The Impact of Communications Networkization on Security-Political Developments in the Arab Middle East Countries

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Abstract

After commencing popular uprisings in the Arab countries, the strategic region of the Middle East and North Africa has been exposed to radical changes. The region has been traditionally unsecure and full of tension but the new developments indicate some features more different from the previous ones. In the age of communication revolution, people receive their required information through virtual world, media and satellites, and they embark on sending information. In fact, this factor can determine the domino fall of dictators in the similar countries in terms of governmental and identity systems because in spite of closed political sphere in the Arab countries after three or four decades of dictatorship, the dictators cannot prevent the youth from using new communicative technologies in the twenty first century. Therefore uprisings and fall of dictators in the Arab countries have been shaped by simulating and through the new communicative space which can be called a way for transiting to the fourth wave of democratization in the Middle East. The article raises and examines this claim as its hypothesis that communications networkization has culminated in weakening the national sovereignty of Arab authoritarian states and developing democratic demands in the Middle East. The research method is analytical-descriptive one which is chosen due to the novelty of these developments.

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Introduction

The events of Tunisia that started by the self-immolation of a young man triggered by police behavior caused the Tunisian people, particularly the youth who were often educated but unemployed, bark on staging protests and demonstrations that culminated in falling a 23 years old authoritarian system. In June 2011, Ben Ali escaped to Saudi Arabia and the Tunisian revolution known as Lilac Revolution triumphed. The next state affected by the Tunisian revolution was Egypt. By patterning on Tunisian revolution, the Egyptian youth used new communication tools such as social networks, satellite TV channels and cell phones in order to reach full contact for revolution. Then other countries such as Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, Algeria, Saudi Arabia and others joined the movement.

Of course, there are many troubles yielding these protests and uprisings of which we can point out poverty, unemployment, domestic dictatorship, foreign dominance, financial and administrative corruption, inheriting long-term dictatorships, closed political atmosphere, lack of civil participation, and other problems which are closely interconnected. In this article, the main question is: What is the impact of communications networkization on the political- security developments of the Arab Middle Eastern countries? The following hypothesis will be examined: networkization has culminated in weakening the national sovereignty of Arab authoritarian countries and it will bring about democratic demands in the Middle East. The theoretical framework of this article is postmodernism. The method is analytical-descriptive method which is selected due to newness and freshness of the recent developments.

Theoretical framework: postmodernism

From a historical viewpoint, the modern culture started by renaissance and reinforced by enlightenment and French Revolution as the West's key discourse. The postmodern thought criticizes modern rationality and limits it in a framework. Although many believe that postmodernism is the end of modernism, but in fact, postmodernism is an attitude (in terms of philosophy and art) which is happening within the framework of modernism. While postmodernism is the child of modernism, it challenges modern goals and discourses. What postmodernism criticizes that the modern belief in reason as the most

general and objective of reality, and the belief that all social developments take place on the basis of reason (Jenkins, 1997: 36).

The most important philosophical attempt for theorizing postmodernism is conducted in Jean-Francois Lyotard's thought. In his *Postmodern Condition*, Lyotard pays attention to the problem of knowledge in the postmodern era. He believes that computerization of modern industrial societies has changed the nature of knowledge. Knowledge has become an informational good and science that has separated from its original condition and it is now an instrument at the disposal of power. So those who control knowledge, control politics (Nazari, 2009: 195).

The other postmodern thinker is Jean Baudrillard, the French sociologist. He believes that postmodern world is like simulated world. Therefore Disney Land and television constitute the realities in the US. From Baudrillard's viewpoint, we have entered the hyper-real world. In other words, reality is produced but it is out of our control. In an article about the Persian Gulf War in the early 1990s, Baudrillard pointed out that this war was completely constructed by the media that depicted such a war for us. What we see regarding the reality is an image which is shown to us. Media act as our eyes. Even when we seek to oppose this advanced capitalism, we immediately become a part of it (Ibid).

