspired the idea of change into their minds aimed at achieving the better status.

Making a connection between the people of Arab countries with the world outside, the media added to their information and awareness of their surrounding and encourage them to compare between the Arab societies and other countries'. With the comparison, elites and youngsters of Arab societies in particular came up with the necessity of the idea of change. So, the idea of change was formed among them and they shifted to be the critics of current condition in Arab world(Nazari and Ghanbari, 2012, 18).

Media and Promotion of the Change Idea

Collecting and analyzing the information and news from the environment, the media made an attempt to represent them to people. The action of the media leads to a wide-range distribution and promotion of the information and their interpretation and analysis. The function of the media, in Arab world, resulted in expanding and publicizing reform-centered thoughts and opinions. As a result, the idea of change which was firstly presented by elites of Arab world was generalized, and by being distributed by the media, it was changed into a general, national, and even regional will (Howard, & Others, 2011). "Reflecting current views among the intellectuals, media generalized the debate and mental controversies of the region's intellectuals to every individual's houses and gradually drew people to the scene to evaluate the events as final judge" (Firahi, 2000). With such a function, media led to the formation of a general reform-oriented process which rose against the governments.

Media and Encouragement for Practicing the Change

Another effect of the media on social and political evolutions in Arab world was their encouragement for change. Doing so, they had a dual effect; both encouraging some actions and discouraging the others. As a corollary, by tapping on people's will to proceed the idea of change on one hand and by warning them not to neglect the demand on the other, the media reinforced the revolution processes. They used different tactics to enhance the impact of their activities including labeling, highlighting, disclosing provoking information, aspiring and visualizing, repeating, silence, and boycott, and

TV and radio networks and in particular news channels, internet and virtual networks played significant role in this regard encouraging and stimulating the protests. Fahmi Huveidi, despite severely criticizing the idea of Egypt revolution as a Face Book one, does not deny the role of these media in spurring the groups of people on. He says: obviously, no one can ignore the significance of the role these two communications media (Face Book and Twitter) played in Egyptians movements ... they have a great part in broadcasting a great deal of important information, images and videos and the like. It had a really vital role in building the awareness of many and or stimulating the others to move (Huveidi, 2011).

Media and Supervision of Arab World Evolutions and their Leadership

Supervising the environment and transformation and leadership of the affairs is one of the media's functions. Similarly, they acted in Arab world revolutions; on one hand, they broadcasted news and information on the transformations of these countries for Arab and other regions of the world audiences and prevented the protests and protestors news from being hidden and confined the governments' suppression. On the other hand, they called upon support and protection for Arab countries rises by disclosing demands and rights of the protestors to the world. Especially "the use of social media helped to draw local and international attention to important activities that otherwise may have been shielded from public view, thereby isolating the participants" (Eltantawy, Nahed & Julie B. Wiest, 2011: 1218).

Concurring the world public opinion and Arab countries people was one of the sensitive deeds the media have practiced. This is that dictator governments' treatment raised many protests at both domestic and international levels had a considerable influence on other nations to

accompany Arab countries people. "Displaying the world public and politicians' support for Egyptians' action through media enhance the spirit of the Egyptians" (Salehi, 2011). Aside from making it difficult for the Arab rulers to suppress the rises, this brought about further supports and advocates for Arab revolutions. In other words, representing news, interpretations and information, media drew both the position of the forces and made an effort to provide the plan for protests and rises and lead them toward their desirable goals by depicting the prospective of revolutions and reminding the major factors capable of influencing the evolutions. Notwithstanding the media competed in revolution-centered evolutions of the Arab world based on their origins, except official media of Arab governments, other media had to some extent consensus on supporting rises and their struggles for success - despite their different interests and competitions. Although the media put their pledge on supervision and leadership of revolutionary movements with different policy makings, it was in the same line of contribution to constraint the governments' authorities to suppress the rises, yet empowering the protestors to chase their goals.

Media and Organizing and Mobilizing Protestors

One of the effective factors in the victory of rises is the power of organizing and mobilizing active forces in them mainly undertaken by rises and movements leaders. However, a feature of Arab countries revolution was that no solid and single leader controlled them. In the mean time, media and in particular internet network as well as virtual networks played a great role in organizing and mobilizing the protestors. "The Egyptian revolution, therefore, demonstrates the opportunities offered by social media for large-scale mobilization and the organization and implementation of social movements"(Eltantawy, Nahed & Julie B. Wiest, 2011: 1218). The media appeared to be the leaders of protests streams in circumstances where a united leadership had not been formed for Arab countries political evolution and the protestors needed a unit plan and coordination to proceed. They conducted the mobilization and organization of the protestors by tying the protestors, announcing time of actions and movements, declaring the place of protests, determining the mottos and objectives and distinguishing policies and plans.

Function of media in social and political evolutions of Arab world was unique. Impact of media in this regard is the result of new media generation and their special capacities and capabilities. Acting the role and as a powerful factor, Media sparked the protestors to insist in their wills to governments change and led the rises to victory with persistence and tracing the plans cited.

Conclusion

Regarding the performance of media in Arab countries revolutionary movements, it must be said that they are not considered as inductive factors of revolutions rather they have an impact when rise and fight for the change had gotten started. In fact, social and political factors provided the opportunity for revolutions in Arab countries and the societies were prepared for revolution. Media supported revolutionary movements by enacting their tasks and prevented from the dusk of the protests. Effects of media can be divided into two types.

