

A Conceptual-Theoretical Analysis of the Middle East 2011 Events

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Abstract

The recent events that started in winter 2011 and are still continuing in the Middle East and North African countries have resulted in downfall of three states in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya and instability in such countries as Bahrain, Yemen, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Certainly both policy makers and political scientists have been shocked and surprised by these events and how they happened and resulted in fall of Bin Ali in Tunisia, Mubarak in Egypt and Gaddafi in Libya. Some scholars have argued that the field of regional studies could not anticipate these events and in fact, it may be true. In other words, not only regional studies, political science and international relation disciplines couldn't anticipate the events, but also they have confused about explaining their nature and implications. Many scholars in these disciplines are trying to understand these events. This article seeks to understand the nature, causes/ reasons of these events to some extent by using political sciences, international relations and regional studies theories and concepts. Therefore, the main question in this article is that in regard to conceptual-theoretical doctrines of political science, what is the nature of Middle East 2011 events? Which are the most important causes/ reasons of these events? At First, we design the framework of article, then we do a literature survey that have been performed in this field. In the third section, we examine Political Science theories and concepts which can explain these events; finally, we assess the application of each of these concepts and theories in the context of the Middle East events.

Keywords: Middle East, Islamic Awakening, Arab Spring, Theoretical framework.

I – Introduction

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The recent events in the Middle East began with self-immolation of a Tunisian young graduated peddler on 17 December 2010. These events resulted in increasing demonstrations and consequently downfall of Bin Ali's Regime in Tunisia on 14 January 2011. Following the action of this young man, Tunisian demonstration spread quickly to other MENA (Middle East and North Africa) countries. A day after falling of Bin Ali's Regime, an Egyptian protester also burnt himself. Protests spread in Egypt; people participated in anti-governmental demonstrations and called for the removal of Mubarak from power. In Egypt, army announced its impartiality and people addressed the army as brother. Finally, the people's resistance resulted in Mubarak's regime fall on 11 February 2011.

Protests in Libya had another splendor because Libyan dictator didn't want to surrender himself to the will of people and didn't pay attention to people's demands. Consequently, the situation in Libya became very complicated and resulted in armed conflict between people and Gaddafi forces. Therefore, U.N Security Council issued an order for arresting Gaddafi on 27 June 2011 and by interfering NATO forces protests scene became a civil War. The Scales of damages in Libya was very high and the dictator still didn't want to surrender himself. But finally opposition forces toppled Gaddafi from power on 23 August 2011.

The Wave of these developments have also spread to other countries in the region and as a result Yemen, Bahrain, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and some other countries in the Middle East and north Africa have witnessed anti-governmental protests.

The study of new developments in MENA countries show firstly, what is the nature of these developments and secondly, what are the cause/ reason of these developments? In this article, we refer to at first. Then, after examining political science theories and literature survey concepts that can explain these events. Finally, we will assess the application of these concepts and theories in the context of Middle East.

2- Literature Survey

During last year, a number of articles have analyzed Middle East revolutions. In this section, we study some of these sources and show that conceptual and theoretical analysis of new developments has been studied rarely and it is necessary today. The well-known revolution theoretician, Jack Goldstone regards these developments "revolution" and reviews their common characteristics (Goldstone, 2011).

Lisa Anderson in the article, "*Demystifying the Arab spring: parsing the Differences between Tunisia, Egypt and Libya*" studies similarities and differences of recent developments in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya (Anderson, 2011). She asserts that although these three countries are facing with similar chaos and protests, but at the same time have different challenges, as their consequences was different. Anderson compare Libyan situation with two other most unrest countries and argues that although Tunisia and Egypt are facing with democratization, the main challenge of Libya is state-building.

In other Article, "*Would oil overshadow the Arab spring? Democracy and Resources calamity*", Michael Ross has reviewed new developments in the Middle East (Ross, 2011). Ross is analyzing a direct relationship between oil and dictatorship. The main argument in this article is that Arab Spring will not result in democracy. He presents three reasons for his argument a) oil revenues bring with itself a silence of citizens against states actions because, states buying their support by paying oil earnings, b) Rulers who earn their budget from oil industry, can intervene in countries' financial affairs secretly and easily that result in more corruption and c) rulers buy loyalty of military forces easily by relying on oil wealth.

Richard Hass, United States council of foreign affairs president, in "*How to Read the Second Arab Awakening*" calls recent developments in the Middle East as the second Arab awakening. He believes that the first Arab awakening happened about 75 years ago against Europeans and was influenced by Arab nationalism. Hass argues that the second Arab Awakening is not against United States or Israel, but is domestic phenomenon against unresponsive and repressive leaders (Hass, 2011).