As the main debate dominating the political thought in recent two decades, postmodernism has created many developments in the kind of outlook to politics and the political. In this direction, postmodernists have adopted a critical and pluralist approach towards modern rigid realities within its Eurocentric framework. Postmodernism provides theoretical backers for supporting difference and otherness, and it helps multiculturalism approach. Hence, such theorists as Daniel Bell regard postmodernism as a more libertarian and democratic thought. In the final analysis, we can talk about prioritizing emancipation politics among postmodernists; the politics that first of all pays attention to liberating individuals and groups from imposed restrictions on them and attempt at breaking the dominance of some individuals and groups on others that prevents them from reaching their opportunities. The processes of post-modernization and globalization have changed the nature of state and political values and institutions. In the postmodern societies, interconnectedness of culture, economy, international and national and sub- national politics is one of political features. Not only agents,

structures and forces have connected and intertwined but also there are influence and impact at all levels. The growth of transnational relations and communicative systems, banking and financial systems, trans-nationalism in such movements as environmentalism, increasing importance of transnational cultures and so on are evident manifestations of these developments. In spite of dissatisfaction of states, interconnectedness and interaction take place in multiple ways and foreign actions have consequences within the states. In the Western Europe, the old politics and new politics are currently being organized in terms of trans- nationality at the levels of agent, values, interest and organizational behavior, and they often use information technologies as communicative instruments (Khaniki, 1998: 75).

Nowadays new media can transmit their intended cultural elements including beliefs and values by using a dynamic permanent process, and they can change individual's behaviors and attitudes by presenting their cultural patterns (Mahpishanian, 2010: 156). Given the style of informing about the Arab uprisings and formation of these developments in the Middle East and North Africa, Cohen suggests that media may not be successful about telling people how to think. But generally, they are successful in telling their audience what they think about (Schramm, 2002: 98). Joseph Nye regards internet networks as the key aspect of the twenty first century and considers internet as a very important and influential factor in the currents through this period of time.

Therefore, postmodernism as a theoretical framework has the capacity for defining and explaining the issue of study. In the current era and globalized world, through different ways, societies seek to create a more appropriate space for following their objectives in the framework of mass communications in an information international society. All these objectives are pursued via communicative networks and by specific tendencies.

Causes of increasing popular uprisings in the Arab countries

Many believe that according to Muʿāwiya's preach at Yazid "If Arabs are full and satisfied, they will never revolt against their rulers". But although people were not satisfied in such countries as Egypt, they were more or less satisfied in Bahrain, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. A hidden dissatisfaction is not seen but when suitable circumstances are provided for it, then it will grow and spread. The origins of dissidence go back to

several decades ago but we should see what the suitable circumstance was. Therefore we should talk about the causes of these revolutions and their short-term and long-term causes. Then we should deal with the probable trend of these developments and estimate their orientation.

There are two groups of causes for revolution: "circular causes" and "structural causes". The structural causes are complicated and intertwined, and the circular causes are short-term and more tangible. The structural causes include authoritarian regimes, discrimination and lack of social justice, poverty, economic and political corruption, lack of participatory structures, and outdated political structure. The circular causes revitalize the structural ones. The circular structures are like sparks in powder keg. From now on, we should focus on the circular structures when we examine revolutions and sociopolitical movements. The most prominent circular structure in these revolutions is the domino effect of the Tunisian revolution that gave the Arabs a sense of self-confidence.; the people who suffered from many years of repression. The structural structures paved the way for revolution but if there is no revolutionary will, they will never culminate in the final ends. In the midst of these developments, Mohammad El Baradei said: "The Egyptian people reached the conclusion that they can." In other words, the domino effect is that if Tunisians could, other people can too. But what does create this domino effect? In the global village, the world is like a village through which news spread rapidly. This is the power of media, even in those countries that official media have become the rulers' speakers. In such a circumstance, people will learn from the events, even if the news is without interpretation or people do not access to the unbiased foreign media. It is observed many times that in Tunisia, Egypt and other places when people put pressures on established power, the very authoritarian rulers chanted reformist slogans (Hamidi, 2011: 14).

