The long-term and short-term factors affecting the Arab Revolutions

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Abstract:

With the emergence of the phenomenon of "Arab revolutions", the Middle East has entered a new era. The investigation of the goals of the Arab revolutions requires their pathology. The developments of the Arab world, although occurred with the self-immolation of a young Tunisian and its widespread reflection in the global media, but these events origins returns to the previous years. These countries have a wide range of problems. It seems that the intellectual movements which have been occurred in the Middle East and the Muslim world in the last 100 years, have brought new demands and implications into the peoples live of this part of the world that have been ignored by the ruling systems and eventually has led to the emergence of the "Arab Spring." These factors include economic crises such as unemployment, demographic and demographic changes in Arab countries, bribery being of governments and dependence on windfall wealth or foreign helps, widespread corruption among government officials and the gap between the poor and rich. On the one hand, however, another factor, along with the above issues, has deepened the legitimacy crisis and, on the other hand, has accelerated the process of changes and that is the globalization and expansion of Cyber space. In fact, under the influence of the globalization of the access of Arab youth to the Internet, and in particular Social networks, such as Facebook and Twitter have been facilitated, and while creating cyber base challenged the legitimacy of a system, and, on the other hand, They have brought the crisis of legitimacy, and in addition that planned their campaign communities and organizing. In this article, we will try to address the external factors in the process of the Arabic countries democratization.

Keywords: Social movements, Democratization, Arabic Nationalism, Political Islam, Arab Spring

Introduction

After the third wave of democracy, which involved nearly 30 countries of world from Europe, Asia and Latin America, and most

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importantly, democratize a large part of the communist world , the eyes peer to the Middle East and this question was raised that why these countries are out of the process of democratic changes. For this purpose, some writers and thinkers spoke of the term "Arabic exclusion" to explain the proliferation of dictatorial systems in the Middle East changes process, and emphasized that the Arabs are different from other nations and despite of the suffering from suppression do not make a revolution, But recent revolutions of Middle East which began from Tunisia and its wave that swept a large part of the Middle East, showed the absurdity of these claims and analyzes to everyone. The Arab Spring, on the one hand, has centered the look of political sociologists on its own and, on the other hand, has caused the dictators of the region get the night to the morning with the panic. These movements, which became pervasive by using of the Internet and social networks in the Middle East, and imitated in America (The Wall Street Movement), and in some parts like Spain and Greece. In Spain, the May 15 anger movement was declared existence in protest to high corruption and unemployment, and citizens by gathering and stay in some squares, such as Catalonia, protested against government policies. Objected Greek citizens to the IMF policies and the government's austerity program they gathered on the Sintagma Square in Etten by calling on social networks and even by style of Egypt Tahrir Square get the night to the morning. Perhaps this is for the first time during the contemporary history which Europeans follow the style of the formed movements in Middle East. Of course, it should be noted that in the Middle East, using of the social networks in order to mobilization of the pro-

testers was used for the first time by the Green Movement of Iran and after the 2009 election. However, the fact is that analyzing revolutions and explaining the causes of its occurrence is considered of the most difficult discussions of political sociology. Exactly no one knows what factors and when causes revolt or revolution. Political science is still immature, while influenced by the propositions and the history of the West. Therefore, many of its discussions do not explain the changes of this side of the world. However, political knowledge provides tools for observers to identifying the phenomenon of revolution, which can somewhat identify the context. Political sociologists in the investigation of revolutions refer to a two of the two categories of long-term and short-term factors. This paper first focuses on the long-term and the short-term factors will be examined the recent revolutions and then will be focused on factors such as secularism and dealing with the West and Arab nationalism.

French sociologist Maurice Diverge believes that by increasing, the level of technical progress, conflict and competition is reduced between citizens, but the level of tension is increased between people and the ruling powers, as with the increasing living level, the issue of freedom returned to the political centers, became to a citizens major demand. (Diverge, 1997: 262) The fact is that increasing the level of Middle Eastern education and the possibility of using of complex technologies has increased their willingness to participate in the public domain. Social networks have made it possible for young people to create a cyber-society without government's control, and share many new thoughts there.

If in a society due to the modernization or the appearance of mental changes in citizens arise new needs and demands and the ruling system fails to respond to these needs appropriately, most probably will be destabilized.

The institutionalism theorist, Lucien Pay, believes that the disagreement between citizens and political elites can create a crisis of identity. Citizens' demands can raise doubts about the legitimacy of the rulers if they do not face with a proper response from the ruling elite. From the point of view of Pay In such a case, pluralism, while preserving national unity, can provide a context to resolve the identity crisis. Samuel Huntington also has comments on this case. In his view, in a society when new demands and in particular participatory demands are formed, traditional correlation has been shaken and the context is provided for conflict. In this case, if the political system didn't has the ability to create new institutions and capacities for citizens participation will face with the danger of collapse (Seifzadeh, 2005: 171). Accordingly, the author's main assumption is that during the past 150 years, strong intellectual and political movements is formed in the Middle East, which each of them creating new demands on citizens or has brought new elements into the minds of the people of the Middle East but these demands mainly has been left unanswered by the ruling elite and has provided context of instability and crisis of legitimacy.