First, they strengthened generated change grounds. They paved the way for revolutions by producing and distributing thoughts and ideas focusing on the necessity of governments change in Arab countries. Affected by the areas, media contributed to the circumstances formation by providing reform-oriented ideas and perspectives in which the necessity of changing governments and the idea of change was generalized.

Another impact of the media was their accelerating effects. Upon commence of rises, media also accompanied them encouraging the protestors and forming public opinion on their side. Furthermore, media mobilized and organized the forces. Accordingly, media acted in Arab countries revolutions as the accelerator. Beside, contributing the protests to reach their objectives, media promoted the movements to different Arab countries, as well. So, they must be introduced as an accelerator of revolutionary movements in Arab countries. Because – when the scene was provided for revolutionary transformations affected by economic, social, cultural and political factors in Arab countries – media have been effective in reinforcement and accelerating them toward the victory of revolutions.

References

- 1- Blumler, Jay. G. *The uses of Mass Communications perspective on Gratifications Research*. Beverly Hills, 1974.
- 2- Craig, Geoffrey. *The Media, Politics and Public Life*. Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2004.
- 3- Dadgaran, Sayed Mohammad (2005), *Mass Communications Principles*, Tehran: Nashre Morvarid va Firozeh.
- 4- Dalacoura, Katerina (2005), US democracy promotion in the Arab Middle East since 11 September 2001: A critique, *International Affairs*, Volume 81, Issue 5, pp. 963–979, October 2005.
- 5- Davari, Reza (1995), “How to Deal with the TV?” *The Letter of Culture*, No. 19.
- 6- Dehghan, Alli Reza (2009), “Studying the Effect of Media in Public Opinion: Application of a Sociological Template”, *the Letter of Social Sciences*, No. 13, pp. 3-25.
- 7- Eltantawy, Nahed & Julie B. Wiest (2011), Social Media in the Egyptian Revolution: Reconsidering Resource Mobilization Theory, *International Journal of Communication*, No. 5, pp. 1207–1224.

- 8- Firahi, Davood (2000), "Media and the Evolution of Political Culture in the Middle East", *Political Sciences Quarterly*. Flanagan, Ben. Thenational. May 18, 2011. <http://www.thenational.ae/business/media/facebook-revolution-a-myth-critics-say> (accessed June 22, 2011).
- 9- Herrera, Linda. "Egypt,s revolution2.0: The Facebook Factor", *Jadaliyya*. Feb. 12, 2011. http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/612/egypts-revolution-2.0_the-facebook-factor (accessed June 22, 2011).
- 10- Howard, P.N., Duffy, A., Freelon, D., Hussain, M., Mari, W. & Mazaid, M. (2011). *Opening Closed Regimes: What Was the Role of Social Media During the Arab Spring?*. Seattle: PIPTI. Retrieved May 22, 2012 from <http://pitpi.org/index.php/2011/09/11/opening-closed-regimes-what-was-the-role-of-social-media-during-the-arab-spring/>
- 11- Huveidi, Fahmi (17 Feb. 2011), khabaronline, Available at: <http://khabaronline.ir/news-132955.aspx> (accessed 19 June 2011).
- 12- Kazno, Jhan (1986), *Power of TV*, Translated to Persian by Bagher Saroukhani, & Manochehr Mohseni, Tehran: Entesharate Ettelaat.
- 13- Kazno, Jhan (1991), *The Sociology of Mass Communication Tools*, Translated to Persian by Bagher Saroukhani, & Manochehr Mohseni, Tehran: Entesharate Ettelaat.
- 14- Khondker, Habibul Haque (2011) "*Role of the New Media in the Arab Spring*", *Globalizations*, 8:5, 675-679, Zayed University , Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, Published online: 18 Nov 2011. Avilabl at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2011.621287>
- 15- Mehr News (29 March 2011), "Face book's Destiny in Vague", Available at: <http://www.mehrnews.com/fa/NewsDetail> (accessed 25 July 2011).
- 16- Messava, Autoni. (1992)*Civil Society against the War System: The Lebans Case*. Eryp: Gaiza.

- 17- Muhammadi, Jalal (2003), "Examining Audience's Contribution Patterns regarding the Content and Tools of Mass Communication", *Mesbah Quarterly*, pp. 135-156.
- 18- Nazari, Ali Ashraf & Loghman Ghanbari (2012), Autopsy and pathology of democracy and political participation in the Arabic countries, *Political & Economic Ettela'at*, No. 288, pp. 4-21.
- 19- Rorton, Augustus Richard (1995). *Civil Society in the Middle East*. New York: Brill: Leiden.
- 20- Salehi, Mohammad (12 March 2011), Tabnak, Available at: <http://www.tabnak.ir> (accessed 23 May 2011)
- 21- Saroukhani, Bagher (1989), *Mass Communications Sociology*, 2ed Publication, Tehran: Entesharate Ettelaat.
- 22- Tajik, Mohammad Reza (2009), "Media in Intensive World of Reality", *Political and International Approaches Quarterly*, No. 19, Fall 2009.
- 23- Taylor, Chris. "Why not call it a Facebook revolution?" CNN. 02 24, 2011. http://articles.cnn.com/2011-02-24/tech/facebook.revolution_1_facebook-wael-ghonim-social-media?_s=PM:TECH (accessed 06 25, 2011).