

بحوث العلاقات العامة

الشرق الأوسط



معامل التأثير العربي ٢٠١٦ = ١.٣٣

دورية علمية محكمة تصدرها الجمعية المصرية للعلاقات العامة - السنة الرابعة - العدد الرابع عشر - يناير / مارس ٢٠١٧

ملخصات بحوث بلغات أجنبية:

- دراسة تحليلية عن تداعيات إدارة أزمات الاتصال في الشرق الأوسط: الملاحظة في مياة مجهولة

أ.م.د/ إبراهيم مصطفى صالح (جامعة النيل - مصر) ... ص ٩

البحوث العربية:

- اتجاهات النخب الأكاديمية والإعلامية الليبية نحو شاهد العيان كإعلامي: دراسة ميدانية

أ.د/ عابدين الدردير الشريف (جامعة الزيتونة - ليبيا) ... ص ١٣

- تطور مفهوم المستخدم في المجال العام الرقمي

أ.د/ ثريا أحمد البدوي (جامعة القاهرة) ... ص ٤٣

- استراتيجية العلاقات العامة ودورها في إدارة الأزمات السياحية

د/ انتصار داود العبيدي (كلية الفجيرة - الإمارات) ... ص ٧٧

- اتجاهات الرأي العام المصري نحو موقف الاتحاد الأوروبي من أزمة اللاجئين السوريين: دراسة تطبيقية على موقع " فيس بوك "

د/ لبيبة عبد النبي إبراهيم (جامعة حلوان) ... ص ١٠٧

- استراتيجية العلاقات العامة في الجامعات العراقية: دراسة تقويمية لقسمي العلاقات العامة بجامعتي (بغداد والتكنولوجية) أنموذجاً

د/ سهاد عادل جاسم (الجامعة المستنصرية) ... ص ١٣٥

- تعرض الجمهور للمضامين السياسية الساخرة المقدمة بوسائل الإعلام وعلاقته بالسخط السياسي لديه

د/ محمد فؤاد زيد (جامعة المنوفية) ... ص ١٥١

- استخدام وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي في التوعية الصحية لمرض كورونا: دراسة تطبيقية على المدن الطبية ومستشفياتها الحكومية بمدينة الرياض السعودية

د/ خالد بن فيصل الفرم (جامعة الإمام محمد بن سعود الإسلامية) ... ص ٢١٥

(ISSN 2314-8721)

الشبكة القومية للمعلومات العلمية والتكنولوجية

(ENSTINET)

جميع الحقوق محفوظة ٢٠١٧ @ EPRA

www.epra.org.eg

الهيئة العلمية

أ.د علي السيد عوجة

أستاذ العلاقات العامة والمتفرغ والعميد الأسبق لكلية الإعلام جامعة القاهرة

Prof. Dr. Thomas A. Bauer

Professor of Mass Communication at the University of Vienna

أ.د منى سعيد الحديدي

أستاذ الإذاعة والتلفزيون والمتفرغ بكلية الإعلام - جامعة القاهرة

أ.د ياس خضير البياتي

أستاذ الإعلام بجامعة بغداد وعميد كلية المعلومات والإعلام والعلوم الإنسانية
جامعة عجمان للعلوم والتكنولوجيا

أ.د حسن عماد مكايي

أستاذ الإذاعة والتلفزيون - العميد السابق لكلية الإعلام - جامعة القاهرة

أ.د نسمة يونس

أستاذ الإذاعة والتلفزيون - كلية الإعلام جامعة القاهرة

أ.د محمد معوض إبراهيم

أستاذ الإعلام والمتفرغ بجامعة عين شمس والعميد الأسبق لكلية الإعلام بجامعة سيناء

أ.د سامي السيد عبد العزيز

أستاذ العلاقات العامة والاتصالات التسويقية - العميد الأسبق لكلية الإعلام جامعة القاهرة

أ.د عبد الرحمن بن حمود العناد

أستاذ العلاقات العامة والإعلام بقسم الإعلام كلية الآداب - جامعة الملك سعود

أ.د محمود يوسف مصطفى عبده

أستاذ العلاقات العامة والوكيل السابق لكلية الإعلام لشئون خدمة المجتمع وتنمية البيئة - جامعة القاهرة

أ.د سامي عبد الرؤوف محمد طايح

أستاذ العلاقات العامة بكلية الإعلام - جامعة القاهرة

أ.د شريف درويش مصطفى اللبان

أستاذ الصحافة - وكيل كلية الإعلام لشئون خدمة المجتمع وتنمية البيئة - جامعة القاهرة

أ.د بركات عبد العزيز محمد عبد الله

أستاذ الإذاعة والتلفزيون - وكيل كلية الإعلام للدراسات العليا والبحوث - جامعة القاهرة

أ.د حسن علي محمد علي

أستاذ الإذاعة والتلفزيون ورئيس قسم الإعلام بكلية الآداب - جامعة المنيا

أ.د عابدين الدردير الشريف

أستاذ الإعلام وعميد كلية الآداب والعلوم الإنسانية بجامعة الزيتونة - ليبيا

أ.د محمود حسن إسماعيل

أستاذ الإعلام وثقافة الأطفال - معهد الدراسات العليا للطفولة - جامعة عين شمس

أ.د حمدي حسن أبو العينين

أستاذ الإعلام وعميد كلية الإعلام والألسن نائب رئيس جامعة مصر الدولية

أ.د عثمان بن محمد العربي

أستاذ العلاقات العامة والرئيس السابق لقسم الإعلام بكلية الآداب - جامعة الملك سعود

أ.د وليد فتح الله مصطفى بركات

أستاذ الإذاعة والتلفزيون ووكيل كلية الإعلام لشئون التعليم والطلاب - جامعة القاهرة

أ.د تحسين منصور رشيد منصور

أستاذ العلاقات العامة بكلية الإعلام بجامعة اليرموك - الأردن

أ.د محمد عبد الستار البخاري

بروفيسور متفرغ بقسم العلاقات العامة والدعاية، كلية الصحافة، جامعة ميرزة أولوغ بيك القومية الأوزبكية

أ.د علي قسايسية

أستاذ دراسات الجمهور والتشريعات الإعلامية بكلية علوم الإعلام والاتصال - جامعة الجزائر ٣

أ.د رضوان بو جمعة

أستاذ الإعلام بقسم علوم الإعلام والاتصال - جامعة الجزائر



مجلة بحوث العلاقات العامة الشرق الأوسط

(JPRR.ME)

دورية علمية محكمة

العدد الثالث عشر - السنة الرابعة - أكتوبر / ديسمبر ٢٠١٦

مؤسسها

ورئيس مجلس الإدارة

د/ حاتم محمد عاطف

رئيس EPRA

رئيس التحرير

أ.د/ علي السيد عوجة

أستاذ العلاقات العامة والعميد

الأسبق لكلية الإعلام جامعة القاهرة

رئيس اللجنة العلمية بـ EPRA

مديرا التحرير

أ.د / محمد معوض إبراهيم

أستاذ الإعلام بجامعة عين شمس

والعميد الأسبق لكلية الإعلام جامعة سيناء

رئيس اللجنة الاستشارية بـ EPRA

أ.د / محمود يوسف مصطفى عبده

أستاذ العلاقات العامة والوكيل السابق بكلية الإعلام

لشئون خدمة المجتمع وتنمية البيئة

جامعة القاهرة

مساعدو التحرير

أ.د / رزق سعد عبد المعطي

أستاذ العلاقات العامة بكلية الإعلام والألسن

جامعة مصر الدولية

د/ ثريا محمد السنوسي

أستاذ مساعد ورئيس قسم العلاقات العامة بكلية الإعلام

جامعة الغرير

د/ محمد حسن العامري

أستاذ مساعد ورئيس قسم العلاقات العامة بكلية الإعلام

جامعة بغداد

د/ السيد عبد الرحمن علي

مدرس العلاقات العامة بكلية تكنولوجيا الإعلام

جامعة سيناء

صبري محمد سليمان

مدقق اللغة العربية

أحمد علي بدر

مدقق اللغة الإنجليزية

المراسلات

الجمعية المصرية للعلاقات العامة

جمهورية مصر العربية

الجيزة - الدقي

بين السرايات - ٢ شارع أحمد الزيات

Mobile: +201141514157

Tel : +2237620818

Www.epra.org.eg

Jpr@epra.org.eg

جميع حقوق الطبع والنشر محفوظة
للجمعية المصرية للعلاقات العامة

لا يجوز، دون الحصول على إذن خطي من الناشر، استخدام أي من المواد التي تتضمنها هذه المجلة، أو استنساخها أو نقلها، كلياً أو جزئياً، في أي شكل وبأي وسيلة، سواء بطريقة إلكترونية أو آلية، بما في ذلك الاستنساخ الفوتوغرافي، أو التسجيل أو استخدام أي نظام من نظم تخزين المعلومات واسترجاعها، وتطبق جميع الشروط والأحكام والقوانين الدولية فيما يتعلق بانتهاك حقوق النشر والطبع للنسخة المطبوعة أو الإلكترونية.

الترقيم الدولي للنسخة المطبوعة
(ISSN 2314-8721)

الترقيم الدولي للنسخة الإلكترونية
(ISSN 2314-8723X)

ولتقديم طلب الحصول على هذا الإذن والمزيد من الاستفسارات، يرجى الاتصال برئيس مجلس إدارة الجمعية المصرية للعلاقات العامة على العنوان التالي:

EPRA Publications

Egyptian Public Relations Association, Giza, Egypt
Dokki, Ben Elsarayat -2 Ahmed Elzayat St.

بريد إلكتروني: jpr@epra.org.eg - chairman@epra.org.eg

موقع ويب: www.epra.org.eg - www.jpr.epra.org.eg

الهاتف : 02-376-20-818 (+2) - 0114-15-14-151 (+2) - 0114-15-14-157 (+2)

مجلة بحوث العلاقات العامة الشرق الأوسط

Journal of Public Relations Research Middle East

التعريف بالمجلة:

مجلة بحوث العلاقات العامة الشرق الأوسط دورية علمية تنشر أبحاثاً متخصصة في العلاقات العامة وعلوم الإعلام والاتصال، بعد أن تقوم بتحكيمها من قبل عدد من الأساتذة المتخصصين في نفس المجال، وهي تابعة للجمعية المصرية للعلاقات العامة أول جمعية علمية مصرية متخصصة في العلاقات العامة.

○ المجلة معتمدة ولها ترقيم دولي ومصنفة دولياً لنسختها المطبوعة والإلكترونية من أكاديمية البحث العلمي والتكنولوجيا بالقاهرة، ومصنفة من لجنة الترتيبات العلمية تخصص الإعلام بالمجلس الأعلى للجامعات في مصر.

○ أول دورية علمية محكمة في التخصص على مستوى الوطن العربي والشرق الأوسط، وأول دورية علمية عربية في تخصص (الإعلام) تحصل على معامل التأثير العربي Arab Impact Factor بمعامل تأثير = ١.٣٣ بنسبة ١٠٠% في تقرير عام ٢٠١٦ للمؤسسة الأمريكية " NSP نشر العلوم الطبيعية " برعاية اتحاد الجامعات العربية.

○ المجلة فصلية تصدر كل ثلاثة أشهر خلال العام.

○ تقبل المجلة نشر عروض الكتب والمؤتمرات وورش العمل والأحداث العلمية العربية والدولية.

○ تقبل المجلة نشر إعلانات عن محركات بحث علمية أو دور نشر عربية أو أجنبية وفقاً لشروط خاصة يلتزم بها المعلن.

○ يُقبل نشر البحوث الخاصة بالترقيات العلمية – وللباحثين المتقدمين لمناقشة رسائل الماجستير والدكتوراة.

○ يُقبل نشر ملخصات الرسائل العلمية التي نوقشت، ويُقبل نشر عروض الكتب العلمية المتخصصة في العلاقات العامة والإعلام كذلك المقالات العلمية المتخصصة من أساتذة التخصص من أعضاء هيئة التدريس.