Among Persian language articles that have been written about the Middle East developments, we can point to "*Arab Spring revolt against imported modernity*", which is written by Hussein Daheshiar (Daheshiar, 2011). Daheshiar analyzes Arab world events based on historical

approach. He concludes that many factors have caused to such developments: Inability of Arab states in creating of a human environment for people living in different historical periods, their strong dependency to the Western powers, effective role of great powers in conducting and directing Arab leaders' policies, economic poverty, increasing gap in society and harmful expansion of the western culture.

Salman Razawi in the Article, *"Arab uprising and challenges Zionist regime are facing "*, analyses recent developments in the Middle East in three levels: domestic, regional and international levels. Rezawi calls such developments as "uprising". He believes that one of the most important implications and outcomes of such uprisings is underpinning of Zionism Regime (Razawi, 2011).

Therefore, we saw that most of written articles about recent developments in the Middle East have not attended to conceptual and theoretical recent events and if it was so, they have not been analyzed comprehensively. It seems that there is a blank research space in this field and could be completed by using political science concepts and theories. This article aims to do this.

3) Conceptual and theoretical debates

It is no doubt that what was happened in the Middle East last year, was a transformation/change, but what was their nature and what was their reasons, there is no consensus among Middle East researchers. The concept of transformation can be divided into two parts; violent and non-violent. In the following we are referring first to violent transformations including revolution, chaos, riot/ uprising, coup d'état, war, foreign intervention and civil war. Second, non-violent transformations including reform, protest and social movements, and third, we point to different theories about transformations. Finally, in conclusion, we will analyze application of concepts and theories.

A) Violent Transformation Revolution

The concept of "Revolution" like other social phenomena has not a single and unique definition among all scholars. Perhaps, the number of definitions from revolution is as the number of scholars who have debated about it. Here, we refer to some definitions. In Dehkhoda Encyclopedia, in Persian language; the term of revolution literally means

change, transformation, evolution and nature change (Dekhoda 1967: 431). Word of revolution in terms of social and political science have been used in two other meanings; first rapid transformation that originate from popular uprising in response to political conditions of society; other meaning is fundamental and apolitical transformation that happening without violence and in a slowly manner like scientific, industrial and cultural revolution...the common aspect in these two meanings from revolution is strong, fundamental and rapid transformation" (Giddens, 2006: 660).

One of the most famous definitions belongs to Samuel Huntington. He believes that revolution is fundamental, rapid and violent internal transformation of values, dominant myths of society, political institutions, social structure, leadership, governmental activities and its policies. Also, according to Stanford Keohane, revolution has six characteristics; 1) changes of values or social myths, 2) social structural change, 3) institutional change, 4) change in ruling group, 5) transmission of power illegally, and 6) violence (Keohane, 2000: 65 – 35).

Chaos, Revolt and Uprising

Chaos means political violence that is relatively organized and spontaneous and along with impressive popular participation including violent political strikes, revolts, political conflicts and local riots (Giddens, 2006: 1023).

Revolt means struggle with current political authority; but its aim is merely replacing authorities who are at the head of affairs not changing the political structure (Giddens, 2006: 7013). Limited domain, anarchy and lack of leadership or diffuse leadership of protests are other characteristics of revolt. This term and similar terms like "outburst", "disturbance" and "insurrection" are sectional or responsive movements with different nature and domains which provide sometimes the background for revolutionary movement and in most times have not people's accompaniment, alternative new ideology, and a program for changing social and political institutions. Many of revolts are being crackdown and suppressed (Bashiriyeh, 2001: 204). If revolt to be in the direction of revolution, it will involve leadership that in this case, revolt became a background for a revolution (Zagorski, 2009: 40). Uprising means social riot and violent protest of social stratum against the status

quo. These protests are mostly personal and don't have national aspect and have no plans for future. Rebellions want only to remove its shortcomings, problems and reasons. Therefore, in most cases, uprisings appear in the form of demand for respect to constitution and restitution of particular social group's privileges (Babai, 2000: 62).

Coup d'état

Direct army intervention in politics is called Coup d'état on which political power has been fiercely seized by militants (Smith, 2005: ch, 10). Huntington divided coup d'état into four types: governmental/protective coup d'état, veto coup d'état, veto preventive coup d'état and reformative coup d'état. In protective coup d'état, the role of army is to protect and guard against political system. Veto coup d'état happens when political power transfers while army does not approve it. In veto preventive coup d'état, army is trying to coup to prevent transfer of power to new revolutionary radical government. Finally, reformative coup d'état happens when the army want to change existed social order, and organizes state and society based on new ideology (Smith, 2004: 375).

