

Social Media Impact on Arab Spring, a Comparison Study between four Middle Eastern
Countries

By

Azam Obeid


A thesis presented to the faculty of the
Department of Communication at Hawaii Pacific University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts in Communication

© November 2015 by Azam Obeid


Thesis Approval Page

Social Media Impact on Arab Spring, a Comparison Study between four Middle Eastern Countries.


The thesis submitted by Azam A Obeid has been reviewed and approved by Hawai'i Pacific University Department of Communication.


Barnum, John Ph.D., Thesis Advisor
Associate Professor College of Communication

11-24-15
Date


Fallis, Tim Ph.D., Reader
Lecturer, College of Communication

11-23-15
Date


Windrow, John M.A., Reader
Instructor, College of Communication

11-23-15
Date

I dedicate this work to my dearest mother and wife, who always believed in me and never failed to support me. Without you and your support I could never have done it

Acknowledgements

It is my greatest pleasure to thank those who have made the completion of this thesis possible.

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. John Barnum for his assistance and his support throughout the entire writing and research process. Since the first day, his comments, feedback, and encouragement have led me to stay on the right track. For all of what he did for me, I owe him my deepest gratitude.

I am grateful to Drs. Tim Fallis and John Windrow for helping me to get this thesis done, and to all the useful comments they have given me throughout the whole thesis process. I would also like to thank Drs. JongHwa Lee and Min Wha Han for helping me and supporting my building all the thoughts and the ideas. It was an honor to work with them and learn from them.

I am also very grateful to Dr. Mansour Azzamil who helped and supported me throughout my whole master's degree here at Hawai'i Pacific University. His words, support, and encouragements have led me to the place that I am at now. Also, I would never forget the huge help that my co-worker Barrak Alhumaid has offered to me throughout the whole thesis process.

Finally, I am indebted to my mother, wife, sister, brother, friends, and my whole family for supporting me throughout my master's degree. Without your support, love, and belief in me all of this would not have been possible.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	7
CHAPTER ONE	
Introduction.....	8
Background of Social Media	10
Social Media Role	14
The Reasons Behind Choosing the Sample	15
The Purpose of the Study	18
The Methodology	20
CHATPER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	23
History of Social Media	23
Facts about Social Media	25
Social Media Impact	27
Social Media in the World	29
Social Media in the Middle East	31
Background of the Sample	34
Social Media in the Four Countries	35
Economic Conditions of Each Country	42
Political Conditions of Each Country	46
Social Conditions of Each Country	50
Background of Arab Spring	54
The Uses of Social Media during Arab Spring	56
Theoretical Framework	64
CHATPER THREE: METHODOLOGY	68

The Method: Content Analysis	68
The Reasons Behind Choosing this Method	69
How Content Analysis is Used	70
The Research Questions and Hypotheses	72
CHATPER FOUR: RESULT	74
Section one: Real Life in Each Country	75
Section two: The Digital Life	90
First sub-section: Electronic Transition	90
Second sub-section: Rulers on Social Media	95
Third Sub-Section: Governments on Social Media	102
Summary	117
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION	119
Section one: The Real Life in Each Country	120
Section two: The Digital Life	130
The First sub-section: Electronic Transition	130
Second sub-section: Rulers on Social Media	137
Third Sub-Section: Governments on Social Media	144
Conclusion	154
Recommendations	152
REFERENCES	158

ABSTRACT

Social Media Impact on Arab Spring, a Comparison Study between four Middle Eastern Countries

Azam A. Obeid

M.A. Communication, Hawaii Pacific University, Department of Communication

Thesis Advisor: Dr. John Barnum

Nowadays, social media has become a powerful and a strong tool that anyone can use, and anyone can be involved with. The significant impact of social media has made most people in the world use it, which made it stronger. People have used social media sites since they have been created for several reasons, and one of the reasons was to create their own safe and free environment. People from all over the world have benefited from social media and its sites, but people who benefited the most were Arabs. This new level of freedom of speech that social media has given Arabs, has made social media very significant to them. They use it to express their opinion, and to achieve goals they have dreamed of for decades. This study is a comparison study on the social media impact on four different countries in the Arab Spring. The purpose of this study is to define how social media was not the reason nor one of the reasons behind the Arab Spring revolutions, but an important tool that people in the countries who experienced the revolutions have used for several purposes. This has been done using the content analysis method; analyzing the differences among the four countries, the presence of each country on social media, and the content that each government has sent through social media. The results show that social media was no more than a tool that people chose to use for several reasons to achieve their goals. Without the motives that people had in the countries of model A and the content that has been sent through social media, social media would be as any other media channel, and its impact would not be the same. Several recommendations have been made in the study in order to achieve clearer and deeper results on social media's effect. This study focuses the different social media impacts and how different it was from one country to another.

CHAPTER ONE

Social Media Impact on Arab Spring, a Comparison Study between four Middle Eastern Countries

Among the alleys of Alexandria, a city that anyone might visit, a person will find him or herself in love with. Alexandria is a coastal city and is the second largest city in Egypt by both size and population. It is one of the most historical cities not only in Egypt, but in the whole Middle East. One can find several stories that the city will tell. Some of these stories are immortalized in history, and some of them have been forgotten.

One of Alexandria's stories is about one of its sons, Khaled Saeed. He was a 28 year-old man, with dreams in his heart of a better future, and ambition for a better tomorrow for himself and his country. To make one of his dreams come true, he traveled to the U.S. to study computer programming, hoping that one day he would go back to his country and help the society there. Saeed did not know that death would come much faster than his dreams. The death of Saeed was a turning point for over eighty million people in Egypt.

According to one version of the stories that makes sense, a month before Saeed died, he was walking on the street, and he found a cellphone on the ground. He tried for many days to find out who the cellphone belonged to, but he could not. After several days of looking, he turned it on to see if he would find something leading to the phone's owner, but instead of

finding anything about the owner, he found a video clip showing a number of police officers talking to each other about sharing some of the drugs that they confiscated from criminals.

When Saeed watched the video clip that he found in the cellphone, he felt he should do something about all the corruption that was happening in his city and in his country. According to Saeed's mother, he thought of posting this video on the internet because he wanted all the people in his country to watch it, but he was afraid of what could happen to him, and what the consequences of him taking this action would be. Instead of posting it online, he started to show it to his friends, and the people around him.

His mother said Saeed found the courage to post the video on Facebook and YouTube, and to create a blog to make people see how badly corruption has damaged the country. His mother tried many times to change his mind about posting the video, but he would not listen. Saeed told his friends and everyone around him what he planned to do with the video. One of them went to the police and told them Saeed's plan.

On June, 6, 2010, Khaled Saeed was in a cybercafé with his friends. The police came looking for the video, and told everyone that they were going to inspect them, but Saeed refused, and told them that they do not have the right to do it. The police attacked him in the café, and arrested him. After 15 minutes they came back to the same place and dropped his body on the ground, and told everyone that the cause of his death was that he choked on a bag of drugs that he was trying to hide from them. According to the owner of the internet café and multiple witnesses, Saeed was beaten to death by the police.

Three days after Saeed's death, many people started to talk about it on the internet and social media. They created a Facebook fan page named after Khaled Saeed, the person who they

call “We are Khaled Saeed – كلنا خالد سعيد”. All the TV channels, radio stations, and newspapers in Egypt started to talk about Saeed’s story. On June 10, the Ministry of the Interior stated that the police were no longer responsible for Saeed’s death. Because of the Ministry of the Interior’s statement, many people protested, expressing their anger on this matter.

Egyptians used social media as a tool to organize their protests, and to express their opinions on Saeed’s story. Through social media, Egyptians were able to change the balance of power in their country from being controlled by the government to being controlled by themselves. Not only that, but Egyptians succeeded in what they called the democracy they needed for a long time. Social media took a story that happened in one of Alexandria’s many cafes, and sparked a revolution. Through social media Khaled Saeed made one of his dreams come true. He changed his country’s future, and that cost him his life. Without social media Khaled Saeed would still be alive, and Mubarak would still be the president of Egypt.

This story shows how social media has an important role in moving information from one point to several points in a short period of time, shaping the public’s opinion on specific matters, and how social media changed people’s lives by giving them the freedom they needed and several other things they did not have before the advent of social media. This story was told because this study is a comparison study of the social media effect in the countries that experienced the Arab Spring’s revolutions those being “Tunisia and Egypt as model A”— and the countries that did not experience the revolutions but were aware of what was happening “Saudi Arabia (KSA) and United Arab Emirates (UAE) as model B”.

Background of Social Media

To get a better understanding of social media, a person has to understand that social media is the tool that changed how people demand their rights, and express their opinions. No one knew or imagined, even the people who created it, that social media would have this huge impact on people's lives, and no one thought of what social media would offer to its users. At first, the idea of social media was to make people communicate, and interact without caring about the time or space, but because of the convenience that social media offered to the people, they started to use it for several unexpected purposes.

Social media was used for simple reasons at first, but over time the reasons changed, and other uses developed. This development caused several changes in the communication process concepts, and it made what people used to call "impossible" "possible." According to Al-Helwah (2012), one of the impossible things that social media made real is the era of open skies, which means that it became very easy for any information to move from the far west to the far east in seconds. Another thing that people did not imagine would happen one day is sharing any kind of information without being supervised, or without being controlled by anyone. That means that social media murdered the gate keeper, which expanded freedom of speech.

The evolution of social media made it touch most of the human senses, and that is what gave social media the access to most of the cultures and the countries around the world to use it efficiently. One of the main reasons that social media has been used in most of the countries around the world is that it gathers all the methods that the traditional media has in one model, that anyone can use very easily, and without any costs that could deter people. One social media application can be a TV channel, a radio station, and a newspaper all at the same time, and people can be involved in the communication process (Al-Helwah, 2012).

Social media as many researchers define it, consists of several channels and applications. Before discussing its role, or its impact, some of the social media channels have to be explained, because each one of these different channels has its own characteristics, and its own unique options. The researcher chose two of the most popular ones “Facebook and Twitter” to explain how it works, and to give the reader the knowledge he or she needs to understand it.

Facebook

Facebook was one of the first social media channels. Facebook was founded by Mark Zuckerberg in February 2004 as a graduate project with his college roommates at Harvard University. The idea of Facebook was that any individual can create an account that includes information such as his or her name, date of birth, which schools he or she went to, his or her personal status, what he or she likes or dislikes.

Facebook allows the users to share any kind of information they want. Facebook’s users can share videos, photos, texts, links, and ideas. What makes Facebook unique is that it uses the users’ information to find any common things between them, and connects them to each other. Facebook offers the “Like” button as a way for them to express their opinion on anything they find on any user’s page. They can share their opinions on any matter by adding a comment to the other user’s page “wall.” Facebook includes personal pages, fan pages, groups’ pages, the opportunity to create a group conversation, and the video typing chat. According to Wikipedia, Facebook has over than 1.4 billion active users, which is more than 19% of the population on earth (Carlson, 2010).

Twitter

Another social media channel is Twitter, founded on March 21, 2006. Evan Williams, Noah Glass, Jack Dorsey, and Biz Stone created a new social media channel with different characteristics. Twitter is an online social network service that allows people to share their opinions on different matters with 140 character messages, called “Tweets.” Twitter, allows its users to share short videos, photos, and links, but what makes Twitter unique is the 140 character limitation that keeps the users focused on the main ideas, and try to make their points in the shortest way they can.

The first step to join Twitter’s world is by creating an account that has the user’s name and the user’s photo, also the user can write something about him or herself for others to read. The user can know when he or she joined Twitter, the number of his or her messages or tweets, who is following him or her, and who they are following. Twitter created its unique vocabularies and phrases, for example, retweet means to resend anyone’s tweet by clicking on a button without copying his or her words, and with giving them the credit they deserve. Another way that the user can resend someone else’s tweets or messages is by quoting what he or she writes or tweets. According to Wikipedia, Twitter has more than 284 million active users out of over 500 million users in total (Carlson, 2011).

Hashtag

One of the unique things that social media employs is the Hashtag. Before explaining how it works the reason behind it has to be explained. Because of the increase in the number of users on social media, and the topics the users discuss every day on the social media channels, Chris Messina created a system that was first used on Twitter, and now all social media use it to tag and organize all the topics that the users will talk about, and to make it easier to follow these

topics. Hashtags were created to allow the users to share their opinions and feelings on specific topics, and to organize their opinions on the topics they discuss. Because of the hashtags, users were able to find the topics they were interested in very easily by searching for the hashtag they wanted (Fortunato, 2013).

Social Media Role

One of the most important roles that social media have played in the world is the expansion of freedom of speech; especially in Arabic countries. In some of the Middle East countries social media created a space that offers people a new level of freedom of speech. The Arabs in some of the Middle Eastern countries used that space or that environment to make revolutions, which they called “Arab Spring.”

One of the social media definitions is the one Al-Helwah (2012) noted in his study: social media is a group of applications and websites that allows users to control and create the content of the messages that they need. Based on this definition one of the best examples is the Arab Spring, and the way Arabs used social media before, during, and after it.

Researchers have examined the reasons for this, and how they used several tools to reach their goals with one of the most important tools that Arabs used being social media.

Understanding how important was the role that social media played in the Arab Spring, and examining the differences of the social media uses in different countries, the researcher will discuss social media’s role in the countries that have been affected by the Arab Spring’s revolutions, and the countries that the Arab Spring did not affect. For this study two Arabic countries that have been affected by the Arab Spring, and another two that were not affected by it were chosen as examples. The countries that have been affected by the Arab Spring are Tunisia

and Egypt. The countries that the Arab Spring did not affect are the KSA, and the UAE. The reason why the researcher chose these four countries, and divided them into two models A and B will be explained in the next section.

The Reasons behind Choosing the Sample

Why Tunisia, Egypt, KSA, and the UAE?

Tunisia was the first Arabic country where the Arab Spring started. Most Middle Easterners see Tunisia as the first station for the Arab Spring in the Middle East. According to The Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development (2015), Tunisia is an Arabic country in North Africa, and it is not a big country compared to other Arabic countries in Africa. The size of Tunisia is 165,000 square kilometers. The population is 10.8 million. The official language is Arabic, and the second language is French. Tunisia's capital is Tunisia City, and the government is located there. Tunisia is a constitutional republic, with a president and prime minister. The president, who is the head of the state, chooses the prime minister, who is the head of the government. The new constitution of Tunisia was adopted on January 26, 2014. Tunisia elected its first president under the new constitution in October 2014; Beji Caid Essebsi is the first elected president for the country since the Arab Spring (The Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development, 2015).

Since Tunisia was the first station of the Arab Spring, that means that Tunisians were the first Arabic people who used social media as a tool to help them to revolt against their government. According to Al-Kuthari (2014), the number of Internet users in Tunisia reached 5.1 Million in 2014, which is 39% of the Tunisian population. Al-Kuthari (2014) has noted in this article that Facebook users increased in Tunisia to more than 5 million users. Comparing the

number of Internet users to the number of Facebook users shows a discrepancy, but the Facebook numbers include “Fan Pages,” and the ability for people to make more than one Facebook account. According to Mohammed bin Rashid School of Government (2014), there are more than 33 thousand Tunisian Twitter users, so Twitter in Tunisia is not as popular as Facebook, according to the previous numbers.

Egypt also experienced the Arab Spring. One reason that makes Egypt special is that it experienced the Arab Spring not once but twice. Another reason that makes the Egyptian revolution one of the most important and historical events is what Egypt represents not only in the Middle East, but also in Africa. According to Egyptian Foreign Ministry Affairs (2015), Egypt is one of the oldest Arabic countries in the Middle East, and one of the oldest countries in the world. Egypt is in the northeast corner of Africa and southwest corner of Asia, and its capital is Cairo. The size of Egypt is 1,010,000 square kilometers. The population in Egypt is over 82 million people. The official and the first language in Egypt is the Arabic language.

Egypt is a democratic republic, and the authority in Egypt is divided into three parts: executive authority, president; legislative authority, House of Representatives; and the judicial authority, courts. The president of Egypt is Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, and the prime minister is Ibrahim Mahlab (Egyptian Foreign Ministry Affairs, 2015).

As the second Arabic country experiencing the Arab Spring, and as the second Arab Spring station in the Middle East, Egypt’s revolutions were heavily influenced by social media. Based on Al-Kuthari (2014) information, the number of Internet users in Egypt reached 29.8 Million in 2014, 35% of the Egyptian population. According to Al-Kuthari, the number of Facebook users in Egypt reached 12.1 Million in 2014. Mohammed bin Rashid School of

Government (2014) published a report that showed that the number of Twitter users in Egypt was 519,000 at the end of 2013. The numbers show that Twitter is not as popular as Facebook not only in Tunisia but also in Egypt.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) did not experience the Arab Spring's revolutions. One of the most important countries in the Middle East and in the world, according to the Saudi Foreign Ministry Affairs (2014), the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the largest Arab country in Western Asia. Saudi Arabia is around two million square kilometers, and its capital is Riyadh. Saudi Arabia's population is 30.7 million. The only language is Arabic. The regime in Saudi Arabia is an absolute monarchy system, and the founder of the country is King Abdul-Aziz Al Saud, and the present King and prime minister is King Salman Al Saud, one of King Abdul-Aziz's sons. The constitution in Saudi Arabia is the Holy Quran, and Al Sunnah.

The idea that KSA was not affected by the Arab Spring's revolutions does not mean that Saudis do not use social media to express their opinions and feelings; Saudi Arabia is one of the most active countries in the world on social media. Al-Kuthari (2014) has pointed out that more than 13 million Saudis use the Internet, which is 46% of the population. Facebook has more than 5.8 million Saudi users based on Al-Kuthari's (2014) study. Unlike Tunisia and Egypt, Saudi Arabia is one of the most active countries on Twitter. Also, Twitter has more than 5 million Saudi users ("Saudi Internet Users," 2013).

As mentioned before, the UAE is another country that did not experience the Arab Spring's revolutions. According to The Official Portal of The United Arab Emirates (2015), the United Arab Emirates is located in southwest Asia, and the Emirates size is 83,600 kilometers.

The population in the Emirates is over 9.3 million people, and its capital is Abu Dhabi. The official language in the United Arab Emirates is Arabic.

The UAE is a federation of hereditary absolute monarchies. The UAE is a Federal Supreme Council that consists of seven cities: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Ajman, Fujairah, Sharjah, Ras al-Khaimah, and Umm al-Qaiwain. The president has to be a member of the Supreme Council of the Union, and he has to be elected by them. The president of the United Arab Emirates is Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan. The vice president and prime minister of the United Arab Emirates is Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum (The Official Portal of The United Arab Emirates, 2015).

The UAE was not affected by the Arab Spring's revolutions, but they are one of the most active Arabic people on the Internet and social media. According to Al-Kuthari (2014), more than 5.8 million Emiratis are using the Internet, which is more than 70% of the population. The number of Emirati users on Facebook is more than 3.4 million. On Twitter, the number of Emirati users is more than 1.8 million ("Saudi Internet Users," 2013).

The information that the researcher has provided so far has shown how social media changed several things in people's lives, and how social media played important roles in different countries and events such as the Arab Spring and what social media have been used in Tunisia and Egypt. This leads to the next section "The Purpose of the study", which will give the researcher the opportunity to show the importance of this study.

The Purpose of the Study

Before explaining any point, the communication process in social media channels, and the uses of it as a tool, its characteristics first must be understood. According to Al-Helwah

(2012), the first characteristic of social media is how it allows people to communicate from different points to other points, unlike the traditional media channels. Social media is not restricted to a specific geographical area.

The second characteristic that Al-Helwah (2012) mentioned, is how social media provides users the ability to communicate as senders and receivers, an advantage over traditional media. Based on Al-Helwah, the third social media characteristic is how social media offers users the chance to create the messages and control the content; many researchers agreed that this point is one of the most important features of social media.

The fourth social media characteristic is the diverse content that social media provides to the users compared to traditional media. The last characteristic is the diversity of the uses and the openness that social media gives users.

Social media is used to satisfy users' desires and their needs. One of the most accurate examples to prove this point is how Arabs used social media to gratify their needs to stand for their rights and to face their fears before and during the Arab Spring. According to the uses and gratification theory, individuals use one of the media channels to satisfy a specific need. Based on the theory's definition, social media's characteristics, and the Arabs' needs and desires, social media became one of the most important tools to create the Arab Spring's revolutions (Al-Subaie, 2013).

Several studies showed that social media had a major and important role driving the revolutions in the Middle East during the Arab Spring. We can see how social media played a major role serving and helping people to reach their goals. What we have to keep in mind is what social media was for the revolutions in the Middle East, but it was one of the most important

tools that Arabs used as a space to share and express their opinions. Also, social media offered a new level of freedom of speech to the Arabs that they had not experienced.

Based on social media's characteristics, social media gave people from all over the world a chance to be involved, and to be a part of the Arab Spring's revolutions, regardless of the geographical dimension. For example, many Egyptians, even those outside of Egypt, got involved in shaping the public opinion, and encouraging those who were in Egypt to finish what they started. This example also shows how social media created different resources of information from all over the world. The easy access that social media provides for users allowed Arabs to participate in the revolutions, and to express their opinions very easily, unlike if social media did not exist, and the traditional media were the only recourse for Arabs.

Creating and controlling the messages and its content was a dream for many people around the world, and that is what social media offered to its users. Arabs found in social media the appropriate environment to create the content that fit them in any kind of style they might like, text, audible, or visible. Also, Arabs did not experience the traditional news to be as fast as it is on social media, and that was one of the reasons that made Arabs use social media more than the traditional media.

One of the main things that social media changed in the communication field is that it made the gatekeeping theory disappear because what people want the most is to be free, without anyone telling them what they should and should not know, say, or write. Another change that social media performed in the communication field is that it affected the traditional media and its agendas. Social media gave its users the opportunity to create their own agendas.

The Methodology

The method that will be used in this thesis is the content analysis method. This method is the one that scholars started to use in mass communication and media studies as a tool or method to reach the information and the explanations they needed in the past. Mass communication scholars started to use content analysis as one of the methodologies because of what the mass communication and the media fields required to be studied, and how complex the mass communication and the media fields have become since the twentieth century. One of the main and important reasons that content analysis was created and used as a method, is that the media messages became non-exclusive to a specific audience; they became directed to several audiences. (Hamdawe, 2012).

Let us examine the phrase “content analysis” to understand how it works. First, the word “content” means all that a person can write, say, or symbolize. It also means all the information and the conclusions that any individual can come up with during the communication process with the others. Second, the word “analysis” means a process to realize the phenomena and the objects around us through separating their elements and understanding each element’s aspects and how they work together.

Why this method?

Content analysis was the chosen method because of its characteristics and what it can bring to the research. The main reason for choosing this method is that this method is the appropriate one for doing a comparison study between two or more samples, and the research contained herein is based on a comparison between the countries that were chosen to be the samples in the study.

In addition, content analysis is used for several reasons, but one of the reasons why it will be used in this study is because it will help highlight the individual and group perspectives on several different matters. This point will highlight the citizens' perspectives in the countries that were chosen as a sample, and it will help to bring a better understanding of the motives that led them to use social media during the Arab Spring.

Another reason for choosing this method is that it will help the researcher get to know the individuals psychologically and socially during a crisis or normal situation through analyzing the messages that individuals express and share their feelings with. This is exactly what is needed in this study because by using this method the researcher will be able to analyze the citizens' messages that they send through social media and its channels, and this will aid in understanding the psychological and the social conditions in the countries that were chosen as a sample.

The last reason for using this method is that the researcher can analyze how the country receives the information and motives of other countries, in addition to their goals, especially during a war or a crisis situation. That means that each country will analyze the documents and the statements that other countries issue through the mass media channels about the party. At this point, the researcher will analyze the efforts of the countries that were chosen as the sample in facing the Arab Spring's revolutions. This will be done by analyzing the way that the chosen countries used social media as a tool to face the Arab Spring's danger.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Before explaining what was the social media effect, and before mentioning how social media changed several things in people lives worldwide, several points must be mentioned and understood.

History of Social Media

Scholars and researchers have defined social media differently from one study to another. One of social media's definitions was given by Al-Qarni (2011). He defined it in his book as a group of services that the Internet provides its users with that offers the possibility to create official or unofficial personal profiles. He also mentioned that it allows the users to choose who they want to interact with, and it allows them to obtain any kind of information they want about people who they follow on social media. Al-Qarni gave examples in his book of some of the social media channels that have been created over the years. Some of them were unable to remain for a long time and some of them were able to make it. The first example that Al-Qarni (2011) pointed out was a social media network website called "the Sixdeegrees," founded in 1997, and offered to its users the possibility to create personal profiles, and to choose who they wanted to be friends with. A year after, the website provided the opportunity to view others' profiles (Al-Qarni, 2011).

Al-Qarni (2011) also said that from 1997 to 2001, a number of social networking sites appeared such as Migete, BlackPlanet, AsianAvenue. These sites allowed people to create

profiles for several purposes such as personal, professional, dating, and communicating. In 2001, other social networking websites appeared. The first website that appeared was Ryze.com which was a business network in San Francisco. After Ryze.com, other sites emerged in the US, like the most successful one back in 2001, LinkedIn.com, which was for business purposes too.

Al-Qarni (2011) noted that since 2003, other social networking websites have been founded, some of which were focused on the social relationships field, and some focused on the professional field. People who founded these social networking websites tried to learn from the previous experiences. The important shift that happened to the social networking websites started when they became media channels, and the idea of sharing what information each user had. Flickr was founded to share photographs, and Last.Fm was founded as a music network; after that, YouTube was founded to share video clips. Myspace was founded in 2003 and was able to compete with other networking websites (Al-Qarni, 2011).

One of the reasons that made these websites more popular was the participating of celebrities and singers. Myspace used this point very well by being the website that gives the people the opportunity to get to know their favorite celebrities, and allows its users to communicate with the celebrities. In 2004, Myspace allowed teenagers to join the website and create profiles, which was a smart move. In 2005, Murdoch bought Myspace for \$ 580 million. All of this was before several lawsuits were filed against the website because of the sexual relations between adults and minors. (Al-Qarni, 2011)

Furthermore, Al-Subaie (2013) noted some of the factors that helped social media to become as important as traditional media. The first factor he mentioned is the technical factor. Social media being a part of the internet, broke all the time and spatial barriers between people,

combining all the traditional media channels--TV, radio, and newspaper-- in one application or channel. Second is the economic factor, how the globalization of the economy contributed significantly in creating the social media. The social media role in the global economy was and still is to transfer the information from one point to another, which helped in the movement of goods and capital. Third is the political factor. The researcher explained the uses of traditional media by the political forces in the world, and how they control its content. That was the reason for people to use social media because it cannot be controlled like the traditional channels (Al-Subaie, 2013).

Facts about Social Media

In 2009, Facebook's number of users passed Google's, and the following year Facebook increased by more than 200 million new users. If Facebook was a country it would have the third highest population after China and India. Twice a day 60 million Facebook users update their status, and Facebook gets 200,000 new users every day. In the United Kingdom, 50% of the Internet movement is done by Facebook (Al-Qarni, 2011).