قواعد النشر:

- أن يكون البحث أصيلاً ولم يسبق نشره.
- تقبل البحوث باللغات: (العربية – الإنجليزية – الفرنسية) على أن يكتب ملخص باللغة الإنجليزية للبحث في حدود صفحة واحدة إذا كان مكتوب باللغة العربية.
- أن يكون البحث في إطار الموضوعات التي تهتم بها المجلة في العلاقات العامة والإعلام والاتصالات التسويقية المتكاملة.
- تخضع البحوث العلمية المقدمة للمجلة للتحكيم ما لم تكون البحوث قد تم تقييمها من قبل اللجان والمجالس العلمية بالجهات الأكاديمية المعترف بها أو كانت جزءاً من رسالة أكاديمية نوقشت وتم منح صاحبها الدرجة العلمية.
- يراعى اتباع الأسس العلمية الصحيحة في كتابة البحث العلمي ومراجعته ويراعى الكتابة ببنت (١٤) Simplified Arabic والعناوين الرئيسية والفرعية Bold.
- يتم رصد المراجع في نهاية البحث وفقاً للمنهجية العلمية بأسلوب متسلسل وفقاً للإشارة إلى المراجع في متن البحث وفقاً لطريقة APA الأمريكية.
- يقدم الباحث عدد (٢) نسخ مطبوعة من البحث ونسخة إلكترونية على CD مكتوبة بصيغة Word مصحوبة بسيرة ذاتية مختصره عنه.

- في حالة قبول البحث للنشر بالمجلة يتم إخطار الباحث بخطاب رسمي بقبول البحث للنشر. أما في حالة عدم قبول البحث للنشر فيتم إخطار الباحث بخطاب رسمي وإرسال جزء من رسوم نشر البحث له في أسرع وقت.
- إذا تطلب البحث إجراء تعديلاً بسيطاً فيلتزم الباحث بإعادة إرسال البحث معدلاً خلال أسبوع من استلام ملاحظات التعديل وإذا حدث تأخير منه فسيتم تأجيل نشر البحث للعدد التالي أما إذا كان التعديل جذرياً فيرسله الباحث بعد ١٥ يوم من إرسال الملاحظات له.
- قيمة نشر البحث ٨٥٠ جنيه مصري للمصريين من داخل مصر وللمصريين المقيمين بالخارج والأجانب ٤٥٠ \$.
- يتم رد مبلغ ٢٥٠ جنيه للباحثين من داخل مصر ورد مبلغ ١٣٠ \$ للباحثين المصريين المقيمين بالخارج والأجانب في حالة رفض هيئة التحكيم البحث وإقرارهم بعدم صلاحيته للنشر بالمجلة.
- لا يزيد عدد صفحات البحث عن (٣٥) صفحة A4- في حالة الزيادة تحتسب الصفحة بـ ٢٠ جنيه مصري للمصريين داخل مصر وللمقيمين بالخارج والأجانب ٥ \$.
- يتم تقديم خصم خاص من قيمة النشر العلمى لعضوية زمالة الجمعية المصرية للعلاقات العامة من المصريين والجنسيات الأخرى بنسبة ١٠% ولأى عدد من المرات خلال العام.
- يرسل للباحث عدد (٣) نسخة من المجلة بعد نشر بحثه، وعدد (٣) مستلة من البحث الخاص به.
- ملخص رسالة علمية (ماجستير) ٢٥٠ للمصريين ولغير المصريين ١٥٠ \$.
- ملخص رسالة علمية (الدكتوراه) ٣٥٠ جنيه للمصريين ولغير المصريين ١٨٠ \$.
- على أن لا يزيد ملخص الرسالة عن ٨ صفحات. ويتم تقديم خصم ١٠% لمن يشترك في عضوية الجمعية المصرية للعلاقات العامة . ويتم إرسال عدد (٣) نسخ من المجلة بعد النشر للباحث على عنوانه بالبريد الدولى.
- نشر عرض كتاب للمصريين ٧٠٠ جنيه ولغير المصريين ٣٠٠ \$
- يتم إرسال عدد (٣) نسخ من المجلة بعد النشر لصاحب الكتاب على عنوانه بالبريد الدولى السريع.
- ويتم تقديم خصم ١٠% لمن يشترك في عضوية زمالة الجمعية المصرية للعلاقات العامة .
- بالنسبة لنشر عروض تنظيم ورش العمل والندوات من داخل مصر ٦٠٠ جنيه ومن خارج مصر ٣٥٠ \$. بدون حد أقصى لعدد الصفحات.
- بالنسبة لنشر عروض المؤتمرات الدولية من داخل مصر ٨٥٠ جنيه ومن خارج مصر ٤٥٠ \$ بدون حد أقصى لعدد الصفحات.
- جميع الآراء والنتائج البحثية تعبر عن أصحاب البحوث المقدمة وليس للجمعية المصرية للعلاقات العامة أى دخل بها.
- ترسل المشاركات باسم رئيس مجلس إدارة المجلة على عنوان الجمعية المصرية للعلاقات العامة- جمهورية مصر العربية - الجيزة - الدقى - بين السرايات - ٢ شارع أحمد الزيات، والإميل المعتمد من الجمعية jpr@epa.org.eg ، أو إميل رئيس مجلس إدارة المجلة Chairman@epa.org.eg بعد تسديد قيمة النشر وإرسال صورة الإيصال التى تفيد ذلك.

الافتتاحية

في العام الرابع ومنذ بداية إصدارها في أكتوبر/ ديسمبر من العام ٢٠١٣ - تتواصل صدور أعداد المجلة بانتظام ليصدر منها ثلاثة عشر عددًا متتابعة تضم أبحاثًا وروى علمية متعددة لأساتذة ومتخصصين وباحثين من مختلف دول العالم.

وبما أن المجلة أول دورية علمية محكمة في بحوث العلاقات العامة بالوطن العربي والشرق الأوسط - تصدر عن الجمعية المصرية للعلاقات العامة (عضو شبكة الجمعيات العلمية بأكاديمية البحث العلمي والتكنولوجيا بالقاهرة) - وجد فيها الأساتذة الراغبون في تقديم إنتاجهم للمجتمع العلمي بكافة مستوياته ضالتهم للنشر على النطاق العربي وبعض الدول الأجنبية التي تصل إليها المجلة من خلال مندوبيها في هذه الدول وكذلك من خلال موقعها الإلكتروني. فقد تحصلت المجلة على أول معامل تأثير عربي (AIF) للدوريات العلمية العربية المحكمة في تخصص (الإعلام) على مستوى الجامعات والمؤسسات العلمية العربية بمعدل = ١.٣٣، والمعامل تابع لمؤسسة النشر الأمريكية العالمية (NSP) دار نشر العلوم الطبيعية Natural Publishing Sciences وبرعاية اتحاد الجامعات العربية.

وفي العدد الرابع عشر من المجلة نقدم للباحثين في الدراسات الإعلامية والمهتمين بهذا المجال بحوثًا وروى علمية للأساتذة والأساتذة المساعدين والمدرسين.

ففي البداية نجد بحثًا باللغة الإنجليزية للدكتور إبراهيم صالح - جامعة النيل - من (مصر)، بعنوان: "دراسة تحليلية عن تداعيات إدارة أزمات الاتصال في الشرق الأوسط: الملاحظة في مياة مجهولة". كما تضمن العدد بحوثًا مقدمة من أساتذة هم: أ.د/ عابدين الدريد الشريف - جامعة الزيتونة - من (ليبيا) والذي قدم دراسة ميدانية عن: " اتجاهات النخب الأكاديمية والإعلامية الليبية نحو شاهد العيان كإعلامي".

أما: أ.د/ ثريا أحمد البدوي - جامعة القاهرة - من (مصر) فقدت دراسة عن: " تطور مفهوم المستخدم في المجال العام الرقمي".

وتضمن العدد أيضًا بحوثًا مقدمة للنشر العلمي بهدف تكوين رصيد للباحثين من أعضاء هيئة التدريس للتقدم لدرجة أستاذ مشارك منهم: د/ انتصار داود العبيدي - كلية الفجيرة بالإمارات - من (العراق) ، دراسة عن: " استراتيجيات العلاقات العامة ودورها في إدارة الأزمات السياحية ".

بينما قدمت د/ لبيبة عبد النبي إبراهيم - جامعة حلوان - من (مصر) دراسة تطبيقية على "موقع الفيس بوك" عن: "اتجاهات الرأي العام المصري نحو موقف الاتحاد الأوروبي من أزمة اللاجئين السوريين: دراسة تطبيقية على موقع".

أما د/ سهاد عادل جاسم محمد - الجامعة المستنصرية- من (العراق) قدمت مشاركة بحثية عن: " استراتيجيات العلاقات العامة في الجامعات العراقية: دراسة تقييمية لقسمي العلاقات العامة بجامعتي (بغداد والتكنولوجية) أنموذجاً".

بينما قدم د/ محمد فؤاد زيد - جامعة المنوفية- من (مصر) بحثاً بعنوان: " تعرض الجمهور للمضامين السياسية الساخرة المقدمة بوسائل الإعلام وعلاقته بالسخط السياسي لديه ".
وأخيراً من جامعة الإمام محمد بن سعود الإسلامية في (السعودية) - قدم د/ خالد فيصل الفرم - بحثاً بعنوان: " استخدام وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي في التوعية الصحية لمرض كورونا: دراسة تطبيقية على المدن الطبية ومستشفياتها الحكومية بمدينة الرياض السعودية".
وهكذا فإن المجلة ترحب بالنشر فيها لمختلف الأجيال العلمية من جميع الدول. ومن المعلوم بالضرورة أن جيل الأساتذة وبحوثهم لا تخضع للتحكيم طبقاً لقواعد النشر العلمي المتبعة في المجالات العلمية.

أما البحوث المنشورة لأعضاء هيئة التدريس الراغبين في التقدم للتزقي للدرجة الأعلى والطلاب المسجلين لدرجة الدكتوراة فتخضع جميعها للتحكيم من قبل الأساتذة المتخصصين.
وجميع هذه البحوث والأوراق العلمية تعبر عن أصحابها دون تدخل من هيئة تحرير المجلة التي تحدد المحكمين وتقدم ملاحظاتهم إلى أصحاب البحوث الخاضعة للتحكيم لمراجعة التعديلات العلمية قبل النشر.

وأخيراً وليس آخراً ندعو الله أن يوفقنا لإثراء النشر العلمي في تخصص العلاقات العامة بشكل خاص والدراسات الإعلامية بشكل عام.

والله الموفق،،

رئيس تحرير المجلة

أ.د/ علي عوجة

**دراسة تحليلية عن تداعيات إدارة أزمات الاتصال في الشرق الأوسط:
الملاحظة في مياة مجهولة**

إعداد

أ.م.د/ إبراهيم مصطفى صالح (*)

(*) أستاذ الإعلام المشارك - جامعة النيل في مصر.

دراسة تحليلية عن تداعيات إدارة أزمات الاتصال في الشرق الأوسط: الملاحة في مياة مجهولة

أ.م.د/ إبراهيم مصطفى صالح
jre09is@gmail.com
جامعة النيل

ملخص:

تجدر الإشارة إلى أن الثورة الرقمية كان تتويجاً للعلاقة الوسيطة بين متطلبات الحداثة ورغبة الإنسان المعاصر في استخدام الاتصال في إدارة التحديات المعاصرة، خاصة فيما يتعلق بالنمو السريع للحركات الاجتماعية، وتأثير مفهوم الاتصال من أجل التنمية. غير أن السيولة السياسية، والفوضى الاجتماعية والتفاوت الاقتصادي في منطقة الشرق الأوسط منذ عام ٢٠١٠ ليست مجرد حالة عرضية لسوء الأوضاع. بل حالة تأجج للتفاوت الاجتماعي والاقتصادي والتقني الذي يمنع عملية التحول السياسي. بالإضافة إلى أنه يعتقد من الفرص المتاحة في إمكانية استخدام وتنفيذ إدارة الأزمات داخل السياق السياسي في المنطقة. هذه الحيرة تتطلب مفهوماً متطوراً في طريقة التفكير حول الاتصالات من أجل التنمية، وذلك في ضوء الخصوصيات المحلية والإقليمية للمنطقة.

