### **Arab Spring of Nations**



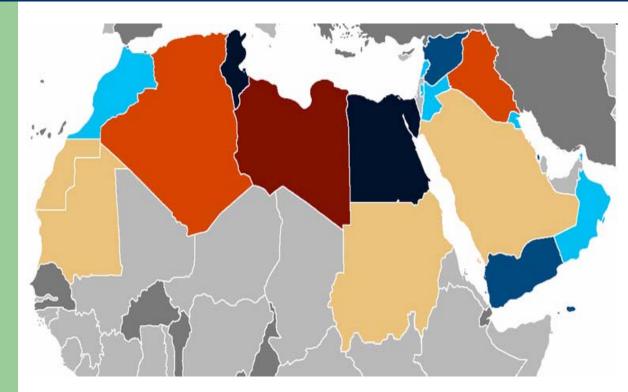
Konrad Pędziwiatr, PhD

Tischner European University and Arabia.pl

### **CONTENT OF THE PRESENTATION**

- Arab Spring of Nations (hereafter ASN) as it unfolded across the region (What happened?)
- Key reasons behind the ASN (Why did it happen?)
- ASN in Egypt with particular emphasis on the role of the new media in the revolution (How did it happen?)
- Consequences of the ASN (What are the outcomes of the ASN for the countries affected and the region at large?)

### **Arab Awakening**





BROWN – civil war
BLACK – successful revolution
DARK BLUE – sustained civil disorder
LIGHT BLUE – mass protests
RED – minor protests



### Tunisia

- 17 December 2010 self-immolation of Mohammed Bouazizi (inhabitant of the town of Sidi Bouzid) in protest against the authorities – 18 days later he dies.
- 14 January 2011 President Ben Ali escapes to Saudi Arabia
- 17 January 2011- Creation of the Government of National Unity
- Death toll 223
- Elections to a new Constituent Assembly are to be held on 23 October 2011





- 25 January 2011 begining of mass protests
- 11 February 2011 President Hosni Mubarak steps down – new government and vice-president
- Death toll 846
- Injured above 6000
- Presidential elections are to be held in October or November 2011 (key candidates: Mohamed ElBaradei, Amr Moussa, Abdel Moneim Aboul Fotouh, Mohammed Salim Al-Awa)



- 18 January 2011 first mass protests
- 4 June 2011 President Ali Abdullah Saleh is injured in an attack on a mosque in his compound - Vice President Abd al-Rahman Mansur al-Hadi takes over as Acting President
- Death toll around 1000

### Libya



- 15 February 2011 anti-government protests mainly in Banghazi and then spreading across the country
- 26 February 2011 formation of the National Transitional Council in Benghazi
- 17 March 2011 UN Security Council Resolution establishing a no-fly zone over Libya
- Death toll above 12 000



### Syria

- 26 January 2011 first protests, self-immolations, attacks on official buildings – demands to free political prisoners and to end the state of emergency (declared in 1963)
- 22 April 2011 oficial end of the state of emergency and more protests as well as increasing brutality of the security apparatus (Military action in Daraa and other areas)
- Death toll Around 2000 dead and many in prisons



### Algieria

- 28 December 2010 first protests and selfimmolations
- Outcome of the protests decrease of the food prices as a result of increased state subsidies
- 22 February 2011 official end of the 19years old state of emergency
- Death toll around 10



- 30 January 2011 first protests and self-immolations
- 20 February 2011 mass protests in the capital and in other cities demanding constitutional reforms, freeing of political prisoners, respect of civil rights and an end to corruption
- 9 March 2011 King Mohammed VI promises constitutional reforms and referendum on them
- 1 July 2011 referendum on constitutional reforms (approved by 98.49% of voters?)
- Death toll around 10

### **Common Elements**

- Corruption and nepotism (exposed among revolution others by Wikileaks)
- The Youth Revolution (youthquake) demographic stimuli
- Dissolution related to the economic situation – growing unemployment, prices of food and costs of life
- Growing social divisions
- Lack of freedoms authoritarianism
- Rising aspirations (growth of HDI lifeexpectancy, literacy, education and standard of living) and lack of reforms
- New media