Another fact should be noted that the 18-34 age group spends four times more time on social media than they spend on traditional media channels. When it comes to most viewed content on social media, pornography is first. Around 80% of the U.S. companies are using social media to help them find employees, and more than 95% use LinkedIn for the same purpose. Britney Spears and Ashton Kutcher's followers on Twitter are more than the population of Sweden and Israel. One out of eight marriages in the US was because of social media. (Al-Qarni, 2011).

Al-Qarni (2011) said that radio needed more than 38 years to reach 50 million listeners, and TV needed more than 13 years to reach the same number. The internet needed four years only to earn more than 50 million users. YouTube is now the second largest search engine in the whole world, and people saved more than four billion photos on Flickr until October 2009. On the internet, there are more than 200 million blogs, and 24 newspapers out of 25 in the US reported a huge decrease in distribution numbers (Al-Qarni, 2011).

According to Al-Helwah (2012), social media compared to traditional media have several differences, but in his study he focused on four significant reasons. The first one is how social media channels are more open and less monopolistic than the traditional media channels, and how it is faster and much easier by using social media to get the information than by using the traditional media. The researcher explained that the method of the information being transferred through social media is a one-sided process, not from the top to the bottom like traditional media. The information is transferred through social media from several and different sites to other different points. Also, governments cannot control the Internet and social media, as they regulate the traditional media channels.

The second difference that Al-Helwah (2012) covered is the great diversity of the internet and social media users based on their different identities, cultures, and locations. This leads to increased social disintegration. On the other hand, social media allows new and different kinds of relationships, and helps to create different groups with similar goals and interests by a method that was not available in the past.

The third difference between social media and traditional media is that social media does not help with creating the kind of development campaigns that need central planning, and a one-

sided origination, and huge budgets to create them. These characteristics do not exist in social media compared to traditional media because social media is dominated by decentralization. It depends on individual or small group efforts. On the other hand, social media offer several kinds of content, and the audience interacts with it optionally (Al-Helwah 2012).

The fourth difference is that traditional media's ability to exceed the barriers of space and time is limited, but the social media succeed in this regard. However, social media have not exceeded all of the cultural and social barriers because most of the social media companies are in the US or Europe, and because English is the first language on the Internet (Al-Helwah, 2012).

All of these facts show how social media did affect people's lives and became something many people cannot live without. Based on these facts of social media as a tool many people use and some of them would not live without, social media have a huge impact on people's lives.

Social Media Impact

Al-Qarni (2011) said that one of the most significant effects that social media cause is the emergence of "صحافة المواطن" or "individual press." Many scholars believe that individual press occurred during the earthquake and the tsunamis that happened in Southeast Asia in December 2004. Individuals took photographs and videos of the earthquake and the tsunamis, and the different media channels at that time used these people's footage as resources to cover what was happening in there. The Independent newspaper reported that a number of international TV channels were sending their reporters not to the places where the action was happening, but to the airports where there were people who arrived from Southeast Asia to try to find stories or footage that people took when they were there to show on their news channels.

Al-Qarni (2011) mentioned that a study Pew research published about journalism that social media started to impose itself on traditional journalism. The Pew study compared three social media channels: blogs, Twitter, and YouTube with traditional journalism. For a whole year, Pew research was collecting news from the blogs, Twitter, YouTube, and traditional journalism. What they found was that all the news that they collected from traditional journalism was completely different than the news on social media.

The same study showed that even in each broadcast channel that they chose, the news was different because each one has its own characteristics. The study showed each one of the social media channels has its own unique characters; blogs were focused on emotional news such as the individual and the human rights. Twitter from its beginning was different because its focus was on technology news. YouTube was different from the blogs and Twitter because it is based on footage unlike the blogs and Twitter which are based on text. The result of Pew's research showed that the role of traditional journalism decreased as a news resource compared to social media. For example, the political news decreased in the traditional journalism outlets to 15% compared to 17% on blogs, 21% on YouTube, and 6% on Twitter (As cited in Al-Qarni, 2011).

Al-Qarni (2011) noted that Pew research showed that the American individual is no longer attached to the television. The study showed that the number of Americans who use the traditional media is decreasing because of the public's beliefs that the traditional media are losing their credibility. According to the study, the audiences have started to suspect the values that the traditional media were trying to impose on them (As cited in Al-Qarni, 2011).

This shows to what level social media's effects have reached. The effect of social media did not stop with traditional media on individuals as mentioned, but social media's effect reached a higher level than that, it affected all of the different angles in the world.

Social Media Impact on Politics

One of the angles that social media affected is politics, and Al-Helwah (2012) reported that social media contributed significantly to develop the politics field, and it gave the opportunity to its users to be involved in public matters. The researcher said that social media have several pros and cons, especially in politics: some of the pros are that the social media communication process could be either a two-sided or a one-sided communication process based on the user's purpose. Another point that was mentioned is that the communication process could be leveled between its users, and could be from a center point to different parties. Because of social media, traditional media's role decreased as a tool between the citizen and the decision maker. Among the several cons that social media have, one is how the social media have a tremendous amount of information, which makes it harder for users to deal with (Al-Helwah, 2012).

Social Media in the World

According to *The Statistics Portal* (2015), the number of social media users in 2010 was over 930 million. The number started to increase year by year, and it reached around 1.8 billion users by the end of 2014. Based on the report that *The Statistics Portal* (2015) published, the number of social media users might get to over 2.4 billion users by the year 2018. The same website pointed out that in 2012 63.1% of Internet users were social media users, and Americans spent in that same year over 121.8 billion minutes per month.

Facebook is the largest social media channel for the number of worldwide users with over 1.4 billion users. The number of LinkedIn users is over 340 million, and this social network is known as a business social networking site. Skype, Google+, and Instagram's users were more than 300 million. Twitter has 288 million users worldwide, the two countries that use it the most are Saudi Arabia and the US (*The Statistics Portal*, 2015 & Bennett 2014).

Several studies have been written on social media's effect on the world, and many scholars have been studying its effect since social media became social media. One of the studies that have been made on social media's effect on the world is one by Roesler (2014). The author noted that social media since it was created has changed many things in people's lives, and many things in different fields. He pointed out six different effects that have been caused by social media in the world, and he gave an example for each point or difference to give a clear image.

The first difference that Roesler (2014) pointed out was how social media helped people who live in different places get involved in different things even outside their countries; also, social media gave people the opportunity to be involved in different things that they did not imagine that one day they would know about to be involved in. The author gave an example on how people reacted to the ALS challenge, the campaign created by the ALS Association, which fights amyotrophic lateral sclerosis. Roesler (2014) said that because of social media, people started to watch videos and create their own. Because of this the ALS Association received over \$115 million in donations. Second, Roesler said that social media created a different speed limit for the information to be transferred from one point to another. The example he gave was how social media changed the way that people respond to natural disasters, such as the earthquake that hit Haiti and the earthquake and tsunami that hit Japan in 2011 (Roesler, 2014).

The third and the fourth are social media created a new level of freedom of speech, and gave people the space they need to organize themselves on their own without anyone controlling them. The third difference is the Arab Spring and how Arabs had the opportunity to do and say what they want, and express their opinions. Fourth is how people organized themselves during the riots in England in 2011 and how the government had to block all the social networking services to control the action (Roesler, 2014).

Fifth is the way people talk about politics, and how some of the politicians use social media to communicate with the citizens. The example that Roesler gave was how Barak Obama used social media in the elections in 2008 and 2012. The last difference is how people are aware of everything, and how they can quickly inform themselves regardless of location and time. The example the author gave for this last difference is how the Chicago Sun-Times newspaper in 2013, laid off all of its photographers and chose to rely on freelancers and footages shot by the public (Roesler, 2014).

Social Media in the Middle East

One of the places that social media has become as important as it is nowadays is the Middle East. Social media was able to affect several things and fields in the Middle Eastern countries, and one of the things that social media succeeded in affecting are the traditional media channels in the Arabic world; also social media was able to create a different new informative style which has more freedom and openness. When social media started in the Arabic world, it changed the way that the traditional media was covering the news, and it was addressing the topics differently than the traditional media (Al-Qarni, 2011).

The Mohammed Bin Rashid School of Government (M.B.R.S.G.) (2014) published a report that social media has become a strong competitor to the traditional media news channels in the Arabic world. The report attributed the change to the huge presence of young users on social media, who represent over 70% of its users. Several surveys the school did between the years of 2011-2014 confirmed that social media continue to be a strong competitor to the traditional media as a news resource for millions of Arabs (Mohammed Bin Rashid School of Government, 2014).

Facebook in the Middle East

Facebook is one of the most used social media channels in the Middle East, the M.B.R.S.G (2014) report said. The percentages of Facebook users in the Arab world is 23% in Egypt; followed by KSA with 11%; Morocco with 9%; Algeria, Syria, and Iraq with 8% each; the UAE, and Tunisia with 6% each; and Jordan with 4%. The last 17% was shared by the rest of the Arabic countries. The number of Arabic Facebook users increased from 51 million users to 71 million at the end of December 2013. From December 2012 to December 2013, the average increase of Facebook users went from 13.4% in the Arabic countries to 18.5%. The UAE was the top country in the Arab world in the rate of acceleration of Facebook use, followed by Qatar, Kuwait, Lebanon, and then Jordan. Egypt represents a quarter of the Facebook users in the Arab world. The number of users in Egypt increased in 2013 by 4.2 million new users. Egypt therefore had the highest number of new users in 2013 compared to every other Arabic country. The last numbers published were from the Mohammed bin Rashid School of Government (2014), which showed that the total number of Facebook users in the Arab world increased to 81 million active users by May 2014. Qatar led in terms of Facebook penetration rate for the region, followed by UAE (Mohammed Bin Rashid School of Government, 2014).

Twitter in the Middle East

Twitter ranked second on social media channels in the Middle East, and according to Dubai School of Government (2011), the number of active Twitter users increased to over a million at the end of March 2011. The number of tweets in the first quarter of 2011 was over 22 million. The most active hashtags in the first quarter of 2011 was #Egypt with 1.4 million tweets, followed by #25jan with 1.2 million tweets, followed by #libya with over 900 thousand tweets. Kuwait ranked first among Arabic countries in the number of tweets compared to the total tweets in the Arab world, with a percentage of 16.2%, followed by Qatar with 13.4%, UAE with 12.2%, KSA with 9.9%, and 38.6% for the rest of the Arabic countries (Dubai School of Government, 2011). D.S.G (2014) report showed that the total number of active Twitter users in the Arab world at the end of March reached 5.7 million. The highest number of active users in the Arab world was in KSA with 2.4 million users, with a percentage of 40% of all active users in the Arab region. The total number of tweets written by the end of March 2014 reached over 533 million, of which KSA tweeted more than 40%, followed by Egypt with 17%, and Kuwait with 10% (Dubai School of Government, 2011).

The four countries that the researcher chose to study the effect of social media on were Tunisia and Egypt as model A, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) and United Arab Emirates (UAE) as model B. The researcher will provide the readers the some of the important information about the four countries to give the readers a clear picture.

Background of the Sample

Tunisia

The first country is Tunisia, and as mentioned in chapter one, according to The Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development (2015), Tunisia is an Arabic country in North Africa. Tunisia is 165,000 square kilometers. The population in Tunisia is 10.8 million people. The official language is Arabic, and the second language is French. Tunisia's capital is Tunisia City. Tunisia is a constitutional republic, with a president and prime minister. The president, who is the head of state, chooses the prime minister, who is the head of the government. The new constitution of Tunisia was adopted on January 26, 2014. Tunisia elected its first president under the new constitution in October 2014; Beji Caid Essebsi is the first elected president for the country since the Arab Spring (The Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development, 2015).

Egypt

Also as mentioned before, Egypt is one of the oldest Arabic countries in the Middle East, and one of the oldest countries in the world. Egypt is in the northeast corner of Africa and southwest corner of Asia, and its capital is Cairo. The size of Egypt is 1,010,000 square kilometers. The population is over 82 million. The official and the first language in Egypt is the Arabic language (Egyptian Foreign Ministry Affairs, 2015).

Egypt is a democratic republic country, and the authority in Egypt is divided into three parts: executive authority, the president; legislative authority, the House of Representatives; and the judicial authority, courts. The president is Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, and the prime minister is Ibrahim Mahlab (Egyptian Foreign Ministry Affairs, 2015).

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA)

KSA is the largest Arab country in Western Asia. KSA is around two million square kilometers, and its capital is Riyadh. Saudi Arabia's population is 30.7 million people. The official and the only language is Arabic. The regime of KSA is an absolute monarchy system, and the founder of the country is King Abdulaziz Al Saud. The present King and prime minister is King Salman Al Saud, one of King Abdul-Aziz's sons. The constitution in KSA is the Holy Quran, and Al Sunnah (Saudi Foreign Ministry Affairs, 2014).

The United Arab Emirates (UAE)

The last country in this study is UAE, and it is in southwest Asia. The size of the country is 83,600 kilometers. The population is over 9.3 million people, and the capital is Abu Dhabi. The official language in the UAE is Arabic.

The UAE is a federation of hereditary absolute monarchies. The UAE is a Federal Supreme Council that consists of seven cities: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Ajman, Fujairah, Sharjah, Ras al-Khaimah, and Umm al-Qaiwain. The president is a member of the Supreme Council of the Union, elected by them. The present president of the UAE is Khalifa bin Zayed Al Nahyan. The vice president and prime minister of the UAE is Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum (The Official Portal of The United Arab Emirates, 2015).

Social Media in the Four Countries

The resources that have been chosen to cover the social media role in Tunisia, Egypt, KSA, and UAE in this chapter cover social media's impact from different angles, and how social media have been used differently from one country to another.

Tunisia

Facebook is the social media channel most widely used in Tunisia by 79.7%, then Twitter. As a video sharing website, YouTube is the most widely used in Tunisia. Tunisians use social media between an hour and two on a daily basis. Most Tunisians who use social media are using their real personal information, and around 65% of Tunisians use social media because they found it different than traditional media channels (Zodah, 2012).

Tunisians use of social media. Tunisians use of social media was addressed in a report that The D.S.G (2014) published between April 2010 and May 2013. The percentage of users of Facebook in Tunisia in 2010 was 14.3% of the population, but at the end of 2011, the percentage jumped to 26.1%. In May 2013, the percentage increased to 33%. According to Fripp (2014), the number of users at the end of 2013 increased to 3.4 million users. The same report pointed out that the number of Twitter users was over nine thousand users in 2011, but by 2013 it jumped from nine thousand to more than 33 thousand (Mohammed bin Rashid School of Government, 2014).

Social Media impact in Tunisia

According to Moad'amy (2015), before the Tunisian revolution started in 2011, the traditional media was monopolized by the government. There were nine radio stations, two TV channels, and several newspapers. These traditional media channels were distant from the community needs, and the only thing they were doing was making the government look good, and had done so for over 23 years. Moad'amy mentioned that even the new TV channels that they were trying to broadcast in Tunisia had no choice except signing a contract stating that they would not criticize the government. All of the radio stations in Tunisia before the revolution were owned by the president's family. Even newspapers in Tunisia were controlled by the

government. One example was The Citizens newspaper. Because it was not one of the newspapers that the government owned and because it was private, the government kept it under surveillance for many years. After the revolution, all of the traditional media got the freedom they had needed. The radio stations increased from nine to more than fifty, and the number of TV channels jumped to fifteen. The number of newspapers and magazines increased to over 200, and the level of freedom of speech became higher than before (Moa'amry, 2015).

El-Issawi (2012) noted that a new press law was passed in 2012, the most important point of which was the journalists' rights. The new law came up several rules which were protecting journalists from physical threats, allowing the dissemination of publications without prior permission, and very significantly according to El-Issawi was the media diversity without monopoly. Most importantly, the new law restricts the interference of the Ministry of Interior in Media, and the judiciary supervises the media in the country. El-Issawi said that most of the media workers who were in prison during the former presidential era were released.

The new level of freedom of speech in Tunisia was a result of the uses of social media during the revolution, and this new level of freedom of speech gave Tunisians the space to criticize the social, political and economic systems in the country (El-Issawi, 2012).

Egypt

Social media impact on Egypt. When it comes to Egypt, Ahmed (2015) discussed how Facebook affected the Egyptian society by creating different political, cultural, and ideological perspectives. In 2009, some of the controversial issues in Egyptian society were discussed in different Facebook groups because the limits on the freedom of speech on Facebook completely differed from the one imposed in any other aspect of Egyptians' lives (Ahmed, 2015).

Egyptians use of Social Media

The uses of social media in Egypt were huge, and according to D.S.G (2011), the percentage of users of Facebook in Egypt in 2010 was 3.7% of the population of over 82 million, but at the end of 2011 the percentage jumped to 10.4%. In May 2013, the percentage of Facebook users in Egypt increased to 16.2%, and based on Fripp (2014), the number of users at the end of 2013 had reached more than 13 million. The number of Twitter users was over a hundred thousand in 2011, but the number in 2013 jumped to more than 500,000 (Mohammed bin Rashid School of Government, 2014 ; Fripp, 2014).

Social media impact on Egypt. Based on the uses of social media in Egypt, Ahmed (2015) noted that social media has several positive points that benefit Egyptians. Social media affected the education system by educating the people electronically, and it offered the opportunity for students and teachers to communicate outside of school. Also, social media has been used as a tool for the government to communicate with the people. Social media became the number one resource for Egyptians to inform themselves and get the daily news. Ahmed mentioned that social media has several negatives such as how social media became a tool for some people to post corrupt ideas, and that social media gives space to slander and scandal, extortion and fraud.

Qataloni (2012) discussed how Facebook contributed to the creation of the Citizen Media phenomenon in Egypt, which helped its users to create the media content through which they could discuss any kind of topics, unlike in traditional media. Also Facebook created a new generation of civil society, called digital civil society. The study pointed out that Facebook

succeeded in connecting the different societies, and made people who live in Egypt much closer to people outside the country (Qataloni, 2012).

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

Saudis use of social media. Social media was huge in KSA, and according to D.S.G (2014), the percentage of Facebook users in KSA in 2010 compared to the population was 8.3%, and jumped to 16.7 by the end of 2011. At the end of 2012, the percentage in KSA had increased to 20.4%. What was surprising was that in 2013 the percentage of Facebook users decreased 2% to 18.2%. Al-Kuthari (2014), has mentioned that the number of Facebook users in KSA in 2014 was more than 5.8 million. The number of Twitter users in KSA in 2011 was less than 150,000 users, but in May 2012 that increased to more than 700,000 users, and in March 2013, the number increased to more than 1.9 million. In 2013, Saudis started to use Twitter more often than Facebook. The last update of the number of Twitter users in KSA shows that Saudi Arabia has more than 4 million users on Twitter, which makes KSA the number one country on Twitter in the world. (Mohammed bin Rashid School of Government, 2014; Al-Kuthari, 2014; "Saudi Internet Users," 2013).

Social Media Impact on Saudi Arabia

Based on the huge use of social media in Saudi Arabia several positives and negatives appeared due to it. One of the most important negative impacts of social media is that terrorism is spreading on social media and no one can control it. The government in Saudi Arabia used to control and destroy any website that tried to spread any kind of violence or encourage people to any of the terrorist activities, but nowadays the Saudi government cannot do the same thing with

social media because each one of the social media channels has its own policies. (Al-Gufeli, (n.d.).

The researcher noted that social media played an important role in stirring the tribal bias in KSA. The social configuration in KSA is different than most countries, so social media played an important role in the Saudis' society by putting all the bragging about the tribes on social media, reaching the largest possible number people in the country (Al-Gufeli, n.d.).

Also, Al-Subaie (2013) noted several negative uses of social media in KSA. The researcher pointed out that one of the crimes is copyright infringement. Social media has made it easier for some people to copy any information they find in a book or a website without getting the author's permission. Another example of the crimes that some people will commit because of social media is sexual crimes. Social media users visit some sexual pages and accounts, which were controlled by the Saudi government in the past before social media channels were created (Al-Subaie, 2013).

The United Arab Emirates (UAE)

The uses of social media in UAE. The UAE leads the Middle East in the uses of Facebook, with a percentage of 41% of the population. The second reason behind the high uses of social media in the Emirates is the appropriate environment that the UAE has of openness and the E-Infrastructure. (Nation Shield, 2014).

Emiratis use of Social Media

The UAE use of social media is one of the highest compared to other countries. The percentage of Facebook users in UAE in 2010 was 45.1%. By the end of 2011 it decreased to

33.5%, but at the end of 2012 the percentage in the UAE increased to 42.7%. Like KSA the uses of Facebook in the UAE in the end of 2013 decreased 1% to 41.7%. According to Al-Kuthari (2014), the number of Facebook users in the UAE in 2014 was more than 3.4 million. The number of Twitter users in the UAE in 2011 was more than 140,000 increasing at the end of 2012 to more than 340,000 users, and in March 2013 to more than 400,000 users, The last update that showed the number of Twitter users in the UAE reported that Emiratis had more than 1.7 million accounts on Twitter (Mohammed bin Rashid School of Government, 2014 ; Al-Kuthari, 2014 ; “Saudi Internet Users,” 2013).

Social media impact in the UAE. Due to the huge use of social media in the UAE, social media channels challenged many of the traditional media channels in the UAE, and social media won the challenge. Social media played an important role in the country by establishing a new media culture and policies in individuals’ lives in the UAE (Al-Saig, 2013).

Social media’s impact was not only affecting the traditional media in the UAE, but it affected the society there. Social media became a threat to the traditional culture, and because social media became a huge part of the new generation’s lives, it is possible to observe the social media impacts on the social, national and religious events. The study noted that some of the people in the UAE blame social media for creating a gap between traditional relationships, which made a huge difference in the Emirati family life style. Also, social media led to a weakening of the relations in the families (Al-Saig, 2013).

To understand how social media and the effects it caused in the countries that have been chosen as the models to this study, several things and points should be mentioned because many people think that social media was the only reason or motive for the people in the Middle East to

revolt against their governments, which is not correct. The reasons and the motives behind many of the Arab revolutions were different from one country to another. In the next three main sections the main motives and conditions will be explained, such as the economic motives, political motives, and social motives.

Economic conditions of each country

The economic motive or condition will be discussed first in this chapter. The researcher will examine the economic situations in each of the four countries in this next section.

Economic Condition in Tunisia

The first country is Tunisia. In the era of Bin Ali, who became the president in 1989, several negative things have happened to Tunisians because of Bin Ali's government. According to Abdul Salam (2013), one of the most important motives that led Tunisians to revolt was the weakness of the Tunisian economy. The reason for the weakness was that the economic activities in the country relied on non-productive sectors. The contribution of the agricultural sector decreased to 10.4% in 2002, and the industry sector decreased as well to 29.1% in the same year.

That was what made the Tunisian economic system, a service economy, rely on imports, which led the country to lose its economic future. Abdul Salam (2013) noted that the Tunisian economy's debt tripled during the 13 years of Bin Ali running the country.

Another factor that led Tunisians to give up on their government was how the ruling family dominated the fields of finance and business in Tunisia. One of the examples that Abdul Salam (2013) mentioned was how Saqer Al-Matri, the president's son-in-law, was able to own

one of the biggest banks in the country, a newspaper, and a radio station. He owned all of this and more before reaching his thirties.

What made the situation worse was that the government bureaucracy excluded workers and people from economic decisions, and that led to a lack of transparency. Also, corruption increased during Bin Ali's era until it became something normal and a part of the government system. The people who benefited from this corruption were the president's family, and those who were close to it (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Economic Condition in Egypt

Egyptians also experienced several negative things from their government. A report was published in 2014 by the Egyptian State Information Service showing that the Egyptian economy between 2007-2012 when Mubarak was the president of the country was able to achieve an annual growth rate which was 8%, and a decrease on the inflation rate to 5%, and a decrease on the total disability on the general budget from 9.2% to 7.5%

The report said even with all the successes the price of goods kept increasing. Also, the country had an increase in the rate of poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy. Further, corruption had reached a new level during that period. All of that was happening during a significant increase in the number of residents in the country, which made all the effort that the government had done ineffective (State Information Service – A Gate to Egypt, 2014).

Abdul Salam (2013) said that the most important cause of the Egyptian revolution was economics. The author stated that the private sector increased as an alternative to the public sector, which made the public sector weaker and close to disappearing. What made it worse is that the private sector tended to neglect the development of the social dimension. Since 2007, the

private sector in Egypt became the major and main sector in the country, which led it to control everything, and made the people pay for anything that was supposed to be free such as health care, and education. The role of the government shrank, and the private sector started to run the government that was supposed to be running the country (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Abdul Salam (2013) found out that over 40% of Egyptians were living below the poverty line, due to the non-equitable distribution of the GNP and the complete disparity between income and high prices. This disparity made most Egyptians very poor allowed all the wealth to be controlled by businessmen (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Economic Condition in KSA

The economic situation in KSA is different from that in Tunisia and Egypt due to several reasons. The Saudi Ministry of Commerce and Industry published a report showing that KSA has a strong economy and stable markets, with no fees and restrictions on foreign exchange. In addition, there are no restrictions on imports except for a few items that are not allowed to enter the country for security and religious reasons (The Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 2012).

The same report mentioned that KSA has one of the largest economies in the free market of the Middle East and North Africa possessing more than 25% of the gross domestic products. In addition, KSA is one of the twenty largest economies in the world, and it was the first country in the world producing and exporting oil. It is also ranked as the ninth country in the world regardless of economic stability.

What makes the economy strong in KSA is that the private sector and the public sector go hand in hand. Both of them are equally controlled by the Saudi government, and the government regulates the operations between the private and the public sectors. KSA is a member of the

World Trade Organization. Further, KSA had a rise in its gross domestic product in the past few years, 22.1% to a value of 1.8 trillion dollars (The Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 2012).

Economic Condition in the UAE

The situation in the UAE is different than most of the Arabic countries in the Middle East because it has a diversified economic system, which has helped the country become a regional center for industry and services. Also, the UAE is the third country in the world in oil reserves. What makes the UAE special is the geographic location, which gives the country an economic power, and that the UAE has a free economic system (Fidy, 2014).

The UAE has the second biggest Arabic economy after KSA, and since the UAE announced the union in 1971 the statistics indicated that Gross Domestic Product had been increased from over \$1.7 billion to over 300 billion dollars by the end of 2011. The UAE achieved a huge economic jump which exceeded 9%, and they reached this success by reliance on different resources. The UAE reduced its need for oil income by relying on different resources such as tourism. By 2010, they decreased the oil contribution to the GDP from 70% to 30% (The United Arab Emirates E-encyclopedia, 2015).

Another point that makes the UAE different from the countries in model A is that it got an advanced rank on Transparency International, which was 29th, and this showed that the UAE was one of the least corrupt countries. Also the UAE has reduced the poverty rate to zero percent. (“Will Arab Spring”, 2012).