من هذا المنطلق، يهدف البحث إلى التحليل النقدي لتأثير إدارة الاتصال على عملية التحول الديمقراطي في الشرق الأوسط، وتشير الدراسة إلى عدم مراعاة المحاذير الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والتكنولوجية التي تقف أمام بلوغ مستويات الوصول إلى تحقيق تنمية مستدامة حقيقية. كما تأمل الدراسة التعرف على الدوافع المختلفة التي تؤثر على استخدام الديمقراطية الرقمية، والآثار ذات الصلة على تمكين فكرة المواطنة والدفع بمؤشرات الرأي العام وإعطاء صوت للجماهير، كما تشير الدراسة إلى القصور الحالي لمنظومة إدارة الأزمات على المستوى الإقليمي في سياقها، وافتقاد الرؤية في الشرق الأوسط. لذا نجد أنه من الملح في تلك الظروف الصعبة العمل على فهم المتغيرات الإقليمية على كافة الأصعدة والعمل على التدخل الفاعل من خلال إعادة النظر في مستويات حرية التعبير والمساواة الاجتماعية، وسبل الاستخدام الأمثل للتكنولوجيا في إدارة منظومة الأزمات.

- Musallam, H. (2004).** *Communication strategies of crisis and conflict management in the public and private sectors in the state of Kuwait.* PhD Dissertations, Paper 2342. Available At: http://aquila.usm.edu/theses_dissertations/2342
- Nam, T. (2012).** Freedom of information legislation and its impact on press freedom: A cross-national study. *Government Information Quarterly*, 2(1), 521–531.
- Name, M., Abrougui, A., El Sharaa, E., Hamzooz, H., Shakeri, H., Taher, M., Tarakiyee, M. (2014).** Getting a Grasp on Laws Governing Online Speech in MENA Countries. *SMEX News*, (May 13, 2014). Available at: <http://www.smex.org/getting-a-grasp/>
- O'Donnell, C. (2011).** New study quantifies use of social media in Arab Spring. *The Project on Information Technology and Political Islam, the National Science Foundation and the George W. Bush Institute*. Available At: from <http://pitpi.org/?p=1051>
- Nawawy, M. & Iskandar, A. (2002).** *Al-Jazeera, How the Free Arab News Network Scooped the World and Changed the Middle East.* Westview Press.
- Saleh, I. (2012).** *Islamic Televangelism: The Salafi window to their Paradise.* In, Lee, P & Thomas, P. *Global & Local Television*, Palgrave Publications, pp.64-86.
- Saleh, I. (2009).** Living in a lie & dying in silence: The trauma of civil society in the Middle East & North Africa, *The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law*, 11(4): 30-38.
- Semati, M. (2011).** Communication, Culture, Media, and the Middle East. *Communication Studies*, 62(1), 1–4.
- State of civil society 2011, (2012).** A Disenabling environment for civil society: Pushback, persecution and protection strategies, *Civil Society Report*. Available At: <http://civicus.org/cdn/2011SOCSreport/Space-Civil-Society.pdf>
- Sunstein, C., 2009,** *Republic.com 2.0.*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- The Arab Social Media Report, (2014).** *The Arab World Online 2014:Trends in Internet and Mobile Usage in the Arab Region, Governance and Innovation Program*, Mohammed bin Rashid School of Government, Available At: www.ArabSocialMediaReport.com
- Thiessen, A. & Ingenhoff, D. (2010).** Safeguarding reputation through strategic, integrated and situational crisis communication management, *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, 16(1), 8-26.
- The Solidarity Center, (2010).** Justice For All: The Struggle for Worker Rights In Egypt, *The Solidarity Centre, Nat. Endowment for Democracy*, Available: <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/research/Egypt/The%20Struggle%20for%20Workers%20rights.pdf>, December 4, 2014 (last date accessed).
- Trénel, M., 2009,** Facilitation and Inclusive Deliberation. In, Davies, T., Gangadharan, S. P. (Eds.), *Online Deliberation: Design, Research, and Practice*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp.253-257.
- Thottathil, M. (2014).** Social Media in the MENA region. *The Arabian Gazette*, (February 3, 2014). Available At: <http://www.arabiangazette.com/social-media-mena-region-infographic-20140203/>
- Youm, K.H. (2008).** Rights of Reply and Freedom of the Press: An International and Comparative Perspective. *George Washington Law Review*, (1), 1017-1064.
- Van Dijk, T. (1997).** *Racismo y analisis critico de los medios.* Barcelona: Paidos.
- Van Niekerk, B., Pillay, K. & Maharaj, M. (2011).** Analyzing the Role of ICTs in the Tunisian and Egyptian Unrest from an Information Warfare Perspective. *International Journal of Communication*, 5 (1), 1406–1416.
- Waymer, D. & Heath, R. L. (2007, January 11).** Emergent agents: The forgotten publics in Crisis Communication and Issues Management Research, *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 35(1), pp. 88-108, [Online], Available: www.tagesschau.de/ausland/suedafrika282.html, December 5, 2015 (last date accessed).
- Whittaker, Z. (2011).** Wikileaks: How the diplomatic cables sparked the 2011 Arab Revolutions. *ZDNet*. Available at: <http://www.zdnet.com/blog/igeneration/wikileaks-how-the-diplomatic-cables-sparked-the-2011-arab-revolutions/10771>

Harmon, A. (2004). *Politics of the Web: Meet, Greet, Segregate, Meet Again*. New York Times, (25 January, 2004). Available At: <http://www.nytimes.com>

Herrea, L. (2015). Citizenship under Surveillance: Dealing with the Digital Age. *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 47 (1), 354-357.

Hofheinz, A. (2007). Arab Internet Use: Popular Trends and Public Impact, In Naomi Sakr (ed.), *Arab Media and Political Renewal: Community, Legitimacy and Public Life*. I.B. Tauris.

Harro-Loit, H., Vihalemm, T. & Ugur, K. (2012). Cultural Experience as a (Critical) Factor in Crisis Communication Planning, *J. Contingencies and Crisis Manage.*, 20(1), pp. 26-38.

Hussain, M. & Jawaid, S. (2015). Three Arenas for Interrogating Digital Politics in Middle East Affairs. *Int. J. Middle East Stud.* 47 (1), 366-379.

International Wildland Fire Summit (2003). Part IV, Strategic Paper: Incident Command System (ICS), *Outcomes of the International Wildland Fire Summit*, Sydney, Australia. Available At: <http://www.fire.uni-freiburg.de/summit-2003/3-IWFC.htm>

Isaacs, S. (2012). *Turning on mobile Learning: illustrative Initiatives and policy implications in Africa and the Middle East*, UNESCO Working Paper Series on Mobile Learning. Available At: http://www.tostan.org/sites/default/files/resources/unesco_turning_on_mobile_learning_in_africa_and_the_middle_east.pdf

Jäger, S. & Link, J. (1993). Die Vierte Gewalt - Rassismus und die Medien. Duisburg: DISS. Journalists in the Arab World: the courage of speaking the truth to power, (2014). *Middle East and Northern Africa Region-OHCHR*, (August 14, 2014). Available At: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/JournalistsInTheArabWorld.aspx#sthash.ZBP3gO4Y.dpuf>

Kamp, Z. (2014). News-Media and Terrorism: Changing Relationship, Changing Definitions, *Sociology Compass*, 8(1), 1-9. Available At: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/soc4.12099/pdf>

Kerjan, M. (2011). *Public Policy: Risk Management in MENA and Tunisia's 'Wake-up Call'*. (Jan. 25, 11). Wharton, University of Pennsylvania. Available At: <http://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article/risk-management-in-mena-and-tunisia-wake-up-call/>

Kavanaugh, A. et al, (2011). Microblogging in crisis situations: Mass protests in Iran, Tunisia, Egypt. *Paper presented In Workshop on Transnat. Human-Comput. Interaction*, CHI, Vancouver, Canada, (May 7-12, 2011).

Khondker, H. H. (2011). Role of the New Media in the Arab Spring. *Globalizations*, 8(5): 675-679.

Kuttab, D. (2013). Arab World's New Media Windfall, Communication and Society Program. *The Aspen Institute*. Available At: <http://www.aspeninstitute.org/policywork/communications-society/programs-topic/journalism/arab-us-media-forum/arab-worldsnew-med>

Lotan, G., Graeff, E., Ananny, M., Gaffney, D., Pearce, I. Boyd, D. (2011). The Arab Spring| The Revolutions Were Tweeted: Information Flows during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions. *International Journal of Communication*, 5 (1), 1375-1405.

Lynch, M., (2014). *Media, Old and New*, Lynch, M. (Eds.). *The Arab Uprisings Explained: New Contentious Politics in the Middle East*. New York, Columbia University Press, pp. 93-109.

Melki, J. (2010). Media Habits of MENA Youth: A Three-Country Survey. *Youth in the Arab World, Research and Policy Forum on Youth in the Arab World*. Available At: http://www.aub.edu.lb/ifi/public_policy/arab_youth/Documents/working_paper_series/ifi_wps04_a_y_Melki.pdf

Mhenni, L. B. (2008). Tunisia: Facebook Case Thrown Out of Court, *Global Voices Online*, (November 29, 2008). Available At: <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2008/11/29/as-usual-the-tunisian-legal-system-has-been-faithful-to-the-values-of-fair-trial/>

Mokhtari, S. (2012). *The New Politics of Human Rights in the Middle East*. *ForeignPolicy.com*, (Oct. 30, 2012). Available at: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/10/30/the-new-politics-of-human-rights-in-the-middle-east/>

Coombs, T. W. & Holladay, S. J. (2009). Further explorations of post-crisis communication: effects of media and response strategies on perceptions and intentions. *Public Relations Review*, 35(1), 1-6.

Coombs, W. T., & Holladay, S. J. (2001). An extended examination of the crisis situation: A fusion of the relational management and symbolic approaches. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 13(1), 321-340.

Costy, A. & Gilbert, S. (1998). *Conflict Prevention and the European Union: Mapping the Actors, Instruments, and Institutions*. London: International Alert.

Darch, C. & Underwood, P.G. (2010). *Freedom of information in the developing world: The citizen, the state and models of openness*. Chandos: Oxford

Dennis E.E., Martin, J. D. & Wood R. (2013). Media Use in the Middle East: An Eight-Nation Survey. *Northwestern University in Qatar In association with Harris Interactive*. Available At: <http://menamediasurvey.northwestern.edu/>

Dowthwaite, K. A. (2011). *Theoretical and Empirical Study of Social Media as a Crisis Communication Channel in the Aftermath of the BP Gulf of Mexico Oil Spill ill*. Copenhagen Business School, Netherlands. Available At: http://studenttheses.cbs.dk/bitstream/handle/10417/2939/kylie_ann_dowthwaite.pdf?sequence=1

Duffy, M. (2014). Arab Media Regulations: Identifying restraints on the Freedom of the Press Laws in Six Arabian Peninsula Countries. *The Berkeley Journal of Middle Eastern & Islamic Law*, 6(2),1-31.

Ehteshami, A. (2015). GCC Foreign Policy: From the Iran-Iraq War to the Arab Awakening. *The New Politics of Interventions of Gulf Arab States*, Middle East Centre, Collected Papers, 1(1),13-23. Available At: <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/61772/1/The%20new%20politics%20of%20intervention%20of%20Gulf%20Arab%20states.pdf>

Eickelman, D. & Anderson, J. (2003). 'Redefining Muslim publics,' in: Dale Eickelman & John Anderson (Eds.) *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Eltantawy, N. & Wiest, J. B. (2011). The Arab Spring| Social Media in the Egyptian Revolution: Reconsidering Resource Mobilization Theory. *International Journal of Communication*, 5 (1),1207–1224.

Enander, A., Lajksjo, O.&Tedfeldt, E. L. (2010). A Tear in the Social Fabric: Communities Dealing with Socially Generated Crises, *J. Contingencies and Crisis Manage.*, 18(1), pp. 39-48.