War and foreign intervention

War is regarded as a part of human nature, and had taken different approaches and forms in each of colonial historical periods. War is a military attack to one or more countries in order to territorial seizure or overturn of political structure of government. For example, Libyan war in 2011 has caused to overturn of Gaddafi government and change of political structures in this country. Foreign intervention happens when one or more states or international organizations intervene in domestic or external affairs of another nation by imposing their will in order to change or preserve status quo without considering consent of that nation. Nye suggests that foreign intervention divides to two groups: soft and hard. Soft intervention includes shaping of people's perceptions and assumptions and changing of cultures. Such intervention takes place to persuade people. Hard intervention includes sanctions, military activities and threats (Nye and Mathers, 2009).

Civil War

Civil war is similar to coup d'état and uprising in some aspects. However, its domains and scales are broader than coup d'état and also, in terms of organizing protests and struggle, and expansion of purposes is in higher level than revolt. Armed conflicts among conflicting parties in one country following outburst of one part of dominant power against another part or requesting autonomy or independence by a group of residents in a country is called "civil war". (Ferati, 1996: 56).

Here, we note to the other characteristics of civil war that have been recognized by Gaston Bouthoul, 1) heavy casualties and a numerous domestic damages, 2) long lastingness of civil wars, 3) destruction of national and spiritual morale in society (Bouthoul, 1996: 32).

B) Non-Violent Transformation Reform

Reform means attempting to prudent change in political, social and economical construction of society and in the same time preventing from violence. Reforms have important differences with Revolutions. In Revolutions, there is popular grievances against status quo and disappointment from reform and improve of affairs and conditions, but in social reforms, there is a protest to some existed faults and shortcomings. In reforms unlike revolutions, the opposing parties have a freedom of opposition and criticism from reform plans. In revolutions, social struggles come along with violence and crackdown; but in reforms, the struggle is without violence and every confronting takes place in the form of debate and mutual criticism. Revolution is a sectional phenomenon. Reforms are gradual and constant phenomenon (Gay, 1997: 26).

Protest

A protest is an expression of objection, by words or by actions, to particular events, policies or situations. Protests can take many different forms, from individual statements to mass demonstrations. Also, a protest can be part of a systematic and peaceful electoral campaign to achieve a particular objective, and involve the use of pressure as well as persuasion. This problem goes beyond mere protest and may be better described as a civil resistance or non-violent resistance (Giddens, 2006: 1023).

Social Movement

Movement is a type of collective actions that differs from natural behaviors, bureaucracy and riots which happen in society. It must provide particular situations that can be named as a movement.

1) Social movement is a type of collective actions that take form around general and serious grievance that it is expressed with different interpretations in sociology literature. In other words, there is a gap or dilemma in society.

2) For a movement can be achieved, grievance is not enough alone. Discourse is one of the most important characteristics in creating a movement. It must discuss about this grievance, the reason of discrimination must be discovered, and also its desirable situation and how it can be achieved must be discussed.

3) Another point about social movement is leadership, cohesion and organization without them, social movement is impossible.

4) In addition, a movement action requires political space. Until, there is suppression and state does not allow the movement to act, cannot show its force. Therefore, state must be democratic and allow protests, or a movement must be in a situation that could not be suppressed (Tilly, 2009: 84).

C) Theories of Change

Each of the concepts that we assessed above can be expressed by the concept of *change*; attempts by people of one country for changing particular political system or changing its characteristics and behavior. These concepts have been analyzed in political science literature in terms of revolution theories, although all of them can't be categorized necessarily under the definition of revolution. There are remarkable differences among revolution theories in terms of causes of revolutions and violent behaviors. In this article, we have examined different theories about revolution and protests. We have tried to explain recent developments in Arab countries by these theories. Also, we try to determine adaptation degree of all revolution theories with recent events in the Middle East. Here, we examine briefly theories of class struggle, political realism, social solidarity, charisma, and individualism, Mass Society, rising expectations, functionalism and the circulation of elites. Also, we extract the main presumptions of these theories in order to assess them in the next section.