Alexi de Tocqueville said about the French Revolution and the old regime: "The most dangerous moment for a bad government is when it begins to reform… a dissidence which was tolerated because it seemed insoluble, becomes intolerable because it seems removable" (Bashiriye, 2004: 61-62).

Given the process of globalization and spread of communications, the recent developments in the Middle East and North Africa are interpreted as the lack of appropriateness of political structures with the zeitgeist. Those who regard economic shortages as the factor of unrests in the

Middle East countries have regarded unprivileged class and workers' movements as their origins. It is while in the closed political space approach, only elite Arabs have been regarded as the key factor. Although some attempts at fixing the Islamic identity as the base for the recent events have a trans- class origins but in a society with religious diversity and various Arabic beliefs, other such as Qibtis, Marunis, Doruzis and the followers of other religions have not been considered. It is while according to all news media and regional analysts, the unrests in the Arab countries are not limited to specific class, religion, party or ideology, and all people including poor and rich, Muslim and Christian. Islamist, leftist and Naserist participated in it. Disrespect for Arab people by the authoritarian rulers is the most inclusive factor by which we can analyze recent unrests in Arab world in relation with the category of communications networkization. In fact, users and protesters have used communications and organized popular movements through these instruments that have become a domino effect for different places. The Arab people in different countries have suffered from various pains which have become old wounds during a long period of time. These pains could be summarized as follows:

Occupation of Arab lands by a Jewish minority and repeated failures of Arab states from the Zionist regime which is caused by cowardice of Arab rulers have culminated in humiliation of Arab nations; a humiliation which was decreased by Lebanon 33 Days War and Ghaza 22 Days War and it was proven that the factors of failures were not Israel's military advantage, but incompetence of such rulers as Mubarak. The Arab leaders have reiterated in their media on the unity of Arabs but in fact, they have not reached any unity in economic, political, cultural or even religious issues, and differences are increasing every day. The Arab nations have been trapped in unjust divisions in their own countries. The majority of Arabs live in poor countries such as Sudan, Egypt, Yemen, Jordan and so on, and a minority lives in oil- exporting countries such as Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf region.

In all Arab countries, there are lifetime governments, whether republic or monarchy or emirate, and a president like Husni Mubarak after 30 years of governing Egypt wanted to replace Jamal Mubarak, his son as ruler. The same is ture about Bashar Asad after Hafiz Asad's death and Ali Abdollah Salih who wanted to replace his son but fortunately he was defeated. Underdevelopment of Arab countries is another factor of

humiliating Arab nations. Some of Arab nations are underdeveloped as the result of poverty and the lack of good governance, and the other nations who have rich resources are underdeveloped due to the underdevelopment of human resources and population. Lack of freedom and several decades of governance by Arab rulers and disappointment from creating redemption are other pains from which Arab nations suffer. Another problem is deep dependence on the West, particularly the US that has not yielded any results. During several decades of dependence, they have been humiliated and no problem has been resolved. The Arabs have found out that the US support for their rulers have doubled their pains. These humiliations reached a point that a nation that has the ambitions of an Arab empire enjoying high level civilization and thought once upon a time, had to embark on self-immolation in order to show its dissidence. The phenomena observed today in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, and Libya and so on are like blazes burning the bodies of authoritarian regimes and dictatorships.

The impact of communications networkization on uprisings in the Arab countries

In the past, the media space was very restricted but nowadays networkization and trans- border performance of social networks have increased their impact at national and trans-national levels. Today we see that a crisis starts in a country and its consequences are promptly seen in other countries through social networks. This phenomenon is due to the networkization of media. In fact, social media affect the continuation and spread of these crises through network features and amplify them. Several changes have taken place since the formation of new technologies. In the Web1, the space at audience's disposal was so limited that s/he could a limited interaction and liberates her/himself from absolute passivity. Of course, this limited interaction space was restricted. Weblogs were a prominent instance in which the weblog manager could interfere in the audiences' commenting.