Evans, M. (2011). *Egyptian Crisis: The Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted*, Sysomos, (Jan. 31, 2011). Available At: <http://blog.sysomos.com/2011/01/31/egyptian-crisis-twitte/>

Evans, M. (2010). Framing international conflicts: Media coverage of fighting in the Middle East. *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics*, 6(2),209-233.

Fediuk, T.A., Coombs, W.T. & Botero, I.C. (2010). Exploring crisis from a receiver perspective: understanding stakeholder reactions during crisis events. In Coombs, W.T. and Holladay, S.J., *Handbook of Crisis Communication*. Wiley-Blackwell, Malden, MA, pp. 635-56.

Freedom of speech: Unholy silence, (2015). *The Economist*, (January 27, 2015). Available At: <http://www.economist.com/news/international/21640747-middle-east-free-expression-rarity-blasphemy-laws-are-favoured-tools>

Freedom House, (2014). *Freedom on the Net 2014 Report*. Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/resources/FOTN%202014%20Summary%20of%20Findings.pdf>

Gasiorowski, M., (eds). *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*. 7th ed. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2013.

Hafez, K. (2001). *Mass Media, Politics and Society in the Middle East*. New York, Hampton Press

neither directly linked to political change, nor assuring any liberating effects. The final assessment that I attempt to forward is the shifting interplay of online communication and offline actors as they develop over time in MENA regardless its preposterous situation and the little hope of any real change or progress.

List of References:

- al Dgama, A. S. (1996). The Historical Roots of Arabia and the Middle East. *The Research Institute and the Arab Studies, The Arab League*, pp. 32-33.
- Amara, D., El Samadicy, A. & Ragheb, M. (2012). Tourists' risk aversion and willingness to take risks: the case of tourists visiting Egypt after 25th January revolution, *A paper presented to the World Confer. for Graduate Research in Tourism, Hospitality and Leisure*, 22. Fethiye: Routledge. 2012.
- Arabic Network for Human Rights Information, (2007). *Weekly Update for the Arabic Network for Human Rights Information*, (192), (December 28, 2007). Available At: <http://www.anhri.net/en/newsletter/2008/newsletter1003.shtml>.
- Armbrust, W. (2012). A History of New Media in the Arab Middle East. *Journal For Cultural Research*, 16 (2-3), 155-173.
- Asseburg, M. (2012). Protest, Revolt & Regime Change in the Arab world: Actors, Challenges, Implications & Policy Options. In Asseburg, M.'s *Siftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) Research Paper. Frankfurt: German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, pp. 5-10.
- Ayish, A. M. (1998). Communication Research in the Arab World: A new Perspective, *The Public*, 5 (1) , pp. 33-57, 1998.
- Awad, M. & Zayed, D. (2011, January 25). Egyptians rage against Mubarak's 30-year rule, *Reuters*, [Online]. Available At: <http://www.reuters.com/article/ozatp-egypt-protest-idAFJOE7000M20110125>, February 17, 2016 (last date accessed).
- Badr, H. (2015). Limitations of the Social Media Euphoria in Communication Studies, *Égypte/Monde arabe*, Troisième série, 12 | 2015, mis en ligne le (25 mars 2015). Available At: : <http://ema.revues.org/3451>
- Bahgat, M. & Henry, M. (2014). The Egyptian Cultural Identity Crisis, *M.A. thesis, Dept. Pol. Sci.*, American Univ., Cairo, Egypt.
- Bahrain Center for Human Rights, (2008). Website accused of violating press code, *BCHR concerned that move is aimed at silencing critical voices*, (September 2008). Available At: <http://www.bahrainrights.org/en/node/2446>.
- Barber, B. (2003). 'Which technology and which democracy?' In: Henry Jenkins & David Thorburn (Eds.) *Democracy and New Media*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bourouba, S. (2014). Jurisprudence: In the Application of Human Rights Standards In Arab Courts, *Raoul Wallenberg Institute of Human Rights & Humanitarian Law*. Available At: <http://rwi.lu.se/app/uploads/2014/02/Jurisprudence-in-the-Application-of-Human-Rights-Standards-in-Arab-Courts.pdf>
- Barrons, G. (2012). 'Suleiman: Mubarak decided to step down #egypt#jan25 OH MY GOD': examining the use of social media in the 2011 Egyptian revolution. *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, 5(1), 54-67.
- Calfano, B. R. & Sahileh, E. (2008). Transmitting Reform? Assessing New Media Influence on Political Rights in the Middle East. *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, 17 (1), 63-77.
- Coombs, W.T., (2012). Parameters for crisis communication', in W.T. Coombs & S.J. Holladay (eds.), *The handbook of crisis communication*, pp. 17-53, Blackwell Publishing, Chichester, West Sussex, U.K.

theoretical approaches (Badr, 2015). And the historical trajectories in the region is multilayered and circumstantial that adds to the burden of unpacking its facts and details. But the youth grassroots movements have evidently gained popularity among new social classes and ages across the board. And radical religious groups and oppressive patron states still play key roles in all scenes, and continuously control the cyber-activism through different direct and indirect maneuvers.

‘Complex realism’ (Ehteshami, 2015) of the media effects in MENA is still prevailing because until today simplification, stereotyping and the lack of contextualization are spotted in every media and political event without no hind of improvement. For example, Samia Bourouba at the Higher School of Magistracy in Algeria mentions that the judicial institutions such as the quasi-international courts in Iraq and Lebanon, the variants of Truth and Reconciliation committees in Algeria and Morocco, only to divert the apparent ‘democracy deficit (Bourouba, 2014).’ The hypothesis that more access to ICT and youth engagement with media reflects more freedom and more empowerment is denied because patron states in the region are mainly repressive, indicating an escalating trend of intolerance and nervousness by authorities of mass citizen action and dissent (State of civil society, 2012).

In the meantime, the hopeful potentials of ICT in MENA are jeopardized by historical narratives in official variants of Arab nationalism continue to be formed by the time-honored postcolonial tropes of Arab, Islamic and pre-Islamic history, linguistic and cultural heritage and the struggle against outsiders “otherness”. For the official discourse revolves around the negative implications of ICT to further incite criminal civil disorder that have been accommodated with further repressive policies of restricting Internet access, while internet censorship is on the rise. The scope and depth of filtering are increasing through governments’ investment in censorship technologies, while western companies provide the censors with technologies and data used to filter the internet.

The main conclusion of this research is that the communication effects on the regional crisis are proximate rather than definitive in causing political transformation. Further, governments leveraged the technology to repress rights and crouch the publics. It is thus a long, painful way ahead before any direct affects can be tangible to replace the current bleak reality of submerge in violent oppression and conflicting narratives of past and present.

There is an urgent need to bypass the typical deterministic approaches of crisis management in MENA into more in-depth contextual and holistic research approach that integrates domestication of events and stats with cultural values and semantics could end with a more coherent data analysis. In contrast to the presumed.

ICT could stipulate digital politics in MENA, but the current outcome is

societies on the economic, social and policy levels. Nonetheless, the access to ICT alone can never independently instigate the dynamics of public spheres, nor capable of overcoming the political and socio-economic inequalities. Thus, new politics in MENA had a robust effects on the society without enhancing their political participation and representation (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011; Lotan et al., 2011).

In this historical moment, it is very important to be cautious and even skeptical about the potential effects of social media that still remains available only for the elite on one hand, and a space for battlefields between patron states and the majority of the publics on the other hand. This is particularly valid argument within the current political culture in MENA that is still dominated by the 'like-minded' individuals with their 'deliberative enclaves,' in which communication only serves their predetermined positions and practices (Harmon, 2004). The Egyptian case sadly illustrates the radical polarized virtual space that excludes any otherness in any political debate (Sunstein, 2009).

Conclusive Remarks:

In this research, there has been an attempt to offer indigenous knowledge and domestication about the crisis in MENA. Most of the time, the discussion of the endless challenges in MENA is either seen as of a crisis, or a cultural crisis. But the crisis refers to the political, social and economic, while the cultural dimension delves into the history of stagnation and the loss of identity.

My argument here is that the crisis is a result from many internal and external factors. However, they are deeply entrenched, structural and functionally complex, and subject to overlapping, mergence that makes the regional crisis one of a crisis of culture and a culture of crisis. In other words, a multifaceted crisis that tends to have causes and effects that keep it evolving and becoming more harsh and intense.

My understanding about this situational analysis endorses the need to revisit the local conceptual idea and its particularity resulted from the kind of societies, systems and power involved. I still see some hope in redressing the opportunities born from the intersection of conflict, history and tradition. My explanation coincides the KAD model (Dowthwaite, 2011) to give a more holistic critical analysis of the agency and change in the crisis. Hence, it configured the reciprocating role of the media and the socio-political transformation brought about by internal social forces, by collectives and individuals.

To assess the impacts of the social media effects are very complex and unpredictable, especially that the body of literature is fragmented with inconclusive empirical results due to a number of factors like the multitude of disciplines and

(IFI) and sponsored by the *American University of Beirut (AUB)* and the *United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)*, which surveyed a sample of (2,744) (13 to 28), who live in three countries: Jordan, Lebanon and the United Arab Emirates (Melki, 2010).

Chart 3: Motivations for using internet

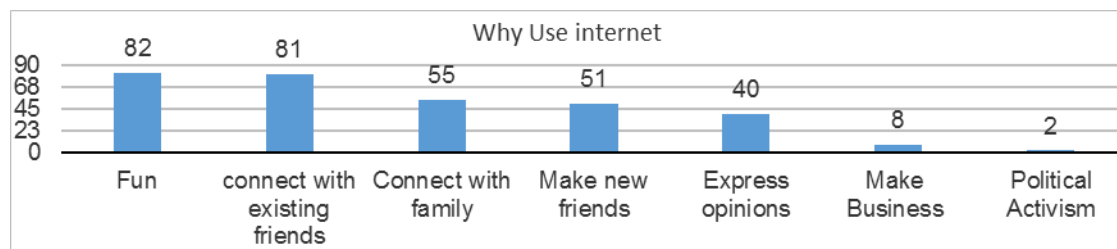


Chart (3) echoed that entertainment is the main motivation for the access and use internet (82 percent), while political activism has an insignificant percentage in such use. Such finding negates any claims that online activism in MENA could have caused the 2011 political uprisings.

Social media was thus heavily used for the dissemination of information amongst various populations of countries across the MENA region during the political upheavals (2011-2013), however different roles were attributed to various social media forums. For example, Facebook was used for scheduling, Twitter for coordination, and YouTube to gain a wider audience, which highlighted ability of the publics, especially the young ones, to go around communication blockade as a result of the Egyptian government's desperate attempt of internet and phone suspension. Having said so, the younger generations (18-25) in MENA were at the center stage in MENA (Asseburg, 2012), in particular the minority elite, who are educated and are digitally literate (Khondker, 2011), which exemplified the level of power based on the basis of network-centric warfare (Van Niekerk, Pillay & Maharaj, 2011). As one activist explained: "We use Facebook to schedule the protests, Twitter to coordinate, and to tell the world" (Whittaker, 2011).

Today, the total Arab internet users today make up less than (0.5 percent) of the global Internet population at best, though the fast annual growing rate exceeds (20 percent). And according to *The Arab Social Media Report Series*, Mohammed bin Rushed School of Government, internet penetration rate in the Arab region as a whole stands at (36 percent) with more than (71 million) of active users and around (400 million) mobile devices (Arab World Online 2014).

Despite the strategic use of social media throughout the various uprisings, and the solid reality of how the proliferation of ubiquitous digital connectivity created new opportunities and challenges for governments, businesses and

percentage, only (88.1 percent) were from Egypt, (9.5 percent) from Tunisia and (2.13 percent) from Yemen (Evans, 2011).

In 2013, two years after the official launch of “Arab Spring,” the *Northwest University in Qatar* conducted a regional research on mass media consumption, a sample of [10,027] of (18-25 years old) in eight countries (Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, KSA, Lebanon, Qatar, Tunisia and UAE) between (December 26, 2012-April 18, 2013).