Class Struggle Theory: According to Marx's structural model, conflicts emerge from class interests in society. The Marxist Structural model extracts the revolution from organization, social interests, performance and their arrangements. In this model, political considerations are subject to economic interests. According to a survey, economic factors such as sudden shortcomings, unemployment, increasing prices and decreasing Wages have related to political violence in very different contexts such as the revolutions of France, England, the United States and Japan (Bashiriyeh, 2008: 104). Assumptions that have been extracted from this theory considers; first, existence of different economic classes cause to conflicts, and second, individuals act collectively in revolutions on the basis of their knowledge of common economic interests, and third, the aim of revolution in this theory is achieving class economic interests.

Political realism and power theory: Structural theories including Marx's structural theory consider long-term causes of revolution, but political realism attends to short-term causes. Political power is the main problem in this theory and in the first grade, revolution is a political phenomenon. Political power is both instrument and aim in social life and only struggle for power is real and meaningful. From a realistic point of view, weakness of state suppression apparatus provides backgrounds for mass protests by different opposition groups and it is the essence of revolution. Generally, realism considers state not as passive arena of social conflicts, but as the most important active factor in revolutionary situation (Bashiriyeh, 2006: 65). Assumptions in this theory include; 1) weakness of state suppression organizations leads to revolutions, 2) revolutionary struggle aims to achieve political power.

Social solidarity theory: According to this tradition, social in-cohesion provides the ground for collective behavior and mobilization. Durkheim tradition has expressed at least one of the most important problems is social theory. Also, functionalist school assumes on balancing among various areas in society and concludes that lack of balance is a reason for social problems, while all of the societies are always in a kind of unbalancing situation between their different sub-

systems (Bashiriyeh, 2006: 69). In these terms, Huntington believes that a revolution takes place only in developing societies in which there is an increasing political participation demand and they have not necessary political institutions. As a result, he argues that increasing of participation without developing institutions is a main reason that revolutionary situation emerges (Bashiriyeh, 2006: 69). An assumption that must be assessed in terms of this theory is that lack of balance between political participation demand and existing political institutions have caused to emerge revolutions.

Charisma theory: Max Weber believes that charismatic authority is out of established structures, ordained hierarchy and rational considerations. It involves innovation and prophetic revolution. Social transformation in history is a product of charismatic outburst. Generally, Weber argues that charismatic movement emerges from "Spiritual vacuum" which is created by inadequacy of traditions and established intellectual system to explain new developments (Bashiriyeh 2007: 60). According to this theory, charisma is a cause to emergence of revolutions. In other words, spiritual vacuum arising from inadequacy of traditions and intellectual system to explain new developments is the main reason for charismatic movement.

Individualism Theory and Psychology: According to this theory, emerging conditions of revolutionary situation are related to individual or his perception about that situation. Here, the issue is not related to class's interests, social groups and state power structure or social solidarity, but is related to objective or subjective individual situation. This theory in terms of philosophy is built on utilities school which regards individual action as rational and in the direction of attaining to happiness and utility (Bashiriyeh, 2007: 60). This theory is built on the assumption that human being has fundamental demands and needs, and if they suppress or fail, can result in violence and aggression; in fact, such aggression is the main element of political violence and revolutionary behavior. In fact, deprivations and individual's economic and social disappointments are the most important factor in their revolutionary behavior.

Mass society theory: This theory has been presented by Hanna Arendt and William Kornhuser. This theory belongs to functionalism

theories. Generally, functionalism theorists argue that certain structures in society lead to its permanent stability and until these structures and so-called structural arrangements is placed in, there would be no problem in that society. However, when these structural arrangements in society are being disappeared, likelihood of emergence of mass revolution and following that the establishment of mass regime and government would be increased. "Mass" is from fundamental concepts of this theory. (Arendt, 1986: 42). William Kornhauser considers such society as a social system in which prominent groups as well as elites are exposed easily to mass influences, and also masses prone to mobilization by social prominent groups. Assumptions that have been extracted from this theory include; 1) the separation of individuals from groups and parties cause to the emergence of mass society and consequently, leads them toward mass revolution, 2) forming a group consists of elites for shaping popular movements and leading them toward revolution.3) Government has lost its political authority and legitimacy completely, and people do not want to accept its sovereignty.