But in new technologies belonging to Web2, such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and so on, the audiences' interaction aspect is too strong. Here the contents are predominantly at the audiences' disposal. In fact, the difference between Web1 and Web2 lies in the audiences' high power. In Web2 the managers can only affect the process of forming content through legislation. The factors that strengthen the role of these

media from other virtual media are their special features such as high speed of social networks and their facilities for presenting new developments (Kamrava, 2009: 340).

In the past, oral reproduction, rumors and night papers were doing this but today the spread of social networks and their facilities such as uploading video and audio and images have created potentials for these networks that have enabled them to act successfully in various spheres.

Another point in this sphere is that during political developments and crises, the space of rumors is shaping widely and affects the developments. In this regard, the social networks have the capacity for entering these spheres and by using unofficial spaces play an important role in rumoring. In the past, media were reflecting the crises and events passively but today, they not only reflect crises and events but also affect them. In some cases, they even form and pave the way for them. Therefore nowadays the media cannot be pressured even by the state leverages. Nowadays media move beyond state controls and due to this reason they want to play a role in the political spheres and developments. The states cannot treat with the media as entities out of decision-making process or as an instrument for their desires. Nowadays media even have the ability to secure a part of state's power and monopolize it. The Western media, in this regard, as the instrument of cultural dominance and widening political conflicts, are the main actors of power relations in the Middle East that can challenge the states and Islamic countries. The West not only defeats its cultural rivals easily by media, but also represents its opponents as abnormal and unconventional entities at the world level. The opponents are described as fundamentalists, radicals and so on or they will be basically forgotten (Hudson, 1988: 171).

Why have new authoritarian been shaped in the Middle East? What factors did pave the way for transiting from tribal system to modern state in these countries? What has happened now that the Middle Eastern states witness their decline? In this section, we will deal with the role of media and examine the above-mentioned questions. We can only answer these questions if we assess the relationship between these media and the current intellectual trends and political culture in the Middle East.

It seems that the issue of state-building, emergence and gradual decline of the authoritarian states in the new Middle East has a considerable relationship with the spread of mass media in the region. Communication has a dualistic and complicated nature in this region. On

the one hand, media have paved the way for assimilation in among the ethnic groups through spreading the ideas supported by the central government. Generally monopolization of media has given the state a kind of monopolized power within their country. On the other hand, globalization of the Western media and ease access to them has caused creating a kind of anti-authoritarian human being, anti-moralism and diversity in the political culture of the Islamic societies (Owen, 1992: 29-55). Given the assimilation-oriented feature of mass communication, the new states in the Middle East regard them as a kind of university that can reconstruct the public opinion intended by the state. In this manner, media are designed as the second pillar of the state beside educational system so that both of them can reinforce the state machine. Thus the state system, domestic media and educational system are three dimensions of a triangular that should enjoy an even development. But in practice, two dimensions, namely educational system and media, grow out of state's desires due to the dominance of trans-national media and educational systems of other countries (Ibid).

Therefore due to spreading their specific political culture, transnational media can put pressure on state system and the legitimation bases of its authority in the Islamic society. The point is that the Third World states, particularly the Middle Eastern ones, reinforce their educational system and media for their own preservation and development but as the result of spreading public education and literacy level of people on the one hand and development of mass communications in these countries, the Middle East is getting more and more access to the transnational media and the people satisfy their news needs from them. Not only the messages of Western media penetrate into Muslims' homes but also these messages become the criteria for evaluating the domestic media (Clamphan, 1990: 182-9). In this condition, not only the western media become rivals for domestic radio and television and newspapers but also the combat for attracting public opinion will culminate in great global media's victory due to their higher technologies and some cultural considerations such as the Western attractions. Giddens points out that the Third World countries are more vulnerable because they lack resources and power in order to preserve their cultural independence.