Chart 1: Media Consumption in MENA

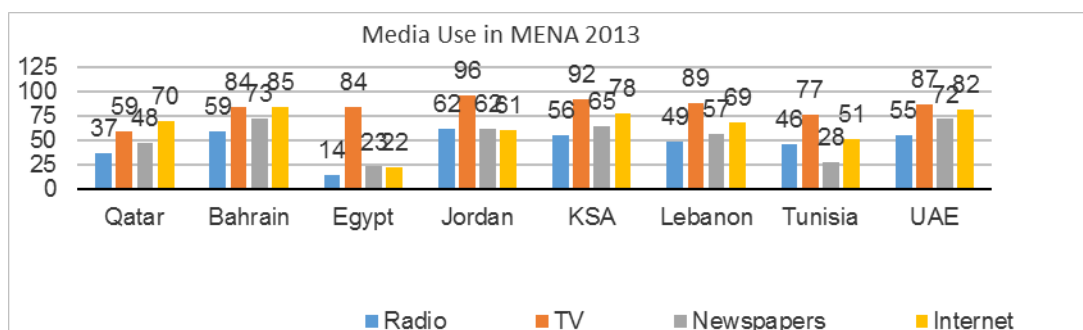


Chart (1) indicates that the regional media consumption is quite diverse, though there are some commonalities that were picked up. For example, TV remains the main media platform with penetration exceeding (84 percent), except in Qatar (59 percent). Internet use is generally on the rise exceeding (51 percent), except in Egypt (22 percent) and with insignificant presence in UAE. Newspapers still play a powerful tool with the exception of Egypt (23 percent) and in Tunisia (28 percent). Radio is still prevalent tool in MENA, except in Egypt (14 percent).

Chart 2: Arabs access to internet

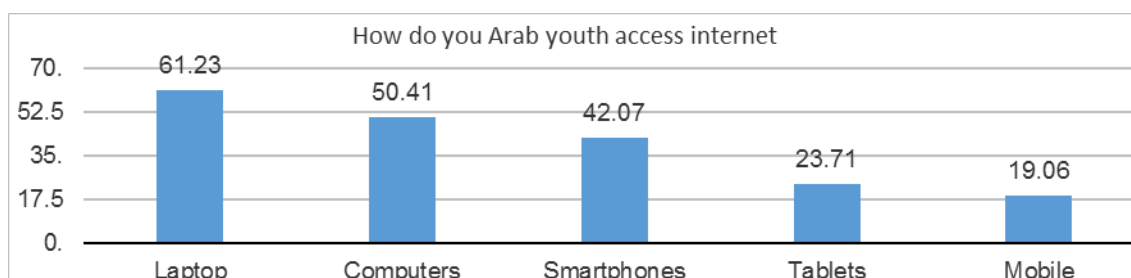


Chart (2) emphasized that access through the use of laptops are the most prevailing trend (61.23 percent) among the sample, accessing internet through mobile phones are the lowest in percentage (19.06 percent).

But chart (3) below reflects the findings of another research project that was conducted by *Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs*

regional population had internet access prior to 2011, and Facebook penetration is even lower (7 percent). In Egypt, the internet penetration at homes is less than (9 percent), and in Yemen it is only (3 percent) according to 2009 survey conducted by The *Gallup Organization*. In Tunisia the figure climbs to (21 percent) and in Bahrain to (80 percent).

It is important to note the exponential growth of social media and the utmost utility of its capability by the younger generations is a case in point here. By 2011, there were then more than (16.8 million) Facebook accounts in the region representing about (13 percent) of the population, and more than (40,000) Twitter users, of which Egyptians accounted for about half (Kerjan, 2011).

In conjunction with the escalation of political agitations and aggregate view about the struggle for freedom, the rates have been remarkably increased. Facebook is the leader with a massive (94 percent) of users on it, and (56 million) being active users. Twitter, the second most popular social networking site has over (3.7 million) active users in the region, tweeting around (10 million) Tweets per day. The region also boasts around (300 million) views on YouTube daily, the second highest of any region worldwide (Thottathil, 2014).

The ramifications of online political activism is evident in all across MENA, though their timeline, and vocality and intensity have been rather different within the continuum of the different Arab states.

Tunisia was the first country to witness the fall of its president (Bin-Aly), but Egypt had more intense and vibrant activism, especially with the facebook page 'We Are All Khaled Said' that served as a sign of how online activism is captured and moved to offline protests, when public anger and discontent spilled onto the streets of Egypt. What initially began as a series of 'silent stands' later erupted into the protests in *Tahrir Square*. Asmaa Mafouz another Egyptian activist, created a vlog (video blog), asking people to join her in protest against government corruption on Jan. 25 2011 that served to mobilize the public to take action by protesting instead of suppressing their frustrations to only 'cyber-protest' (Barrons, 2012).

In a research that analyzed the content of more than (3 million) tweets, several gigabytes of YouTube and thousands of blog posts, findings indicated that during the week before the former Egyptian president was outset tweets ballooned from (2,300/day) to (230,000/day). Videos featuring protest and political commentary went viral with the top (23) videos receiving nearly (5.5) million views and the amount of content produced online in Facebook and political blogs, increased dramatically (O'Donnell, 2011). And in another study that analyzed (52 million) Twitter users, findings indicated that their IP addresses of (14,642) users, or (0.027 percent) are identified in Egypt, Yemen or Tunisia. Within this

series of integrated codes, including civil law, civil law procedures, penal law, penal procedures, juvenile law, prison standards, combating information technology crime, and matters related to personal status, and judicial organization and regulation (Saleh, 2012). In addition, the *Arab Summit* in Algeria established a legislative body in 2005 the *Pan-Arab Parliament* to ensure that the consecrated (Islamic Shari'a) represents a solid foundation for Arab jurisprudence. But other legal systems employed in the region, such as the Latin system in Egypt and other North African states and the Anglo-American system in Sudan (Saleh, 2009).

The whole communication landscape with all its channels, structures and agencies have undergone profound changes since the beginning of the 1990s, which extended communication spaces beyond the local, national, and regional realms (Hafez, 2001). This trans-border flow of communications provided many citizens with better access to new technologies and the capacity to interact with a global discourse, while bypassing the limits of authoritarian information control (Lynch, 2014).

Since the Gulf war in 1990-1991, the publics in MENA tuned into *CNN* to receive fresh news from the Gulf, both indigenous and external factors have determined media development in the area (Nawawy & Iskandar, 2002). However, the most recent surveys and media studies have indicated a swift of this special status quo as a result of many professional and political reasons.

It is also noticeable that the increasing impact of political economy on media has had its imprint due to the influx of external media and the establishment of indigenous agencies. The MENA states have reluctantly deregulated their media monopolies, and focused on offering more entraining services such as pay-per-view or pay on demand without supporting a new diverse media that echoes what the public hopes to find in its media (The Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2003).

The rate of internet penetration in MENA has grown since its initial introduction, though the majority of the Arab Internet users are less than (40 years) old, using at least two or more social media networks for several hours a day. Between 2005 and 2011, Internet access in MENA expanded from (13 percent) to (40 percent) of the population in the oil rich nations that positions the *Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)* countries at the forefront for Internet usage of social media & smartphone penetration (The Arab Social Media Report, 2014). Blogging became a popular form of political activism and mobilization as it grew in popularity from 2005 onwards as new social media platforms emerged.

The introduction of Twitter and Facebook in 2007 was quickly adopted by which Egyptians for political activism. Though Facebook pages and Twitter hashtags were an integral part of any political protest in 2011, we need to be cautious about the variations in these rates. For example, only (33 percent) of the

‘Maslow hierarchy of needs,’ the priority is brining food to the table not looking for establishing and maintaining political and media liberalization remains inconsistent. Such discrepancy of popular needs versus societal needs , hinders the unlimited potential to translate its goals into an effective catalyst for reform (Calfano & Sahileh, 2008).

There is a dichotomy between public agenda versus, political agenda and media agenda that makes the whole scene like “a cat on hit tin roof.” The news media framing of current affairs determines the way in which the public and policy-makers perceive the causes, consequences and importance of events. But the silence of the matter is also determined by the amount of media coverage and the nature of the language describing the unfolding of events and the positioning of different that will insinuate the level of engagement or disengagement (Evans, 2010). Therefore, authorities control the media discourse, and the daily talk shows sets the agenda, about different matters such as Syrian migration or Arab-Israeli conflict, which makes the mobilizing of public anger occasionally spill out into the streets. The media narrative usually focuses on the West and the rest relations that gear up the sentiments of the street politics into either a friendly or anti-American sentiment.

The Arab new media genre has its particularity, and reflects the daily local issues and human pain, which makes it more complicated than just “news versus entertainment.” In MENA, the news values are responsive to what presidents say or do, followed by religion, then narrative dramatic serials, then music videos, then everything else. Such a hierarchy is only a product of technological determinism that prioritizes the social effect of the technology rather than the technology itself that counter argues the global idea that media effects of technology to bypass political boundaries and could instigate political transformation (Armbrust, 2012).

Communication is responsive to the negotiation games with authorities about the margin of freedom and the red lines. Hence, private media does not mean independent. For example in the last two years the Egyptian president has repeatedly called on journalists not to engage in reporting “supports terrorism” or “discredits state institutions” and many media houses have heeded this call.

As part of the cultural collateral idea and group think, most of the Arab nations after their gained their independence in the second half of the 20th Century, through the *League of Arab States* formed a committee to unify legal and judicial terms, structures, and processes to achieve a more integrated and harmonized legal system. In order to put the recommendations of this regional project, the *League of Arab States* established the *Arab Centre for Legal and Judicial Studies* in Beirut, Lebanon. Later in 1981, at the *Second Conference of Arab Ministers of Justice in Sana’a*, the capital of Yemen, the «Sana’a Strategy» that aimed to unify the regional domestic legislation. Such mechanism followed

spheres, by restrictive practices and identifying new media activists and punishing them to set example to other pretenders (Kuttab, 2013).

In the context of conservative societies, some still argue until today that media effects of ICT disrupted conservative societies and caused political asymmetric power constellations. This has labeled many online activists as betrayals to their local identity and cultures to reproduce a sort of 'neo-orientalist' tendency in the interpretations of any political activity (Lynch, 2014). In addition, internet and the rest of the technological prophesies are resisted with the pretext that they give access to illicit topics of freedom, human rights and transparency jeopardized the traditional central power of states and shift the emphasis to the individuals.

Considering Egypt's geopolitical position, historical heritage, human resources and cultural capital has been first embraced with big success, yet explains the severity and brutalities of the autocratic government to block its further development and hamper its potentials. In 2004, there was a spark of cyber-activism in Egypt, which emphasized the hopes to establish cyber-civil society and virtual replacement of governments' hegemony (Khondker, 2011). But since 2005, there was an escalation of anti freedom strategies by the government to silence, suspend and demolish any serious steps towards more dynamic publics spheres, by arresting of online activists in many countries; including Egypt, Libya and Iraq. However, these arrests were only made possible through the use of US SmartFilter, which enabled governments to monitor internet usage (Hofheinz, 2007).

In this complex reality of radical religion, deterioration in human rights and desperate publics, it is quite rational to find the regional crisis is only becoming more intense and with devastating impact on the average laymen. Such bleak reality is characterized by almost any totaling the world's worst region for freedom of expression. *Reporters Without Borders*, puts war-torn Syria (177th) out of (180) countries on its latest annual ranking, in 2014. Iran is (173rd), Sudan (172nd), Yemen (167th), Saudi Arabia (164th) that makes it the highest any of the region's countries make it is 91st, with Kuwait, which has a democracy of sorts (The Economist, 2015).