One of the reason that makes the situation different in comparing the countries in model A to the countries in model B economically is that the nature of economic life in the Arabian Gulf countries is one of the most important reasons why there are no revolutions in these

countries; because most of the people who live in the Arabian Gulf countries live in good economic levels, and they are not willing to lose the life they have (Al-Otaibe, 2012).

Political Conditions of Each Country

The second motive or condition that will be explained in this chapter is the political motives and conditions, the researcher will provide information needed for a better understanding of the political situations in the countries of models A and B.

Political Condition of Tunisia. Tunisia is one of the Middle East countries which had a special political situation because its president Bin Ali, the second president after Tunisia became an independent country, ruled from 1987 until 2010 when Tunisia rebelled against him. Tunisians found themselves, after 23 years of Bin Ali rule, deprived of their basic rights. They found themselves living in a country which did not give them any of the rights they deserved as citizens. The way Bin Ali was running the country created several motives that led people to revolt against him; one of the most important motives which led people to the streets in protest were political motives (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Tunisians experienced several negative things in the political field in their country, and each one of these negatives affected them very strongly, until they became the motives that made them take the action they took. Abdul Salam (2013) pointed out several political motives that led Tunisians to revolt against Bin Ali, and the first political motive was how the country was run by a dictator, and how Bin Ali put the country under his own power and no one else's. Moreover, Bin Ali gathered all the authorities around him, and let no one control anything without a word from him. Also, Bin Ali strengthened the ruling party's control on the country and made belonging to it a requirement to have the basics rights, even having a job. He did not stop there.

He also required the judiciary to protect him, his family, and the minority who supported him (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Abdul Salam (2013) noted that the second main reason that led Tunisians to revolt against their president was that Bin Ali took advantage of the international campaign carried out by the US administration against terrorism by considering any action against his government as a terrorist action; the regime even monopolized all the media in the country, and made it serve his own interests. Bin Ali was classified as one of the ten presidents around the world against media and journalism. In Bin Ali's era the Tunisian prisons were filled with over 37 thousand citizens as political prisoners in the last fifteen years of his term.

In addition, one of the Tunisian human rights organizations stated in a report that the number of human rights violations increased in the last few years of Bin Ali's era. Moreover, Tunisians' political opinions were ignored during Bin Ali's era, and that was one of the most important reasons that made people not accept him as president anymore (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Political Condition of Egypt. The political situation in Egypt in Mubarak's era was no different than in Tunisia. Egyptians' experience with Mubarak, the former president, had many negatives in several fields, and one of the fields was the political field. According to Abdul Salam (2013), one of the main political motives was how Egypt lived under emergency law, a law that had been created after the war in 1958, and Mubarak used it in his era to serve his own and the government's interests. Because of this law the police had more power, and all of the constitutional rights got suspended in the country. The police in Egypt, because of the emergency law, have committed a lot of the violations against Egyptian citizens such as arrests and indiscriminate killings; one of the examples is the murder of Khalid Saeed.

Another political motive was how Mubarak's government controlled all political parties and their activities in the country. Also, the government issued several laws to control them, and make one party have all the power in the country, which was the Ruling Party. According to Abdul Salam (2013), months before the revolution parliamentary elections were held in Egypt and the Ruling Party won over 95% of it, which made Egyptians frustrated. According to many Egyptians, the last election was the worst and the most fake one in the history of Egypt.

One of the most significant political motive that led Egyptians to take the action they did was the constitution that was created in 1971, because that constitution gives the president broad powers, and makes the president stronger than any authority in the country, that means that all of the power is in the president's hand. From this point, Mubarak had no limits and no one to stop him, and the last thing that made people in Egypt very angry is that Mubarak was planning to hand one of his sons the presidency after him (Abdul Salam, 2013).

In addition, Egyptians were experiencing several things that they were not accepting, and one of them was that over 40% of Egyptians were below the poverty line, as well as most of the land in Egypt was taken by Mubarak, his sons, wife, or his friends. In 2010, Transparency International announced that Egypt was ranked ninety-eighth out of one hundred and seventy-eight countries on corruption (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Many things were controlled by the regime in Egypt in Mubarak's era, and one of the things they were controlling was the media, and that was not the only reason for Egyptians to revolt, but the main reason is how Mubarak's government was making the media show how much they were succeeding in running the country. Also the media was showing several things unlike what was really happening in real life. Everything that was announced by the media in

Egypt was not certified by Egyptians especially in the last ten years of Mubarak's era. (Abdul Salam, 2013).

The last and one of the most important political motives is how the Tunisian revolution inspired Egyptians and made them stop being afraid of their government. According to the study, when Egyptians saw how the Tunisian revolution went and how they found their freedom, they started to think why not us (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Political Condition of KSA. The political condition in KSA is different than the ones in Tunisia and Egypt for several reasons, Jalud (n.d.) explained the important ones in his study “Political Decision Making in Saudi Arabia.” The regime in KSA is an absolute monarchy, and even with the existence of the constitution the system relies heavily on Islamic law. KSA was not colonized before, which reflected on the Saudi's regime.

Any political systems around the world can make mistakes, and compared to the Arabic political systems the Saudi government is one of the most stable countries in the Middle East because the Saudi government is one of the few countries in the Middle East that was able to balance between its possibilities and the internal and the foreign policies (Jalud, n.d.). Another reason Jalud (n.d.) pointed out is that the wealth that the Saudi government has helps it to invest inside and outside the country to make a good living for the people who live there.

Political Condition of UAE. The political condition in the UAE is different than the ones in the countries of model A, but the conditions in KSA and UAE are similar to each other. According to Jalud (2009), UAE is considered a federal system, which was founded in 1971. The UAE is one of the Arabic countries that did not need a political reform because no one was asking for it unlike what was happening in Egypt and Tunisia. Based on Jalud's study the main

reason behind the stability in the UAE is the good economic condition that the country has (Jalud, 2009).

As mentioned, Al-Otaibe (2012) pointed out the economic reasons that made the Arabian Gulf countries stable, and not experience any protests, but he also mentioned one of the most significant political reasons that made people in the Arabian Gulf countries not think about protesting is the absence of the despotism from governments toward the people because all of the Arabian Gulf countries' rulers treat their people from a paternalistic manner not as a president or a king who runs them or controls them. In the past ten years many of the Arabian Gulf countries did not experience any violations against minorities, and no government in the Arabian Gulf area did what some of the Middle Eastern governments did to their people (Al-Otaibe, 2012).

Social Conditions of Each Country

The third motive or condition that this chapter will explain is the social motives and conditions, in the countries of models A and B.

Social Conditions of Tunisia. When it comes to the social situation, Tunisia is one of the countries that experienced several issues during former president Bin Ali's era. Abdul Salam (2013) noted that 23 years of Bin Ali's era increased the number of unemployed. Labor became something that was not considered a right for citizens. In the early nineties Bin Ali gave a speech and he said, getting a job in Tunisia is something people have to fight for, and what can be understood from his speech is that getting a job is not one of the citizens' rights. Bin Ali's policy gave his government and his ministers the opportunity to do nothing for people, and it gave them the chance to make people fight on their own with no one helping them. All of this caused the

unemployment rate to reach 30%, so during Bin Ali's era a third of the Tunisians were without jobs; even the educated ones (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Abdul Salam (2013) also pointed out another motive for Tunisians to revolt against Bin Ali's regime, and that was the destruction of social services in the country as one of the results of Bin Ali's policies; moreover, the government did see that providing people with good social services is one of their duties, but they were seeing it as a load on them that they did not have to do. What they have done instead of doing the right thing is they gave these social services to several businessmen to invest in, and let people pay for it. All of that reflected negatively on the society's future. With no jobs, and no good social services Tunisians had no other chances to do something except what they have done, revolting against Bin Ali and his government (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Abdul Salam (2013) reported that many people think that Tunisians did what they did only because of political or economic motives, but what they did not think of was that the social motive was an important reason for Tunisians to revolt on their president along with the political and economic motives.

Social conditions of Egypt. Egyptians also are one of the Arabic people who experienced several negative things from its government when its former president Mubarak was running the country. One of the negative things that Egyptians experienced was the high level of illiteracy. In 2005, Egypt was one of the nine countries around the world with the highest number of illiterates. Furthermore, a report showed that the number of illiterates in Egypt between the ages of 15-45 years-old was more than half of the society, which was denied by the government because according to them it was not 50% of the society, it was 28.6%. Illiteracy was not the

only issue that the Egyptian society was experiencing at that time, but the education system in the country was very weak (Moslm, 2012). A study showed that the government during Mubarak's era spent only 1% of the country's budget on education (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Another social factor that made Egyptians protest and revolt against their government was the unemployment rate, which was widespread throughout the country. Statistics showed that unemployment was increasing on a monthly basis, which is what led many Egyptians to legal and illegal immigration as a solution for themselves to find jobs, and to start different lives away from their country (Abdul Salam, 2013). Mubarak's government was always denying the fact that unemployment was spreading in the country very fast, and that was also one of the additional reasons that made people lose their hope and choose the streets to protest against the government (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Another motive that Moslm (2012) discussed is that the huge population increase was an important matter for the country because with all the increase, people will find themselves fighting for jobs and too many different things without any chance of finding them. Drug addiction was one of the most important social motives, which was killing too many people in the country. Drug consumption was one of the main reasons that led Egypt to experience several negative things such as the crime rate rising so dramatically (Moslm, 2012 ; Abdul Salam, 2013).

Social Conditions of KSA. Saudis did not have the same experience that Egyptians and Tunisians had for many reasons. But before talking about the reasons we have to understand that KSA has built its ideology on the Islamic law which reflects on an integrated social system (Al-Ali, 2008).

Why do Saudis have a different situation than the Egyptians and Tunisians? To answer this question there are many differences the reader should know. One significant reason that shows how the situation in KSA is different than the ones in Tunisia and Egypt is how the Saudi government has achieved justice in the distribution of national income. They attempt to facilitate employment opportunities for all the citizens in the country, and a minimum income for each citizen to provide the basic demands of life. Furthermore, the Saudi government provides free healthcare for all the people who live in the country by having public hospitals that serve people. In addition, the Saudi government provides free public education system for citizens and that covers schools and universities (Al-Juwair, 2004 ; Al-Ali, 2008).

Social Conditions of UAE. The situation in the UAE is no different than KSA. According to “The welfare of the Emirates Society” (2014), the UAE is the best country in the Middle East in welfare, and twenty-eighth in the world in the year of 2014. Eighty-four percent of the Emiratis are satisfied with the educational system, and more than 90% of the non-Emirates residents think that the UAE is a good place to live. Furthermore, the percentage of high income citizens reached 63% (Beyomi, 2011).

One important factor is that the UAE has a plan that in seven years they will make the Emirates the happiest people not only in the Middle East but in the world. This plan is about offering people the best services, providing the basic needs for them, and developing youth’s projects. Moreover, the plan is focused on providing the safety that people need to live their lives in the best condition (Al-Dabe'e and Al-Na'asani, 2013).

Understanding all the information that has been provided in the last three sections leads to explaining the Arab Spring, and providing the readers with all the information they need about it, and its revaluations.

Background of Arab Spring

The Arab Spring has had several stations so far, and it is possible that it will have more in the future, but to understand the Arab Spring very well its revolutions and stations have to be understood too.

Tunisians' revolution. The first Arabic Spring's station was Tunisia in the year 2010 against its president at that time Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. More than 95% of the Tunisians went to the streets of Tunisia to express their anger and to protest. Al-Dabbas (2013) noted that the result of the Tunisian's revolution was spectacular because Tunisians showed all the people around the world what people can do to their governments, and how they can choose their future without anyone telling them how or what they should do. Not only the people participated in the protest, but all the political parties in the country. The author showed that after the Tunisian revolution, Tunisia experienced for its first time fair and honest elections; furthermore, the Islamic Renaissance party was the one who won the election, after that they created their government for everyone, even people who were not affiliated with their party were included. For example, the president who they chose was a member of a secular party who was banned during Ben Ali's era (Al-Dabbas, 2013).

Egyptians' revolution. The second Arab Spring's station was in Egypt, the country that was controlled by Mohammed Hosni Mubarak, the president who ruled for more than thirty years. Al-Dabbas (2013) pointed out that millions of people went to the streets after they had

seen how the Tunisians were not afraid anymore of anyone, and they started to protest against their president because of many reasons, and many years of oppression and injustice. The Egyptians stood up like the Tunisians did, and they made the president step down and do what the people wanted. After what happened the army took control for several months, and Egyptians had their first elections without knowing the person who might win it. The party who won the election was the Muslims Brotherhood who won it fairly and honestly, but after a while people started to see that none of the promises they gave before became true, and they started their second revolution against Mohammed Morsi the former president. Al-Dabbas (2013) noted that the army asked Morsi to step down and they took control again, after that they had a second election and the person who won that one was Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, and he has been the president since then (Al-Dabbas, 2013).

Libyans and Yemenis' revolution. The third Arab Spring's station was Libya. What happened in Libya is that after the two revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, Libyans started their own and theirs was against their former president Muammar Gaddafi. Theirs was different than what happened in Tunisia and Egypt because they had to fight him to get the power from him; many people died during the revolution but that did not make Libyans stop their revolution, and they achieved their goal when the president was killed by them (Al-Dabbas, 2013). The same article pointed out that the fourth stop for the Arab Spring was in Yemen, which was not completely different than the one in Libya because some of the people have died since the protest started. Al-Dabbas (2013) noted that because of what KSA has done to the people in Yemen they got their freedom from their former president Ali Abdullah Saleh. After that some of the countries did not like what happened in Yemen so they started to support some armed groups

such as Al-Huthi trying to control the country for several reasons like its location (Al-Dabbas, 2013).

Syrians' revolution. The Syrian revolution was the fifth station for the Arab Spring in the Middle East, and the situation in Syria was completely different than any other country for different reasons such as how different countries such as Iran and Russia are interfering in the situation in the country, and how some of them supported the current president Bashar al-Assad. Also the author noted that hundreds of thousands of Syrians have died since the revolution started, and it will not be over until some of the countries stop interfering in the internal situation of Syria (Al-Dabbas, 2013).

Understanding all the information that has been provided about the Arab Spring and its stations in the Middle East, the uses of social media during the Arab Spring has to be understood too.

The Uses of Social Media during Arab Spring

Social media has a huge impact on the Middle East revolutions', and people in the countries who had revolutions learned from each other how to use social media to achieve their goals. For example, Egyptians learned from Tunisians how to use Facebook by seeing them use it during their protests. The researcher pointed out that social media were the tools for the people to communicate with each other without anyone controlling or limiting their freedom, and because people saw others doing it, learned from them, saw the results of the actions they have taken, and took the same actions as well (Al-Mansour, 2012).

The study that Al-Mansour (2012) has written showed that social media was not the reason behind the revolutions but it was the place where people could share their opinions, ideas,

and decisions freely. People in the countries who experienced the Arab Spring revolutions used social media as a tool to choose the places that they would start the protests at, the time, and showing everyone outside the country what they will do, and how the government would react to it. One example about the uses of social media from the people during the Arab Spring is how people were recording everything that was happening and sharing it with the whole world, which led some of the TV channels to offer financial rewards for anyone who can record and send them the footage (Al-Mansour, 2012).

In addition, the role of social media in the Arab Spring's revolutions can be summarized to four points according to Azrwal (n.d.): the first point, how successful social media was in building up the public opinions; the second point is how social media contributed in creating active and positive citizenship; the third point is how social media gives people the opportunity to analyze the government's performance, and give their opinions on different matters; the fourth point is how social media contributed to creating a better understanding for people who use it.

Acknowledging the information that has been provided leads to understanding the situations in each country within the models A and B separately, because each country of the models that have been chosen in this study has its unique characteristics.

Tunisia: "The Jasmine revolution"

The first country to explain is Tunisia, and according to Al-Mansour (2012), the story in Tunisia started when Tunisians benefited from information that WikiLeaks published about the fortune of President Ben Ali and his family. After the leaks, the first action that Tunisians took was that they shared it and posted on Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and all the other social media channels. All of that caused Tunisians, especially the young ones, to be upset, and wait for the

spark to take action against Ben Ali and his government. After several months, the spark showed up when Mohamed Bouazizi burned himself to death on the street because of all the suffering that he had to deal with in his life. The researcher pointed out that the death of Bouazizi was the starting point for Tunisians to protest against the government and its performance; the study noted that Tunisians used Facebook and all of the other social media channels to express their opinion, and what helped them is how these channels were not under the government's control (Al-Mansour, 2012).

The role of social media in the Tunisian revolution has been divided into three different levels or stages based on a study that Zodah (2013) did: the first level is “the call for the revolution,” and he meant by this that the Tunisian revolution started with the people talking and expressing their opinion and their anger on what was happening in their country. Zodah noted that all of that was happening on Facebook because people found it safer talking on Facebook instead of talking somewhere else where the government could arrest them, so Tunisians created different Facebook groups and talked about their plan. Facebook gave them the space and the freedom they needed to do that (Zodah, 2013). The second stage for the Tunisian revolution is “digital mobilization,” and the author divided this level into three sub-levels. The first sub-level is joining the network; he explained that different people started to join the network and the social media channels, especially Facebook, and they started to create different kinds of groups, and the purpose behind that was to protest. The second sub-level is how the people who joined the network and the social media started to set their goals, talk about what they wanted to do, what actions they might take, and goals they wanted to achieve. The third sub-level that Zodah pointed out in his study is how people on Facebook started to share their ideas and express their opinions on the idea of protesting (Zodah, 2013). The last major stage that Zodah noted in his

study is the shift from the digital world that people were living in to the real one, and at this point he divided the people into two different groups: the first group of people is the interactive audience, who received the messages and sent them back to different people, and they created groups and invited others to join; the second group of people is the emotional audience, who were only receiving the messages from others without sending them back to anyone, and did not create any groups, so their role was only receiving (Zodah, 2013).

Zodah (2013) further showed that Tunisians did not use Facebook only to communicate with friends and make new friends; Facebook played a significant role during the Tunisian revolution. Also, Facebook groups were one of the most important tools to shape the public's opinion, and to start the protest. The author pointed out that the number of Facebook users in Tunisia jumped from 790,000 users to over 1.7 million users. Tunisians used Facebook during the revolution to post and share any photos or videos about the revolution and to show others who chose to stay out of it that they were fighting for them. They also wanted to show people from outside Tunisia what they were doing, and how they were doing it. Zodah mentioned that many Arabic and foreign TV channels were covering the news in Tunisia without anyone from the channels being there, they were covering the news by what the people posted on Facebook and YouTube. Zodah noted that these videos and photos were the reason why people from all over the country supported each other because they knew what others were doing for them, and how the government was reacting. All of this could not have happened without the role of Facebook, and what social media has offered to Tunisians; he also noted that Facebook became during the revolution the first and the strongest social media channel in Tunisia. "Social media did not make the Tunisian revolution, but it was the most important tool that helped Tunisians to achieve their goal" (Zodah, 2012, p. #).

Egypt: “January 25th Revolution”

The second country of model A is Egypt, and according to Al-Mansour (2012), after the Egyptians saw what happened in Tunisia, and how Tunisians were brave enough to take the actions they took, they started to think that they could do the same thing in their country. Of course that was not the only reason for them to protest and revolt against their government, but it was one of several reasons. The study noted that Egyptians for many years had to deal with Mubarak’s government and the unjust way they were running the country, and that was one of the reasons for Egyptians to take the actions they took using the social media to help them do the same thing that their neighbors did (Al-Mansour, 2012).

Before the revolution started in Egypt the official media and many of the private channels were not telling the truth about the Egyptian situation. Many of them were faking many things that Egyptians were suffering from, and telling everyone inside and outside the country that everything was fine, and there was nothing to worry about. That was one of the reasons for Egyptians to use social media channels such as Facebook, because they were able to tell what was really happening in the country without faking any facts (Abu Al-Ftouh, 2013). The same study reported that social media played a significant role in showing the truth to all Egyptians by blogs, the speed that Facebook and Twitter have, and showing videos on YouTube. Egyptians used the social media very well to show others the real life they had during Mubarak’s era, and how they have to suffer every day without anyone knowing what was happening in their country (Abu Al-Ftouh, 2013). The author pointed out that after the first revolution against Mubarak, Egyptians did not stop using social media even with all the changes that happened to the traditional media channels in the country because they believed that social media will not fake any truth, and it helped once so it can help them twice (Abu Al-Ftouh, 2013).

Abu Al-Ftouh (2013) explained how social media played its role in Egypt and how Egyptians used it before, during, and after the revolution. He divided the social media role into three roles: the first role started when the police killed a young man called Khalid Saeed because of the video that he had showing the police sharing drugs they had confiscated; everyone in Egypt was talking about the crime the police committed on social media, and no TV channel, radio station, or newspaper mentioned anything about it. After that event, the first role began, the one the author named “The Mobilization stage,” and he meant by this point that all Egyptians started to use social media because of the little hope that they had for traditional media, and they knew that social media is much better than the traditional. The first move was made by creating a Facebook page called “كلنا خالد سعيد” which means “We Are All Khalid Saeed”, that page got very popular in days, and many people followed it. The page “We Are All Khalid Saeed” significantly contributed to shaping the public’s opinion, and people started to specify places and times for them to protest against the government. Days after, social media started to be the weapon that Egyptians used in challenging the government. (Abu Al-Ftouh, 2013)

The second role that Abu Al-Ftouh (2013) pointed out was how Egyptians used social media to document each action they took by taking photos, videos, and voice records. Egyptians started to do that since the first day of their revolution until the last day of it. People were taking photos and videos and posting on YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter to encourage those who did not believe that this could happen in Egypt, and they made all the people in the world know that they had done what they were afraid of. Every moment of the first and the second revolution was recorded and posted online, and that was another benefit for Egyptians from social media because they can save it, and teach everyone how it happened; the third role, according to Abu Al-Ftouh (2013) was that social media gave the opportunity to Egyptians to judge anyone’s work

in the new government, and to show that it is no longer available for traditional media to lie and fake the truth.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

The third country in this study and the first one in model B is KSA, and based on the information that has been provided in the last sections, the countries of model B have different situations than the countries of model A. When the Tunisian revolution was happening, Saudis were watching the news, and they were on social media to see what was happening in Tunisia (Al-Obaid, 2011). Saudis' opinion on the Tunisian revolution was that they were happy for them because they knew that there were many reasons for the anger and the protest. The study that Al-Obaid (2011) did pointed out that when the Arab Spring reached Libya, Saudis were also watching the news, and updating themselves on what was happening in each country. The Saudis expressed their opinion on the Arab Spring's revolution that the people who protested were doing the right things because they had suffered enough from their governments.

Al-Obaid (2011) noted that the Arab Spring's revolution and the uses of social media during it did affect Saudis because Saudis are one of the first Arabic people who used social media, but the effect was not on the same level like how it was in Tunisia, Egypt, and other Arabic countries. The study mentioned that in 2011, Saudis were surprised because some people created a Facebook page "Hanan's Revolution" encouraging them to revolt and protest against their own government, and Saudis were asked on Facebook, Twitter, and every other social media channel to join the protest on March 21st, 2011. What happened on that date was that no one protested, and the streets were clean, and no one did the plan that some people created on

social media. The day after, the king of Saudi Arabia “Abdullah” gave a speech talking to Saudis and telling them how loyal they are (Al-Obaid, 2011).

Based on the uses of social media in Saudi Arabia, Saudis are one of the highest people around the world in using social media and its channels. According to Musammah (2011), a study by Bayt.com and YouGov showed that over 67% of Saudis use the Internet for over three hours per day, 36% of them contact their families and friends via E-mail, and 33% use social media to contact their friends and families, or watch videos and see photos. The study also reported that 38% of the Internet users use it to download or upload videos, and over 34% of them use it to download and upload photos. Musammah pointed out that the study reported that the most popular social media channels are Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. The study noted that the use of social media in KSA is limited to entertainment, and Saudis use it most of the time to entertain themselves by contacting others, watching videos, searching for photos, or discussing different topics (Musammah, 2011).

The United Arab Emirates

As the last country in the study and the second in model B, the use of social media in the UAE was similar to the one in KSA; a study by Bayt.com (2011), pointed out that over 90% of Emiratis use the Internet, and 70% out of the 90% use it for at least three hours a day. The study reported that 38% of the Emiratis use the Internet to send and receive E-mails, and 41% of them use it for social media. The study showed that in 2011, the most popular social media channel in the UAE was Facebook, followed by Twitter and LinkedIn (Bayt.com and YouGov Siraj, 2011).

The study reported that only 7% out of the 90% do not use social media. Over 70% of the Internet users in the UAE use Facebook on a daily basis, and 58% of them use Facebook over 3

hours daily; 21% of Emiratis use Twitter, and 42% of them use Twitter for less than 30 minutes daily. The study noted that the main reason that Emiratis use the Internet and social media is for social activities and entertainment purposes such as listening to music, watching videos, and contacting friends (Bayt.com and YouGov Siraj, 2011).

Theoretical Framework

This study is based on two of the communication theories, which are the uses and gratification theory, and the four models of public relations theory.

The Uses and Gratification

The uses and gratification theory was founded by Elihu Katz and Blumler, and this theory shows how audiences use the media channels they want to satisfy particular desires, which lead the media channels to give the audiences what they want to attract most of them to use it and nothing else (Al-Subaie, 2013). Al-Subaie (2013) pointed out that the audiences' need is what determines the media content because the audience uses the media for its personal needs, not necessarily to benefit from it. That shows why people in the world started to use social media, because it gave them the opportunity to choose the content they want, not only choosing it but creating it with the style they want and the way they like it. When it comes to Arabs, the most important desire is freedom with all its levels and types; that is what the social media offered to them, and that was the reason of them using it (Al-Subaie, 2013).

One of the theory's assumptions is that the audiences are active users of the media channels, and they use any of its channels to reach a specific goal they want to achieve. Also, the theory assumes that the audiences' use of the media channels shows the audiences' needs and how they are aware of them. This point is controlled by different factors such as the individuals'

differences, the social interaction, and the different needs. Moreover, the theory assumes that the audiences are the ones who choose the media channel not the opposite way, and they choose for different purposes such as satisfying their needs. Also, the theory shows that the audiences choose the content they want, and the kind of messages they want to be viewed, not only the media channel. Furthermore, one of the theory's assumptions is that the audiences always can determine what their needs and desires are, which helps them in choosing the right media channel for themselves (Al-Subaie, 2013).

Another study pointed out that the theory assumes that audiences are an effective element in the communication process, and their uses of the media achieved their goals, which fulfills their expectations. Also, the theory assumes that the audiences are the ones who choose the channels and the content they want, not the channels who choose them, and the audiences know the benefit they will get from the channel they choose, and the motive behind using it. The study noted that the theory also assumes that from the audiences' uses of media it is possible to understand the culture in a society (Al-Subaie, 2013).