No doubt both domestic and Western media have stereotype-oriented activities. Therefore the image they represent of the world and their

society is not essentially a perfect and unbiased one but they tend to show themselves and the world as they want to be. Of course, the spread of global media in the Middle East has awakened the audiences of the region and changed the above- mentioned equation. They have explored the nature and stereotypes of mass media, either foreigner or domestic, and known the consequences of them. They have reached the conclusion that if they want to have a relatively conclusive image of the world and its developments, they should listen to all voices thus the Middle East people enjoy more choosing power than before. Notwithstanding the domestic media will never enjoy more audiences than before because they suffer from news management and propaganda style, beside technological shortages.

The most important flaw of the domestic media is their explicit and uninteresting mode of propaganda on the one hand, and biased reports and unnecessary support, on the other (Irani, 2006: 205). Consequently, the Muslim people lost their trust in domestic media news and reports, and incline towards foreign media. Such an approach towards foreign media which is intensified during crises gradually turns into a usual need and habit for people.

While the Middle Eastern states impel domestic media toward defending state in all aspects in order to stabilize themselves, the people use the Western sources in order to raise their problems. The point is that when people secure their required information from the foreign media, they regulate their opinions according to the information provided by them. In fact, in the Middle East, a kind of political culture constructed by the Western media has been developed which is against traditional political culture and legitimacy of states. The Middle Eastern countries and their new states have engaged in a contradictory situation between authority and democratization due to confrontation with new circumstances. Cultural sociologists provide disappointing explanations about the cultural condition and political culture of the Middle East (Crystal, 1994). The axis of the issue is based on three pivots: Islam, authoritarianism and democracy. Our discussion is never about the impossibility of democracies or gradual decline of authorities. The main point is that the condition of religion and pious masses is critical. They do not know that what their religion says regarding politics or from which perspective they should look at their religion. In this complicated intellectual environment, it is natural to have different interpretations of

Islam as a religion. Thus many significant verbal and basic disputes have been formed in the Middle East that seems born by cultural-political disputes in the media sphere. Anyway, although theoretical attempts at seeking a series of strong principals for political participation have not been developed in the Middle East (Kramer, 1994: 122-35) but in spite of these theoretical problems, many societies have developed various kinds of elections and popular votes.

It can be said that the Islamic societies of the Middle East, nowadays, have trapped in a kind of dualism: separation of theory and action, on the one hand and separation of pasta and present which has involved public opinion and political culture in a multiplicity, distortion and legitimation crisis (Turner, 1989: 27). The mentioned phenomenon has considerable sociopolitical consequences. On the one hand, disparity among political and social activists faces the state structure with marginalization of intellectual and managerial forces. They cut their relations with the state and turn into serious centers of dissidence and critical thought. On the other hand, spread of social and ethnic tensions shake the body and foundations of state and push the ruling class toward military-security measures. Finally many Middle Eastern states such as Egypt, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Yemen are like islands in society because of reinforcing their authoritarian aspect. In such turbulent circumstances which are created by the Western media, neither the nature of new dictatorships is explained nor the nature of contemporary Islamic movements. Even worsened, the existent dictatorships find an opportunity for introducing them as Islamic systems so they can preserve themselves and through reinforcing their legitimacy, many authentic Islamic movements will face serious problems (Waterbury, 1994: 22). Anyway, given the dominance of the Western media, the regional states have always pursued a kind of cultural policy in order to defend their uneven and fragile body against the political culture nurtured by the foreign media, but as the experience of recent years indicates they have not rescued from these contradictions.

In these countries, the political system has been structured in a way that people never participate in politics systematically and significantly. There are apparent manifestations of democracy and elections but there are not their prerequisites and conditions. The political groups are created promptly and disappear after the election (Shils, 1991: 27). The Middle Eastern states pay more attention to increasing education and public

awareness than political participation. In these states, public and academic education enhances annually. This issue is one of the most important prerequisites that encourages the youth covered by free public education toward political participation, and it faces the educated strata against the state implicitly or explicitly because they regard participation as their right. The political culture of educated people who are familiarized with the foundations and values of the Western civilization is shaped by the ceaseless waves of media in a way that they cannot neglect participating in the public areas. Anyway this condition indicating dualism in the political culture and the cultural policy of the Middle East has involved these countries in a specific and contradictory situation.