Crisis Management & Communication Landscape in MENA

To start with, it is impossible to look into this matter without referring to its mass media, especially that it is an orality society (Armbrust, 2012). Media is the most important source of information about politics and society, as well as the primary resource for public knowledge (Mazzoleni, 2008). Although the region is endowed with considerable natural resources and educated elite, according to

Table 1: The State of Internet Freedom in MENA

| MENA | 2013 | 2014 | |
|---------|------|------|---|
| Bahrain | 72 | 74 | |
| Egypt | 60 | 60 | ▶ |
| Jordan | 46 | 48 | ▼ |
| Iran | 91 | 89 | ▲ |
| Lebanon | 45 | 48 | ▼ |
| Morocco | 42 | 44 | ▼ |
| KSA | 70 | 73 | ▼ |
| Syria | 85 | 88 | ▼ |
| Tunisia | 41 | 39 | ▲ |
| UAE | 66 | 67 | ▼ |

Table (1) emphasizes the decline of the online freedom in MENA. According to *the Freedom House Reports* (2013&2014), ICT has been manipulated by the governments to maintain their grip over freedom and expand government surveillance capabilities. Egypt maintained its (position as #60), while Iran and Tunisia have relatively improved only between May 2013 and May 2014.

It is no doubt that almost all nations in the region have aimed to improve their communication platforms, with reluctance to include such indicator in issues of crisis management, and reconnecting or even building the broken social contract through social marketing. Hence, IT and new communication tools arrived in MENA with a vengeance that have harmed more than helped in some ways! For example, Political PR-ization and political communication added tension that disseminated incessant narratives of conflict, destruction, and hatred. Besides, the new horizons of digitization have been mainly utilized by radical religious affiliations and associations, by promoting religious fundamentalisms (Semati, 2011). And the political authorities aimed to limit this new networked public

Syria (Freedom House, 2008). And journalists in Tunisia have been prosecuted by Tunisia's press code which bans offending the president, disturbing order, and publishing what the government perceives as false news (Mhenni, 2008). *Yemen's 1990 Press and Publications Law* subjects' publications and broadcast media to broad prohibitions and harsh penalties (Yemen News Agency, 2008). The press law in Morocco has been used to suppress outspoken online writers (Reporters without Border, 2008).

In some specific cases, authorities use penal codes to suppress journalists and online writers as in the Yemeni cases, where the Ministry of Information declared in April 2008 that the penal code entails the government to prosecute writers who publish on the Internet content that might incite hatred," or "harm national interests." In another case, Syria's penal code even criminalizes spreading news abroad.

Double standards is another challenge in that regard, because the Bahraini government implemented new amendments (May 2008) to the 2002 Press Law that eliminate prison sentences for journalists and prior censorship on publications, but journalists can still be charged and jailed using the penal code and anti-terrorism law!

According to the *Pew Research Centre* (2012), fourteen countries in MENA criminalize blasphemy, while twelve countries make apostasy, leaving Islam, is an offense. Many of the nations; including Iran and Syria have security agents listen in to private conversations on the street, or in the market, and use reports from informers who shop their neighbors for badmouthing the regime.

In this hostile setting, the *Arab League* has taken the unprecedented step of publicly rebuking two of its members (Libya and Syria) on human rights grounds and even organizing human rights observer mission. Such new response is in accordance with the dabbling in new under-the-radar human rights processes, such as a periodic reporting for signatories of the *Arab Charter of Human Rights*, an experiment for which Jordan and Algeria were slated to go first (Mokhtari, 2012). Nevertheless, arrest and detention of online activists is still on the rise since 2013 and pressure is exercised on independent news websites with dozens of citizen journalists attacked while reporting on conflict in Syria and anti-government protests in Egypt, & Turkey.

Human dignity is not on the official agenda in MENA, and journalists face tremendous challenges covering human rights related stories, often facing death threats, imprisonment, and threats of expulsion, blackmail, offers of bribes and more on a daily basis. Many communication experts and related fields like journalists face occupational hazards; including scrutiny, debate, and mobilizations spearheaded from outside of the region. Censorship and the gatekeeping processes are implemented through technical filtering, laws and regulations, surveillance and monitoring, physical restrictions, and extra-legal harassment and arrests. As stated by a Jordanian journalist, who requested anonymity for this story: "Speaking truth to power is the ethical responsibility of every journalist,"(OHCHR, 2014).

The communication platforms in the region is most heavily censored regions with its repressive legal regimes that jailed a great number of bloggers, cartoonists and cyber-dissidents. There is an increasingly pronounced promulgation of legislation governing the rights of Internet users in the region, which urged *The International Federation of Journalists* to call for a radical overhaul of media laws in April 2009. The laws affect digital rights both directly, through specific mention of online channels in penal codes and press and publications and media laws, as well as indirectly, in anti-terrorism and anti-cybercrime laws. Political authorities intentionally use vaguely worded laws criminalizing incitement, defamation and rumor-mongering can be used to threaten journalists. In addition, these laws are backed by a state of emergency which remained in force almost continuously over five decades. Freedom of speech is thus greatly curtailed, and human rights, NGOs and journalists operate under danger of arrests and different types of law suits.

In the meantime, authorities had extensive powers to suspend basic liberties: arbitrary detention, military trials for civilians, censorship and bans on protest. In contrast to all standardized norms and values of ethics and human rights, these unlawful laws are often formulated without any input from technical experts, the private sector, or civil society and are rapidly pushed through without even being released in draft or debated. Media monitor reports that the autocratic legislation precipitated an increase in the detention and prosecution of Internet users for exercising their rights to free speech, assembly, and privacy (Najem et al., 2014).

Many countries in the region use similar restrictive laws to regulate online publishing and traditional journalism. For example, censorship of online media and print journalism in Bahrain is exerted using the *2002 Press Law* (Arabic Network for Human Rights Information, 2007). Kuwait's *2006 Press Law* allows imprisonment of journalists for making references to Islam that are deemed insulting,¹⁵ or for articles seen as "against national interests" (BBC News, 2009.). *Oman's 1984 Press and Publication Law* authorizes the government to censor publications deemed politically, culturally, or sexually offensive (Bahrain Center for Human Rights, 2008). *Syria's 2001 Press Law* sets out sweeping controls over publications printed in

In many settings, the role of communication in crisis management has become inconsistent and with many vulnerable spots and unjustifiable fluctuations. Since 2010, new emerging ideas has surfaced, ‘competitive symbiosis’ between ICT and political progress in often used celebration of technology (liberation tools) that needs to be included in the conceptual framework for grasping the current media landscape and patterns of communication. Though, there is indeed a complexity of dealing with an illuminative and blurry dimension of traditional politics and right-wing scales, social movements and civil society stack-holders perceive ICT as a new refuge to attain democracy and empowerment (Trénel, 2009).

But again ICT is incapable on its own to transform any society, which counter argues the international narrative of “facebook revoltuion” and “savvy young Egyptians.” It is therefore a catalyst, not a cause. Malcolm Gladwell described the “weak ties,” as the kind of ties that individuals share via social media, as opposed to strong ties that relate to personal relationships

It is thus implied that the collective marginalization of research that is based on indigenous knowledge, not to mention the lack of academic freedom hindered rigorous research, in particular within the pervading culture of censorship in the academy to avoid losing their positions, or being expelled from host countries. Besides, language is a barrier that makes many Arabic-speaking researchers do not research or publish in English. Such incompetencies leave the non-Arab and English-language academics to fill the void. In many Arab countries, most of the academic and professional publications are written in Arabic without English translators. In addition, there is a general lack of transparency in all areas that makes it difficult to obtain source materials and other specific information, whether in Arabic or English (Duffy, 2014).

The State of Freedom of Expression and Human Rights in MENA

Though the topic freedom of expression is a buzzword and many international organizations like UNESCO give priority to journalists’ safety as top priority, but it remains an international matter that is rawly localized on the grounds. The reasons might be related to the amount of prevailing freedom in any given country is determined by the type of political government (democratic or authoritarian), and the level of its national economy (Nam, 2012). But the impact of any legislation in that regard is highly idiographic and depends upon the history, social and political contexts of any country (Darch & Underwood, 2010). This makes cognizance consistently taken of the extent to which the relationship between political authorities and media dynamics adversely affect the realization of freedom (Youm, 2008).

the expense of the “all”. Civil unrest and the rise of *Islamic State* (IS) "Daesh" have continued to add more turmoil and added to the crisis. Yemen agitations have become more complicated because of the dominance of different tribes and factions in the region including the “Howthieens” who took control of Sanaa, the capital in early 2015

According to the *Marsh-Maplecroft Political Risk Map* (2010), nine of MENA countries are categorized as "extreme" and "high" risk societies increased from (32 percent) in 2012 to (36 percent) in 2014. For example, Libya, Tunisia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Egypt were among the (20) countries with the biggest gap between the level of social gains and political freedoms in 2010, which indicated publics' frustration with the failure of the political class to either reform sufficiently quickly or address corruption and growing youth unemployment, or to address continued abuses by the security forces.

The MENA region has experienced deterioration in poor human development indicators of lowest personal income, decline in productivity, poor scientific research, decrease school enrollment, high illiteracy, and lag health conditions behind comparable nations. For example, the literacy rates are generally very low that range from a low of (40 percent) in Mauritania and Iraq to (80 percent) in most of the Gulf States, and into the (90 percent) in Jordan.

MENA also has one of the world's highest youth unemployment rate, where one in four young people are out of work. For example, Tunisia youth unemployment rate is (3 percent); in Egypt it is (34 percent). Unemployment rates for female youth are (50 percent) higher on average than for males (Isaacs, 2012).

The social, communication and public debates reflected flagrant gap between the rhetoric of liberty and the reality of double-standard policies, as well as the lack of credibility and debilitates the will for profound democratic progress. There are four main concerns: The first is the marginal endorsement of freedom of expression, while ignoring basic human needs and rights. The second is the superficial approach to freedom and democracy, which results in the marginalization of the interests of the majority to preserve the ruling minority's interests. The third problem is the governments' subjugation to major regional issues to maintain a solid control over the publics. And the fourth problem is the simplistic analysis of multifaceted complexities that to landslide public's attention from main challenges.

In the lack of states' vision and crisis management mechanism, many of these challenges are dealt with in isolation, or separated from the broader developments in the region. The pressing daily needs have disregarded the long term matters to deal with the crisis of political authority, the failure of economic development and new genres of mobilization and activism, especially communication technology and youth social movements.

had long-term and far-reaching consequences on the media effects in the region (Hussain & Jawaid, 2015).

The core discussion of this research is to look at the roles and impacts of technology, and media effects on one hand, political dynamics and cultural struggle on the other hand, especially in times of crisis by comparing the expectations and performance, as well as the dynamics involved. To serve this goal, the research aims to delve under skin and provide in-depth lens to the collateral roles played by military operations, politics, foreign policy, economics, society, and culture.

Understanding New Politics in MENA

In this section, the research aims to make sense of the current political calamity that have been escalated after the 2011 political upheavals, usually referred to in the western media as the ‘Arab Spring’. The region remains in continuous dilemma to balance the challenges of “western” and “otherness” culture and modernization with traditional and religious values that are deep rooted and cause stagnation. Most of previous attempts in drawing an overview of MENA followed two routes: First, it analyzed pressing theoretical dilemmas across historical time and regional space, while focusing on the thematic substance of issues such as development and democracy (Ibrahim & Hopkins, 1997). Second, it focused on parsing out details of every country on a case-by-case basis dealing with MENA in a very episodic framework that makes it unclear and with no societal insights of the crisis vis-à-vis national security and human security (Gasiorowski 2013).

The prevailing absence of local knowledge has not only delayed any problem solving approaches, but also intensified crises and internal conflicts in the region (Musallam, 2004). The regional preoccupation with ideational and identity concerning pan-Arabism and Islam has worsened the ‘complex realism’ that portrays the state powers as reliant on external and structural sources of support superpower military protection and often the export market for petrochemicals to maintain hegemony (Ehteshami, 2015).

It has become evident that many non-Arab scholars failed to make connections between the particular ideas and concepts that remain entrapped in Euro-centric tones and standardizations, though each country has its own sets of issues and reasons for social unrest to continue.

On a different note, the commonalities of the region stress that civic engagement is subject to too many hurdles and the rhetorical commitment to democracy and freedom often serves the personal priorities of the chosen few at

Against this backdrop, the research urges the academy to move away from typical western literature, stereotypes and profiling because we cannot suspect the political pitfalls not withstanding without rethinking given facts as a productive interpretive stance within the evolving regional landscape of new media and new politics. However, the indigenous works presented bids from the region remain inadequate in identifying and explaining the forces, groups, ideas, institutions and dynamics. Such gap is further driven by both the pervasive nationalist revolutions, political upheavals in MENA, which makes its sources and ramifications broader and run deeper than nationalism and its discontent.