Once the famous German philosopher Hegel said, the history is the revealer of the universe spirit, this means that the movement of thought which he called it the idea is the creator of external realities. In fact, this interaction of opponent forces is due to the dialectics, which brings the world to a higher level of progress. With the occurrence of any movement, the factors have entered to the citizen's world life and became as their demand and request, and ultimately, the dialectic of these demands has provided the context of the recent revolution. For this purpose, this article has focused on four main reasons for the establishment of Arab revolutions, which two of them are investigation of the effective long-term and short-term factors on the occurrence of revolutions, and the next two case will be two strong movements that during the past century there have occurred in the Middle East and North of the Africa. In fact, this article seeks to answer this question that why some Arab uprisings from 2011 to 2013 succeeded in overthrowing the ruling regimes, while others failed. This article is that, yet these revolutions must be analyzed in the light of long-term factors, which have affected these societies during long periods, but their victory or failure had been affected by the combination of short-term factors. In those societies that the political management of the country succeeded, attract one or more international and regional powers, maintaining the body of the army, supporting a part of society and even one powerful minority by using of the financial means or based on identity dependencies, revolutions caused by the Arab Spring failed. However, these short-term factors of political management must be gained in light of the long-term origins of the Arab revolutions. To answer this research question by using of the comparative method of factors involved in the Arab revolutions investigated in six sections of political, economic, social, cultural, Military and external factors. As we will see, the more long-term aspect of these factors is common in all countries of the region more and less, but their short-term aspect has been caused their success or failure according to the coordinates of each country. In the analyzing of each section of both the long-term and the short-term as-

pects of the involved factors investigated, but it will be shown that how the combination of the short-term factors, especially the political management of the crisis, has played a decisive role in the collapse of some regimes and the continuity of others. However, before that, we will examine the effective factors on the people's culture to achieve to the democracy, and then we will examine the performance of the governments.

Secularism and dealing with the West

The first encounter of Muslims with the west followed their military defeat. The Napoleon attack Egypt in 1798 was the peak point of this event. The French by entering Egypt also brought the printing industry to Egypt. Interactions between aggressive hosts and guests and sending students to Europe played a significant role in the change of the Arab mentality. These students, in addition to the specialist, and familiarity with the science and technology were affected of Western thought and philosophy and their including look. Of course, the creation of the University of Darul Uloom in Cairo, which was founded in the form of European universities, was another effective factor. It was due because of some changes that emerged among intellectual Muslim with reformist tendencies. Groups such as Sayyid Jamal and Abduh are considered the path of religious reform, and another group such as Rafa'a Tahtawi, Farah Anton, Shabli Shamil, Salama Moses and Gurji Zidan in publications such as al-Hilal, Al-Muqatat and Al-Jumay knew the Westernization answer. Sayed Jamal influenced by illustration was loyal to the idea of 'progress' and was "rational", and insisted on "teaching modern science" in Muslim societies (Enayat, 1997: 94). That is why, even Constitutional-

ists in Turkey also considered him effective in creating progressivism thoughts, and Iranian historians confirmed an effect of Seyed thoughts on the Iranian Constitutional Revolution. Muhammad Abduh, another thinker of this way in the direction of religious reform, insisted on the necessity of re-dividing the Islamic Shari'a according to the issues of the time, which it means what the Shi'a refers to as ijtihad. At the same time, Abduh also presented interesting ideas about the government. He proposed that the caliph be the religious guide as Muslims great Mujahid, but avoid of interference in Muslims political affairs or, for example, he believed that the Islamic state has a civil character, not a religious one and scores of Islamic rulings do not come from Shariah. This is the same principle that Shaykh Ali Abdul Razzaq later described it in a more complete form in the famous book, "Islam and the Osoul Al-Hakam." Abduh in the following expresses a bold comment that the nation and its representatives are appointed ruler to his passion and have the right to oversee him and even to dismissal the Islamic ruler (Ibid, 151). The influence of democratic and modern ideas can be seen in Abduh's ideas as well.

Belongs to the West-oriented stream Rafa'a al-Tahtawi also reminded the need to learn new sciences to Arabs. He considered the purpose of life two things: one is to obey God's command and the other is good living, which, of course, good living from his point of view in addition to obtaining the spiritual virtues of includes obtaining material goods, also welfare and wealth (Ibid, 31) In addition these, Tahtawi also looked at the concept of government and its nature. In a speech which is most closely to the idea of a social contract he said "In the past, the rule was a se-

cret thing that was limited to few people, but today it must be firm on the understanding between the ruler and the convict," . (Ibid, 32-33)

briefly, and as benefit of this section of speech can be seen Thought of progress, rationalism, Emphasis on today's science education, conventional being of the government, elective being of the Islamic ruler, The right to supervise the people on him and in a word worldly look to government as an intellectual consequence of this stage.