Given the above-mentioned issues, the role of media is beyond merely informing the audience. In the information and communications age, media are new instruments for creating crisis, reducing or increasing crisis or even launching war. These tools are complementary for military force and they are regarded as security-threatening factors at various individual, national, international and global levels. As we will see, they are at the frontline of crisis-building and security-threatening measures. Therefore in this article, we will analyze the recent developments in the Middle East and North Africa on the basis of communications networkization.

Living under several decade of authoritarianism and patriarchy, the people of this region regarded uprising not more than a daydream. But the self-immolation of a Tunisian young man and publication of his photos in the websites, weblogs and social networks set the hidden fire of the region in the agenda of many much-viewed media of the world. Now the voice of democracy, liberty and anti-authoritarianism came from the Muslim countries of the Middle East and North Africa, not from the West. This remembers me of Alexi de Tocqueville's quote about the events after the French Revolution: A new world has been commenced. Old policies can no more explain the new condition after the French Revolution. On this basis, regarding the new developments in the Arab Middle East, we can say that a new atmosphere has dominated over the region that does not tolerate patriarchic and tyrannical ways and the authoritarian rulers of the region must revision their policies and satisfy their citizen's demands, if they want to continue their rule. The factor that the author emphasizes and regards it as the cause of these events is communications networkization or in other words, spread of social

networks, newspapers, television, and internet and so on. Self-immolation of a young man in Tunisia became the first news of many important media of the world, websites and social networks, and it caused a widespread uprising in that country so Ben Ali ran away and his 23 years dictatorship was overthrown. But the more important issue was the spread of these protests to other Arab states such as Egypt, Algeria, Yemen, Jordan, Bahrain, Libya and Saudi Arabia so that several Algerian and even Israeli youth embarked on self-immolation. Anyway many analysts believe that the Tunisia's events are the starting point for a new era in the African and Middle Eastern democratic struggles. This remembers us Marx's words about the extent of 1848 revolutions in which he said: "The so-called revolutions of 1848 were but poor incidents, small fractures and fissures in the dry crust of European society. But they denounced the abyss. Beneath the apparently solid surface, they betrayed oceans of liquid matter, only needing expansion to rend into fragments continents of hard rock" (Berman, 2000: 47).

Nowadays it seems that a young man's self- immolation and its consequent unrests in the Arab countries has become an ocean of melted materials beneath the apparently hard layers of authoritarian regimes. The author believes that these developments can be considered as the start of the fourth wave of democratization in the world, after the three waves explained by Samuel Huntington. Here we deal with the role of modern media, particularly social networks in coverage of uprising events in the Arab world. Since the new media break the spatial and temporal frontiers, to trace their message is very hard because they work according to interaction and share. They are regarded as an open field for self-asserting of marginalized individuals and groups who are trapped in the dictatorship and monolog societies. In the horrific and closed space of authoritarian societies, the social forces incline more and more towards clandestine and uncontrollable media in order to reveal the corruption and injustice and make their voice publicized.

Due to dictatorship and censorship, Tunisia's big media including radio, television and state-run publications could not play their role on the basis of the audiences' needs, particularly the urban youth and educated people who were seeking political and social participation, citizenship rights, respect and so on. Thus the equilibrium among three elements namely media, audience and society had been destroyed and the gap between state-run media and citizens increased. Given the monolog

nature of Tunisian media, the middle layers of society sought new media for expressing their protests. In such circumstances, people may use any paper forbidden by Ben Ali's government because as Marx puts it, since people have to regard free writings as illegal, they get used to regarding every illegal thing as free, every free thing as illegal, and every legal thing as not-free (Marx, 2006: 108). Due to the lack of understanding media changes in the world and his own country, Ben Ali thought that he will guarantee his rule by restricting radio, television and the press. Thus particularly after the April 2nd 1989 parliamentary election and after declaring the "drying all springs" policy, he embarked on heavy censorship on the press and repressing the dissidents. As Thomas Areskin put it, the free media are like Telus spear. They can cure the wounds they have created on the body of politics. Let the people express their thoughts freely and throw away their anger. If they do this, they are like exploding powder that is burned. They do not explode and do not have any danger. But if you put pressure on them, they will be like a fire hidden underground that no one can see their flames until they manifest themselves as earthquake and volcano (Kane, 2001: 17-18). And this was the case.