Most of the studies lack a holistic approach of MENA that considers cultural diversity, political immaturity, dire economic conditions, and technological failures. Such blind spots of MENA, the lack of understanding of the cultural norms and ways of thinking, and the peculiarities of its communication circles, as well as political logic acerbated the cultural and political crisis and among different actors involved.

This consistency in overlooking the public's ability (or lack thereof) to access political information from an array of media sources over time (Eickelman & Anderson, 2003), has disregarded reluctance of many of the political regimes in MENA to allow media platforms to pursue informational plurality that such a condition actually manifests (Barber, 2003).

Normalizing crisis is another challenge in this regard, as many of the regional publics have become accustomed to losing their privacy under police states that continuous make them subject to surveillance. For example, the extensive phone-tapping programs of the regional Ministries of Communications taught people to code their language, practice self-censorship, and evade phone conversations altogether to circumvent surveillance. But surveillance in the digital age has entered entirely new horizons (Herrea, 2015).

As such, this research can be considered as an experiential research in making sense of the impact studies of the Middle East should be based on local knowledge, and should refrain from being bipolar in viewing facts between "optimistic" versus "pessimistic" hypotheses in deductive forms of investigation. As such, the research calls for more profound inductive approaches that use comparative case studies to thoroughly chart the long-term processes of politics, media and culture, while mapping the media, power and society intricate in any given time and space.

But the change of mind-set requires similar shift in the narrow focus on discussions of the uses and pitfalls of communication technologies during critical moments, uncertainties and hazards of risk societies. The approach considers the transnational political economy of media and political infrastructure, which has

understanding. However, such absence of local knowledge only serves to escalate some of the external crises and internal conflicts in the region (Musallam, 2004).

Research on crisis in Egypt run the gamut—from studies that opine that political figures like Gamal Abd El-Nasser have always exploited the average citizens for their own political gains, that Egyptians no longer trust the military or political Islam, to others that reframe the intersection of the romantic idealism of Arab nationalism and the sense of discontent and betrayal from the colonizer and the patron state (Bahgat & Henry, 2014). Yet, others focus on “crisis informatics” or emergency information management during the political demonstrations and protests in Iran, Tunisia and Egypt in June 2009, December 2010, and January 2011 respectively. Findings indicated that twitter filled a unique technology and communication gap at least partially. However, it recommends that social media and crisis research must be placed in the larger context of social media use in conditions of crisis (Kavanaugh et al, 2011).

Another study that attempted to understand the crisis communication of Egyptian workers movements (The Solidarity Center, 2010), revealed that the Egyptian government maintained an iron grip on power, harshly punished dissent, and played a central role in a system that keeps workers powerless and poor.

A study of tourists’ perspectives before and after visiting Egypt following the Egyptian Revolution revealed that their perception of risk was affected by media and marketing communication messages (Amara, El Samadicy, & Ragheb, 2012). Another study shows that young Egyptians, frustrated with the status quo are engaged in online activism through social media, to get their message across (Awad & Zayed, 2011).

These varied studies confirm that little is known about the cultural challenges to the core values of many Egyptians (Enander, Lajksjo, & Tedfeldt, 2010). Clearly, cultural experience is related to social time and space on an individual level, but one can also distinguish certain collective cultural experiences related to certain crisis and risk discourses (Harro-Loit, Vihalemm, & Ugur, 2012).

The research identified recurrent narratives of suspicion and disbelief that hinder any objective analysis, by calling digital evidence into question. But such narratives of suspicion are highly mobile, and are employed by varying cyber communities with multiple political aims and effects without shaping or influencing the mainstream media. Even within the elite circles, many activists proposed that new media only reaffirmed and strengthened the Patron states’ power, militancy and violent patriotism in MENA; while in other situations it challenged and destabilized the states’ hegemonic truth claims and boosted horizontal powers and voices through social movements. However, the arguments remain elitist, fragmented, unrepresentative and contradictory in many issues.

Situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT) on a macro level of crisis, by proposed to refer to the concept of performance history of this region, which links the crisis history and prior reputation to the reputational threat of a crisis that is known as "the velcro effect" in SCCT (Coombs & Holladay, 2009).

It is thus crucial to examine the crisis in MENA on three levels: micro, meso and macro. All three levels are dependent upon each other in order to deliver effective and efficient media use for crisis communications (Thiessen & Ingenhoff, 2010). It is thus relevant to introduce the KAD model (Dowthwaite, 2011), which offers an understanding of the big picture when dealing with media, especially social media, for crisis communications. By that, I aim to contribute to crisis communication theory, by examining crisis response strategies from a communication-centered perspective (Kamp, 2014). In my view, the crises in MENA attest how the unmatched government response strategies in these countries have stipulated and harden the implications of the ongoing crisis. This assessment of organization-centric models may be useful in handling crises within the MENA region.

One could argue that the crisis communication in MENA has resulted from the mismanagement of the resources, capacity building and public spheres that failed to maintain the minimum levels of having social contracts between the governments and the publics. This suggests that the popular uprisings are not coincidental and that they have unleashed hidden issues that have existed for decades. The unresolved problems, discrepancies and challenges in MENA have reinforced the effects of the so-called modifiers and eventually lead to a Velcro effect further affecting the reputation of those governments that only favored and supported a culture of fear (Coombs & Holladay, 2001). But liability for the present crisis is the responsibility of citizens who have been normalized and tamed into silence on one hand, and the governments' focus on sustaining power and authority, while practicing all sorts of corruption, mismanagement of the states and serving the hegemonic powers of elite or military.

Such conceptual framework explains how the volatile situation and hostility in MENA has given way to political Islam, increasing violence and loss of identity. Public anger has been on the rise, hazards and uncertainty cause a new escalation with every new incident that further tarnished the image, and enhances a likely domino effect of the crisis.

There is continuous failure to connect ideas and concepts developed about any scholarly work about the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Reasons might be the result of the strong western influences and also low indigenous theoretical features (Ayish, 1998). Besides, "managerial bias" and the lack of context and understanding of the region (Waymer & Heath, 2007), are two main hurdles in this

entrenched in the daily lives of such dysfunctional society that infuriated contestations of identity crisis and the reiteration of political Islam.

In this setting, minorities have been subject to a new kind of holocaust that often served as the official representatives of the 'enemy' that resonated through daily discrimination, scrutiny and punishment against them. Unsurprisingly, the communication space is often hampered with the prevalence of utilizing 'oppositional metaphors' ('us' vs. 'them') linked to internal and external issues or 'threats' facing the nation (Jager & Link 1993; Van Dijk 1997). Political PR-ization has labelled any opposition as the ungrateful criminals that are considered as serious threats to national security and social well-being of realizing the 'Ummah' (The religious State).

Since 2011, the misery of this troubled region has been worsened with the increase of poverty, illiteracy and illnesses. Yet robust digital communication has contradicted with the dim reality that spans over the impoverished and the affluent neighborhoods. Besides, internet penetration rates across the region continue to grow exponentially, while governments in panic acknowledge this growth with hasty policies and regulations.

Crisis management has been redefined with the increasing new digital platforms that encroached into the lives in ways unimaginable just ten years abided the desperate publics that by far exceeded governments' direct control and broke the iceberg of power and hegemony, by opening up new politics dimensions, and scope enlarge spaces for dissent, activism and emancipation.

This research aims to offer critical reassessment of the many complex challenges, foreign lens used in dealing with its potentials. This is particularly important in the absence of indigenous knowledge and contextualization that led to many problems of misunderstanding, superficiality of reading data and social distance.

Conceptual Framework and Crisis Management Research in MENA

In this section, the contextual analysis emphasizes the in-crisis situations, rather than incidents, emergencies or disasters. The aim here is to provide a fresh local perspective and discussion regarding how communication could have been utilized during the ongoing in-crisis situation. Scholars argue that [t]he critical component in crisis management is communication (Coombs, 2012, p.17). However, the vague concept of communication is by itself a major problem that limits effective functioning in the in-crisis situation (International Wildland Fire Summit, 2003; Reid & Van Niekerk, 2008, p. 246).

In these crossing lines that MENA nations are subject to, it is imperative to consider broader societal perspective through the lens of transgression, by explaining the cause and effect of the crises (Fediuk et al., 2010). Applying insights of

Introduction:

In the last six years, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) has been going through a true case of crisis management as a result of volatile political and cultural crisis. The intensity of the situation is magnified by the failing to make progress in attaining freedom and obvious delinquency in taking any steps towards solutions of such crisis dilemma that is marked by an alarming phenomenon of fragmented social fabric that escaped violence and instigated acute political national identity and alienated culture of enclaved ghettos.

For example, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) viewed the rise of political Islam, and especially the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and Salafi groups all over the region in very skeptical sense of fear and suspicion. In the suppressive regimes, activists are usually looked at through the lens of anarchism that attempt to escalate the destabilization of the region.

All of these aspects have influenced the potential practice of problem solving scenarios and put the culture in reverse, leading to a situation where they are fighting battles in inquisition courts. In this confusing and fluid state of affairs, many of the issues relating to an “authentic” Arab identity are being questioned, particularly the view that a critical mass of civil society that may be legitimately sacrificed in the name of national unity and security.

The Middle East region is certainly one of the troubled regions that are full of many unresolved matters and issues. The term is by itself, a source of endless disagreements about its parameters, cultures and geopolitics that might have resulted from its geographic definition. For example, most of the western literature prior to the World War I used three different labels for the same geographic area that was located south and east of Europe and Russia: First, the “Near East” to describe the geographical area occupied by the Ottoman Empire; second, the “Far East” to refer to the geographical area of China and third is the “Middle East” to indicate the geographical area that is located between Near and Far East (al-Dgama, 1996).

The specific section of the Middle East and Africa (MENA) has experienced an unprecedented situation of uncharted waters between agency and structure. But it is rarely the case to find anyone requisitioning the narrative of digital democracy as a ‘natural’ domain for anti-hegemonic politics. On the other hand, the unproblematic framing of politics fails to account for the ways that hegemonic institutions and oppressive regimes marshal new media for their own ends.

The MENA region suffers from unfairly distribution of wealth; sudden escalation of inter-group tension and the collapse of central authority (Costy & Gilbert 1998: 12). In addition, it suffers from many caveats; namely, excessive dire economic conditions, political anarchism and religious conflict have become

Analytical Study about the Repercussions of the Communication Crises Management in the Middle East: Navigation in Uncharted Water

Associate Prof. Dr. Ibrahim Saleh

jre09is@gmail.com

Nile University - Egypt

Abstract

This research critically analyzes the impact of crisis communication on the democratization process in MENA, while considering the caveats and the levels of accessibility and different motivations affecting the use of digital democracy and the relevant implications on the publics. In the current lack of contextualization and insight of MENA, it is crucial to make sense of the intervening variables and revisit the levels of freedom of expression, social egalitarianism, secularism and internationalism. The capstone argument is the correlation between the online engagement and the offline participation, especially in relation to the rapid growth of social movements and media effects in the region. The political fluidity, social chaos and economic disparity in MENA since 2010 is not only an illustrative case for understanding the synergy between ICT and change, but also showcases the complexity of using and implementing crisis management within the evolving new politics in the region. Such perplexity requires nouvelle-way of thinking about communication for development, in the light of the peculiarities of different localities. As such, the research aims to evaluation the current PR and crisis management in MENA, by unpacking the mechanisms behind the perception and ideological understanding of the contemporary role of technology in this rapidly evolving digital media landscape.

Analytical Study about the Repercussions of the Communication Crises Management in the Middle East: Navigation in Uncharted Water

Associate Prof. Dr. Ibrahim Mostafa Saleh^()*

jre09is@gmail.com

^(*) Associate professor at the Business School, Nile University - Egypt.

Copyright © EPRA 2017

All rights reserved.