Arab Nationalism

After the failure of Sultan Abdul Hamid to stop the stranger encroachment to Islamic lands, a new generation of Muslims emerged, that more was under the influence of Western nationalism. But the progress of these ideas disrupted the mosaic communities of the Middle East and may provide the context for the collapse of the Ottoman Empire: As the Turkish young eventually led to the abolition of the caliphate and the disintegration of the empire (Ashouri, 2005: 80), Mustafa Kamal Atatürk stated that our Prophet told his companions to invite the nations of the world to Islam, not rule them because this is impossible. In this way, the caliphate was removed in 1924. The failure efforts were done by some Muslims to rebuild it, can be mentioned to the Mecca Assembly in 1926.

With the decline of Ottomanism, the Arabs mind was aware of the concept of the Arab nation, which, its loss in its turn, led to the emergence of local Species of Nationalism and within that arose Egyptian-Iraqi-Syrian-Jordanian and Palestinian nationalities. (Kamrava, 2009: 110) Of course, it should be added that such intellectuals as Tahtawi also advertised it Influenced by the teachings of Western nationalism. Ta'tawi uses love for the homeland as an attachment

to the birthplace and the place of human breeding, and there was no contradiction between it and the Islamic concept. However, what largely was the formation of Arab nationalism in the new era was the formation of Israel in 1948. The Arab identity was formed in conflict with the concept of Zionism and occupation of Palestine. Indeed, nationalism involves elements such as common language-Common historical experiences of public culture and religion that connects a set of peoples in the form of a specific land.

After the defeat of the Arabs in the 1948 war, dissatisfaction of the Arab kings reached a peak and caused a rise and coup in some of these countries. With the formation of free officers, Nasr was taken down Maluku Farouq in 1952, and he became president in 1956. He declared the Suez Canal national, in foreign policy, he was confronted with the West and with Tito and Nehru became to the one of the most active figures in the non-alignment. In fact, it was actually the same proceedings that made Nasser to the hero of the Arab people. In the late 1950s, the Tab pan-Arabism led by Nasser, who called for the formation of the Arab League, researched to its peak. In 1958, the United Arab Emirates was formed with the Syrian and Egyptian alliance with the presidency of Nasser, which lasted only until 1961. But with numerous Arab defeats, and especially the 1967 defeat which during that Israel occupied the Golan Heights, the Sinai Peninsula, West Bank, Gaza Strip and all of Jerusalem ,The tab of Nasserism and Arab nationalism has declined. However, Arabic wrath clusters remained alive and active until decades later. With all its features, this intellectual-political movement has achievement for Arabs. The most largely achievement of this period is the formation of a nation based on regional, lingual, cultural and common historical experi-

ences ties that can be considered the transition from tribal culture to national culture as its result. However, this transition did not accomplish completely and yet societies like Yemen and Libya are involved with tribal culture.

Nevertheless, other two factors that have influenced on this process are Turkey and the 1979 Iranian revolution. It should be acknowledged that Turkey, is becoming to the symbol of the moderate Islam and compatible with democratic elements, now that the Justice and Development Party led by Erdogan has power in Turkey. This popularity is such that even Rashed Ghannouchi, the leader of the Islamic Movement of Tunisia, after the fall of Ben Ali and returning from exile, acknowledge that his thoughts are close to Erdogan and emphasized on the need for a democratic regime and based on human rights in Tunisia (Urban Newspaper: 19-21) Thus, the Islamists of Turkey by providing a practical and successful model were able to convert democratic Islam by the will of many citizens to the Islamic countries and help to the flow formation which Asef Bayat which refers of that as "post-Islamists".

However, in the 1979 revolution in Iran, it should be acknowledged that Iran's revolution could not have triggered other Islamic revolutions in the region or created other Iran's. The war with an Arab country and the Shiite nature of the Iran's revolution were two factors that made it less attractive for the people of the region. As the Egyptian journalist Mohamed Heikal in a meeting with the US Embassy Conquerors Students in Tehran said that "the Iranian revolution at the beginning was an universal humanitarian movement, found Islamic state, was limited to the Islamic revolution and eventually led to a simple Shi'a revolution (Bazargan, 1984: 97) But whatever, the impact of the Iranian revolution on the Middle East cannot be denied. I think that in 1979 revolution, Iran was able to strengthen the desire (independence) of foreign intervention among the people of the region.