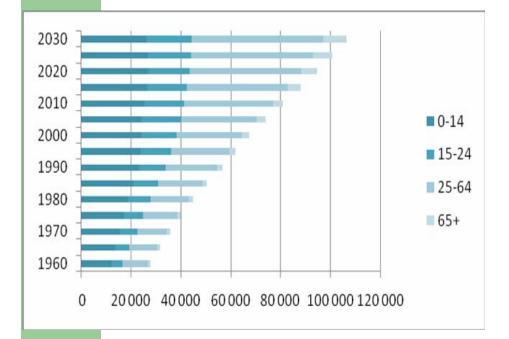
### **Corruption among others ...**

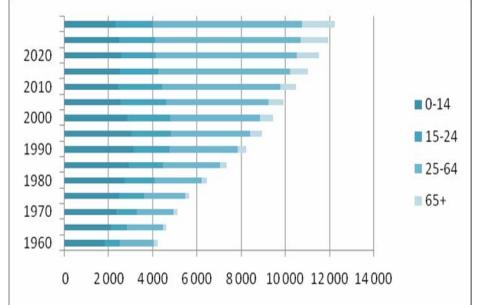


"The problem is clear: [...] has been ruled by the same president for [...] years. He has no successor. His regime has lost touch with the [...] people. They tolerate no advice or criticism, whether domestic or international. Increasingly, they rely on the police for control and focus on preserving power. And, corruption in the inner circle is growing..... As a consequence, the risks to the regime's long-term stability are increasing. "

### ASN as the "youthquake"

#### **Demographics of Egypt and Tunesia**

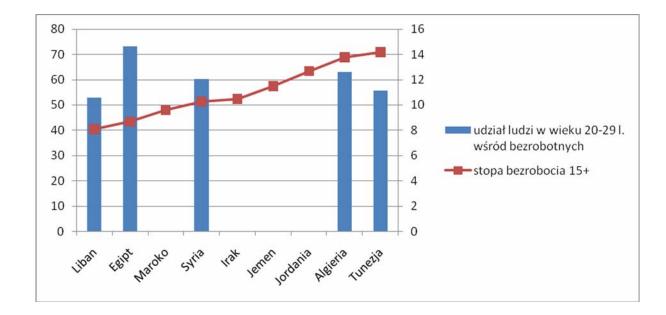




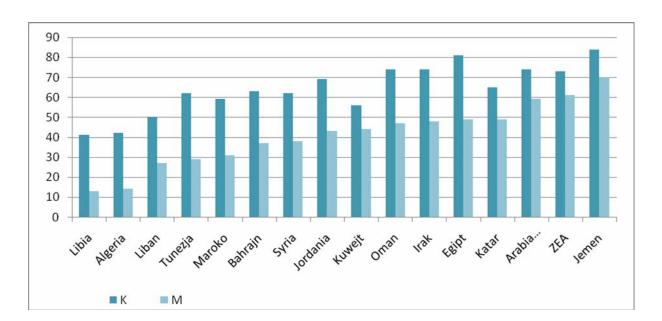
• Egypt

• Tunisia

# Unemployment especially among the young



## Percentage of women (K) and men (M) among married between the age of 25-29



### **Avarage Age at Marriage**

	Średni wiek zawarcia pierwszego związku małżeńskiego									
Kraj	60.		70.		80.		90.		00.	
	K	M	K	M	K	M	K	M	K	М
Algeria	18,4	23,9	21,0	25,3	23,7	27,7	25,9	29,9	29,5	33,0
Arabia Saudyjska					21,7	25,6	24,0	27,7	24,6	27,2
Bahrajn			20,4	26,9	22,8	27,2	26,6	29,4	25,9	29,8
Egipt			21,4	26,7	21,6	26,4	22,3	27,9	23,0	
Irak			20,8	25,3	22,3	26,3	24,0	26,9	22,8	
Jemen							20,8	24,8	22,2	25,4
Jordania	20,4	24,8	21,5	25,9			24,0	27,0	25,4	28,6
Katar					22,7	26,6	26,3	28,7	25,8	27,6
Kuwejt			19,6	26,5	22,9	26,3	27,0	28,5		
Liban			23,2	28,5			27,9	31,4	27,4	31,4
Libia			18,7	24,6	23,0	27,4	29,2	32,0		
Maroko			19,1	25,0	22,2	27,1	25,3	29,8	26,4	31,2
Oman							20,7	24,7	24,8	28,1
Syria			20,7	25,9	21,5	25,7			25,4	29,3
Tunezja			22,6	27,1	24,3	28,1	26,6	30,3		
ZEA			18,0	25,9	23,1	25,6	24,4	26,6		