The uses and gratification theory shows that there are several differences between the media's audiences, and there are several differences in the way the audiences interact with the different media channels. According Al-Subaie (2013), the audiences' activity has different aspects, the first one is the selectivity, which means that the audiences are able to choose between the different media channels, and choose the content they want from it. The second aspect, the utilitarianism, which means without needing anything from the media channel, the way the audiences use it will be different. The third one is the intentionality, this means that the active audiences who chose the media channel and its content are the ones who will process the information they receive from the media channel they chose, and they will be able to understand

it the best. The fourth aspect is the resistance to influence, which means that the audiences create their own constraints to block any unwanted effect from reaching them. The last aspect the study noted is the involvement, which means that the more the audiences follow the media channel, the more they get engaged with it.

According to Al-Subaie (2013) the motives for the uses of media channels are two, instrumental motives, and ritualized motives. The author meant by these two motives that the audiences use the different media channels to inform themselves, to learn different things, and to use the media channels to benefit themselves from it. The author meant by the second motive that he pointed out, was how the audiences use the different media channels to entertain themselves, and for other reasons such as relaxing.

Based on the theory's definition, Middle Easterners use social media because it gives them the opportunity to create the content they want and that they find appropriate for them as individuals and groups, which helps them to satisfy themselves, and achieve their goals. Middle Easterners knew the benefits they will get from using the social media, and they understand the specific needs they want to be satisfied by social media (Al-Subaie, 2013).

The researcher believes that employing the uses and gratification theory is significant for this study, but he also believes that choosing the four models of public relations theory would have a significant effect on understanding how each government of the four governments were reacting to social media.

The Four Models of Public Relations

In 1984, Grunig and Hunt developed four models of public relations in their book *Managing Public Relations*. The four models they published explain the different ways and

forms of the communication process between any organization and its stakeholders. The first model is the press agent model, the second is public information model, the third is two-way asymmetric model, and the last one is the two-way symmetrical model.

According to Grunig and Hunt (1984), the type of communication that the first model is based on is the one-way communication. This model shows that the main goal behind the communication process is to manipulate people in doing what the organization wants them to do. Furthermore, the second model, which is a one-way communication as well shows that originators use communication techniques to broadcast information to the public, which makes the public relations agents who work in the organizations do journalists' work by publishing the information about their originations. This model is the most used model by the governments' public relations agents.

Unlike the first two models, the third model of public relations is a two-way communication model. The two-way asymmetric model shows that organizations use manipulation to influence their audience into doing what they want without knowing how their audience feels about them. This model is mostly used in the marketing field. The last model of the four public relations model is the two-way symmetrical model, which is also a two-way communication model. This model states that organizations use negotiation with the public to resolve any issues, and to have a better understanding between the organization and its audience (Grunig & Hunt, 1984).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to give the reader the description of the method that has been used in this study. This chapter will be divided into four sections: the first section gives the information about the method that was used in the study; the second section provides the explanation of using the method; the third section explains how the researcher used the method, and a number of examples of how it was used; the last section shows the study questions and hypothesis.

The Method: Content Analysis

The method that will be used in this study is the content analysis method. As mentioned in chapter one, this method is the one that scholars started to use in mass communication and media studies as a tool to reach the information and the explanations they needed in the past. Mass communication scholars started to use content analysis as one of the methodologies because of what the mass communication and the media fields required to be studied, and how complex these fields have become since the twentieth century.

To understand how this method works, the phrase “content analysis” has to be examined. First, the word, “content”, means all that a person can write, say, or symbolize. It also means all the information and the conclusions that any individual can come up with during the communication process with others. Second, the word, “analysis”, means a process to realize the

phenomena and the objects around us through separating their elements, and understanding each element's aspects and how they work together.

The Reasons behind Choosing this Method

In this study, the researcher will use content analysis as a method because of its characteristics, and what it can bring to the research. The main reason why the researcher chose this method is that this method is the appropriate one for doing a comparison study between two or more samples, and this study is based on a comparison between the countries that have been chosen to be the models in the study.

In addition, content analysis is used for several reasons, but one of the reasons why the researcher will use it here is because it will help highlight the individual and group perspectives on several different matters. This point will highlight the citizens' perspectives in the countries that have been chosen as models, and it will help to provide a better understanding of the motives that led them to use social media during the Arab Spring.

Another reason for choosing this method is that it will assist in getting to know the individuals psychologically and socially during a crisis or normal situation through analyzing the messages that individuals use to express and share their feelings. This is exactly what the researcher needs in the study because, by using this method, the researcher will be able to analyze the individuals' messages that they send through social media and its channels, thereby helping to understand the psychological and the social conditions in the countries that the researcher chose as models.

The last reason is that this method will help the researcher analyze how the country receives the information and motives of other countries, along with their goals, especially during

a war or a crisis situation. That means that each country will analyze the documents and the statements that other countries issue through the mass media channels about the party. By this point, the researcher will analyze the efforts of the countries that have been chosen as in facing the Arab Spring's revolutions. The researcher will do that by analyzing the way that the chosen countries used social media as a tool to face the Arab Spring's danger.

How Content Analysis is Used

The method will be used to analyze different things that happened in the countries that have been chosen as models. The researcher will use the method to analyze four main differences between model A (Tunisia and Egypt) and model B (KSA and the UAE). The first thing that will be analyzed by using the content analysis method is the differences between models A and B on the motives, and compare the situations among the four countries to have a better understanding for the case. Three motives will be analyzed: the economic motive, the political motive, and the social motive based on the several resources the researcher has chosen. These three motives will then be compared between models A and B. The researcher will analyze the study that Abdul Salam (2013) did on the motives behind the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions. Additionally, he will analyze different articles, news, and decisions that the governments in model B made from the year 2010 to 2015. The reason behind the difference between model A and B is due to the lack of resources in covering model B.

The second point that will be analyzed is how the two governments in model B started to transform to what they called the electronic government, and how the action the governments took affected their situation positively, unlike what the other two countries in model A did. Also, the researcher will compare the two situations between models A and B according to this matter.

Without having a good understanding of this matter, the researcher would be unable to ascertain why social media had its impact on model A but not model B. The researcher will use the method on some of the governments' websites to understand the changes, and how those changes affected the situation.

The third point the researcher will analyze is how the countries' governments acted toward the social media channels, and how they reacted to the huge impact that social media had on their people. Also, the researcher will analyze each country's leader's presence on social media, such as the presence of "@KingSalman" (King Salman Al-Saud, the king of KSA) and "@HhShkMohd" (Mohammed Al-Maktoum the prime minister of the UAE), and how this move affected their situations positively. Also, the researcher will analyze the content of their messages on social media. By using content analysis as the chosen method, the researcher will compare the two models based on the actions that the countries of model B took, but not the countries of model A.

The fourth point the researcher will use the method on is to analyze the presence of several ministers in the countries of model B, and the way they communicated with people through social media, and how their manner affected the people's opinions of their governments and the services that these governments offer to them. Also, the researcher will analyze some of the ministries' accounts on social media. These accounts send to the people who follow them on social media such as Saudi's Interior Ministry account on Twitter as "@MOIEservices" and the Emiratis Interior Ministry account as "@AbuDhabiPolice." The content of some of the messages that the researcher has chosen randomly will be analyzed. The researcher will then compare the situation based on this matter between models A and B, and find out the differences between these two models and how the actions that the countries of model B took affected their images.

In addition, the researcher will choose all types of resources with which to compare these two models such as articles, news articles, videos, government statements, studies, and all kinds of things that will help the researcher compare the models he chose fairly. The researcher will choose these resources randomly without knowing in advance which ones he will use the method on.

The Research Questions and Hypotheses

The Research Question

Chapter two confirmed that social media played an important role in each country in models A and B, but the impact was different from one country to another. This point leads to the research question: Why social media affected the countries of model A, but did not have the same impact, or play the same role in the countries of model B? Even though people in the countries of model B used social media before, during, and after the Arab Spring, and they were aware of what was happening in the countries of model A, and they expressed their opinions on what was happening in each country of model A, the results were very different. That is what the studies in chapter two confirmed.

The Hypotheses

From the research question, the researcher developed three main hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The differences of the regime in each country and the different leaders made the situation different from one country to another.

Hypothesis 2: The countries' governments of model B provided people with the basic needs and started to solve the issues that people were facing, unlike what the governments of model A did.

Hypothesis 3: The governments of model B started to use social media to communicate with people, and gave the people the opportunity to evaluate the situations and to have a say in the country.

Chapter four

The Result

This study is a comparison study of the social media impact on four different countries in the Arab Spring. The purpose of this study is to define how social media was neither the main reason nor even one of the reasons behind the Arab Spring revolutions, but rather an important tool that people in the countries who experienced the revolutions used for several reasons.

This chapter is a summary of previous studies that have been done on several topics, and analyzing several artifacts. The chapter is organized into two major sections: The real life, and the digital life. The first section will be divided into three different parts: the first part is analyzing the economic condition of each country that has been chosen to be studied by the researcher. The second part is analyzing the political condition of the countries and the third part is analyzing the social condition of each country. The researcher will do that by summarizing several studies that have been done and analyzing the three different conditions of each one of the countries the researcher chose for this study. In addition, the second major section consists of three different stages: the first stage is how the four governments the researcher chose for this study started to switch from being a traditional government to an electronic and digital government; the second stage is the presence of the four countries' leaders on social media. The researcher will analyze the presence of those who have accounts, and the content they have been providing on social media; the third stage is the presence of the ministers and ministries and the way they respond to their audiences; the researcher will analyze the presence and the content of the messages they send through the social media channels.

Section one: Real Life in Each Country

This section is as important as the other sections in this chapter because it provides information about the way that each of the four governments treated their people, and how the people from each of the four countries felt about their governments. Also, this section gives the background information that readers need to understand before comparing each country or model to another. The researcher will go over each country and explain how each government of the four countries were treating its people before the Arab Spring's revolutions.

Tunisia

The first country that the researcher will explain in this chapter is Tunisia, which was the first country to experience the Arab Spring. The researcher will use a study that has been done by Abdul Salam (2013) which was cited in chapter two, and due to the significant findings that Abdul Salam provided in her study, the researcher will give a summary from her study on the Arab Spring's revolutions.

In the study that Abdul Salam (2013) did, she pointed out that Tunisians were suffering due to several reasons. The first main reason that led Tunisians to revolt against their government was the economic condition, which was one of the most compelling motives. One of the causes that made Tunisians suffer economically was how weak the Tunisian economy was in the era of the former president, Bin Ali, and the reason for the weakness was that the economic activities in the country were relying on non-productive sectors. The contribution of the agricultural sector decreased to 10.4% in 2002, and the industry sector decreased as well to 29.1% in the same year (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Another reason that led Tunisians to revolt against the former government was the contribution of the agricultural sector—one of the non-productive sectors--was 60.5% in the same year. That was what made the Tunisian economic system, a service economy, rely on imports, which led the country to lose its economic future. Abdul Salam (2013) mentioned in her study that since Bin Ali became the president in 1987, the Tunisian economy's debt tripled, and that was in only 13 years of him running the country (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Moreover, Tunisians had to give up on their government because of the way the ruling family dominated the fields of finance and business. One of the examples that Abdul Salam mentioned on this point was how Saqer Al-Matri, the president's son-in-law, was able to own one of the biggest banks in the country, a newspaper, and a radio station. He owned all of this and more before reaching his thirties. What made the situation worse was that the bureaucracy began to reach the economic system, and that meant excluding all the workers and people from all the economic decisions, and that led to a lack of transparency. Also corruption increased during Bin Ali's era until it became something normal and a part of the government system, and the people who were benefiting from this corruption were the president's family, and those who were close to it (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Tunisians did not suffer economically only, but they suffered politically too. Based on Abdul Salam's (2013) study, Tunisians found themselves, after 23 years of Bin Ali rule, deprived of their basic rights. They found themselves living in a country which did not give them any of the rights they deserved as citizens. The way Bin Ali was running the country created several motives that led people to revolt against him; one of the most important motives which led people to the streets protesting was the political motive. Another reason behind the revolution was that Bin Ali gathered all the authorities around him, and let no one control anything without

a word from him, and how Bin Ali strengthened the ruling party's control on the country and made belonging to it a main requirement for having the basic rights as a citizen in Tunisia, such as having a job. He did not stop there. He also required the judiciary to protect him, his family, and the minority who supported him (Abdul Salam, 2013).

In addition, Bin Ali took a big advantage of the international campaign carried out by the US administration against terrorism by considering any action against his government a terrorist action; the regime even monopolized all the media in the country, and made it serve his own interests. Bin Ali was classified as one of the ten presidents around the world against media and journalism. In Bin Ali's era the Tunisian prisons were filled by over 37 thousand citizens as political prisoners in the last fifteen years of his term. In addition, one of the Tunisian human rights organizations stated in a report that the number of human rights violations increased in the last few years of Bin Ali's era. Moreover, Tunisians' political opinions were ignored during Bin Ali's era, and that was one of the most important reasons that made people not accept him as president anymore (Abdul Salam, 2013).

The third main motive behind the Tunisian revolution was the social motive, which was a huge effect on Tunisians' lives because they were suffering from several social issues. Tunisia is one of the countries that experienced several issues during the former president Bin Ali's era. Based on Abdul Salam's study (2013), 23 years of Bin Ali's era increased the number of unemployed; also labor became something that was not considered a right for citizens. Bin Ali's policy gave his government and his ministers the opportunity to do nothing for the people, and it gave them the chance to make people fight on their own with no one helping them. All of this caused the unemployment rate to reach 30%, so during Bin Ali's era a third of the Tunisians were without jobs; even the educated ones. Moreover, the destruction of social services in the

country was one of the results of Bin Ali's policies; also, the government did see that providing people with good social services is one of their duties, but they were seeing it as a burden on them that they did not have to do. What they did instead of doing the right thing was they gave these social services to several businessmen to invest in, and let people pay for them. All of that reflected negatively on the society's future. With no jobs, and no good social services Tunisians had no other chances to do something except what they did, revolt against Bin Ali and his government (Abdul Salam, 2013). These were the most important reasons that Abdul Salam (2013) noted in her study about Tunisia and the situation there before any of the Arab Spring's actions happened.

Egypt

The second country of model A is Egypt. The researcher chose this country because it experienced two of the Arab Spring's revolutions; also Egypt was the second country to experience the Arab Spring's revolutions. The researcher will cover Egypt using the same format as Tunisia because the researcher believes that this step will make the comparison fair between the two models, model A Tunisia and Egypt; model B KSA and the UAE.

Same as Tunisia, Egypt was suffering economically for decades, and one of the reasons for that was how the role of the private sector increased as an alternative to the public sector, which made the public sector weaker and close to disappearing. What made it worse is that the private sector tended to neglect the development of the social dimension. Since 2007, the private sector in Egypt became the major and main sector in the country, which led them to control everything, and made the people pay for everything that was supposed to be free. So after years of running the country this way, the role of the government shrank and the private sector started

to run the government that was supposed to be running the country. Another reason was that over 40% of Egyptians were living below the poverty line, and the reasons behind that were non-equitable distribution of the GNP as well as the complete disparity between income and high prices. Also Abdul Salam mentioned that this disparity made most Egyptians very poor allowed all the wealth to be controlled by businessmen (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Egypt was no different than Tunisia because they suffered a lot and for many years politically. Abdul Salam (2013) pointed out that one of the main reasons was how Egypt lived under emergency law, a law that had been created after the war in 1958, and Mubarak used in his era to serve his own and the government's interests. Because of this law the police got more power, and all of the constitutional rights got suspended in the country. The police in Egypt, because of the emergency law, have committed a lot of the violations against Egyptian citizens such as arrests and indiscriminate killings; one of the examples is the murder of Khalid Saeed. Another political reason was how Mubarak's government controlled all the political parties and their activities in the country. Also, the government issued several laws to control them, and give one party all the power in the country, which was the Ruling Party. According to Abdul Salam's study, months before the revolution parliamentary elections were held in Egypt and the Ruling Party won over 95% of the vote, which made Egyptians frustrated. According to many Egyptians, the last election was the worst and the most fake one in the history of Egypt (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Moreover, the constitution that was created in 1971 was one of the political reasons behind the revolution because it gave the president broad powers, and made the president stronger than any authority in the country, that means that all of the power is in the president's hands. From this point, Mubarak had no limits and no one to stop him, and the last thing that

made people in Egypt very angry was that Mubarak was planning to hand one of his sons the presidency after him. In addition, Egyptians were experiencing several things years before the Arab Spring that they were struggling with, and one of them was that over 40% of Egyptians were below the poverty line, as well as most of the land in Egypt was taken by Mubarak, his sons, wife, or people close to him. In 2010, Transparency International announced that Egypt was ranked ninety-eighth out of one hundred and seventy-eight countries on corruption. Also, media in Egypt as well as in Tunisia was monopolized by the government, and what made it worse was how Mubarak's government was making the media show how much they were succeeding in running the country. Further, the media was showing several things unlike what was really happening in real life. Everything that was announced by the media in Egypt was not certified by Egyptians especially in the last ten years of Mubarak's era. The last political reason that Abdul Salam (2013) explained was how the Tunisian revolution inspired Egyptians and made them stop being afraid of their government. According to the study, when Egyptians saw how the Tunisian revolution went and how they found their freedom, they started to think why not us (Abdul Salam, 2013).

Socially, Egyptians experienced several negative things at the hands of their government when the former president Mubarak was running the country. One of the main social issues that Egyptians experienced during the former president's era was the illiteracy rate and the education system because it was very weak. Abdul Salam (2013) mentioned that the Egyptian government during Mubarak's tenure used to spend only 1% of the country's budget on education every year. Another social factor that made Egyptians protest and revolt against their government was the unemployment rate, which was widespread in the country. Statistics showed that unemployment was increasing on a monthly basis. This led many Egyptians to legal and illegal immigration as a

solution for themselves to find jobs, and to start different lives away from their country.

Mubarak's government was always denying the fact that the unemployment was spreading very fast in the country, and that was also one of the additional reasons that made people lose their hope and choose the streets to protest against the government.

KSA

The researcher believes that it is very important to understand what was happening before the Arab Spring in each country of model A and B, and what led people of model A to revolt, but not people of model B. As model A was explained earlier in this chapter, the countries of model B should be explained too. The researcher will explain and analyze the three different parts and conditions in Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA).

The economic, political, and social conditions in model B were different from the countries of model A due to several causes. Economically, KSA has a strong economy and stable markets, with no fees and restrictions on foreign exchange. In addition, there are no restrictions on imports except for a few items that are not allowed to enter the country for security and religious reasons. Moreover, KSA has one of the largest economies in the free market of the Middle East and North Africa possessing more than 25% of the gross domestic products. In addition, KSA is one of the twenty largest economies in the world, and it is the first country in the world producing and exporting oil. It is also ranked as the ninth country in the world in regards to economic stability. In KSA the private sector and the public sector go hand in hand. Both of them are equally controlled by the Saudi government, and the government regulates the operations between the private and the public sectors. KSA is a member of the World Trade

Organization, and KSA had a rise in their gross domestic product in the past few years, 22.1% to a value of 1.8 Trillion dollars (The Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 2012).

In addition to its economic condition, KSA is totally different from Tunisia and Egypt politically too. The regime in KSA is an absolute monarchy, and even with the existence of the constitution the system relies heavily on the Islamic law. KSA was not colonize before, which is reflected in the Saudi regime. In addition, any political systems around the world can make mistakes, and compared to the Arabic political systems the Saudi government is one of the most stable countries in the Middle East because the Saudi government is one of the few countries in the Middle East that was able to balance between its possibilities and the internal and the foreign policies. Another reason Jalud explained in his study was that the big financial possibilities that the Saudi government owns helps it to invest inside and outside the country to make a good living for the people who live there. (Jalud, n.d.)

Socially, Saudis did not have the same experience that Egyptians and Tunisians had for many reasons, Al-Ali (2008) noted that the Saudi government has achieved justice in the distribution of national income, they attempt to facilitate employment opportunities for all the citizens in the country, and guarantee a minimum income for each citizen to provide for the basic demands of life. Furthermore, the Saudi government provides free healthcare for all the people who live in the country by having public hospitals that serve the people. In addition, the Saudi government provides a free public education system for citizens and that covers both schools and universities (Al-Juwair, 2004; Al-Ali, 2008).

To give the reader the opportunity to understand the situation in KSA better, the researcher chose to focus on two reports on what the government had done before the Arab

Spring arrived in the Middle East in 2011, and what kind of decisions the Saudi government was making. Since 2005 the Saudi government kept trying to give Saudis the life they deserve. The government started to do that by making a five-year plan beginning in 2005 to develop several sectors in the country. In 2005 King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia gave orders to raise the salaries of all the Saudis who work in the public sector by 15%, and give all employees an extra month's payment. Also, he gave orders to raise people who receive social services, and support the housing program for them by 8 billion Riyals. He gave orders to support the government's bank with more than 13 billion Riyals. In 2005, the king also gave orders to create a program that offers scholarships to Saudi students to study outside Saudi Arabia in several countries. Furthermore, in the same year, the king gave orders to create the human rights organization. Also, he gave a huge amount of money from the government budget to support the education system, transportation system, and labor ("The Saudi's Government", 2015).

In 2008, the king gave another group of orders to improve the citizens' lives in Saudi Arabia; first, he gave the order that the government will support the cost of fees for passports, driving licenses, and several other services by 50%, so that the Saudi citizens should pay no more than half the cost of the service. Also, he ordered a raise be given to all the public Saudi workers by 5% and increase their salaries by 5% for three years, so that the total is 15%. He also ordered a raise for all the people who were benefiting from the social services by 10%, and supported the housing program for the second time in three years. The last two orders he gave that year made all the people who were working for the government under different programs work directly for the government, and the other decision dealt with creating several economic cities in the country to support it and to invent more jobs for the youth in KSA ("The Saudi's Government", 2015).

According to many resources such as Sabq newspaper, the government in Saudi Arabia has made many moves and decisions to help Saudis live a good life in their country. In the past 10 years between the years 2005 and 2015, the Saudi government has developed the country in a variety of sectors such as housing, health, economy, and education. Housing was a huge issue in Saudi Arabia so the government supported the housing ministry with money and power. Also, the government has built several economic cities to support the country and make the government less dependent on oil which is the main income source for the Saudi government. Further, the government created these cities to create and offer more jobs to the Saudis, and try to decrease the unemployment in the country (“The Saudi’s Government”, 2015).

Moreover, the government in Saudi Arabia gave its order to the private sector to make Saudis’ salary be no less than three-thousand Reals a month, and made all the private companies have no less than 15% of Saudis employees. Another step that the Saudi government took was offering and creating more than 60 thousand new military jobs for Saudis to join, and raising the government marriage and housing loan. The Saudi government also supported oil to keep its price from increasing for people who buy it inside the country. In addition, the Saudi government did several things to support education in the country such as creating a center to develop the education system, and the schools systems. Also, the government created more than 25 new public universities, and offered no less than 150 thousand scholarships to Saudi students to give them the chance to get their degrees in different countries such as the U.S. (“The Saudi Government”, 2015).

Moreover, females in Saudi Arabia received more support than before from the Saudi government, and the former king gave many orders to support women in several areas such as allowing women in Saudi Arabia to run for several positions, and giving them the chance to be

part of the Consultative Council which is one of the most high-powered authorities in the country. Also the government started to fight the corruption in the country by creating the Anti-Corruption Commission to control it and fight it. Not only that, but the government in Saudi Arabia supported the health system in the country by more than 4 billion US dollars to develop it. Also, the Saudi government gave its orders to make new public transportation systems in several cities in the country, and created several sports and youth centers in different cities (“The Saudi Government”, 2015).

UAE

The UAE is the second country of model B, and like the KSA the UAE has a different situation than Tunisia and Egypt. The different political, economic, and social situations from one country to another is very important to understand. So economically, the UAE is different from any other Arabic country because of the diversified economic system that the UAE has, and that is what helped the country be a regional center for industry and services. Also, the UAE is the third country in the world in oil reserves. What makes the UAE special is the geographic location, which gives the country an economic power, and that the UAE has a free economic system (Fidy, 2014).

The UAE has the second biggest Arabic economy after KSA. Since the UAE announced the union the statistics indicated that Gross Domestic Product had been increased from over 1.7 billion dollars to over 300 billion dollars by the end of 2011. The UAE achieved a huge economic jump which exceeded 9%, and they secured this success by reliance on different resources. The UAE had a plan to reduce the needs for oil income, and make the country’s income stop relying on it and start using different resources, which they did because in 2010,

they decreased the oil contribution to the GDP from 70% to 30% (The United Arab Emirates E-encyclopedia, 2015).

Also, the UAE got an advanced rank on Transparency International, which was 29th, and this showed that the UAE was one of the least corrupt countries. Also the UAE reduced the poverty rate to zero percent. (“Will Arab Spring”, 2012).

Al-Otaibe (2012) discussed that the nature of economic life in the Arabian Gulf countries is one of the most important reasons why there are no revolutions in these countries; because most of the people who live in the Arabian Gulf countries live in good economic levels, and they are not willing to lose the life they have.

Moreover, the UAE is politically different from the countries of model A and a little different than KSA, Jalud (2013) noted that the UAE is considered to be one of the federal systems, which was founded in 1971. The UAE is one of the Arabic countries that did not need a political reform because no one was asking for it unlike what was happening in Egypt and Tunisia. The main reason behind the stability in the UAE is the good economic condition that the country has.

Al-Otaibe (2012) discussed the economic reasons that made the Arabian Gulf countries stable and not experience any protests is the absence of the despotism from governments to the people because all of the Arabian Gulf countries' rulers treat their people from a paternalistic manner and not as a president or a king who runs them or controls them. In the past ten years many of the Arabian Gulf countries did not experience any violations against any minority, and no government in the Arabian Gulf area did what some of the Middle Eastern governments did to their people (Al-Otaibe, 2012).

Socially, The situation in the UAE is not different than KSA. The UAE is the best country in the Middle East in welfare, and twenty-eighth in the world in the year of 2014 (“The Welfare of the Emirates Society”, 2014).

Moreover, 84% of the Emiratis are satisfied with the educational system, and over 90% of the non-Emirates residents think that the UAE is a good place to live. Furthermore, the percentage of the high income citizens reached 63% compared to the population (Beyomi, 2011). Al-Dabe'e and Al-Na'asani (2013) pointed out that the UAE has a plan that in seven years they will make the Emirates the happiest people not only in the Middle East but in the world. This plan is about offering people the best services, providing the basic needs for them, and adopting the youth's projects and developing them. Moreover, the plan is focused on providing the safety that people need to live their lives in the best condition.

The researcher chose a report to show the readers what happened in the UAE before the Arab Spring because it is believed that it is very important to better understand the situation in the UAE, and to give the readers the opportunity to compare the different situations between one model and the other and from one country to another. According to the first report that Gulf Studies Center published in 2013, the UAE government focused on developing the country and people's lives which led to a huge increase in the social development in the country. The report shows that Emiratis and according to a study that Colombia University published in 2013 that Emiratis are the happiest citizens worldwide (The Gulf Studies Center, 2013).