The disputes and conflicts which at first, was evident between the state and the Islamic party (Al-Nahza) gradually culminated in unrest in society, particularly the unemployed young educated people whose demands were not satisfied in neither society nor media. By using alternative media (internet and social networks), the youth created virtual worlds for their own that lacked real objects but had real effects. According to Areskin, after publicizing the videos and photos of self-immolation by the young man in social networks, people joined together like dispersed powder and overthrow Ben Ali's dictatorship.

A social network is a website or a series of websites in which the users can share their demands, interests, thoughts and works with other users. In recent years, social networks have spread unprecedentedly. Social networks such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Flicker, Google Reader and so on are new beds for creating virtual networks among users and they have been widely spread. Social networks are the websites that get the feature of sharing through adding simple tools like search engine and facilities like chat, e-mail and similar things. Social networks are the place of gathering for millions of internet users who deal with exchanging information regardless borders, language, gender and culture. Social

network is a website that enables users to create their pages and connects these pages to other ones. When talking about social networks, we should point to community or the society of users. Social networks are a series of websites based on Web2 technology that enjoy the capacity of creating networks and virtual interactive communication in the cyber space. These social networks have created the possibility of widespread networking in internet. Sometimes these networks spread to the real world of society too. For instance, organization of many political meetings and protests has taken place in these networks (Ziayipour, 2010: 65).

Conclusion

Disequilibrium between the growth of consciousness in society that causes increasing expectation on the one hand, and the existence of corrupt and violent dictatorships on the other, accompanied by global pressures resulting from increasing the quality of life and social liberties in other countries makes the nations unbearable. The determining feature of past century is the speed of technological advancements, particularly in the communication and information section. During past century, progresses have taken place exponentially: from primitive telephones limited to the rich to the cell phones which are cheap, powerful and limitless; from one-wave lamp radios limited to the rich to digital radio and television which are cheap, popular, borderless and uncontrollable; from limited primitive newspapers to internet and millions of newspapers, websites and global information which are uncontrollable.

These have approached societies all over the world and had increased their awareness about each other. Enhancement of using new media and emerging social networks spread communication and speed of protesters, entangled the security forces and reduced the costs. This, at the same time, means public participation in shaping the new world, beyond ideological commitments. This participation causes that more practical patterns and tactics be proposed though disputes, and promoting the goals of movement do not depend on one person or specific persons. Although we cannot regard the experience of Tunisia and Egypt and other Arab countries as a permanent rule but it is a lesson for the Middle Eastern countries that from now on, social movements need emergence and spread of social networks more than organization and leadership. The events of Egypt showed that to close the sociopolitical space may govern an apparent peace but it cannot prevent from emerging protests in other

forms and places. The experience of Egypt showed that creating noise in communicative networks such as cell phones, internet and filtering is a passive action and will not control the protests.

Finally, according to above-mentioned issues, for analyzing and examining these developments, we should look at the subject from all perspectives so that we can scrutinize security-political developments and reach the intended argument. The author believes that these developments and revolutions have moved like a domino and they will spread to other Arab countries too. Finally they will paved the way for the fourth wave of democratization in the world and will develop democratic demands in the region.

The examined factors were significant ones that explain the popular uprising in these countries. But notwithstanding they raise the question: Why could not these countries and peoples who were suffering from these problems, revolt against their rulers for a long time? Our answer is that in the global village by entering human being into the age of communication and information and by a young and conscious stratum in these countries, they revolt against the force. These uprisings were led by a factor namely communications netwrokization because the protests were harmonized and yielded by widespread social networks among the youth. Anyway communication via media can be the main factor of this domino movement in the Arab countries.

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