Effective Long-term and short-term factors in the Arab revolutions
Political system
A: Long-term aspect
One of the most important origins of public dissatisfaction in Arab countries should be sought in the political system of these countries. All in crisis Arab countries, which have been cracking down the suppressions in different degrees, they have not played a significant role in political structure for the majority of people and suffer from a lack of press and free media. The main reason for the surprising of politicians and even Middle East issues researchers of recent events also arises from this. Autocratic regimes are deceiving not only others, but also themselves, by blocking public opinion polls, and researchers, who chiefly rely on explicit information, became incapable of knowing the exact facts. Express deep dissatisfaction from authoritarian systems was at the top of the slogans and statements of the Arab protesters (Dalacoura, 2012; 67) Lack of democracy in most done researches about rise of the nations has been considered in the Arab Spring process(Azimi Dolatabadi, Shojaee Zand, Movassaghi, 2014: 22-23)

B: Short-term aspects
According to the root of the recent uprisings in closed political systems of those Arab governments that had a significant degree of

democracy, passed through the crisis quickly. In this case, can be mentioned two governments of Iraq and Lebanon did not have a problem despite the experience of the inspired demonstrations by Tunisian and Egyptian events. Among the Arab countries involved in the crisis, only a degree of press freedom was observed in Egypt (Anderson, 2011). Nevertheless, the same amount of freedom during the crisis acted against president of the time Hosni Mubarak, because the raised arguments in the press reflected his regime's illegitimacy with a loud voice in Egyptian society. Perhaps this affair was one of the factors caused the speed record of fall of the regime in recent events be in the hands of the Egyptians; Mubarak only lasted for eighteen days against a protest.

The other political component that in investigation of the recent events draws attention is being long of period of tenure of the heads of involved governments. All the governments that were overthrown have had more than twenty years. Ben Ali was in power from 1987 to 2011 for 23 years, Mubarak was in power from 1981 to 2011 for 30 years, Saleh was in power from 1978 to 2012 for 34 years, and Gaddafi was in power from 1969 to 2011 for 42 years. Long-term survival in the government may reduce the vital energy of the regimes and the practical initiatives of the mentioned leaders in the field of politics, society, and economics, and reject the people's expectations for coming new people to power with efficient and up-to-date policies

The situation in the two countries which facing with severe crises but the government in them still is firms different slightly. Bashar al-Assad has been power since 2000, and he spent his second presidential term in office, which continues to this day from 2007 to 2014. Today has continued: Sheikh Hamed bin Isa Al Khalifa also had power in Bahrain

since 1999. But if we knew the rule of Bashar in continuing her father's government, which lasted from 1970 to 2000 for 30 years, knew the rule of Hamed bin Isa the continuity of the Al-Khalifa family kingdom, which had dominated on Bahrain since the late eighteenth century, the difference between these two governments with the previous governments is not so significant, and it seems that the people of Syria and Bahrain also have such an impression of the lifetime of their governments.

However, some of the governments that survived of the crisis, was lack of democracy indicators to the same extent as overthrown governments, and had government leaders or long-term regimes. All Arab royal governments are from this category. For example, Sultan Qaboos since 1970 (for 42 years) and the family of Al-Sa'id from the 18th century have ruled on Oman. The family of Hashemi was reined in Jordan since 1920s, following the fall of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War by Briton. In addition, since 1999 up to now, Abdullah II is the ruler of this country. The Saudi dominance on the current Arabia also back to 1932.

This affair showed that the despotism and closure of the political space for a long time had not been the only involved factor in the emergence and success of the opposing forces, and other factors should be considered. Some of these factors are investigated in other parts of this article, but others, which have a political nature, are considered in this section.

The reason of why some Arab governments have not been overthrown in spite of the confronted with the Arabian rising waves is different from one case to the next. Regarding a number of royal regimes, it may be possible to have some kind of traditional support. For example, in the Jordan tribes of

the Jordan River east and in Najd's Arabia are traditional supporters of their governments. The structure of some governments provides the possibility of distinguishing between responsible institutions so that deficiencies can be assigned to a part of the government, and absolved the whole system and in particular the head of government of fault. King Abdullah dismissed "Samir Rifai" with the start of the protests, and replaced "Famous Behiti" as prime minister in place of him, and following another wave of protests also replaced him with "Awn Al-Khasawneh", which he also replaced on April 27 with Fayez Tarawneh and then on October 2012 with Abdullah Ensour. In August 2011, King Abdullah also was made some amendments in the constitution. On October 4, 2012, he dissolved the parliament until beheld a new election. The Hashemi government in Jordan throughout the history of his life has used much of this tactic for his survival (Bagheri Dolatabadi, Pour Jafar, 2014: 29). On the other hand, the King of Morocco, Mohammed VI, reformed the constitution of the country quickly (July 2011), and subsequently was held a parliamentary election in a country that led to the victory of moderate Islamists. Abdollah Benkirane, the victorious coalition leader in that election in November 2011 was appointed as prime minister. Thus, heads of government in Jordan and Morocco were able to buy time by doing minor improvements tactic and going out of the crisis and survive from the Arab Spring. One of the reasons why the overthrow of Ali Abdullah Saleh lasted nearly thirteen months was because of his pursuit from Kashkouli from tactics for survival: he used of the force, Competition between tribes, the promise of doing reforms and economic incentives till

delay his fall and have had more respectable exit, and also keeping his relatives in positions of power (Dalacoura, 2011; 65-66). The way of governments deal with the crisis has a determinative role in the fate of the uprisings. As we saw, the heads of Moroccan and Jordanian governments showed more skill in dealing with the crisis, perhaps because they were not surprised like Ben Ali. In contrast, Ben Ali's response against the crisis was slow and weak and Gaddafi's response was decisively and quick, and, of course, both of them were overthrown. Ban Ali quickly and without severe violence, and Gaddafi with delay and after very bleeding. Extremism in violence may have a opposite effect (Dalacoura, 2012: 69) and may distracted the actual and potential supporters from the government , as in Yemen, Libya and Syria, which more people were left the government.