Moreover, in the past few years the UAE focused on several things that they wanted to change and develop in the country such as the social care. The social care in the UAE increased between the years of 2008 and 2012 by 17%, and the social help in 2008 cost the government

more than 600 million US dollars, and it increased in 2012 to more than 700 million US dollars. The UAE government created more than 80 social and culture clubs in the country for the citizens to join and develop themselves and the number of these clubs reached more than 145 in 2012. The government in the UAE focused on education and its development. The number of schools in the government has reached more than 1400 public and private schools in 2012, and the percentage of the investment in education increased by 48% in the year 2012. Also, the government created new universities in the country such as Zaid University, and offered many scholarships to the youth to develop themselves in several countries. The result of these developments in the education sector led the UAE to be the first Arabic country in the field of education (The Gulf Studies Center, 2013).

In addition, the UAE government has developed the health system in the country by spending more money in it from the government budget, which led to having more than 106 hospitals in the country and more than 16 thousand doctors. The UAE spent more than 11 billion US dollars on health care in 2011 alone, which makes it one of the few countries in the world that spends that much money on health care. Not only the health system was focused on by the UAE government but the housing and the way they can offer their citizens houses. They created several government programs to help people have their own houses such as the Zaid program, the housing gate, and Reduce the Cost of Housing Construction program (The Gulf Studies Center, 2013).

Furthermore, the UAE has a plan that they made to run until the end of 2021 to develop the public sector in the country and to achieve their goal the government spent in 2012 over 11 billion US dollars on developing the public sector and its services. Also, the number of public sector employees increased in the UAE to more than 84 thousand in the year 2012. Not only that,

but the UAE developed electronic public services, which led the UAE rank on the electronic services to jump from being 99 to 7 worldwide in two years only. The private sector got developed in the UAE by offering and giving the opportunity to foreign investors to invest their money in the country, and by creating investments by the government's company outside the UAE to diversify the government's income (The Gulf Studies Center, 2013).

Also, the UAE placed number one worldwide on fighting crime. Not only that, but the UAE was one of the most desirable places for tourists to visit, which led the country to make more money and investments in the tourism field. Females in the UAE are as important as males, and that has happened because of what the government has done for them such as opening all the sectors and fields for them to join, the military for example. Transportation in the UAE was one of the fields that the government in the UAE has focused on and developed, and they did so by creating a huge public transportation system in the big cities of the UAE (The Gulf Studies Center, 2013).

In short, the UAE has become one of the most caring countries for their people and they developed the country to make people who feel they belong and who live their lives as happy and important as they need (The Gulf Studies Center, 2013).

As important as what was happening in the real life in each country of models A and B, readers have to understand that the differences between the two models were not only on things that happened in real life. It must be understood that there are several reasons for the differences between the two models and what happened in each model, and what was happening in real life is one of them. Another important reason and motive is the electronic government system, and how each model saw it differently, and this will be explained in the next section.

Section two: The Digital Life

The researcher has divided this section into three sub-sections. The first sub-section is: the electronic transition and how each country has taken this step, and what are the differences between the countries of models A and B based on this point; the second sub-section is: The presence of each country's rulers on social media; the third sub-section is: The presence of each government on social media.

First sub-section: The Electronic Transition

The Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia "ESCWA" pointed out that all of the Arabic countries started years ago but the first real move that some of the Arabic countries made was in 2000. Most of the Arabic countries have made long term plans to do the electronic transition. Unlike some of the Arabic countries, some such as Saudi Arabia have made short term and updated plans, which made Saudi Arabia and some other Arabic countries the first to make this move and achieve their goals much faster than the other countries (ESCWA, 2013).

The reason behind the electronic transition that the Arabic countries started to do was to develop and improve the government and make its authorities work faster, along with being more connected to the people. ESCWA (2013) has noted that Tunisia's government made the decision to switch and be an electronic government in 2009, and they started to work on it and took the step in 2012. In addition, the Egyptian government made the same decision as the Tunisians in 2001, but they did not take the step until 2007. On the other hand, KSA made the decision in 2006 but they started to work on it in the same year. Also, the UAE government had made its decision in 2001 and started to work on it in 2011. The ESCWA reported that the reason behind the differences from one country to another was that each country had and has its own

priorities, plans, and interests. Most of the Arabic countries have taken this step due to a desire to communicate with their citizens, allow the citizens to have a say in his or her country, and to give them the information they need (ESCWA, 2013).

Tunisia

ESCWA (2013) reported that Tunisia made the first study on the electronic transition in the year 2009, during the period between 2009 and 2014, and the study was updated in 2012. The study that the Tunisian government made was to create and develop an electronic government gate, and develop the electronic service gate. Also, the study was made to make several electronic strategies for the Tunisian government, and to support the government system and support all the sectors in the government. In Tunisia the government has 205 electronic services that any Tunisia citizen can benefit from, and the government has 25 agencies that have electronic gates that any citizen can use (ESCWA, 2013).

The Tunisian official website "www.Tunisia.gov.tn" was created as an electronic government gate in 2005 and it was updated in 2009 by the electronic unit in the presidency of the council of ministers, and the number of government agencies who were involved in it was twenty-five. In addition, the official website is offering 205 electronic services such as the administrative network program, the consolidated foreign trade system, and the open databases. There are more than 3000 people who visit the website daily. The official Tunisian website will have more services in the future such as launching the open databases gateway, which will make Tunisia an open country to the entire world. Based on the study that ESCWA (2013) has done, Tunisia rank retreated from 2010 to 2012 from 66th in electronic government development

worldwide to 103 (The Electronic government strategies, Reality and the Ways of development, 2013).

Egypt

Egypt has done the electronic transition on two levels. The first level was in 2001 until 2007, and the second level was from 2007 to 2012. In the second level the Egyptian government expanded its plan to make it cover several sectors. Until this time the government in Egypt did not make the final plan, and did not take any serious steps to make the plan that they had made happen. The number of electronic services that the Egyptian citizens can benefit from is 900 services, and there is not any authority or organization that has all of its services online (ESCWA, 2013).

The Egyptian official website "www.egypt.gov.eg" was created as an official government electronic gate in 2002, and the Egyptian government had made several updates on the website until 2004. The website offers several services to its visitors such as paying their bills, booking flights, paying traffic tickets, and registering for universities in the country. The website has more than 200 services that it offers to its visitors, but the Egyptian government did not improve or make a plan to develop it since they launched the electronic gate in 2004 until nowadays, which makes the system very old, and it needs to change. ESCWA (2013) noted that Egypt's rank decreased on the Online Service Index from 23 in 2010 to 29 in 2012.

KSA

Unlike Tunisia and Egypt, KSA made the first plan for switching to the electronic government in 2005, and it was made to cover the years 2006 to 2010. The plan was approved in 2006 from the Saudi government, and the second plan was made in 2011 and it was made to

cover the years 2012 to 2016. The two plans were made to support females in KSA by giving them the opportunity to use the electronic services, develop several government programs, and increase the electronic services that the government offers to citizens and people who live in KSA. Also, the plan was made to create and develop a one framework style for all the government agencies in the country, and to give the opportunity for the people to make all their transactions through the online system. Not only that, but also to create a partnership between the public and the private sectors. One of the most important reasons due to the electronic transition was that the government in KSA had a plan to develop the government agencies' performance and its services. The number of electronic services that KSA offers to its citizens and people who live there is more than 1700 services, and the number of the government agencies that has an online system is more than 170 which makes KSA the Arabic country that has the most electronic services and electronic gates (ESCWA, 2013).

The official Saudi website "www.Saudi.gov.sa" was created in 2007, and it offers over 1700 electronic services to its users provided by 176 government agencies. The official Saudi electronic gate gets over 50.000 visitors daily, which makes it very important and useful. Citizens and people who live in KSA can use it not only on computers, but they can use it by phone calls, text messages, and smart phone applications. The Saudi electronic gate has all the information that any person would need, including all the Saudi interior laws and rules. The Saudi official website contains over 1700 services such as the safe government network, the electronic databases, the national electronic gate for citizens to use, the national connection center, the electronic government payments system, and a system that has all the schools and student information. In the future the government electronic system will have more options and services such as open government databases, and the Saudi cloud, which offers more services

and safe options. Moreover, the Saudi system offers the opportunity to all the citizens and non-citizens to evaluate all the services that the government agencies provide them with, and gives the opportunity to the government to evaluate the government agencies' performance. The Saudi electronic system has been ranked as one of the twenty best electronic systems in the world, and it has been ranked 9th in online participation worldwide too (ESCWA, 2013).

UAE

When it comes to the second country in model B, the UAE government made its first plan in 2001, and the second one was in 2011. The two plans were made by the government in the UAE to create and develop the official electronic government gate, develop the strategy that the government has made for the electronic transition, update all the websites that the government has, launch the UAE Pedia, and launch all the government services on cell phones. Also, the UAE has made plans to develop the government agencies' performance and to create the federal cloud to make the electronic services available in the whole country. The UAE offers more than 500 services electronically, and more than 53 of its agencies have electronic gates to offer (ESCWA, 2013).

The UAE official website "www.government.ae" was created and launched in 2011, and more than 53 government agencies provide more than 500 services to the citizens and people who live in the UAE. The website has more than 3000 visitors daily and, what is different in the UAE is that they do not provide the services only by the website, but they provide it and teach people how to use it personally in different locations in the country. The UAE electronic gate offers more than 500 services such as managing and developing the official government website, the UAE encyclopedia, the city guard application, the electronic citizen application, databases,

Dubai electronic gate, and the government electronic information gate. In the future the UAE electronic system will have more services for its users such as the UAE cloud, smart reports to help investors make smart decisions with their money in the UAE, and creating a new communication system between the government agencies and their clients. The UAE electronic system has made the country jump from being ranked 49th to 28th worldwide, on the electronic services the UAE has jumped from 99 worldwide to 7, and on electronic postings the UAE is ranked 6th worldwide after being ranked 86th.

Second sub-section: The Rulers on Social Media

Understanding the electronic transition that all four chosen countries have made gives the readers a better idea of what was and still is happening in each country. What makes the picture clearer is to understand the governments' appearance on social media, and analyzing the messages too. The researcher has chosen to analyze the appearance of each country's leader on social media as well as analyzing the messages that they send to their people and to the world through the social media channel. The researcher searched for each country's leader and found that Tunisia's president Beji Caid Essebsi has a news account on Twitter only, and did not find any accounts for the Egyptian president Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. On the other hand, the researcher found that the king of Saudi Arabia King Salman Al-Saud has a Twitter account, and the Emirati Vice President Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum has several accounts on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and Google plus. The researcher analyzed the Tunisian president's account and then analyzed the tweets' content to have a better understanding of his appearance on social media. Also, the researcher has analyzed the Saudi king's account and his tweets that he sent through it. On the UAE side the researcher has chosen the UAE royal prince's Twitter account due to his

often appearance on it, and due to the messages' style differences from one social media channel to another.

Tunisian president on Social Media

First, the Tunisian president's Twitter account @BejiCEOOfficial. According to his Twitter account, the fifth Tunisian president did not create his account on Twitter personally because his office runs it for him. In the bio the presidential office wrote in Arabic "The official Twitter account of Beji Caid Essebsi the fifth Tunisian president." The account tweeted over 1289 tweets, it has over 24 thousand followers, and the account follows 13 accounts such as BBC Africa, the Tunisian official government account, Reuters Africa, YouTube, and Facebook. The account is a news account, and focuses only on the president, his actions, and the events he attends. So, he does not talk to his people, or communicate with them through the account, which makes his account a classic news account for people who follow it. The researcher chose one tweet every 10 days of each month since the first day of this year until nowadays, and he chose it based on the highest number of retweets.

Date	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
January – July 2015		
January 5 th , 2015	Tunisian president gave the prime minister permission to create the new Tunisian government. (With a photo of the president and prime minister).	11
January 14 th , 2015	The president opened the ceremony of the fourth Revolution and Youth festival memorial anniversary. (With a photo of the event).	5
January 26 th , 2015	Tunisian president has met Mahmoud Jibrel the head of the political office of the Libyan National Forces alliance. (With a photo of the event).	7
February 6 th , 2015	Tunisian president had a meeting with the Tunisian prime minister. In French. (With a photo of the	8

	event).	
February 14th, 2015	The president had a meeting with the Emirati minister. (A photo of the president and the Emirati minister of development and international cooperation).	4
February 25th, 2015	About a meeting that the Tunisian president had with the Italian foreign affairs and international cooperation minister.	2
March 9th, 2015	About the meeting that the Tunisian president has had with the president of the Tunisian love party. (A picture of the event was attached).	18
March 18th, 2015	About a phone call that the Tunisian president has received from the Egyptian president.	128
March 29th, 2015	About the president visiting the Bardo attacks victims memorial. (With a photo of the event).	77
April 7th, 2015	About the statement that the Tunisian president has given with the French president that day. (In French).	10
April 8th, 2015	About the meeting that the Tunisian president has had with the culture and communication French minister. (With a photo of the event).	8
April 27th, 2015	About a statement that Essebsi has given on that day asking people to be united, and how beneficial that will be to the country.	2
May 7 th , 2015	About an event that the president has attended, and a photo was attached to that tweet. (In French).	25
May 20 th , 2015	About a meeting that the Tunisian president had with the U.S. Secretary of State, John Kerry. In English. (A photo of the meeting).	11
May 21 st , 2015	About the meeting that the Tunisian president and Barak Obama the US president had in Tunisia. In English. (A photo of the meeting).	12
June 4 th , 2015	About an interview that the Tunisian president has made talking about the country and the future plans for it. (In French).	12
June 16 th , 2015	About a visit that the Tunisian president has made to a hospital to check on bombing victims that happened the day before the visit. (A photo of the event).	2
June 26 th , 2015	About a visit that the president has made, and a photo about the event was attached to it.	223
July 4 th , 2015	About the Tunisian president giving his orders to start working on the Emergency law in the country. In English. (A photo of the president).	31

July 15 th , 2015	Announcing that the president will have an interview on 9PM the same day that the tweet was released.	9
------------------------------	---	---

The above illustrates what was mentioned earlier about the Tunisian president's Twitter account, and the types of tweets the researcher chose to show the readers the reason that the account was tweeting, and the purpose of that account's presence on Twitter.

Egyptian President on Social Media

The second country of model A is Egypt. As mentioned earlier the Egyptian president has no accounts on any of the social media channels including Twitter, Facebook, or any other websites or social media channels.

Saudis King on Social Media

The first country of model B is KSA, and the researcher has found the king of Saudi Arabia's Twitter account @KingSalman. The researcher has chosen all of king Salman's tweets because King Salman did not tweet many tweets since he became the king of Saudi Arabia on January 22nd 2015. His Twitter account has 293 tweets, but he tweeted 10 tweets when he became the king, so 283 of his tweets were tweeted when he was the crown prince. The researcher has chosen the ten tweets only to show the readers the way the king tweets, and to analyze the content of his tweets when he became the king of the country. King Salman joined Twitter in January 2013, and his bio is written in Arabic "The account of the king of Saudi Arabia Salman Al-Saud." His account has more than 3.4 million followers, and he does not follow anyone on Twitter. He is the only one who tweets through the account.

Date January – July 2015	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
January 22 nd , 2015	"May god bless Abdullah Al-Saud the former king of the country, my condolences to all the Saudis."	140.000+
January 22 nd , 2015	"I ask god to help me to serve all the Saudis, and to make all their hopes come true. I ask god to be with us, and protect us from all the bad things that could happen to us."	260.000+
January 27 th , 2015	About President Barak Obama's visit to Saudi Arabia. (A photo of the king and Barak Obama).	24000
January 29 th , 2015	About the extra two salaries that he gave all the people who work for the government, and the several orders that he gave. He wrote in his tweet "to all Saudis, you deserve more than what I gave you. Pray for me, and I hope god will be with you all."	370.000+
February 2 nd , 2015	"Yesterday, men take the oath in front of me and you, I chose them to rise up the country, I met them and asked them to achieve all the goals that you people want."	130.000+
March 10 th , 2015	"The first plan is to make our country a successful model in the world in all the fields, and we will work you and me to achieve this goal."	160.000+
May 4 th , 2015	"All my wishes and hopes to the new Crown Prince, the second Deputy Prime Minister, and the new ministers that I hired. I hope that they will do all their duties, and I will not accept any failure in serving the country."	130.000+
June 18 th , 2015	"May god bless Ramadan for you and me, and my prayers to all Saudis, Arabs, and Muslims that god blesses them."	130.000+
July 16 th , 2015	"I wish that every year comes you and the Arabic and Muslim countries and people be fine and happy. All my prayers to Saudis for the progress and prosperity."	120.000+

Furthermore, the researcher has reported all of King Salman's tweets on Twitter, and the reason behind that was to show the readers how King Salman tweets and communicates with Saudis through his Twitter account, and to make a comparison between the way the Tunisian president and King Salman use Twitter and communicate with their people.

Emirates Ruler on Social Media

The second country of model B is the UAE, and when it comes to the UAE several people from the royal family have social media accounts, however, the researcher chose the Emirati crown prince's Twitter account @HSHkMohd. The researcher did that due to the importance of this person in that he is the vice president and the prime minister in the UAE. Most of the time, Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum tweets many tweets a day, and the way that the researcher chose tweets from his account was by choosing tweets that got the highest number of retweets every 10 days since the first day of this year, so it will be three tweets a month. The reason behind that is that Bin Rashid tweets a lot unlike King Salman who tweeted 10 tweets in total. Bin Rashid's bio on Twitter is written in English "Official Tweets by his Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum." He joined Twitter and started tweeting in June 2009, and he has more than 4.44 million followers which makes him the highest on the number of followers compared to the Tunisian president and the Saudi king. He follows 58 accounts on Twitter such as BBC, CNN, and Emiratis ministers; since he opened his account he has more than 3275 tweets.

Date January – July 2015	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
January 5 th , 2015	"I am asking the international, humanitarian organizations, and all the countries to stand with the Syrian children the women in the refugees' camps who are facing a big storm with no food."	2600+
January 12 th , 2015	"Today, we have launched international humanitarian city's strategy covering years till 2021. UAE will become the world's biggest humanitarian hub."	1600+
January 22 nd , 2015	"May god be with all Saudis, Muslims, and us in the death of King Abdullah may he rest in peace."	24000+
February 1 st , 2015	"We started today's cabinet session with a reading of Al Fatiha for the late King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud."	5700+
February 17 th , 2015	"From no roads 4 decades ago, UAE today has the world's most advanced and safe airlines and flight routes. For our	2000+

	dreams, the sky is the limit."	
February 22 nd , 2015	"We congratulate the Kuwaiti people, and the Kuwaiti government for their holidays. May god bless them and be with them all the time."	4800+
March 3 rd , 2015	"Today we have launched Museum of the future, featuring innovation labs and a permanent exhibit for future inventions."	2300+
March 13 th , 2015	About Egypt and how strong the country was and will be in the future.	4100+
March 23 rd , 2015	About the return of Oman's president to his country after a treatment trip.	4700+
April 8 th	"Every excellence in the government needs to be thanked, every creator needs to be proud of, and every achievement from one of this country's sons needs to be in the memory of this country."	1600+
April 19 th , 2015	About the countries in the Arabian Gulf area. "We were and we are united."	1600+
April 21 st , 2015	"We gave the government's agencies and ministers a two year deadline, and I will be so happy to do the goodbye party to anyone who did not switch to the smart government in the two years." (A photo of the old post).	14000+
May 5 th , 2015	About the Saudi capital Riyadh city, and how beautiful and historical the city is.	7200+
May 11 th , 2015	About the first Sheik of the UAE, Sheik Zaid, and how smart, national, and innovative he was. (A photo of the first sheik).	1600+
May 22 nd , 2015	"We put a real goal in a head of us to make the number of the government's clients decrease by 80% in the year of 2018, and we will achieve that goal."	2800+
June 5 th , 2015	About a female teacher. "Khawla Al-Husni is mathematics teacher, and she is a wonderful mother and citizen." (A video of her was attached).	977
June 17 th , 2015	About Ramadan, and that he was greeting all Arabs and Muslims for the Holy month.	2400+
June 24 th , 2015	Congratulating the health minister for the success in the first heart transplant operation for the 21-year-old guy.	2800+
July 6 th , 2015	"I applaud initiative of businessman Abdallah Al Ghurair endowing third of his fortune (AED 4.2 billion) to education."	4300+
July 19 th , 2015	About a new law that the UAE has launched against all the forms of discrimination on several bases such as religion, caste, race, or ethnic.	4600+
July 24 th , 2015	About how a person can make a change, and how the world will not give anyone a chance until he or she make it.	4000+

That was Mohammed Bin Rashid's tweets that the researcher chose to give the readers the opportunity to have a better understanding, and to give the opportunity to make a comparison between the way each country's leader tweets, and the way each country's leader communicates with people inside and outside his country.

Third Sub-Section: Governments on Social Media

Understanding the way each country's leader communicates with his people through social media is a very important point, but to have the best understanding the researcher did his search to find out if any of the countries' ministries or government organizations of model A and B has a social media account, and if they have in what way they communicate with people, and what is the content that they send through the social media channels to all people. Each country chosen from the beginning was different on social media, one country has one social media account, another has no social media account, and other country has more than 10 ministries' accounts, and more than 10 ministers' social media accounts.

Tunisian's Government

First, the researcher has found that the Tunisian government has one Twitter account only. The account @presidenceTN is a news account, and the only tweets that they tweet are news about the president or the country. The account's bio is written in Arabic, and it says "the official presidential Twitter account." The account has more than 46.7 thousand followers, and it follows 11 accounts such as the president's account, the African Union, and the United Nations. The account joined Twitter in January 2012, but the researcher could not get any tweets further back than the tweets that have been tweeted this year. The researcher chose the tweets based on the same strategy that he did with the Tunisian president's account. The researcher chose tweets

every 10 days from the beginning of this year. The first tweet that the account tweeted in 2015 was on April 6th.

Date January – July 2015	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
April 8 th , 2015	About a meeting that the Tunisian president has had with the mayor of Paris in France.	15
April 18 th , 2015	About that the president has met a number of cultural and media persons.	5
April 27 th , 2015	About a meeting that the Tunisian president has had with the German president in Tunisia.	5
May 8 th , 2015	Announcing that the president will have an interview (A photo of the information about the interview).	6
May 18 th , 2015	About a meeting that the Tunisian and the Libyan presidents had in Tunisia.	3
May 22 nd , 2015	About the Tunisia president's visit to the US, and the meeting that he had with the American president Barak Obama in the White House. (A photo of the two presidents).	11
June 3 rd	About an interview that the president has made with the German French TV channel. (A video of the interview).	12
June 17 th , 2015	A video of the president's speech about Ramadan, the holy Muslim month.	6
June 30 th , 2015	About a meeting that the Tunisian president has had with the Prime Renaissance Party Rashid Al-Ghannushi. (A photo of the president and the party's president).	10
July 4 th , 2015	Announcing the emergency law in the country (A photo of the president giving the speech).	46
July 16 th , 2015	About a visit that the president has made to children center. (A photo of the event).	7
July 30 th , 2015	About that the emergency law will stay on progress for the next two months.	7

These were the results obtained from the Tunisian Presidential account on Twitter which is the only account on Twitter for any of the Tunisian government's agencies.

Egyptian's Government

From the first country of model A to the second country of the same model. Egypt's president has no social media accounts as mentioned earlier, and not only its president but there are no accounts on social media for any of the government's agencies, which makes Egypt a country that has no accounts on any of the social media channels.

KSA's Government

On the other hand, the countries of model B have several accounts, and when it comes to Saudi Arabia almost every government agency or minister has a social media account. The researcher chose four Saudi Twitter accounts, two of them are for ministers, and the other two are for ministries. The researcher chose two ministers to make a comparison between the first and the second minister. The first minister account is for a minister who responds and communicates with people through his Twitter account a lot. The second minister is less active than the first one. With the two ministries accounts, the researcher did the same things as the first two accounts.

The first account that the researcher will analyze is the account of the active ministry, which is the Commerce and Industry Saudi ministry, its account on Twitter is @SaudiMCI, and the ministry joined Twitter in July 2011. The number of tweets that they tweeted through their account is 5152 tweets, and they wrote in the bio in Arabic "The Saudi Commerce and Industry ministry, for Consumers reports call 1900." The number of the followers is over 741 thousand, and the account follows 20 accounts such as the King of Saudi Arabia account, and the Commerce and Industry minister. The way the tweets were chosen was the same way the Tunisian's government account tweets were chosen. The researcher chose one tweet every 10 days since the first day of this year 2015. This account is not only a tweeting account, this

account responds to anyone who asks any question of the Commerce and Industry ministry, but the researcher chose their own tweets to show the readers how they communicate with people through their account, and what kind of messages they send to them.

Date	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
January – July 2015		
January 1 st , 2015	"After a consumer's phone call the ministry has busted a quantity of ham spaghetti, and fined the company who brought it to the country."	1500+
January 19 th , 2015	About a fine that the ministry had filed a shop in a mall due to fake discounts. (A photo of the shop).	720
January 31 st , 2015	About the ministry shutting down cosmetic shops due to them selling expired goods from the shop, and fining them. (A photo of the shop).	726
February 8 th , 2015	About the ministry announcing a recall for several electrical connections due to manufacturers defect, and they asked people to stop buying it. (A photo of the information).	1700+
February 13 th , 2015	Busting over 2300 electronic devices due to a change of the country's information that made it.	2300+
February 25 th , 2015	A video showing people how some companies are faking their products, and warning them from buying this product.	619
March 10 th , 2015	About the ministry closing a shampoo factory due to faking another brands name. (A photo of the factory).	734
March 17 th , 2015	About fining a car dealership due to several irregularities. (A photo of the bill).	905
March 31 st , 2015	About responding to a citizen phone call, and fining a chocolate company due to several irregularities. (A photo of the product).	336
April 4 th , 2015	Announcing that anyone can start a new company and business in 180 seconds only. (A video to show how anyone can do that).	290
April 14 th , 2015	About fining a popular car dealership in KSA due to manipulating consumers. (A photo of the shop).	1300+
April 26 th , 2015	About busting an electrical materials warehouse due to changing the origin country's information with different fake countries. (A photo of the place).	577
May 1 st , 2015	About busting a healthy materials warehouse, and fining them due to faking the origin country to different fake countries. (A photo of the place).	432
May 18 th , 2015	About defamation in local newspaper. (A photo of the defamation).	266

May 24 th , 2015	Announcing that the ministry wanted to make to all people to make them stop eating a specific ice-cream brand due to its health risks. (A photo of the information).	1600+
June 9 th , 2015	Announcing to all people to make them stop buying and taking a specific drug due to some health risks. (A photo of the drug and information).	1000+
June 16 th , 2015	Announcing that they recall a specific product, and asking people to not buy it anymore. (A photo of the product logo).	446
June 25 th , 2015	Announcing that the ministry has made all the shopping places put a specific price on each item due to changing the prices without anyone knowing.	1700+
July 6 th , 2015	Announcing that the ministry will start a field trip to several places and shops to make all the shops put the prices on the items, and who do not do that will face a fine. (A photo of the information).	1400+
July 11 th , 2015	A saying from Prophet Muhammad about cheating.	440
July 25 th , 2015	A direction to all the followers of how to report irregularities, and which numbers to call. (A video).	578

That was about the most active ministry in KSA, and how they communicate with people and the content of their tweets and messages. The ministry of Commerce and Industry is the most active ministry on social media due to several points such as the number of tweets, number of followers, and the number of responses.