### **Egyptian Case**

	لنا حالد سعيد Like Public Figura	
	all wall	Top Pc ، کلیا خالد سعید
- Par	ي دعا ليهم كثير من لحادة كلنا خالد سعبد النشطاء على الإنترنت؟	هل متشارك في مظاهرات يوم 27 مايو اللـم
خالد سعيد	ايوه هاسارك 👩	The Egyptian
	لا مش ھاشارك 💿	
wall	تبني لسه لأني مبروش المطالب 🖉 💮	equivalent of Bouazizi
Info Photos		was Khaled Said, a 28
Events	31 minutes ag o 6,831 110	"share year old Egyptian man
Notes	كلنا خالد سحيد	from Alexandria who
Links		
Video		was beaten to death
Questions (1)		on June 6, 2010, after
1,278,532 people like the		being arrested by Egyptian police.

### **Egyptian Media**

#### 

In January 2011, there were 54 Egyptian television channels, of which 31 channels are privately owned satellite channels, and 23 are state owned, including both terrestrial and satellite channels. Radio in Egypt is almost all governmentcontrolled and uses 44 short-wave frequencies, 18 medium-wave, and four FM stations





### **Misinformation 1**

#### The same day (1 February)

The same place

#### **Different channel**

### **Misinformation 2**





### The same day (26 January)

### The same place

## Different newspaper

### New media in Egypt

- May 2011 23 million internet users – 27 % of the total population
- January 2011 -71,5 million mobile phone subscribers – 91 % mobile penetration

Social media, mobile phones, and international satellite channels were the media heroes, while Egyptian traditional media were complacent. Most were openly against the revolution.



### "Facebook Revolutions"



- Facebook, blogs, wikileaks ... ensure people that they are not alone thinking critically about the regime
- Alternative knowledge becomes increasingly widespread – popularisation of the critique of the regime.
- Decision of to take a common action becomes easier since it is moved to the virtual world (this was the case of protests on 25 January 2011)

### War on new media

27 January: 28 January:	The government imposed internet blackout phone networks were blocked.
29 January:	mobile phone service was restored, but without text messaging and the Internet remained blocked
31 January:	Al Jazeera was banned by the Information Minister
2 February:	the internet service was restored, and the ruling party internet unit employees suddenly acquire new accounts on twitter and facebook and post actively against the revolution
3 February:	Foreign journalists, including Arab ones, become targets of an organized campaign of violence, promoted by state media

### **Tahrir Square Media**











### **Comments on Mubarak's speech**







#### @asadbukhalil

This speech will go down in history as the dumbest speech ever delivered by a dictator.

#### @AdamSerwer

Mubarak says he's staying to help Egypt through "the current crisis." dude, you ARE the current crisis.

## <u>#reasonsmubarakislate</u>

### Revolution 2.0 meets Dictator 1.0 (10 February 2011)

<u>@iDiplomacy</u>: Police mistook him for a journalist and he's locked up in prison #reasonsmubarakislate <u>@kmokhtar</u>: Crying to Dr. Phil. #ReasonsMubarakIsLate

@lehan: Because his staff, servants and pets wont mummify themselves #ReasonsMubarakIsLate

<u>@PVVVenlo</u>: The swiss bank is closed #ReasonsMubarakIsLate

To bloody true! RT @ GiaNt : #ReasonsMubarakIsLate Uninstalling dictator ... 99% complete

RT @drfessel: Have you ever tried to pack up 70 billion dollars? #ReasonsMubarakIsLate Alia

<u>#ReasonsMubarakIsLate</u> listing his chair on e-bay!

Leila

<u>#ReasonsMubarakIsLate</u> He opened a can of Pringles....once you pop you just can't stop!!!

msofia7

RT <u>@thesadredearth</u>: Can't remember if it's a Swiss or Swedish bank account. <u>#ReasonsMubarakIsLate</u>

Stetano Boulos

Hosni Mobarak

RT @SeifSalama: Downloading Skype. #ReasonsMubarakIsLate

Media and the Egyptian revolution - Dr. Farag Elkamel

#reasonsmubarakislate: I'm aiming for an Oscar for the best suspense movie. #Jan25 #Egypt

# Unique Features of the Egyptian Revolution



### **Outcomes of the ASN**



- Political reconfigurations in the region revolution (among others change of the policy towards Israel – Palestinian reconciliation?)
- End of the rule of Arab dictators wave of democratisation through the region
- New role for the political Islam in the region as well as new challenges (among others challange of political pluralism)