Economic situation
A: long-term aspect
Most Arab countries suffer from chronic economic problems. Low national per capita income, class discrimination, unemployment and inflation, foreign debt, the lack of quality and quantity of interior built goods and wasting energy are some of these problems which massive bureaucracy and government economy is one of the reasons for their creation. For example, a quarter of Jordanians people live in poverty and the unemployment rate are estimated 30% (although official statistics are 12%) (Moon, 2012: 28). Nevertheless, apart from the Yemenis, which is considered as the poorest Arab country, (Ajami, 2012) the main economic problem in these countries is not absolute poverty: it is also a vast gap between expectations and the realities of economic life. (Dalacoura, 2012, 26)

In 2010, the official inflation rate in Egypt was about 13%, and the official rate of unemployment was close to 10% (Ardestani-Tabrizian, 2015: 254-255). During the past decade, many Arab governments, especially in non-oil countries, such as most countries of the world, turned to Neoliberalism and economic liberalization.

Countries like Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco and Jordan existed of the privatization of government industries, Reducing subsidies and Government fees and encourage the investment inevitably. The principle of this new economic policy has led to the improvement of economic indicators in some countries, but increased class discrimination, In particular, in the process of privatization of a group of direct or indirect affiliates, the leaders of the government have won the most benefit. Moreover, by using of its own communications, owned government industries. (Faraji Nusyri, Massoudnia & Hersij, 2015: 122)

What disrupted the Arab masses in most countries was primarily economic problems, the starting point for protests, namely the self-immolation of Bouazizi, was merely an economic reason. Although Tunisia has a relatively large middle class but the process of privatization during the last years of Ben Ali's rule, which led to the concentration of wealth in the hands of his relatives, was caused great dissatisfaction in this country (Anderson, 2012). However, protests does not limited to the Arab poor countries. The relatively richer countries, such as Libya, Arabia, Oman and Bahrain, also witnessed massive protests, and this showed that other factors, such as social discrimination and political obstruction, also have played a role in stimulation people in these countries.

B: short-term aspect
However, during the crisis, in most cases, government economic empowerment was in their favor. Rich oilfield countries such as Arabia, Kuwait, Oman and Algeria were able to pacify citizens and pass through this stage with increase of the salaries of workers, create new government jobs, Increase of subsidies and cash payments to them. This affair had been the main reason of the survival of the oilfield kingdom of the Persian Gulf zone (lynch, 2011). For example, in 2011, Arabia was announced plans to spend $ 136 billion to increase the salaries of public sector employees, The salaries and benefits of the unemployed and the housing subsidy, Kuwait was announced plans to cash gift to citizens 1,000 dinars, and also donation of free raw materials for 14 months, and Algeria was announced plans to spend $ 156 billion on infrastructure and reduce the tax on sugar. (Ross, 2011) The only exception in oilfield countries was Gaddafi's government, which could not use his oil revenues to silence the uprising of the people. Excessive and inefficient violence, and especially foreign intervention, explain his failure.

Social conditions
A: long-term aspect
All the Arab countries involved in the crisis were faced with social issues such as the high rate of population growth, a high ration of youth to total population, Social gaps, discrimination and corruption. For example, Syria has one of the highest rates of population growth in the region (Ajami, 2012). These issues are the most important cause of dissatisfaction among the people after the economic problems. A large number of these countries have ethnic and religious minorities or the community has been split due to the other causes such as tribal ties. Countries that are witness a serious gap between majority and minority have created a favorable context

for the complication and were faced with waves of opposition protests very soon. In Arabia, Bahrain and Syria, those sections of the population who considered himself as a target of discrimination went to the streets. The social gap in Libya was appeared as a gap between the western and eastern parts of the country (Anderson, 2011) when Benghazi, former Libyan capital, gave its lost position in Tripoli is available.