On the other hand, the least active ministry in KSA is the housing ministry. The ministry responds to any question on Twitter, but they do not tweet many tweets like the Commerce and Industry ministry. The Housing ministry joined Twitter in December 2012 and they have tweeted 856 tweets until now. They have over 118 thousand followers, and they follow King Salman's account only. Their bio on Twitter is written in Arabic and English "the official account of the Saudi Housing Ministry." The way the researcher chose their tweets was the same way he did with the Commerce and Industry ministry. The researcher chose a tweet every 10 days based on the number of retweets since the first day of the year 2015.

Date January – July 2015	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
January 6 th , 2015	"Tomorrow the ministry will open the housing project in Braydah city with the space of 500 thousand square meters." (A photo of the project).	5500+
January 17 th , 2015	"The messages will be sent to all the citizens without causing anyone the trouble to come to the ministry because all of the services are electronic services."	1400+
January 28 th , 2015	About the housing project in Kaibar city. (A video of the project).	1400+
February 15 th , 2015	About the first house key that the ministry handed it to the first citizen. (A photo of the person receiving the key).	1400+
March 31 st , 2015	A video of the ministry's project in Jazan city.	72
April 5 th , 2015	About the details of a housing project in AlKharig city. (A video of the information).	124
April 19 th , 2015	About how many houses the ministry is building in the country.	199
April 23 rd , 2015	About the questions that the account has received from citizens about who are the companies that the ministry is partnering up with to make their projects. A photo of the information).	184
May 5 th , 2015	About the minister acceptance of giving the borrowers a year to start paying the government there for their loans.	128
May 16 th , 2015	Replying to a person who asked the ministry a question, and they respond to him with the answer.	12
June 1 st , 2015	About Makkah prince and the Housing minister opening a project.	4200+

Understanding how the ministries tweet and communicate with people in KSA, leads us to have an understanding of how the ministers are engaging with people through social media in KSA. The researcher chose two ministers' Twitter accounts to analyze, and to analyze its contents. The first and most active Twitter account is the Commerce and Industry minister Tawfiq Al Rabiah's account, and the second and least active account that the researcher chose was the Minister of Civil Service Khaled Alaraj.

First, the researcher will analyze the most active Saudi minister's Twitter account, which is the Commerce and Industry minister.

Date	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
January – July 2015		
January 5 th , 2015	About closing a car dealership in Jeddah city due to several complaints for client. (A photo of the action).	2000+
January 13 th , 2015	About the commission that any office of Property can take from a client, which is 2.5%.	7300+
January 23 rd , 2015	"I ask god to bless our king, crown prince, and Deputy Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia."	2500+
February 9 th , 2015	Anyone should be careful when they are getting into any businesses with anyone if they do not know them very well, and they do not have contract with them.	5600+
February 18 th , 2015	About closing a shop due to manipulating its customers. (A photo of the shop).	580
February 24 th , 2015	Announcing that all car dealerships must put all the new and used cars prices, and information on the cars, and he asked the people if anyone do not see that on the cars to call 1900 and report a complaint.	7300+
March 1 st , 2015	About an information on when a person can report a complaint. (A photo of the information).	1700+
March 17 th , 2015	About the ministry busting a factory who changes the origin of its products to another fake country. (A photo of the factory).	603
March 21 st , 2015	About removing all the glass barriers that located between the clients and the ministry staff. (A photo of the place after the removal).	11000 +
April 1 st , 2015	About the ministry closing a cosmetic factory in Riyadh city. (A photo of the factory).	581
April 14 th , 2015	About closing a car dealership by the ministry of Commerce and Industry. (A photo of the place).	1300+
April 29 th , 2015	"Do you want to have a business? Or you have questions about starting a new business? Call us on 920000668."	2400+
May 10 th , 2015	Warning people to be careful when starting a new business with anyone, and signing a contract that will save you in the future if something happens.	2100+
May 11 th , 2015	About if anyone would like to start a business or have any questions about starting one.	1000+
May 22 nd , 2015	Giving his condolences for the families' victims of the bombing that happened in the East of KSA.	2100+
June 7 th , 2015	About the ministry busting a painting factory that changes the origin of the paint to different fake countries. (A photo of the factory).	279

June 14 th , 2015	About signing a contract between the Commerce and Industry ministry, and the Education ministry, to offer scholarships to over 500 students to study, and have their jobs ready in the ministry of Commerce and Industry. (A photo of the Commerce and Industry minister and the Education minister).	1800+
June 25 th , 2015	About the ministry preventing shops from putting the phrase "the price starts from" and putting without that phrase. (A photo of the information).	1400+
July 6 th , 2015	About that the day after this tweet all shops will be no longer putting their advertisement with the phrase of "the price starts from." (A photo of the information).	1400+
July 13 th , 2015	Announcing that if anyone has an idea for a new factory or business he or she should call the ministry, and the ministry will help them to make their dream come true.	684
July 27 th , 2015	A saying from Prophet Mohammed.	885

That was the most active Saudi minister on social media, and the researcher now will write about the least active Saudi minister on social media, which is the Civil Service minister Khaled Alaraj @Khaled_Alaraj. He has more than 84.6 thousand followers, and he follows 10 accounts such as the king's account, and other ministers' accounts. The researcher chose his tweets according to the highest number of retweets, and he chose a tweet every 10 days since the minister created his Twitter account on February 24th.

Date	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
January – July 2015		
February 24 th , 2015	Greeting people and ask them to communicate with him through the Twitter account and his E-mail.	1300+
March 5 th , 2015	About the best way to organize the way to apply for the government's jobs.	2200+
March 11 th , 2015	Announcement for all the applicants for the education jobs will be considered, and that the minister will let them know when they are done with the procedures.	2100+
March 26 th , 2015	"I wish that god protects our country, us, and all the soldiers who are protecting our country." (A photo of the Saudi flag).	336

April 7 th , 2015	About his visit to King Abdullah Financial Centre. (A photo of him during the visit).	48
April 28 th , 2015	About 12.000 government health jobs that anyone who works in the health industry can apply for.	997
May 9 th , 2015	A video that captures all the movement that happened in the first 100 days of King Salman's era.	68
May 14 th , 2015	About the ancient graduated females who did not have any jobs for a long time, and that he promised that he will solve the problem as soon as possible.	1400+
May 29 th , 2015	Praying to god to protect our country from anyone who wants to harm. (A photo of the Saudi flag).	1100+
June 3 rd , 2015	About the education jobs deadline was changed for a week to give the chance to everyone who is interested to apply.	1100+
June 11 th , 2015	Announcing that there are 5000 education jobs that need to be filled, and the ministry will announce when to apply for them.	1300+
July 1 st , 2015	About the former foreign minister who died that day, and that the minister gives his condolences to all Saudis on Twitter.	187
July 18 th , 2015	"I want to thank god for what just our soldiers have done, I pray to god every time to protect our country." (A photo of the Saudi flag).	418

That was a summary of how each one of the ministers and ministries in KSA communicate with people through social media, and what is the content of each social media account.

UAE's Government

The UAE as the second country of model B. The researcher chose four Twitter accounts, two ministers, the most active account, and the least active one, and two ministries, the most active account, and the least active one.

The most active ministry Twitter account in the UAE is the Education ministry @MOEducationUAE. What makes this ministry one of the most active Emiratis ministries on social media is that it has more followers than any of the other ministries, and it has two accounts, one for posting, and the other one is to respond to any questions that they might get from anyone. The Education ministry has more than 121 thousand followers, and it tweeted more than 10.7 thousand tweets. The ministry joined Twitter in March 2012, and its bio on Twitter says in Arabic and English "the official Emirati Education ministry Twitter account." The account follows 30 accounts such as the vice president's account, and the other account that they have. The researcher used the same strategy that he did with the Saudis' accounts, he chose a tweet every 10 days since the first day of the year of 2015, and based on the highest number of retweets.

Date January – July 2015	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
January 8 th , 2015	Asking parents to help the government, and to help each other by raising their children right.	33
January 15 th , 2015	Announcing that all schools have done all the preparation they need to give every student his or her grades.	274
January 22 nd , 2015	About the death of King Abdullah the king of Saudi Arabia.	65
February 4 th , 2015	One of the country's leader saying about how important the education is for any country and person in the world, and how education will benefit anyone.	58
February 19 th , 2015	Announcing that the Syrian donations had reached over AED three million from all the school and the education area in the UAE.	27
February 24 th , 2015	Announcing that the world Education Forum has begun. (A link).	360
March 4 th , 2015	About a visit that children in the kindergarten that named after Tariq Alshihe an Emirati soldier who died serving the country has made to his mother to show respect. (A photo of the soldier).	33
March 15 th , 2015	Announcing the school that won the reading competition in the country.	17

March 25 th 2015	Announcing that the UAE has won two medals in the Fourth Arabian Gulf Mathematics Olympiad.	20
April 1 st , 2015	Announcing that the minister has made about creating the Teachers Council, which consists of 320 teachers.	12
April 11 th , 2015	Announcing that schools will welcome more than 970 thousand students.	26
April 22 nd , 2015	Reporting that the ruler of Sharjah honors 21 students.	20
May 7 th , 2015	Praying for the government's ruler.	106
May 18 th , 2015	Announcing the dates for the final exams for students.	266
May 21 st , 2015	Praying for the government's ruler.	139
June 4 th , 2015	About how many medals the Emirate students have got in Arab contest. (A photo of the event).	143
June 18 th , 2015	Praying for the country's ruler. (A photo of him).	175
June 22 nd , 2015	Announcement for the students about their final grades. (A photo of the information).	233
July 8 th , 2015	About the date that students will be done with their final exams. (A photo of the information).	289
July 15 th , 2015	An announcement for the female students in the country. (A photo of the information).	98
July 23 rd , 2015	Praying for the country's ruler. (A photo of him).	138

The Education ministry is the most active Emirati ministry on social media, and to give the readers the best picture, and give them the opportunity to have the best understanding the researcher chose the second Emirati ministry account to be the least active account on Twitter. The least active Emirati ministry on Twitter is the ministry of Justice @MOJ_UAE. The account joined Twitter in March 2011, and it has 6268 followers. The ministry does not follow anyone on Twitter, and since joining it has posted 352 tweets. Its bio on Twitter is written in Arabic "the official Emirati ministry of Justice Twitter account." The account has several tweets but it does not post every day, and they respond to anyone who has any questions.

Date January – July 2015	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
January 7 th , 2015	About a statement that the minister has made.	2
January 12 th , 2015	About a statement that the Deputy Minister has made.	0
January 30 th , 2015	An announcement for a medal that the ministry has won.	2
February 7 th , 2015	About the housing services in the country. (A link).	2
February 21 st , 2015	An announcement of a new law that the ministry will launch.	4
March 2 nd , 2015	About a meeting that the Justice Minister has had with several lawyers.	5
March 14 th , 2015	About a statement that the minister has given. (A photo of the full statement).	2
March 21 st , 2015	About the new law that the Justice Minister has launched that day.	5
April 11 th , 2015	About a conference that the UAE participated in, and the justice ministry was the country representative.	8
April 22 nd , 2015	About a meeting that the ministry of Justice has had in Riyadh city in KSA.	4
May 3 rd , 2015	Announcing that the ministry will host a convention.	11
May 16 th , 2015	About a meeting the Minister of Justice has had with the Italian minister.	1
May 27 th , 2015	About a workshop that the ministry will launch to talk about the government performance.	2
June 7 th , 2015	About an order that the country's president gave to hire 12 judges in the country. (A photo of the event).	6
June 17 th , 2015	Announcing that the official ministry newspaper was published. (A photo).	4
July 6 th , 2015	About the minister's participation in the Zaid's charity day. (A photo of Zaid)	2
July 11 th , 2015	About the UAE being the second Arabic country on the rule of law for the second year.	24

Understanding all this information gives the reader the opportunity to understand the situation better in the UAE. To give the reader the best understanding, the researcher chose two

accounts of Emirati ministers, one of the most active accounts, and one of the least active Twitter accounts to analyze the messages they send on Twitter, and to understand the big picture. The most active Emirati minister on Twitter is the account of Saif Bin Zayed, the interior Emirati minister. He has more than 559 thousand followers, and the number of his posts and tweets is 246. He follows five accounts on Twitter such as the vice president. The researcher used the same strategy for choosing tweets as before, that being the tweet that got the highest number of retweets every 10 days since the first day of 2015.

Date January – July 2015	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
January 7 th , 2015	About the terrorist attack in Paris.	2700+
January 18 th , 2015	About the partnership between the UAE and Egypt. (A video).	241
January 22 nd , 2015	A consolation for the death of King Abdullah the king of Saudi Arabia.	1800+
February 10 th , 2015	A photo of Saif Bin Zaid, Dubai crown prince, and the foreign minister of the UAE.	1800+
February 18 th , 2015	About the new soldiers that the country has hired. (A photo of them).	429
February 25 th , 2015	A congratulation on the Kuwaiti national day.	1100+
March 4 th , 2015	A photo that got 1.4 thousand retweets	1400+
March 11 th , 2015	A photo of his brother Mohammed Bin Zaid, and Al Sisi the Egyptian president.	2600+
March 23 rd , 2015	A photo of Oman's ruler coming back to Oman after a long trip that he made welcoming him, and wishing the best for him.	2700+
April 9 th , 2015	A photo of him and his children.	1200+
April 13 th , 2015	A photo of Mohammed Bin Zaid, Mohammed Bin Naif the interior Saudi minister and the crown prince, and Mohammed Bin Salman the Deputy Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia.	4600+
April 23 rd , 2015	About his son winning the first place in a Quran competition.	2600+

May 6 th , 2015	About his father Zaid, and how wise and brave he was. (A video).	1300+
May 11 th , 2015	About a speech that the vice president has given (A video of the speech).	475
May 31 st , 2015	"May god bless both of you." (A photo of the vice president and his brother Mohammed Bin Zaid).	1400+
June 2 nd , 2015	About a partnership that the interior minister has made with Los Anglos police department. (A video).	366
June 17 th , 2015	A congratulation for the Holy month Ramadan. (A video).	1100+
June 26 th , 2015	"Terrorism will not succeed, and we will fight it and we will win."	4400+
July 9 th , 2015	Condolences on the death of Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister.	1700+
July 20 th , 2015	About how the UAE is being the most happy country, and how hard they will work to make better.	1200+
July 23 rd , 2015	About the earth and the secret of the galaxy. (A photo of the earth).	587

That was a summary of how Mohammed Bin Zaid tweets, and what kind of messages he sends through his Twitter account.

From the most active Emirati minister on Twitter and social media to the least active minister. The least active is the foreign Emirati minister Anwar Gargsh @AnwarGargash. He joined Twitter and created his account in August 2011, and he has more than 140 thousand followers. The number of his tweets is 4837, and he follows 400 Twitter accounts such as the Emirati vice president, and the interior Emirati minister. His bio on Twitter is written in Arabic "the foreign Emirati minister."

Date	Post (Tweet)	Number of retweets
January – July 2015		
January 5 th , 2015	About Bahrain and how important its security to all the Arabian Gulf countries.	152

January 17 th , 2015	About the visit that the Egyptian president has made to the UAE.	516
January 29 th , 2015	About the message that the King of Saudi Arabia has sent to his people through Twitter, and how important that move is.	385
February 8 th , 2015	About the speech that Mohammed Bin Zaid has given, and how important his words are to all Emiratis.	459
February 16 th , 2015	About the relationship between the UAE and Saudi Arabia, and how strong it is.	820
February 28 th , 2015	About how proud he feels of his country the UAE, and how wonderful it feels to be a citizen of this country.	736
March 7 th , 2015	“There are several challenges that the Arabic countries are facing, and the united is the solution to face these challenges”	583
March 15 th , 2015	About the success that Egypt has made in the Economic conference, and how important is Egypt to the Arabic countries.	434
March 29 th , 2015	About how the foreign political parties are lying, and how important is that anyone does not believe a word of what they have been saying about the UAE.	1100+
April 10 th , 2015	About the contradiction between the Turkish and Pakistani position of what is happening in Yemen is a clear message than Arabic countries should remain interrelated because no one will help them except themselves.	903
April 19 th , 2015	About the situation between KSA and Iran, and how important for all the Arabic countries to support Saudi Arabia against Iran.	865
April 21 st , 2015	About the storm that Saudi Arabia has made in Yemen, and how important that move was to all the Arabic countries not only Yemen or Saudi Arabia.	1100+
May 2 nd , 2015	About exemption Emiratis from the Schengen Visa is a result of the wise leadership that the country has.	667
May 14 th , 2015	About how optimistic he is about facing all the challenges in the Arabic area.	398
May 23 rd , 2015	About the terrorist crime that happened in Saudi Arabia, and how painful this message is.	100
June 4 th , 2015	About Sheik Nehayan Bin Zaid winning a prize.	89
June 20 th , 2015	About a statement that Iraqi Foreign Ministry has issued about Bahrain and how is that negative to the relationship between the two countries.	230
June 27 th , 2015	About forgetting all the issues from the past and starting united relationships with others.	520
July 9 th , 2015	Giving his condolences on the death of Saudi Arabia's Foreign Minister.	470

July 16 th , 2015	Giving his condolences on the death of one of the Emiratis soldiers who died protecting the country.	793
July 24 th , 2015	About the alliance between Saudi Arabia and the UAE, and how important is that for the two countries, and the Arabian Gulf countries too.	599

That was a summary of what Anwar Gargash the Emirati Foreign Minister has tweeted on his Twitter account.

Summary

In conclusion, understanding the way each of the ministries and ministers communicate through the social media channels is an important step for the researcher and readers to get a better and clearer picture, also understanding the different situations from one country to another. The differences between the countries of model A and B is clear now after reading and understanding the way that each country uses social media, and understanding these differences will give the opportunity to compare each model and country to another without miscalculating the result. The differences between each model and country are not on how each of them treated their people only, and it is not only about the motives that people in each country had. The differences between the countries of model A and B are on how each government treated its people, the motives that the people had in each country of the two models, how each government of the four governments was seeing the electronic transition, and how each government of models A and B saw social media and its channels. Every point of these are as important as the other points, and to have a better understanding the researcher has viewed all of these points to give the readers the best opportunity to understand the differences, and the different situations.

Chapter Five

The Discussion

The researcher will now present the findings from the previous chapter. For clarity, this discussion has been divided into two sections to better explain the situations and the differences between the countries of models A and B. The first section addresses real life, or what was and is happening in each country of the models A and B, and how the people live their lives in their countries, and also how the government of each country was and is running the country. The second major section that will be analyzed in this chapter is the digital world, and how each country, government and people, are communicating through the internet, and how social media affected these countries, governments and people.

The second major section has been organized into three different sub-sections. The first sub-section is how each government sees and believes that the internet and switching from being a traditional government to an electronic government a "smart government" as they call it; the second sub-section addresses how each government's leader sees social media, and how he uses it, and the way he communicates through it; the third sub-section will be about how the governments through their agencies and ministries use social media, and how they communicate with people through it. The researcher believes that understanding each section and sub-section will give him and the readers the best opportunity for understanding the situation better with respect to how each country has its own unique and different situation. Also, how those differences made the social media impact be different from one country to another, and one model to another. The belief is that the social media impacts were different due to the differences

that each country had in both the real life and digital lives. The major reason behind this study is to give the researcher the ability to make a clear and fair comparison between the two models, based on his findings from the previous chapters of this study.

Section one: The Real Life in Each Country

Analyzing the first level was very important for the researcher to have a better understanding of how each government runs its country, and how people live their lives in their countries because without analyzing and understanding these important factors the researcher will never have a clear picture of the reasons behind why people of the countries of model A revolted against their governments. This is very important in order to lead the researcher to understand the social media impact in these countries, to compare the two models, and to reach a conclusion of why social media affected the countries of model A and the countries of model B differently.

Model A

Analyzing the study that Abdul Salam (2013) did on the reasons behind the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt helped the researcher have a better understanding of the economic, political, and social situations in the countries of model A. Tunisia and Egypt have similar economic, political, and social situations or motives, but the researcher will address the countries separately to make the point clearer than if the two countries taken together.

The first country to be analyzed is Tunisia as the first country of model A. This analysis will be based on the findings that Abdul Salam (2013) reported. Abdul Salam noted that Tunisians suffered for years before the revolution because of their government. People in Tunisia suffered through many economic issues during the era of Bin Ali, the former Tunisian president,

and because of that they tried for many years to show their government that they were not satisfied with the way the government was running the country.

Furthermore, any person reading and understanding Abdul Salam's study (2013), will know that the revolution was not a surprise due to the economic issues that Tunisians have had. When a government in any country in the world focuses on the private sector and forgets to develop the public one people will suffer from this decision, and of course people will be angry if no one gives them any chance to express their opinions, and explain how and what they feel about the decisions that their government has taken. Another point that Abdul Salam noted in her study, was that the government gave all the power to the people who knew the president or were related to him, and that was a strong reason for people to revolt and did what they did to the former government in the country. Also, when a country has more than 30% of the people with no jobs that will lead to a public anger because people need jobs, and it is one of the highest priorities in people's lives in any country in the world.

One of the most important motives and reasons for Tunisians to revolt against Bin Ali's government was that he ran the country for 23 years, and that is an unacceptable thing in a country that has a democratic constitutional republic system. So, if Tunisia is and was not a kingdom or has any similarity to the kingdom system how can a president run the country for over 23 years, and how will Tunisians feel about that year after year of being ruled by the same person. Another reason that led Tunisians to revolt against the government four years ago is that freedom was not something they can say that they had in their country. When a government imprisons over 37 thousand citizens because of what they say, what they do, or how they think things should be in their country, that will lead people to start searching for their freedom, and start asking for it. One of the reasons that led Tunisians to use social media was that the freedom

they found on social media was something that did not exist in their real lives. Abdul Salam (2013) pointed out that Tunisians were ignored for 23 years by Bin Ali's government, and because of the way he ran the country. Without freedom people will not live their lives in the way they want to, and they will not have lives that they will be satisfied with.

In addition, Abdul Salam (2013) had noted a speech that Bin Ali, the former Tunisian president, had given years ago about the number of jobs and the percentage of unemployment in the country; Bin Ali said in his speech that if any person wants to have a job in the country he has to fight for it because there is not enough jobs for Tunisians to have. If any person heard that speech from the president he or she will not believe in his president anymore because he did not say that his government will try to find more jobs, neither that his government will find solutions to the problem. The president has said that this is the amount of jobs in the country, and the government will do nothing to increase it, or to solve the problem. All of these points that have been mentioned lead any person to ask him or herself "if I was one of them, am I going to live that way? Am I going to live in a country that does that to me?" Several factors led Tunisians to do what they did to the former government, and one of the most important factors was how was real life in Tunisia? Also, what were the issues and the problems that they suffered from? How many years were they dealing with the same issues day after day?

The second country of model A is Egypt, and as the researcher has mentioned, the situation in Egypt is not totally different from the one in Tunisia. It has been pointed out previously that Egyptians have suffered for many years in the era of Mubarak, the former president of Egypt. Egyptians have suffered economically, politically, and socially during the era of the former president. Abdul Salam (2013) has pointed out some of the several issues that Egyptians were facing during the former president's era such as how the government supported

the private sector over the public one because of the owners of the private sector. In the former president's era if you were not one of the presidential family or one of the family's friends you will not be able to invest nor have the life that a person deserves.

Also, in Egypt more than 40% of the people were below the poverty line. Not only that, but in the former Egyptian president's era people who were called rich were only 10% of the population, which means 50% are people who have something to eat every day of their lives. These two statistical pieces of information give a picture of how Egyptians were struggling every day of their lives in their country to have the best life that they could have. Another point that Abdul Salam (2013) reported was what made people's lives in Egypt much harder than it already was, was the Emergency Law that Mubarak and his government used for their own interest. Many Egyptians were imprisoned for no reason under the name of the Emergency Law, which made their lives much worse than any other people's lives outside the country. The Emergency Law took Egyptians' freedom, and made them watch every single word, move, and thought before saying, doing, and thinking of anything that might upset the government. The Emergency Law was not the only law that Mubarak created during his era, and because of these laws such as the Emergency Law, Mubarak and his government got all the powers from all the authorities in the country and made it under his hand, which gave him all the power to control the whole country, and all the people who live in it. Not to forget the constitution that Mubarak created in 1971, which gave him even more power than what he had had before.

Moreover, similar to Tunisia, Mubarak ran the country for over 30 years, which made him one of the oldest rulers to run Egypt, and one of the oldest in the whole Middle East. Any citizen in the world who lives in a republican country would not accept that the president runs the country for more than 10 years, but what happened in Egypt is that Mubarak ran the country

three times more than the 10 years, which makes people very angry about it. Not only that but people got even angrier due to the preparation that he was doing for his son to take over after him and become the president of the country. This point makes anyone question "is Egypt a republican country or a kingdom?" Based on Abdul Salam's (2013) study, in 2010, the Transparency International Agency announced that Egypt was ranked ninety-eighth out of one hundred and seventy-eight countries for corruption, which made Egypt one of the hardest countries to live in and raise a family.

In addition, when it comes to freedom Egyptians were suffering with this point not only because of the laws, and the number of prisoners in the Egyptians prisons but also, because of the media, and how all the media channels in the country were monopolized by the government. There were no television channels, radio stations, or newspapers in Egypt that the government had no control on including their content. Due to that, the freedom of speech in the country was nonexistent. That was a major factor for people in Egypt to use social media because they found the place where they can say, do, and think without anyone's control. Of course the former government had arrested many people because of what they said on social media, but at the end they could not arrest everyone in the country, which made social media almost out of the government control during Mubarak's era. Understanding these motives, and this situation leads a person to question him or herself "would the same thing happen and people revolt against their government in Egypt if they did not suffer economically, politically, and socially?" Of course not.

Model B

The first country of model B is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA). As important as understanding the situations in Tunisia and Egypt is to understanding the situation in the countries of model A, KSA and the UAE are just as important for understanding model B. The economic, political, and social situations in KSA are totally different from the situations in either Tunisia or Egypt due to several reasons. One of the main differences is that KSA is a kingdom unlike Tunisia and Egypt, and due to the difference in the government system people in Saudi Arabia do not see their government the way Tunisians and Egyptians see their governments.