None of the materials provided on this Journal or the web site may be used, reproduced or transmitted, in whole or in part, in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or the use of any information storage and retrieval system, except as provided for in the Terms and Conditions of Use of Egyptian public Relations Association, without permission in writing from the publisher.

And all applicable terms and conditions and international laws with regard to the violation of the copyrights of the electronic or printed copy.

ISSN for the printed copy

(ISSN 2314-8721)

ISSN of the electronic version

(ISSN 2314-8723X)

To request such permission or for further enquires, please contact:

EPRA Publications

Egyptian Public Relations Association, Gizza, Egypt
Dokki, Ben Elsarayat -2 Ahmed Elzayat St.

Email: chairman@epra.org.eg - jpr@epra.org.eg

Web: www.epra.org.eg

Phone: (+2) 0114 -15 -14 -157 - (+2) 0114 -15 -14 -151 - (+2) 02-376-20 -818

- If the manuscript required simple modifications, the author should resent the manuscript with the new modifications during one week after the receipt the modification notes, and if the author is late, the manuscript will be delayed to the upcoming issue, but if there are thorough modifications in the manuscript, the author should send them after 15 days.
- The publication fees of the manuscript for the Egyptians are: 850 L.E. and for the Expatriate Egyptians and the Foreigners are: 450 \$.
- If the referring committee refused and approved the disqualification of publishing the manuscript, an amount of 250 L.E. will be reimbursed for the Egyptian authors and 130 \$ for the Expatriate Egyptians and the Foreigners.
- The manuscript does not exceed 35 pages of A4 size. 20 L.E. will be paid for an extra page for the Egyptians and 5 \$ for Expatriate Egyptians and the Foreigners authors.
- A special 10 % discount of the publication fees will be offered to the Egyptians and the Foreign members of the Fellowship of the Egyptian Public Relations Association for any number of times during the year.
- Three copies of the journal and three Extracted pieces from the author's manuscript after the publication.
- The fees of publishing the scientific abstract of (Master's Degree) are: 250 L.E. for the Egyptians and 150 \$ for the Foreigners.
- The fees of publishing the scientific abstract of (Doctorate Degree) are: 350 L.E. for the Egyptians and 180 \$ for the Foreigners. As the abstract do not exceed 8 pages and a 10 % discount is offered to the members of the Egyptian Society of Public Relations. Three copies of the journal will be sent to the author's address.
- Publishing a book offer costs LE 700 for the Egyptians and 300 \$US for foreigners.
- Three copies of the journal are sent to the author of the book after the publication to his/her address. And a 10% discount is offered to the members of the Egyptian Society of Public Relations.
- For publishing offers of workshops organization and seminars, inside Egypt LE 600 and outside Egypt U.S. \$ 350 without a limit to the number of pages.
- The fees of the presentation of the International Conferences inside Egypt: 850 L.E. and outside Egypt: 450 \$ without a limitation of the number of pages.
- All the research results and opinions express the opinions of the authors of the presented research papers not the opinions of the Egyptian Association for Public Relations.
- Submissions will be sent to the chairman of the Journal.

Address:

Egyptian Public Relations Association,
 Arab Republic of Egypt, Gizza, El-Dokki, Bein El-Sarayat, 2 Ahmed El-zayat Street.
 And also to the Association email: jpr@epra.org.eg, or info@epra.org.eg, chairman@epra.org.eg,
 after paying the publishing fees and sending a copy of the receipt.

Journal of Public Relations Research Middle East

It is a scientific journal that publishes specialized research papers in Public Relations, Mass Media and Communication after peer refereeing these papers by a number of specialized Professors.

The journal is affiliated to the Egyptian Public Relations Association, the first Egyptian specialized scientific association in public relations.

- The journal is accredited, Classified internationally for its printed and electronic version from the Academy of Scientific Research and Technology in Cairo And classified by the Committee of Scientific Promotion Specialization media - Supreme Council of Universities.
- The first academic refereed & specialized Journal in the Arab world & the Middle East, as well as the First Arab Scientific journal in that specialty (the media) got the Arab Impact Factor coefficient effect = 1.33 with 100% in 2016 report from the American Foundation NSP " Natural sciences Publishing," sponsored by Association of Arab universities.
- This journal is published quarterly.
- The journal accepts publishing books, conferences, workshops and scientific Arab and international events.
- The journal publishes advertisements on scientific search engines, Arabic and foreign publishing houses according to the special conditions adhered to by the advertiser.
- It also publishes special research papers of the scientific promotion and for researchers who are about to defend master and Doctoral theses.
- The publication of academic theses that have been discussed, scientific books specialized in public relations and media and teaching staff members specialized scientific essays.

Publishing rules:

- It should be an original Manuscripts that has never been published.
- Arabic, English, French Manuscripts are accepted however a one page abstract in English should be submitted if the Manuscripts is written in Arabic.
- The submitted Manuscripts should be in the fields of public relations and integrated marketing communications.
- The submitted scientific Manuscripts are subject to refereeing unless they have been evaluated by scientific committees and boards at recognized authorities or they were part of an accepted academic thesis.
- The correct scientific bases of writing scientific research should be considered. It should be typed, in Simplified Arabic, 14 points font for the main text. The main and sub titles, in Bold letters. English Manuscripts should be written in Times New Roman.
- References are mentioned at the end of the Manuscripts in a sequential manner.
- References are monitored at the end of research, according to the methodology of scientific sequential manner and in accordance with the reference signal to the board in a way that APA Search of America.
- The author should present a printed copy and an electronic copy of his manuscript on a CD written in Word format with his/her CV.
- In case of accepting the publication of the manuscript in the journal, the author will be informed officially by a letter. But in case of refusing, the author will be informed officially by a letter and part of the research publication fees will be sent back to him soon.



**Journal of Public Relations Research Middle East
(JPRR.ME)**

Scientific Refereed Journal

- Fourteenth issue - Fourth Year - January/ March 2017 -

Founder & Chairman

Dr. Hatem Saad

Chair of EPRA

Editor in Chief

Prof. Dr. Aly Agwa

Professor of Public Relations & former Dean of Faculty
of Mass Communication - Cairo University
Chair of the Scientific Committee of EPRA

Editorial Managers

Prof. Dr. Mohamed Moawad

Media Professor at Ain Shams University & former Dean
of Faculty of Mass Communication - Sinai University
Chair of the Consulting Committee of EPRA

Prof. Dr. Mahmoud Youssef

Professor of Public Relations & former Vice Dean
Faculty of Mass Communication - Cairo University

Editorial Assistants

Prof. Dr. Rizk Abd Elmoaty

Professor of Public Relations
Misr International University

Dr. Thouraya Snoussi

Assistant Professor & Head of Public Relations Dep.
College of Mass Communication - Al Ghurair University

Dr. Mohammed Al-Aamri

Assistant Professor & Head of Public Relations &
Advertising Department
College of Mass Communication - Baghdad University

Dr. El-Sayed Abdel-Rahman

Assistant Professor of Public Relations
Mass Communication Faculty – Sinai University

English Reviewer

Ahmed Badr

Arabic Reviewer

Sabry Solaiman

Address

Egyptian Public Relations Association

Arab Republic of Egypt
Giza - Dokki

Ben Elsarayat - 2 Ahmed Zayat Street

Mobile: +201141514157

Tel : +2237620818

www.epra.org.eg

jpr@epra.org.eg

Scientific Board **

JPRR.ME

Prof. Dr. Aly Agwa (Egypt)

Professor of Public Relations and former Dean of the Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University

Prof. Dr. Thomas A. Bauer (Austria)

Professor of Mass Communication at the University of Vienna

Prof. Dr. Mona Al-Hadedy (Egypt)

Professor of radio and television – Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University

Prof. Dr. Yas Elbaiaty (Iraq)

Professor of Journalism at the University of Baghdad, Vice Dean of the Faculty of Media and Information
and Humanities, Ajman University of Science

Prof. Dr. Hassan Mekawy (Egypt)

Professor of radio and television – Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University

Prof. Dr. Nesma Younes (Egypt)

Professor of Radio & Television at the Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University

Prof. Dr. Mohamed Moawad (Egypt)

Media professor at Ain Shams University & former Dean of Faculty of Mass Communication - Sinai
University

Prof. Dr. Samy Abd Elaziz (Egypt)

Professor of public relations and marketing communications for the former Dean of the Faculty of
Information, Cairo University

Prof. Dr. Abd Elrahman El Aned (KSA)

Professor of Media and Public Relations Department of the Faculty of Media Arts - King Saud University

Prof. Dr. Mahmoud Youssef (Egypt)

Professor of Public Relations - Faculty of Mass Communication, Cairo University

Prof. Dr. Samy Taya (Egypt)

Professor and Head of Public Relations Faculty of Mass Communication - Cairo University

Prof. Dr. Sherif Darwesh Allaban (Egypt)

Professor of printing press & Vice-Dean for Community Service at the Faculty of Mass
Communication, Cairo University

Prof. Dr. Barakat Abdul Aziz Mohammed (Egypt)

Professor of radio and television & Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Mass Communication for
Graduate Studies and Research, Cairo University

Prof. Dr. Hassan Aly (Egypt)

Professor of Radio & Television and Head of Mass Communication Department – Faculty of
Arts - Mina University

Prof. Dr. Mahmoud Hassan Ismael (Egypt)

professor of Culture Media and Children at Ain Shams University

Prof. Dr. Hamdy Abo Alenen (Egypt)

Media professor and dean of the Faculty of Al-Alsun and Mass Communication, Vice President of the
International University of Egypt

Prof. Dr. Othman Al Arabi (KSA)

Professor of Public Relations and the former head of the media department at the Faculty of Arts – King
Saud University

Prof. Dr. Abden Alsharef (Libya)

Media professor and dean of the College of Arts and Humanities at the University of Zaytuna – Libya

Prof. Dr. Waled Fathalha Barakat (Egypt)

Professor of Radio & Television and Vice-Dean for Student Affairs at the Faculty of Mass
Communication, Cairo University

Prof. Dr. Tahseen Mansour (Jordan)

Professor of Public Relations at the Faculty of Mass Communication, Yarmouk University

Prof. Dr. Mohamed Elbokhary (Syria)

Professor, Department of Public Relations and Publicity, School of Journalism, University of MF Uzbek
national Ulugbek Beck

Prof. Dr. Ali Kessaissia, (Algeria)

Professor, Faculty of Media Science & Communication, University of Algiers-3.

Prof. Dr. Redouane BoudJema, (Algeria)

Professor, Faculty of Media Science & Communication, University of Algiers-3.

** Names are arranged according to the date of obtaining the degree of a university professor.



English Researches:

- **Associate Professor Dr. Ibrahim Mostafa Saleh**- Nile University - Egypt
Analytical Study about the Repercussions of the Communication Crises Management in the Middle East: Navigation in Uncharted Water 7

Abstracts of Arabic Researches:

- **Prof. Dr. Abdin A. Sharif** - Zaytuna University- Libya
The Trends of the Libyan Academic and Media Elites toward the Eyewitness as a Reporter: A Field Study 31
- **Prof. Dr. Souraya El Badaoui** – Cairo University
Development of Concept of the User in the Digital Public Sphere 32
- **Dr. Intisar Obaidi** - Fujairah College in UAE
Public relation strategies in management of tourism crisis 33
- **Dr. Labiba Abdel Naby Ibrahim** - Helwan University
Egyptian public opinion attitudes towards EU Situation regarding Syrian refugees crisis: An applied study on Facebook 34
- **Dr. Suhad Adil Jasim** - Mustansiriya University
Public Relations strategy in Iraqi universities: An evaluation study of Public Relations Departments in both Universities (Baghdad and Technology) As a Model 35
- **Dr. Mohammed Fouad Zied** – Menofia university
The Public exposure to satirical political implications provided by the media and its relationship to their political discontent 36
- **Khalid Faisal Al-Firm** - Imam Mohammad bin Saud Islamic University
The use of Social Media in Health Awareness about Coronavirus Disease: An Applied Study on the Medical Cities and the Government Hospitals in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia 37

(ISSN 2314-8721)

Egyptian National Scientific & Technical
Information Network
(ENSTINET)

Copyright 2017@EPRA

www.epra.org.eg