B: short-term aspect
However, the interesting point is that the revolution in the victorious countries has had a more homogeneous population structure, and the greater this coherence, or the conflict of religious or ethnic communities was less with each other, faster victory has been achieved. Tunisia, which witnessed the first successful uprising, which so far it has been the last case has the most homogeneous population in comparison to Yemen. In Yemen, there were two Sunni and Shia Zeidiyeh societies, and Zaidiyyah Shias had strong encounters with Abdullah Saleh in the last years of his rule. Nevertheless, the religious difference in Yemen so far did not lead to a serious gap - as Saleh himself was from Zaidiyyah, and his opponents included both the Shia and Sunni groups. He was also heavily involved in the last years of his rule with Sunnis affiliated with al-Qaeda. The important point is that wherever the gap between the minority and the majority had been severe, governments (whether be from the majority or the minority group) have shown more resistance and to date they have maintained power however, this resistance seems to be very fragile about governments which reliant on minority. The reason of this affair is that the severe social gap has been caused a group it possible for a

group knows his vital interests depends on the continuation of the existing situation and, along with military forces defense of the government until the last breath (which mostly has been recruited from this group). The situation in Bahrain and Syria had been in this way. In contrast, in Egypt and Tunisia, was done a broad consensus among the various classes and strata against the government (Dalacoura, 2011: 71)

In these two countries, where there is no serious social gap, no group considered itself loser in the fall of the losing government. Therefore, in the absence of another identity documents, Ben Ali and Mubarak were isolated and were abolished quickly.

In most Arab countries, civil society institutions have been kept weak and in a country like Libya, most of these institutions were destroyed by Gaddafi and remained limited to tribal entities. But wherever a greater degree of this kind was seen, the transition phase took a calmer trend. In Tunisia, this country's labor union, and some other professional organizations, played a major role in people's mobilization and strikes organizing. (Dalacoura, 2012: 64)

The Ennahda Islamist party, which was dissolved by Ben Ali two decades ago, rebuilt its government immediately after overthrow and owned 40 percent of the vote in the first parliamentary election. Two-party of "congresses for the republic" and the "The Democratic convention for Work and Freedom" which also participated in the previous governments, also gained successes and formed a public government jointly. In Egypt, various groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Salafiyye, which later formed the Al-Nour Party, the new Wafd Party, the Sufis groups, 'the April Sixth Movement',

which organized many youth groups from 2008 (Najjar, 2011: 25) Some other assembly which gathered around individuals such as Mohamed ElBaradei provided a relatively slow transition of power. As mentioned earlier, there was a significant amount of freedom of the press in this country. This situation was seen in Yemen, where two opposition parties (reformation populations) and (socialist party) were present, but other factors, such as tribal assortment groups, intensify the violence in the country. In Bahrain, despite of that the victory of the uprising is still not visible in the landscape, political parties and front , such as the al-Wefaq, Haq movement and al-Wa'd population (each to a degree), have caused the protests to be organized and determinate sensible aspirations as his goals and pursue it with acceptable tools. On the contrary, in Libya which there was no trace of civil society, changes became violent strongly, and after Gaddafi's overthrow, are brought instability and internal conflicts, as far as now this country has been divided to the various forces of influence territory.

Cultural factors

A: long-term aspect

The Arab Spring from everything showed all the baselessness of the attitudes that were claimed that the cultural values of Muslim societies and in particular, the Arab countries are the most important source of authoritarianism. Some people are presented these cultural causes in historical form, and attribute this to the longstanding past of these societies. (Zakaria, 2012)

As if they have an internal feature that barrier them to escape political and social disorders (Lynch 2011).

It is mentioned that, in such kind of patriarchy or hierarchical societies, people internalized obeying superior stratum especially governors in the process of acculturation and bend them. In some cases, religious instructions are considered the reason for capitulation especially among Sunnites. The role of Islamic mottos in Bahrain and Islamic sects like Ennahda sect in Tunisia, Akhavan-ol-Muslims in Egypt and Shia Ulama in Bahrain show the important position of Islam in establishing and continuation of these commotions. However, religious tendencies are considered as the main factor for explanation of Arabic revolutions, there is no doubt that such kind of attitudes have tremendous role in their revelation. Every kind of endeavor for separating Islam from that Arabic spring makes the explanations to have less value (Rock, 2011).

B- Short-term aspects

One of the most principle cultural factors that play important part in the transmission of revolution into other Arabic countries is attachment of these countries to the Arabic culture. after Tunisian insurgence and by following them, some of the African countries such as Djibouti, Uganda and some of the Asian countries like Maldives, Azerbaijan, Georgia and even china, European countries like Armenia, Albania, Croatia and even Spain demonstrated their antagonism against their current regime and government. Yet, none of these revolutions (that previously were based on especial frameworks continued later) continued in the frame of inspired from Tunisia revolution. The puzzle of Arabic revolution that started by the downfall of Ebn-e- Ali, just continued in Arabic countries and this is a sign for formation of a unit Arabic entity (Lynch, 2011) that provided the generalization of revolution from an Arabic country to others. While Tunisia people could overthrow the authoritarianism in their country, the population of the other countries also