KSA's situation was totally different from the situation in either Egypt or Tunisia due to several reasons. KSA has a strong economy and stable markets unlike the economic situations in the countries of model A. Also, KSA has one of the largest economies in the free market in the Middle East and North Africa. Not only that, but KSA was ranked recently as the ninth country in the world with respect to economic stability. What makes the big difference between KSA and the countries of model A is that in KSA the public and the private sectors go hand in hand, and both of them are supervised and supported equally by the Saudi government. The ministry of Commerce and Industry has noted that KSA is a member of the World Trade Organization, and the gross domestic product has increased in the past few years to over 1.8 trillion dollars, which makes the Saudi economy much stronger than either Tunisia or Egypt.

Moreover, the regime in KSA is totally different than the ones in Egypt and Tunisia because in KSA the regime is an absolute monarchy, not only is the regime different, but the constitution that KSA has is also different. Unlike the other countries in the Middle East, KSA has a strong and stable regime, which makes many things that the other countries have been affected by are not as effective in KSA. Also, the financial possibilities in KSA makes the country a leading example for all the Arab people, who were trying to make their living in their

country but they did not make it. That makes Saudi Arabia not only good to Saudis, but to all the people, and that is proof that KSA has what many Arabic countries do not have.

Furthermore, several studies have mentioned that living in KSA is much easier than living in many of the Arabic countries in the Middle East due to several reasons such as the education and how parents do not have to pay to educate their children, not only that but even the higher education in KSA is free, and the government pays for students to attend universities and educate themselves unlike the situation in Tunisia or Egypt because at some point the student should pay the government to educate him or herself. Another reason that makes life in KSA much better than either of the countries of model A is that the health care in KSA is supported financially by the government, and more than 90% of the hospitals in KSA are public and free of charge to all the citizens in KSA, which makes KSA win this battle with Tunisia and Egypt because in the countries of model A a person should pay for the health care if he or she needs a good health care system.

In addition, the Saudi government has made several decisions to improve and develop many fields in the country in the past ten years, which makes KSA totally different from the countries of model A because and according to the studies that have been written about the situations in Tunisia and Egypt and what their governments have done in the past 10 to 15 years, which was nothing. According to what has been mentioned in the previous chapter, KSA's government has made many decisions to make people's lives much better than before such as raising the salaries by 15% in 2005, spending over 8 billion Saudi Reals on housing, and creating more than 25 new universities and offering over 150 thousand scholarships. All of that puts KSA ahead of Tunisia and Egypt because the governments there did not do any of that for their people. Also in 2008, the government in KSA made many decisions to improve the life in the

country. For example, supporting the fees of several things and make it cost less than 50% of the real cost, support housing for the second time in three years, building several economic cities to create more jobs for Saudis. All of that were reasons for people in KSA to not have any interest in being angry or revolt against the regime in KSA unlike the situation in Tunisia or Egypt. Focusing on females and developing their lives was also one of the Saudi government's steps that it took in the past 10 years.

As a result of all this the Saudi people saw the developing and the improving that the government had done for them, which makes them appreciate the government more because they are working for them not against them or for their own interest like what happened in the countries of model A.

Also, the UAE government was similar to KSA's because they have made several positive moves for their people and those who live the country. One of the reasons that makes the UAE different from many countries in the Middle East is that it has a diversified economic system, and the government income does not rely on one or two fields only. Also, the UAE has the third largest oil reserves among Arabic countries, which gives the UAE a strong economy unlike Tunisia or Egypt who do not have a big income from oil. Another point that makes the UAE economically much stronger than the countries of model A is that the UAE has the second strongest Arabic economy after KSA. Making smart decisions is what puts the UAE ahead of Tunisia and Egypt because in 2010 the UAE reduced the oil contribution from 70% to 30% due to the development that it has done in the other industries in the country such as tourism. Additionally, the UAE has gotten an advanced rank from International Transparency, which was 29th, and that is another point that puts the UAE's government ahead of the Tunisian and Egyptian governments, and more open, transparent, and developed.

Furthermore, the nature of economic life in the Arabian Gulf's countries is one of the most important reasons that led these countries to have better economies than many countries in the world, not only in the Middle East or North Africa. Having a strong economy gave the governments of the Arabian Gulf countries a very important opportunity to give their people the life that they need and deserve, unlike many countries in the Middle East and the world, in which they were struggling to have better economy. Also, Al-Otaibe (2012) has reported that the strong economies that the Arabian Gulf countries have has made people who live there very satisfied with the kind of life that they are having. All of what has been mentioned shows that the situations between the countries of model A and B neconomically goes to the countries of model B because they have much better economic situations than what the countries of model A have.

Politically, the UAE has a totally different government system than Tunisia and Egypt have because the UAE has a federal regime system, which makes people who live there very satisfied with the government, and with the rulers in the country. Unlike how the situation was in Egypt and Tunisia because they were countries with different regime systems, but they were not able to choose who would be the next ruler in the country. Having a president that runs the country for over 23 or 30 years is something unacceptable, but having a king or a prince run the country for the number of years that he could give is something acceptable due to the different systems. That was the political situation differences between the countries of model A and the countries of model B.

Furthermore, several studies have shown that Emiratis are the happiest and most satisfied people in the Middle East, and based on the studies that were mentioned earlier in chapters three and four, over 84% of Emiratis are satisfied with the education system in the country, and more than 90% of the non-citizens in the UAE are happy with their style of living in the UAE. Also, in

the studies that have been mentioned, more than 63% of Emiratis have high incomes compared to the population in the UAE. All of these numbers and percentages show that Emiratis are having much better lives than the countries of model A. Comparing the two models based on the numbers that have been given, people who live in the countries of model A are struggling more than people who are from the countries of model B. For example, more than 40% of Egyptians are living below the poverty line, but more than 63% of Emiratis are living with a high income, this makes a clear point that living in the countries of model A was much harder than living in the countries of model B.

Moreover, a study that was published in 2013 by the Gulf Studies Centre showed that the social care in the UAE has increased between the years 2008 and 2012 by 17%, and the government in the UAE has spent over 600 million dollars for doing that improvement. Also, the UAE's government has focused in the past 10 years on developing the education, which they have done. The percentage of the investments that the UAE's government has done in education has increased over 48% in the year 2012, which shows that the UAE's government has spent a lot of money developing the education system in the country. Also, offering scholarships, and building a huge number of schools in the past 10 years shows that the UAE's government has taken education development very serious.

In addition, health care in the UAE received big attention and focus from the UAE's government because the government has spent over 11 billion dollars on developing health care. The number of hospitals reached 106 in 2011, and the number of doctors in the country has increased to 16 thousand for the same year. This places the UAE first in the Middle East for having the most developed health care. When it comes to safety, the UAE ranks number one worldwide for fighting crimes and criminals. These factors have helped to make the UAE the

safest country in the Middle East for the past few years. All the attention that the KSA's and the UAE's governments have been giving to develop the country and the life in them have made these two countries two of the countries that any Arabs would like to live in.

In short, the researcher has analyzed the differences between models A and B based on the real life, and what were the motives in each country of the two models. The reason behind this analysis is that each country has its own situation and without analyzing each situation the researcher would not be able to make good and significant judgments. Also, without understanding that each government within each model has its own unique system and ways of running the country the researcher would not be able to understand the situation in each country and the differences between each government very well. Understanding the first level was a very significant step for having a clear idea that will lead the researcher to make very good judgments, and this step will affect the result that the researcher will put forward later in this chapter.

Section Two: The Digital Life

Now, the researcher will present the findings that were reached from analyzing the information presented in chapter four which was on the transition to the digital world and the difference among the countries of models A and B when it came to how each country addressed their electronic transition to social media. The researcher has divided this section into three sub-levels. The first sub-level is: the electronic transition and how each country has taken this step, and what are the differences between the countries of models A and B.

The First sub-section: Electronic Transition

This sub-section presents the analysis of the findings from chapter four. Each country's moves and steps taken on this topic will be addressed..

Tunisia

The first country to be addressed will be Tunisia. According to ESCWA (2013), the reason behind the electronic transition that the Arabic governments have been undertaking since 2001 was to improve the governments' performance, and to make many things easier for the citizens and people who live in any Arabic country. Tunisia was one of the Arabic countries that has been working on its electronic transition since 2009, when the Tunisian government made its decision to take this step. The Tunisian government made a plan to make the electronic transition in five years starting from 2009 and finishing in 2014. The author has reported that the Tunisian government has 205 electronic services that they offer to citizens and non-citizens, and 25 of the government's agencies have electronic services, but no agency has made the transition from being traditional to electronic (ESCWA, 2013).

In addition, the Tunisian government has a website that was created in 2005, and the government calls it an official electronic gate to the government's services. The Tunisian website provides its visitors with several services that they can benefit from, and it has information about the country. This website offers the 205 services that the Tunisian government has, and it serves over 3000 visitors a day. The Tunisian government has promised to make the website or what they call the official electronic gate provide its visitors with more services in the future, but based on the study they have not improved the website yet. Between 2010 and 2012, Tunisia was ranked the 66th best country in the world for electronic services, but in 2013 Tunisia retreated from 66th to 103rd, which shows that the Tunisian government did not make a real effort to develop their electronic services, and did not keep its promises (ESCWA, 2013).

All of the information that was mentioned in detail in chapter four shows that the Tunisian government did not make a big effort to provide people with the electronic services that other Arabic countries have. Also, it shows that Tunisia has a weak electronic system compared to the other Arabic countries that the study has covered.

Egypt

As the second country of model A, Egypt was one of the Arabic countries that made the decision to transfer from being a traditional government to an electronic government. A study shown that Egyptian government has made a plan to achieve the electronic transition in two levels: the first level was in made 2001, and it was made to cover until 2007; the second level was made in 2007 and it was made to cover until 2012. The study has reported that nothing happened, and the Egyptian government did not take any serious steps to make the plans that they have made come true. The services that the Egyptian government provides on their website is 900 services, which has Egypt offering more electronic services than Tunisia has, but when it comes to the government's agencies, no agency provides any electronic services, which makes the government control the whole system, without giving the chance to its agencies to provide anyone with its own electronic services (ESCWA, 2013).

Moreover, Egypt's official electronic gate was created in 2002, which makes Egypt one of the first Arabic countries to take this step, but they did not develop the website since 2004, which makes it old and hard to use. Based on ESCWA (2013), the government's website provides its visitors with more than 200 actual electronic services, which makes any person wonder who provides the other 700 services (ESCWA, 2013).

All of the information that has been presented shows that Egypt was one of the first Arabic countries taking the step of transferring from being a traditional to being an electronic government. On the other hand, the Egyptian government did not take any further steps after creating the website in 2002 and developing it in 2004. The Egyptian government's effort is better than the Tunisians, but many other Arabic countries have passed Egypt on providing the government electronic services because the Egyptian government did not take any steps after 2004. The study reported that Egypt's rank fell from 23rd to 29th based on its electronic services, which makes Egypt's rank much higher than Tunisia's, but not higher than many other Arabic countries (ESCWA, 2013).

KSA

On the other hand, KSA as the first country of model B in this study has taken several electronic steps; KSA started to transfer from the traditional government to "Smart Government" or the electronic government since 2005, which means Tunisia and Egypt made the step years before KSA. The plan that the Saudi government made was to cover the years 2006-2010, and unlike either Tunisia or Egypt, the Saudi government started the second plan in 2012, and they made it to cover the years 2012-2016. Also, the Saudi government made this step to make people do all their transactions online, and to make going to any of the government's agencies not needed. What makes the Saudi government and what they have done different from Tunisia and Egypt is that the Saudi government did not create the website or the electronic services to provide people with electronic services only; they created it to develop the government and its agencies' performance. Based on ESCWA (2013), the Saudi government provides people with more than 1700 electronic services, which means the Saudi government has double the services of Egypt and four times what Tunisia's government has. Also, the Saudi government did not

control all the electronic services like what the Egyptian government has done; the Saudi government gave the opportunity to all its agencies, and all the private sector companies to have their own electronic services, which makes the development process much faster than any of model A's countries (ESCWA, 2013).

The official government electronic gate was created in 2007, and more than 50.000 people use it every day. When compared to the usage numbers of Tunisia and Egypt, it is clear that KSA has a much more diversified website unlike what the other governments have. The electronic services that the Saudi government provides are not only accessible by computers like the countries of model A, but people can access all the services by several ways such as phone calls, text messages, smartphones, and smartphone applications, which makes using the website, and benefiting from the electronic services in KSA much easier than many of the Arabic countries. The big difference between the Saudi government and the governments of model A is that the Saudi government plans for the future to have more electronic services, and make people benefit from it without needing to see or talk to any of the government's agents. Planning for the future shows that Saudi government is trying to be better day after day, and trying as hard as it can to make people's lives much easier than today. Another difference between KSA and the countries of model A is that KSA's electronic system was ranked as one of the twentieth best electronic systems in the world, and it was ranked as the 9th government in online participation worldwide (ESCWA, 2013).

All of this information and these numbers make any person see the difference between the countries of model A and KSA, and it makes the effort that the Saudi government is making much better than the effort of the governments of model A. Being electronic is something that any country in the world should consider, and the Saudi government is taking it very seriously.

UAE

When it comes to the second country of model B, the UAE has made several plans to create and develop the electronic system in the country. The first plan for the transition from being a traditional to being an electronic government was made by the UAE in 2001, and the second one was made in 2011. The UAE government has created several electronic websites such as the official electronic gate, and the UAE encyclopedia. As with the Saudi government, the UAE government has made these two plans not only to provide people with electronic services, but also to develop the government's and its agencies' performance. Furthermore, the UAE government provides more than 500 electronic services to all people in the country and outside it, and as with the Saudi's electronic services, the UAE electronic services can be reached not only by computers, but with phone calls, text messages, smartphones, and smartphones' applications. Unlike the way that both governments of model A provides their electronic services to the people.

In addition, the official Emirati website was launched by the government in 2011, and more than 53 of the government agencies are providing their services through it. Every day more than 3000 visitors are using the website, and comparing this number to the population in the UAE it shows that this number is a big one. The UAE government is planning to make the electronic services much better, and to make all the government agencies and its ministries transfer to the electronic services, and to not need to have any person go to a ministry or a government agency asking for anything. On the electronic system the UAE has jumped in 2013 from being ranked 49th to 29th worldwide, and on electronic government posts the UAE was ranked 6th worldwide in 2013.

Based on the information and numbers that have been provided, the UAE made a huge effort to be a smart government as they call it, and to have one of the best electronic systems in the whole world.

In short, based on the information the researcher has provided the readers with, the effort that each country in models A and B put forth was completely different. The countries of model B were much more serious about the transfer, and they have taken several steps. Also, they are planning to develop and improve the service to all the people. This is unlike what the countries of model A are doing. The countries of model A made promises to make the service better but they did not do it, and they had several chances to make people's lives easier, but they did not do that either. All of this shows that the governments of model A were far away from the internet, and being a developed country. For some reason they were afraid of this change and they were not ready to take any steps toward it. KSA and the UAE governments were different because they were open to the future, and they were excited about developing themselves, and their performance.

The researcher believes that the distance between the governments of model A and their citizens was because of the distance between the governments and the electronic transition. From the opposite side the governments of model B were much closer to the people and their needs. It was because of this closeness to them the governments worked on creating an easier way to communicate with them. The important benefit from the electronic transition that any government could do is to be closer to the people, and to create a communication line between the leaders and the citizens. That is what Tunisia and Egypt missed by not developing the electronic transition, and that is what makes KSA and UAE governments much closer to their people.

Second sub-section: Rulers on Social Media

From analyzing the point of the electronic transition that each government has done; the researcher believes that to have the best understanding of the situation and the differences between the models, the presence on social media channels of each government has to be understood. To make this point the researcher went to all the social media channels trying to find each government and then analyze its presence and the way they communicate with their people through social media. The researcher believes that without this point the comparison between each country of the two models and the social impact on them it would have been an unfair comparison due to not understanding the governments' presence on social media. To do this step the researcher divided the presence of the four governments on social media into two sections: the first section was to analyze the messages and the presence of the four countries leaders; the second section was to analyze the messages and the presence of the four government's agencies.

Based on the researcher's findings that were reported in the previous chapter, the researcher has found that three of the governments' leaders out of four have social media accounts. First, Tunisia's president Beji Caid Essebsi has one account on Twitter only. His account is news of the president only, and he does not, his office does it. Second, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's king, King Salman Al-Saud, has one social media account on Twitter the same as the Tunisian president, but the difference between the two accounts is that King Salman communicates and tweets through the account himself, not his office. Third, the UAE's vice president, is one of the most active leaders in the world on social media. The UAE vice president Mohammed Al Maktoum has several social media accounts such as on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and Google plus, and he uses them all. The researcher chose his Twitter account to analyze due to two reasons: first is that he posts the same content on his several accounts;

second, is that the researcher's goal was to analyze the content through the same method or channel to make the comparison fair between both models A and B. The only government's leader of the two models A and B that does not have a social media account is the Egyptian president Abdulfatah Al-Sissi, which was odd, but that was the finding of the research that was done.

The researcher chose the posts from each government's leader randomly in order to make a fair comparison between the governments. He chose a tweet every ten days from the beginning of 2015, and he chose it based on the number of retweets that it got. The reason behind this is that the researcher believed that the tweet that gets the highest number of retweets makes a difference over any other posts that the account will share. The only difference between the four countries was that the researcher chose all of King Salman's tweets due to the number of his tweets compared to the other two social media accounts.

Tunisia's Leader

The first leader's social media account to be analyzed in this section is the Tunisian president's Twitter account. This account @Bejiceofficial is an official account based on the bio that has been written on the account page, and the account posted more than 1289 tweets, has more than 24 thousand followers, and it follows several Twitter accounts such as BBC Africa, and the official Tunisian government account. The account is a news account, which posts all the president's activities and the events he goes to; the Tunisian president does not post any tweets through the account.

The researcher chose the tweets from the Tunisian president's Twitter account to show the readers what kind of posts and tweets the account shares with people, and by analyzing the

posts that the account shares, the researcher had the chance to show the readers how the president communicates with Tunisians through social media. Based on the randomly chosen tweets, the researcher found that the Tunisian president's Twitter account is not different from any other newspapers, TV channels, and radio stations in the country of Tunisia. This means that this social media account does not have any unique characteristics that make it any different from any other media channel or method. The president of Tunisia does not use the account to read or to understand what Tunisians want from him, nor if he is doing the right thing in the people's eyes. The Tunisia president has given his orders to create this account to make it as a window or a private channel of him and the actions he makes or the events he attends.

Moreover, To make this point clear, the current president is the first president to make this move, but he did not use social media to be closer to people, and to find what they need, or how to improve the country. So, the researcher believes that the social media account that the president has did not make any differences that a person can see, or it did not help people to reach the president and show him what they need because if a person follows the president's account he or she will not find anything other than the news of the president. The researcher believes that any other traditional media channel will do the same as the president's Twitter account. If there are no differences between what is on the traditional media channels, why should the president keep his account on Twitter?

Egypt's Leader

As the second country of model A, the Egyptian president was a complete surprise to the researcher due to the lack of a presence on social media. What was surprising to the researcher was that not only did the Egyptian president not have any social media accounts, but because no

one learned the lessons from what happened in Egypt. The people have carried out two revolutions in the country, and communicating with them would seem to be the right action to make, but the Egyptian president has a completely different opinion from this. The researcher believes that the Egyptian president Abdul Fatah Al-Sissi did not learn from the other presidents' mistakes, which led to a total public anger because Egyptians have felt before that none of the former presidents heard them or cared to communicate with them, and see the needs that they want them to provide for them. Social media has given a great opportunity to all the leaders in the world to communicate with their people safer and easier than any other time in life, but without using it like other presidents and leaders are doing it will create a bigger issue because people will feel that their president does not care for them, and does not want to communicate with them. Being able to communicate with people as a president is an important step to take because there is no safer, faster, and easier method to do so than social media, which provides all the characteristics that any person would need.

KSA's Leader

On the other hand, KSA as the first country of model B, its king has a social media account, which is his Twitter account @Kingsalman. The king's account was created since King Salman was a crown prince, but at that time he was not the one who communicated through the account, his office was. Since he became the King of Saudi Arabia he started to post on Twitter himself, not his office, which was a first and still is in the Middle East because there are no other presidents or kings who have a social media account in the whole Middle East. King Salman joined Twitter in January 2013, when he was a crown prince. The account posted 293 tweets, but since King Salman became the King of Saudi Arabia he tweeted 10 tweets only, and that was the reason behind choosing all the tweets that he posted. The Twitter account has more than 3.4

million followers from all over the world not only from KSA, and to date, King Salman does not follow anyone on Twitter.

Furthermore, the first tweet on King Salman's Twitter account was posted on January 22nd the day he became the King of Saudi Arabia, the tweets were about the former king and prayers for god to help him give his best to all the Saudis. From the first two tweets King Salman made, all Saudis thank him for his humility, and the way he talked to them. He posted the two tweets like he was one of them; he did not talk above them, and he asked god to help him provide his people with all they need. From the first move everyone knew that King Salman will be around them, and will care for them because he chose to communicate with them himself not his office or anyone else. King Salman did not use the word we in all of his posts, he used the word I as if he were talking as a normal citizen, which also was a smart move from him because he showed that I am one of you Saudis, I am not different than any of you.

Moreover, one of the tweets that got all the people's attention not only in KSA but in the world was the one after the orders that King Salman had given. The tweet was about him talking to Saudis that they deserve what he gave them, and all that he gives is nothing on them because they deserve it. There are no presidents or kings in the world that talk to their people like the way King Salman has talked. He showed people that he cares for them, he appreciates them, and he wants to make them happy. The researcher believes after analyzing King Salman's presence on Twitter that since he became the leader of the country he wanted to communicate better with the people, and he knew that Saudis are one of the most active users on social media in the whole world. So, he understood that and he chose the right way to get to his people unlike the leaders of the countries of model A. Also, the researcher believes after analyzing the messages that King Salman has sent to Saudis through Twitter that he wants to show them that he is closer than any

other countries' leaders in the world, and from analyzing the content of the messages King Salman uses a simple language because he knew that more than 70% of Saudis on Twitter are young. So, he tried to be closer to them by using a simpler language that he will never use in a speech or on any other media channels. As a result, King Salman is one of the closest leaders to his people in the Middle East, and he is one of the most lovable leaders too. He gained his people's trust through his presence on Twitter, and he gained his people's love through his posts.

UAE's Leader

As the second country of model B and the last country that the researcher chose in this study, the UAE's vice president Mohammed Bin Rashid Al-Maktoum has several social media accounts, but the researcher for the reason that has been provided to the readers earlier will analyze his Twitter account only, which is @HHshkmohd. The vice president of the UAE joined the social media world and specifically Twitter in June 2009, which makes him one of the first leaders in the world to join social media. The account has more than 4.44 million followers from all over the world, and he follows 56 Twitter accounts such as CNN, BBC, and Emiratis ministers' accounts. The researcher chose the tweets that Mohammed Al-Maktoum posted randomly, and he chose a post every 10 days from the beginning of 2015.

Furthermore, Mohammed Al-Maktoum posts on his account himself, and no one else posts anything through it. He tweets about several things such as the death of King Abdullah, the king of KSA, congratulating Kuwait on their national day, activities that he does, events he joins, and communicating with people through the account. Mohammed Al-Maktoum uses his account as a person, and as a vice president. He posts about several things that are not related to the UAE, but at the same time he posts many tweets as a vice president and a prime minister. Mohammed

Al-Maktoum is not only one of the fewest Arabic leaders who joined the social media, but he is one of the most active leaders on it.

The researcher believes after analyzing the UAE's prime minister's Twitter account that he sees how important is social media in the world and people's lives not only in his country but all over the world. For that point, he chose to join the social media world by using all the social media channels, not only Twitter, and he was one of the first countries' leaders in the world who joined the social media world. Also, the researcher believes that Mohammed Al-Maktoum does not see that social media is the only way to communicate with people, and develop the country by; he sees that transferring to the electronic government is an important thing, and a person can know from his tweets when he gave all the ministers the last chance to transfer their ministries from being traditional to electronic. All of this shows that Mohammed Al-Maktoum, the vice president and the prime minister of the UAE, cares and knows how important is social media to everyone in the world, and how important is communication with the citizens and the non-citizens who live in the UAE.

In short, comparing the leaders' effort and presence of the two models on social media was a very significant step that helped the researcher provide the readers with the information that they need to better understand the situation and the differences between the two models. So, if a leader does not care about social media, which was an important tool for people to express their feelings and opinions he does not see it as important as it is, or he does not care for people's opinion, which is a bigger issue than the first one. The leaders of the countries in model B saw how important social media is to their people, and that was the main reason behind joining it, and trying to communicate with their people through it, which made a huge difference from the situation in the countries of model A. The researcher believes that due to the disappearance of

the leaders of the two countries of model A now and before made a huge difference in how their people see them; unlike the situation with the countries of model B.

Understanding the differences between the leaders of the two models was a significant point that helped the researcher to understand the different situations between the two models. Another point that will help the researcher and the readers to have a better understanding of the different situations is that to compare the presence of the four governments and their agencies on social media, which will make the point clearer.

Third Sub-Section: Governments on Social Media

Understanding how each government and its agencies communicate through social media, and if they are present on the social media channels will give the researcher a wonderful opportunity to understand how each government sees social media and what it believes about it. Not only that, but the researcher will be able to understand how each government cares about their people through the communication with them. Each of the four governments that the researcher chose to study is different than the others due to several reasons. Some of the countries have one social media account, which is an account on Twitter, and some of them do not believe social media is significant as a rule. Also, some of the countries see and believe that social media has a strong impact on people, and everything around them, so they chose to be present on it, and to have several social media accounts.

Tunisia's Government

The Tunisian government has one social media account, which is on Twitter, and the account is @presidenceTN. The Tunisian president's office runs this account, and all the posts on this account are posted by the office of the Tunisian president. The Tunisian government account

has more than 46,000 followers, and it follows 11 accounts such as the Tunisian president's Twitter account, and the African Union. The account joined Twitter based on the website in January 2012, and it started posting tweets in the same month. The same method for choosing posts as described early was used here: the posts with the highest retweets, once every ten days from the start of 2015. The Tunisian government's Twitter account does not have a big number of followers compared to the number of the Tunisian population, and the number of Twitter users in Tunisia.

Moreover, the Tunisian government's account does not respond to any of the questions or inquiries that users ask, and the only thing that it posts and tweets about is the president, and the actions that he takes. Based on the posts that the researcher chose, the account has the same goal as the Tunisian president's Twitter account, which was mentioned earlier in the previous chapter. The only goal of this account is to share the president's news and actions that he takes, which is a goal that any government's channels in the world will have. Making the account serve the president is something the researcher has said his opinion about previously in this study. The researcher believes that if the social media account posts things about the president, and will not communicate with people, and try to find how and what they think and believe, the account will have been created for no good reasons or causes.