felt that they are able to do so. Common mottos like, "go out", "people want the regimes downfall", "stop it", and all demonstrate such cultural effect. The sense of Arabic entity in the events of 2011 to 2013 by the Arabism of 1960 by the headship of Jamal Abd-ol-Naser was different in the view that he didn't have tendency to change political borders of the region and create a unit Arabic country, and before aiming alien and world powers, the leaders of the Arabic heads themselves were at the point. Among the Arabian subcultures neighborhood that had more cultural similarities, influenced each other. Among those four countries that the government heads lost their power, three countries including Tunisia, Egypt and Libya were neighbors and are located in the subcultures of North Africa subcultures. Bahrain and Arabia were also neighbors and their Shia population who belongs to Shia subculture in the Arab world was forefront of revolution in these countries. Such feature of movement in Arabia made the government to apply an ideological tool against demonstrators through Wahhabis Ulama Decree. (Samiee Isfahani, 2015, 155-173). In the cultural dimension, there is one more important phenomenon called the role of new media like satellite TV channels such as Aljazeera, internet social networks such as face book, twitter and even cell phones in Arab Spring revolution. Most of the researchers believe that political autarchy, discrimination, social inequity, diseconomy and economy inefficiency were always dominant in the region, yet, the reason that entered this time ad provided the downfall of Arabic governments is the new technology and networks. (Dalacoura, 2012: 67). Statistics shows that the face book users outreached from 9.11 million in 2009 to 3.21 million in

2010 In the Arabic Middle East and turned not only the best and more interesting social network in this region, but also took the place of other written media such as newspaper (Anoosheh, 2013: 192-197). During the revolutions such as Arabic Spring that are sometimes called "face book revolution" or twitter revolution", the social networks play the most important role by abetting street reactions, and encouraging citizens to active reactions with the events and presenting bases for citizens in order to publish news (Abbas zadeh, 2014: 84). Yet, we should not exaggerate about these tools and should not consider that there may not be Middle East revolution in the absence of these new informational tools. Such thoughts are not reasonable since it combines the main reason of the revolution with the tools. The internet has as same part and effect in the emergence of the Islamic Revolution of Iran as the publication of papers and tapes. It did not create a new culture in Iran and did not make a new phenomenon out of nothing, yet it provided a convenient path for the emergence of the facts (Russell, 2012). Additionally, some of the unseated governments cut off the above-mentioned networks in the top of the crisis. For example, the Mubarak government attacked the office of Algeria channel and tried to barrier sending programs (Hassan, 2011, 33). Yet, it is not possible to ignore the role of these informational tools in the appearance of Arabic Spring.

The militia

A: Long-term aspects

The militia and army forces are considered as the most principle factors of governments in fulfilling their duties and stabilization against antagonist. Whenever the governments get

unsuccessful in using the force machine effectively or the protestors mobilize more effective forces against the government, in such cases, the death of the government is signed. The most important tool that has conserved Arab dictators against the protests during a few last decades is the militia or police forces of the countries. All of the fallen governors were out of the Martial's. In 1967 and the most years of 30 - years period of Mubarak's domain, Egypt had been governed based on emergency situations laws that gave more authorities to militia and police forces in order to exert limitations on the press, societies and parties for example it allowed arresting protestors without understanding accusation. The similar conditions were governing in the Algeria, Tunisia, Syria and Yemen. Libya was totally considered as a militia government in the Gaddafi period.

B: Short-term aspects

The militia and the police forces also had important role in the regime of opposition against protestors during the events called Arabia Spring. In all of these countries, the government first used police forces, but by the increase and repetition of demonstration it inevitably called the army too. The vital moment in Tunisia and Egypt was when the army enounced to be nonpartisan and consequently the regime fell down easily. Such condition did not happen in Libya, Yemen, and the conflict continued by incivility and death. Those countries in which the regime continues resistance, the militia or army also remain loyal to the government.

Yet the question is that, why Arabic Armies in different countries have different reactions? It seems that, one important reason is under the formation of Militia forces. Those militias that consider the risk of losing their job and future because of the govern-

ments fall down resist more. This issue is accurate about those armies that its enrolling was not based on professional skills, yet the members entered the system due to ethnic society of the governor (especially those governments that have minority social classes, a sample is Bahrain army) or due to affiliation to a party or leader of the government (e.g. Gaddafi Army). Consequently, in comparison to the revolution of Palestinian in the west of Jordan river, Jordan Army which is composed of trips of east of Jordan river, remained more loyal to the regime and the national guard of Arabia which was composed of central and western trips of Arabia did their best in order to support the regime. By contrast, Tunisia and Egypt armies had more professional enrolling and did not feel to be at risk by the change of the future regime, so they remained impartial.

Syria army that is under the government of Alewives and Assad family members, and Yemen army whose considerable part is under the direct headship of Abdollah Saleh also remained loyal to their governments.

The events after the downfall of Mubarak also showed that the Egypt Army does not have tendency to remain at the corner of political changes of the country. This issue should be considered and explained according to the position of Army in the society. Due to different reasons such as being involved in a few wars with Israel, Egypt army has considerable position in the society and has taken a part in the economic activities of the country during the resent years (Anderson, 2011). Contrarily, Tunisia Army had more marginal role in the revolution of the country and did not play any role in the events of the country after downfall of Ben Ali. The reason may is that Tunisia does not have any war experiences and so lacks any especial position in the country.

External factor

A: Long-term Aspect

The external reason is considered as one of the most long-term factors in the emergence of Arabia revolution.

Aliens conquest on the policy if the region (England to the First World War and the united states after that), that was done by the dependent governments, was the main reason for the Arabic's dissatisfaction about the regimes governing their countries (Amin, 2011). There was a reciprocal connection between Arabic authoritarian regimes and world powers and those governments seek for the satisfaction of the world powers instead of satisfying people. Indeed, despite their mottos based on establishing " the big Middle East" and endeavor for establishing democracy in Arabic countries, especially after the September 11th event and the attack of Afghanistan and Iraq, the Americans did not do any serious action in order to democratic reformation. Incidents such as Hamas victory in the elections of Palestine showed that, according to the people attitude and feelings in the region, democracy mostly has disadvantages for the Americans and democratic governments have fewer tendencies to cooperate with those dictatorial regimes. The issue that alien allegiants of Arabic regimes are the main supporters of the Israel, breaks the heart of Arab nations. Among the fallen down governments, only Libya was not in the chain of America and west friends and affiliations.

B: The short-term aspect

The external factor had immediate role during the Arabia revolutions of 2011- 2013. While this reason prevented some of the others or at least postponed their downfall, it also contributed the falling of the regimes too. During the events of Tunisia and Egypt, the western governments left the support of their affiliations after being aware of the magnificence of revolutionary movements (just France tries for a while to support Ebn- e- Ali against the waves of revolutions). Detachment of alien powers decreases the self-confidence of the former governors of Tunisia and Egypt and finally accelerates their downfall. Despite the western governments' tendency and the marginal countries of Persian Gulf for supporting Abdollah Saleh, and the high level of people disagreements with him, Yemen government did not allow finical or even political interferences for him. Yet after Jordan chaos, the united stated and Arabia that were considered as the advocates of Malek Abdollah regime, helped massively too this country in order to solve a part of its economic problems (Moon, 2012:31).

Saudi Arabia assisted some financial helps to Mubarak regime through cooperation council of Persian Gulf (Samiee Isfahani, 2015: 174-175). Yet, such kind of assistances was not enough to restrain the Egyptians expansive revolutions. This assistance reached top about Bahrain regime and Arabia helped Al caliph regime by sending its forces. It is clear that, aliens' assists in two recent cases worked for the advantages of engaged governments. On the other hand, this external factor was considered as one of the most important reasons that prevented the dictator governor of oil country that is Gaddafi, to use its financial and army facilities for mollifying disorders. The direct interference of NATO was the most rapid reason of Gaddafi regime downfall. What is observable about Syria is that, various alien parties got engaged in the crisis and each of them supported the gov-

ernment or antagonists in a way. Most of the Arabic countries plus Turkish endeavored actively for the downfall of Bashar Assad and western countries supported them. Yet, Russia, China and Iran have tendency for the survival of this regimen. Surly the most important factor in determining the path of events in Syria is international alignments and the way of its changing.

Conclusions

Arabic revolutions in 2011 to 2013 have root in political, economic and social factors that caused deep dissatisfaction of the people in these countries and provided a context for reemergence in the shape of unexpected crisis when the situation is proper. Yet, the defeat of some insurgences and some victories demonstrate that the reason for activating long-term factors lies behind the short-term factors. Long-term roots do not lead to the revolution in by itself. Short-term factors determine the victory or defeat of these revolutions. One of the main reasons in determining the fate of revolutions in short term was political management of crisis and the way in which governors utilize proper economic and political tactics against them. On time recession or apposition and applying suitable composition of awards and exerting coercion are considered very important in this context. It seems that, when Arabia countries came out of Ebn-e- Ali shocks, they gradually learned the way-encountering crisis from each other. Perhaps, that was why the regimes resisted against the revolution by the pass of time. Less than one month after the suicide of Bo Azizi and insurgence caused by it, Ben Ali collapsed (December 18, 2010 to January 14, 2011) and Mubarak just resisted 18 days against this insurgence (from January 25, 2011 to February 11, 2011). 9 month passed (by the start of war in February 15

2011 in Benghazi to Gaddafi assassination in October 20, 2011) then Gaddafi antagonist could defeat him and Abdollah Saleh pulled off against defiance from the first demonstration in January 27 in Sanaa to the formal abdication in February 27, 2012).

The experiences of the other countries in this crisis also showed that those governments that could attract the support of significant part of the population and conserve the loyalty of army, passed the crisis. These governments succeeded to prevent the world consensus against themselves or attract the support of international powers in the second degree. These issues show that whatever has immediate and determining role in the downfall or survival of Arabic regimes during the events of 2011 to 2013 are a series of short-term factors. These reasons include political management, economic power, force system efficiency, the possibility for attracting internal support (even a minority) and external support (even the second-degree international powers). Yet, it should be mentioned that Arabia countries might learn methods of confronting crisis and apply short-term factor in their advantages. Yet there is not any guaranty not to be shocked again. The long-term solution is destroying crisis roots and dissatisfaction.

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