The researcher has said that if the social media account will be a news account it will be no different than any of the other traditional media channels such as the TV channels, and the newspapers. So, if the Tunisian government has this one social media account, which is a news account they do not believe that social media had a huge impact on their people, and the way they think, communicate, and express their opinions. The Tunisian government has to make

changes and create several accounts because people would like their government to talk and communicate with them, and see how they feel, and what needs to be changed.

Egypt's Government

Egypt on the other hand, has no interest in social media because like the absence of their president on social media, the Egyptian government has no social media account, which was not surprising for the researcher due to the absence of their leader. If a government that experienced two revolutions in the past five years because of several reasons does not care about social media, which many people believe was a strong and important tool that people used before, during, and after the Arabic revolutions, would not the government care, and see how strong social media was?

KSA's Government

KSA as the first government of model B was completely different from the countries of model A because KSA's government and agencies are present and active on social media and especially on Twitter. The Saudi government has more than 15 Twitter accounts that the researcher found. Two different official accounts were chosen to be analyzed in this chapter. Those being one of the most active government accounts and another one that is less active on Twitter and the social media were chosen.

The first account is the account of the Commerce and Industry Saudi ministry, which is one of the governments' most active accounts on Twitter. It joined Twitter in July 2012, and since that day it has posted more than 5152 tweets. The account has more than 741 thousand followers, and it follows 20 Twitter accounts such as the minister of Commerce and Industry, and the King of KSA. Again, the same method for choosing the posts was used here.

Furthermore, what makes the Commerce and Industry ministry's Twitter account special and different from the Tunisian one is that the account posts several things such as news, advice, and the decisions that the ministry makes. Also, the account responds to people who ask any kind of questions, and they respond to people within less than an hour. Also, the account was created to make all the citizens and the non-citizens able to report any issue that they face anywhere such as shops, malls, and supermarkets, which was a first not only in Saudi Arabia but in the whole Middle East.

In addition, having these kinds of services and new communication style with the Commerce and Industry ministry made the ministry's performance improve because people were the eyes of the ministry by reporting and giving them all the information that they need. Another step that the ministry has taken was to create a smartphone application to allow people to report all the issues with the locations, images, and texts much easier than anywhere else, and that was a great move from the ministry of Commerce and Industry to use the technology to make their jobs and people's lives much easier than before.

The second and less active ministry that the researcher chose was the Saudi Housing ministry. The account of the Housing ministry joined Twitter in December 2012, and since then it has posted only 856 tweets. The Twitter account of the Housing ministry has more than 118 thousand followers, and it follows the account of King Salman Al-Saud. Once again, the same method of choosing posts was employed here.

Moreover, as the least active Saudi ministry's account on Twitter based on the number of posts and the number of followers, the Housing ministry has responded to everyone who asks any question on their account, which makes the communication with the ministry easier, and

people do not need to go the ministry or call it to ask about anything. Also the ministry has a website that put all the files and the applications online with no need to show up. So, the researcher believes that even though the Saudi Housing ministry is the least active ministry on Twitter, it is responding to all the people and making things much easier for them. That is a point that counts in the Housing ministry's favor.

When it comes to the Saudi ministers, all of them are on social media and have Twitter accounts. The researcher has chosen two of the Saudi minister's accounts, one of the most active accounts, and one of the least active accounts. One of the most active Twitter accounts was the account of the Commerce and Industry minister, Tawfiq Al-Rabiah. The least active Twitter account was the account of the Civil Services minister, Khalid Al-Araj.

First, the most active minister on social media, is the minister of the Commerce and Industry's account. It was not surprising that he is one of the most active ministers on Twitter due to the account that his ministry has, and how active it is on Twitter. The Commerce and Industry minister joined Twitter in November 2011, and he has posted over 1294 posts. He is following 176 accounts such as the king's account, and the ministry of Commerce and Industry account; more than 1.1 million users are following him on Twitter, which makes him the most followed Arabic minister on Twitter. He posts the same way that his ministry posts such as news, decisions, and information that helps anyone. He responds to anyone who would ask him any question, and if someone is reporting an issue he would ask the person to report it to the ministry's account. If the ministry and the minister are on Twitter that means that the doors are open to anyone to make suggestions, ask questions, or give opinions. This means that the distance between the ministry and the people is closer, and people do not need to communicate

with someone else about anything that is related to the Commerce and Industry ministry except the minister of the ministry itself.

Second, the least active Saudi minister on Twitter, who is the Civil Services minister, Khalid Al-Araj. He was announced as a minister of the Civil Services ministry in January 2015, and he joined Twitter in the same month. He has posted 86 tweets only, and over 92.8 thousand people are following him. He follows ten Twitter accounts such as the king's account, and the ministry of Civil Services' accounts. He does not tweet news and decisions only because he communicates with people through the account. He answers any kind of questions, listens to anyone who has an opinion about anything, which makes him active enough to make people happy and satisfied. Being closer to him helped people find the answers they need, and do not need to ask anyone else except him. The researcher believes these kinds of moves that the minister is doing makes people closer to the leader, and they do not feel neglected, which is a positive thing to do.

In short, for what the government of Saudi Arabia has done on social media, people found two-way communication style with their leaders, they have the chance to communicate with all the ministries and the ministers without having the trouble of going to it or going to them, and report what they have faced. These kinds of services made people's lives in KSA much easier than any other Arabic countries. Finding their government's ministries and ministers on social media made people in KSA believe that their government is not afraid of social media, and they will use it to communicate and be closer to people, not to make the gap between them much bigger. The Saudi government made a smart move when they asked all the ministers to create personal accounts, and accounts for the ministries they are running because people felt that the

government is around them and it is close to them, and they hear them, and listen to what they need and want.

UAE's Government

Not only KSA was different from the countries of model A, the UAE was a complete difference itself. What makes the UAE one of the unique countries not only in the Middle East but in the whole world when it comes to social media appearance is that all the UAE's ministries and ministers have social media accounts; especially on Twitter. As with KSA, two ministries' and two ministers' Emirates Twitter accounts were chosen; one of the most active ministries, and one of the least active. Also one of the most active ministers and one of the least to show the readers the differences between each account, and the way it communicates with people through social media.

In addition, the first ministry account chosen was the Emirati Education Ministry, which is one of the most active Emiratis ministries on Twitter. The Education Ministry has the highest number of followers on Twitter compared to the other ministries' accounts, and what makes it unique is that the Education Ministry has two different Twitter accounts: the first one is the official one that posts the news, and the decisions; the other one is to communicate with students and their parents or with anyone that has questions. The researcher has chosen the official one to make the comparison between the other countries' fare. The Education Ministry joined Twitter in March 2012, and it has more than 121 thousand followers. The account has posted over 10.7 thousand tweets since it joined Twitter, and the account follows 30 different Twitter accounts such as the vice president's account, and the Education Minister's. The same method of choosing posts was once again used here.

Based on the posts that the researcher observed in chapter four, the Emirati Education Ministry's presence on Twitter made several things easier. It allowed students to ask any questions they needed to, and they can say their opinion on any matter without having the trouble of going there. Several students commented on the ministry's account stating that things are better and easier because their voices are heard by the ministry and the minister. If students and parents can communicate with the ministry and the minister without any complication they will not need to talk to the school anymore, and the school will know that if anything happens in the school the ministry will know right away that there is something wrong. So, if the people's voices have someone to listen to them everything will not be the same as before. The Emirate Education Ministry has cared for people, and because of that they created the other account to make things much easier for them, and to make them feel that if I have a complaint there is someone to talk to without any trouble.

The second Emirate ministry that was chosen and mentioned in chapter four was the Ministry of Justice. This ministry is the least active ministry on Twitter due to several reasons such as the number of posts and followers. The Ministry of Justice joined Twitter in March 2011, and it has 352 posts with 6268 followers. Even though the Ministry of Justice is one of the least active Emirates ministries on Twitter that did not stop the ministry from communicating with people through their account. The posts that the Ministry of Justice posts are mostly news and decisions that the ministry has made, but if any person asks them a question they respond to it with the answer. The Ministry of Justice does not post daily or respond to people every day, and that was a reason for people to not follow the ministry account on Twitter because people on social media want fast answers, which is something not available with the Ministry of Justice.

Furthermore, even without the fast and daily answers the Ministry of Justice is doing a good job answering the people, and communicating with them.

When it comes to the Emirates ministers they are all available on Twitter, and the UAE's official electronic gate has all of their social media accounts. As mentioned earlier in this section, the researcher chose two different Twitter accounts for the Emirates ministers; the first one is the most active Emirate minister on Twitter, which was the Emirate Interior Minister, Saif Bin Zayed. The other account that was chosen was the least active Emirate minister on Twitter, which was the Emirate Foreign Minister, Anwar Gargsh.

First, the most active Emirate minister on Twitter, Saif Bin Zayed, who is the Interior Minister in the country. Zayed has more than 559 thousand followers on Twitter, and he follows five accounts only such as the vice president's account. To maintain consistency, the same selections process for posts was done here. The researcher believes that based on the way Saif Bin Zayed communicates through his account he is posting as a person more than as an Interior Minister, but at the same time he posts several tweets on his job, and he responds to several posts every week. Creating an open door between the Interior Ministry and people was a great idea because people want this ministry to be closer to them than any other ministry. People need to ask questions, and need someone to listen to them and that is what people have gotten from the Interior Minister's Twitter account.

Second, the least active Emirate minister, who is the Emirate Foreign Minister, Anwar Gargsh. Gargsh joined Twitter in August 2011, and more than 140 thousand followers are following him on Twitter. Gargsh follows 400 accounts such as the vice president's account, and the Interior Minister. Since he started his account he has posted more than 4837 posts. From the

way he posts and communicates with people through his account, Gragsh has shown openness to all the people. He posts and responds to anyone who asks any questions about the Foreign Ministry or anything related to it. Gragsh is one of the active Twitter accounts but compared to the other ministers in the UAE he is one of the least active ministers. But even though he is one of the least active ministers on Twitter, he tweets several informative posts every week, and he responds to almost every single question he gets. The researcher believes that opening the doors for people is much more important than any other move that any country will think of because what people need the most is someone to talk to, and someone that will listen to them.

The UAE government has tried since the beginning of social media to create an environment that gives that chance for the people to be closer to the government, not the opposite way such as other Arabic countries. That was the main reason for the UAE government to ask all the ministers and the ministries to create social media accounts, and to transfer to the "Smart Government" or the electronic government. The UAE government has cared to communicate with their people and show them that they are around them, and want to be closer to them, and make their lives much easier than any other country, which they have done very well because nowadays a person in the UAE does not have to go anywhere because everything is online, and all the leaders are available to listen and hear what you want and need from them.

All the differences between the two models in the way each model and country deals with social media makes people think if a government cares enough about its people they will open all the doors to hear them, and try to be closer to them not the opposite, and with social media this step has gotten very much easier because the government is not opening an actual door, but they are opening a line to allow people to say whatever they want to say, and make them feel that there is someone to talk to. The researcher believes that the countries of model A do not see

social media as a wonderful opportunity to communicate with people and see how they feel, and what they need in their lives. The countries of model A are seeing social media as an opportunity for people to protest, and plan how to revolt against their governments unlike how the countries of model B see social media. Based on the results and the findings that the researcher has mentioned earlier, the countries of model B have seen that social media is the door that they can let people enter without any issues, and they see that social media is the mirror that the government can see through what people think of its performance, and how to develop and improve the performance. That was the main difference between the countries of models A and B on social media.

Conclusion

As for what the findings have shown, people in the countries of model A were suffering economically, politically, and socially years before social media was even created, but social media has given them the opportunity to express their opinions, feelings, and dreams with their governments' control. With the new level of freedom of speech that social media has created in the world and especially in the Arab countries, people were able to say what they want whenever they like with no one telling them how or what they should think about. The differences between the countries of model A and B in the real life have shown that the countries of model B did not have the same experience as the countries of model A due to the economic, political, and socially different situations, which makes a good point of the different impacts that social media has had in each country of the two models.

Also, the researcher has made his point much clearer when he mentioned the digital life and how each country of models A and B were acting differently on that matter. The countries of

model A have shown no concern for developing their electronic system unlike the countries of model B, which they made and are still making a huge effort on this matter. Additionally, caring about what people want and need is the most important point if any government wants its people to follow it, and that what the countries of model B have shown by creating the electronic systems and developing them; also by joining the social media world to communicate through it with their people. The governments of model B have joined social media, leaders and agencies as well, which made people see how their government is not afraid of being close to them. The absence from all social media channels that both governments of model A's countries have done showed how their governments are afraid of being close to the people, and how their governments do not care to make their lives easier in the way they communicated faster and clearer. This point has led people from model A to feel that no one cares, and if no one cares they should take action, and that is what they have done. All of this shows that social media was not a reason but it was an important tool that the governments of model B used very well to create such a great environment, and the governments of model A did not see it as important as it really was. Moreover, the governments of model A did not understand the importance of social media, but more importantly they did not choose another method to communicate with their people. It was not a matter of a method or a tool to communicate because it was a matter of content.

In addition, Grunig & Hunt (1984) four models of public relations provide an excellent demonstration of the difference between the countries of models A and B and their communication patterns because the governments of model A have used the press agent model for communicating with their people, which means that the communication between the governments of model A and their people was a one-way communication, and the governments' goal was to persuade people into doing what the governments wanted them to do. Unlike the

governments of model B, which were using the two-way symmetrical model in their communication with their people, where government officials took actions to address issues that have been raised on social media.

As a final result, the findings that the researcher has come up with in this study showed that social media was not a reason for any of the actions that people took in the Arab Spring; the findings have shown that social media was no more than a bridge that connected people with a new limit of freedom of speech, and all what happened happened because of the different factors such as the economic, political, and social situations as well as the other mentioned factors in the countries of model A. Social media was only a tool, and the content that was delivered through it was the most important factor and not social media itself. Without the content social media would still be as TV, radio, and newspapers in all the countries around the world not only the Middle Eastern countries.

Recommendations

The result of this study has shown that social media was no more than a tool, and the impact of social media in the countries of the two models was different based on the several differences that each model has. Due to the limited number of resources and studies that have been done on this topic, the study was affected by this factor in several ways. Because of the different ways that this study was affected by the limitations, the researcher has come up with four recommendations.

The first recommendation would be using different or more theories in this study. In fact, the researcher tried to use one more theory in addition to the uses and gratification theory and the

four models of public relations, which was the social media theory, but he could not use it due to the limited number of studies that have been done on social media theory.

The second recommendation would be narrowing the number of countries to two instead of studying four countries. This would help the researcher focus more on the differences between the countries on social media, and give the readers the opportunity to understand the two different situations better than trying to understand four different situations.

Third, choose one social media channel such as Facebook and compare its use and effects in the two models instead of choosing more than one social media channel. This would give the researcher the opportunity to focus on one channel instead of having more.

The last recommendation would be comparing social media channels to the traditional media channels in the four countries before, during, and after the Arab Spring. This could have an interesting result of understanding each government and to what level they control the traditional media channels, and to what level did social media and its channels affect them.

In short, the main result of this study is that social media channels had no significant effect on the four countries of the two models before, during, and after the Arab Spring. In addition, social media was no more than a tool that people used to achieve their goals, and what was more effective than social media is the content that was sent and received through it.

References

- Abdul Salam, A. (2013). The reasons behind the Arab Spring revolutions [Translated from the original Arabic]. *Democratic Arabic Center for Strategic, Political & Economic Studies*. Retrieved from <http://democraticac.de/?p=1393#prettyPhoto>
- Abu Al-Ftouh, E. (2013, July 4). Pivotal roles social media played in the Egyptian revolution. *Arageek* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.arageek.com/2013/07/04/roles-of-social-media-inegyptian-revolution.html>
- Ahmed, N. (2015). Social media impact on Egyptian society. *Al-Ahram* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://digital.ahram.org.eg/Policy.aspx?Serial=1750551>
- Al-Ali, R. (2008, April 4). Constants and variables in Saudi society. *Ejtemay* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.ejtemay.com/showthread.php?t=7204>
- Al-Dabbas, M. (2013, January 12). Arab Spring stations. *Jalaad* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from http://www.jalaad.com/index.php?module=participations&id=3847&c_id
- Al-Dabe'e, S., & Al-Na'asani, L. (2013, October 6). The United Arab Emirates' happiness strategy [Translated from the original Arabic]. *Al-Roeya*. Retrieved from <http://alroeya.ae>
- Al-Gufeli, F. (n.d.). Social media as a tool to communicate, and multiple security risks. [Translated from the original Arabic]. *Arab Spring Institute*, 23, 26. Retrieved from <http://www.arabsi.org>

- Al-Helwah, K. (2012). The new Media and its effect on creating the public opinion. [Translated from the original Arabic]. *KalhelwahBlog*, 6-9, 25-27. Retrieved from <http://kalhelwah.blogspot.com/>
- Al-Juwair, I. (2004, November 1). Changes in Saudi Society. *Al-Juwair, Ibrahim* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://ibrahimaljuwair.com/home/?content=184>
- Al-Kuthari, M. (2014). World media and the difficult choices. *Asbar Center for Studies, Research and Communication*. Retrieved from http://asbar.com/ar_lang/?p=144
- Al-Mansour, M. (2012). The impact of social networks on audience. [Translated from the original Arabic]. *Arab Spring Institute*, 88-90. Retrieved from <http://www.arabsi.org>
- Al-Obaid, B. (2011). The Arab Spring's reflection on Saudi Arabia. [Translated from the original Arabic]. *Wordpress*. Retrieved from <https://badriyah1978.wordpress.com/>
- Al-Otaibe, A. (2012). The Gulf area countries and the Arab Spring. *Qantara* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://ar.qantara.de/content/lslh-fy-dwl-lkhlyj-lrby-hl-dwl-lkhlyj-mhsn-dd-ryh-lrby-lrby>
- Al-Qarni, A. (2011). The new media: From traditional press to social media and individual journalism. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. [Translated from the original Arabic]. *Goodreads*, 58, 59-61, 64-66, 106, 107, 114-115, 137, 142. Retrieved from <http://catalog.library.ksu.edu.sa/uhtbin/cgiirsi/?ps=JgfI2DbayC/CENTRAL/54250016/1>
- Al-Saig, F. (2013, June 26). Social media impact on the culture of the Emirates society. *The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research*. Retrieved from

http://www.ecssr.ac.ae/ECSSR/print/ft.jsp?lang=ar&ftId=/FeatureTopic/Fatma-AlSayegh/FeatureTopic_1698.xml

Al-Subaie, S. (2013). The New Media and its role in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Naif Arab University for Security Sciences. 23-26, 32-33. [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.nauss.edu.sa/Ar/Pages/Home.aspx>

Arab Republic of Egypt Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2015). Retrieved from <http://www.mfa.gov.eg/English/insideegypt/countryprofile/Pages/default.aspx>

Azrwal, Y. (n.d.). New media and its role in the Arab democratic movement. Retrieved from <http://79.170.44.8/inactive.cgi?site=bchaib.net;key=8ad8c5a829d4932c213065f375164a2e>

Bennett, S. (2014, January 20). Pinterest, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Google+, LinkedIn Social Media Stats 2014. *SocialTimes*. Retrieved from <http://www.adweek.com/socialtimes/social-media-stats-2014/495727>

Beyomi, A. (2011, May 25). Emirates is the first Arabic country in the welfare of its citizen [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.emaratalyoum.com/local-section/other/2011-05-25-1.397072>

Carlson, N. (2010, March 5). At last -- The full story of how Facebook was founded. *Business Insider*. Retrieved from <http://www.businessinsider.com>

Carlson, N. (2011, April 13). The Real History of Twitter. *Business Insider*. Retrieved from <http://www.businessinsider.com>

- Dubai School of Government, Arab social media report.* (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.arabsocialmediareport.com/home/index.aspx?&PriMenuID=1&mnu=Pri>
- Dubai School of Government. (2011). *Social media in the Arab world report.* Dubai, United Arab Emirates. 16, 19. [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.arabsocialmediareport.com/home/index.aspx?&PriMenuID=1&mnu=Pri>
- Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia "ESCWA". (2013, December). *The Electronic Government Strategies, Reality and the Ways of development.* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.escwa.un.org/>
- Eight years of achievements. (2014, February 24). *Al-Bayan* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.albayan.ae>
- El-Issawi, F. (2012, July 10). *Tunisian Media in Transition.* *Carnegie Middle East Centre.* Retrieved from <http://carnegie-mec.org/publications/?fa=48923>
- Fidy, M. (2014, June 4). *The United Arab Emirates economy.* *Mawdo'o* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://mawdoo3.com>
- Fortunato, J. (2013, July 1). *The hashtag: A history deeper than Twitter.* *Copypress.* Retrieved from <http://www.copypress.com/blog/the-hashtag-a-history-deeper-than-twitter/>
- Fripp, C. (2014, February 6). *Top 10 African countries on Facebook.* *IT News Africa.* Retrieved from <http://www.itnewsafrika.com>
- Grunig, J., & Hunt, T. (1984). *Managing Public Relations.* New York, NY: Rinehart and Winston.

Hamdawe, J. (2012, November 27). Content analysis. *Almothaqaf* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://almothaqaf.com>

Jalud, M. (n.d.). *Political decision making in Saudi Arabia*. [Translated from the original Arabic]. *Iraqi Academic Scientific Journals*, 4-6, 28-29. Retrieved from <http://www.iasj.net/>

Jalud, M. (2009). *The Federalism Future in the United Arab Emirates*. [Translated from the original Arabic]. *Iraqi Academic Scientific Journals*, 41, 49. Retrieved from <http://www.iasj.net/>

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Commerce and Industry. (2012). *Saudi Economy* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.mci.gov.sa/AboutKingdom/Pages/SaudiEconomy.aspx>

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2014). Retrieved from <http://www.mofa.gov.sa/Pages/Default.aspx>

Leading social networks worldwide as of August 2015. (n.d.). Retrieved from The Statistics Portal: <http://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>

Moa'amry, M. (2015, January 14). Tunisian media is the biggest winner. *The New Arabic* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.alaraby.co.uk/>

Mohammed Bin Rashid School of government. (2014). *Social media in the Arab world*. Dubai, United Arab Emirate. 9, 11, 12. [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from

<http://www.mbrsg.ae/getattachment/9cea0fcc-9e43-4fba-9f47-ea6d9d16ca8c/Arab-Social-Media-Outlook-2014.aspx>

Moslm, N. (2012, August 4). Most important issues that Egyptian society faces. *Balbagesh* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://kenanaonline.com/users/nagwamoslm/posts/438716>

Musammah, E. (2011, September 29). Social media uses in Saudi Arabia. *Al-Riyadh* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.alriyadh.com/671155>

Number of social network users worldwide from 2010 to 2018. (n.d.). *The Statistics Portal*. Retrieved from <http://www.statista.com/statistics/278414/number-of-worldwide-social-network-users/>

Qataloni, M. (2012). Social media role in the political change –Egypt as a model. 158, 159. [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from http://scholar.najah.edu/sites/default/files/all-thesis/msb_qtlwny.pdf

Republic of Tunisia Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development, Environment. (2015). *General Information about Tunisia*. Retrieved from <http://www.environnement.gov.tn/index.php?id=157&L=1#.VQO8so54on4>

Roesler, P. (2014, November 17). 6 Ways Social Media Changed the World. *Inc*. Retrieved from <http://www.inc.com/peter-roesler/6-ways-social-media-changed-the-world.html>

Rumors in social media and their negative effects. (2014, August 1). *Nation Shield* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.nationshield.ae>

Saudi Internet users are the highest users on Twitter worldwide. (2013, November 16).

aitnews [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://aitnews.com/>

State Information Service – A gate to Egypt. (2014). *A look at the recent history of the Egyptian*

economy [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from

http://www.sis.gov.eg/Ar/Templates/Articles/tmpArticles.aspx?CatID=410#.VOLitfl_u

Q

The Emirati Education Ministry's Twitter account [Translated from the original Arabic]. (n.d.).

<https://twitter.com/MOEducationUAE>

The Emirati Foreign Minister's Twitter account [Translated from the original Arabic]. (n.d.).

<https://twitter.com/AnwarGargash>

The Emirati Interior Minister's Twitter account [Translated from the original Arabic]. (n.d.).

<https://twitter.com/SaifBZayed>

The Emirati Justice Ministry's Twitter account [Translated from the original Arabic]. (n.d.).

https://twitter.com/MOJ_UAE

The king of Saudi Arabia's Twitter account, King Salman Al-Saud [Translated from the original Arabic]. (n.d.). <https://twitter.com/KingSalman>

The main uses of social media in the United Arab Emirates (2011, September 18). *Bayt.com*

[Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.bayt.com/ar/press-release-article-11246/>

The Saudi's government achievement in last ten years. (2015, January 25). *Sabq* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://sabq.org/SGwgde>

The Saudi Housing Ministry's Twitter account [Translated from the original Arabic]. (n.d.).
https://twitter.com/MOHousing_sa

The Saudi Minister of Civil Service's Twitter account [Translated from the original Arabic]. (n.d.).https://twitter.com/Khaled_Alaraj

The Saudi Minister of Commerce and Industry's Twitter account [Translated from the original Arabic]. (n.d.). <https://twitter.com/tfrabiah>

The Saudi Ministry of Commerce and Industry's Twitter account [Translated from the original Arabic]. (n.d.). <https://twitter.com/SaudiMCI>

The UAE's achievements in numbers. (2013, December 17). *Gulf newspaper* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.alkhaleej.ae/alkhaleej/page/a45a04f0-c3d3-499c-8412-2f1abab6f94d>

The United Arab Emirates economy. (2015). *The United Arab Emirates* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from
<http://www.uaepedia.ae/index.php/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%AA%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%AF#.VQIfI54on5>

The vice president of the UAE's Twitter account, Mohammed Bin Rashid Al-Maktoum [Translated from the original Arabic]. (n.d.). <https://twitter.com/HHShkMohd>

The welfare of the Emirates society. (2014, November 6). *Al-Ittihad newspaper* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://www.alittihad.ae/wajhatdetails.php?id=82092>

Tunisian government's Twitter account [Translated from the original Arabic]. (n.d.).

<https://twitter.com/presidenceTN>

Tunisia's president's Twitter account, Beji Caid Essebsi [Translated from the original Arabic].

(n.d.). <https://twitter.com/BejiCEOfficial>

United Arab Emirates The Official Portal of The United Arab Emirates. (2015). Retrieved from

<http://www.government.ae/en/web/guest/uae>

Why Emiratis Use Twitter. (2011) *Al-Mezmaah Studies & Research Center* [Translated from the original Arabic]. Retrieved from <http://almezmaah.com/ar/news-print-597.html>

Will Arab Spring arrive to the UAE. (2012, September 4). *Albawaba*. Retrieved from

<http://www.albawaba.com/>

Zodah, M. (2011). Social Media role in creating the public opinion – Tunisia as a model.

[Translated from the original Arabic]. *Digitallibrary*, 186-192, 267, 268. Retrieved from

<http://digitallibrary.univ-batna.dz:8080/jspui/>