Rising expectations theory: Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859), a French political thinker who explains the French revolution and claims that increasing of individual's happiness was increased their expectations, so that government was not able to respond to people's demands, and people in turn considered the government old and the middle age (Keohane, 2000: 200). In fact, revolutions don't take place in societies that have retrograded economically. In contrast, revolutions are emerging in societies on which have forward progresses economically (Brinton, 1900). On the other hand, Keohane argues that the most dangerous time for a government is when it intends to do reforms in manner of its own actions. (Keohane, 2000:200). Therefore, assumptions that emerge from this theory include:

1) A period of welfare and economic growth increases individual's expectations which in turn lead to revolution. 2) The gap between rich and poor, and incapability of state to response to rising expectations are the factors that lead to revolution.3) Revolutions bearing fruit when the governments intend to reform themselves.

Johnson's theory: Chalmers Johnson is one of the prominent theorists of Parsons' structural–functionalism approach who presents a systematic theory about revolution. With relying on social balance, he

regards the main reason of any revolution in every society as a system its inadequacy and expanding it to a complex and multiple inadequacies in it. When inadequacy comes to such degree together with incorrigibility of dominant elites who can't adopt themselves with new situations as well as reforms to conduct transformation process, the society will move toward revolution. Especially, if acceleration factors be added to it and play a role of a spark in woodshed that in this case, revolution outburst would be definite. Changes have a root in internal system or have been empowered externally. Therefore, we examine four types of changes: 1) sources of value change from out of system, 2) sources of value change in internal system, 3) sources of environmental change in internal system and 4) sources of environmental change in external system (Johnson, 1978).

Then, we can refer to these assumptions. 1) the unbalancing emerges from changes in external system, cause to violent behaviors, 2) people values have undergone changes and the government is unable to respond new requirements 3) the factors of changing environmental conditions from internal system include social, economical and ethnography change.

Pareto Theory of circulation of elites: Every change and revolution is an effect of struggle between old and new elites who take power and in this struggle; people have a duty of trying hard as an unknown force to help elites in order to come to power. Pareto believes that such circulation of elites is always continuing and conflicts to achieve power by elites never end. Pareto distinguishes between the commoners and the nobles and therefore argues that politics is only a puppet in the hands of the nobles (Bashiriyeh, 1986: 79). According to Pareto, it can be argued that a particular group of elites, who deprived from power, is the main factor in mobilizing popular forces against rulers.

4-Application of Concepts and Theories: Nature and Causes of Developments.

According to the feature of mentioned concepts, Tunisian and Egypt developments cannot be called uprising, rebellion and/ or riot, because these developments have been based on definite objectives and were beyond personal local protests and their main demand was to change social and political bodies.

In fact, these protests were so broad that resulted in the collapse of regimes. Therefore, the best concept for this kind of development (Egypt and Tunisia) is revolution. Some authorities have criticized the absence of leadership factor in this development and believe that calling this revolution is misnomer but the authors of this article believe that events in Tunisia and Egypt can be called as revolution without distinct leadership and social networks like Tweeter and Facebook and internet have played an important role in coordinating protesters demands. Libya's situation among MENA countries is unique. Since, Muammar Gaddafi was not surrounded in front of people demand, people's revolution of Libya had been driven toward an all-out civil war that eventually fulfilled by foreign troops interference.

Developments in Yemen, although had some features of social movements including public dissatisfaction or emergence of street demonstrations but social movements, principally, appear and emerge in modern societies or societies in transitions, and ethnic and tribal conflicts cannot be described as an evidence of social movement. Following this development the state carries vast reforms. Therefore, general nature of developments can be described as peaceful protests that in fact have revolutionary and subverting movement's characteristics.

In Bahrain, people by nationwide protests want political reforms but this people uprising have continual following government intense suppressions and using foreign troops for crackdown of opponents. The nature of Syrian developments also can be described as protests in the framework of political reforms. Also, Jordan, Algeria and Kuwait face popular protests for political reforms. Minor protests also have taken place in Saudi Arabia.

The following table apparently providing overview of different nature of these developments in different countries by application of political science, regional studies and international relations concepts:

Theory Country	Date of beginning	Nature of developments in beginning	Nature of developments now
Tunisia	8 december2010	nationwide protest, people uprising and riot	revolution
Algeria	28 december2010	Riot, nationwide protest	nationwide protest, governmental changes
Libya	13 January 2011	Riot. Armed conflict and civil war	Civil war and war and foreign interference
Jordan	14 January 2011	Reforms, minor protests	Nationwide protests, governmental changes
Yemen	18 January 2011	Rebellion , Riot	governmental changes, sustained civil disorder
Saudi Arabia	21 January2011	Reforms, protest	minor protests
Egypt	25 January2011	Nationwide protests, people uprising and riot	revolution
Syria	26 January2011	Public protest, riot and armed uprising	governmental changes, and armed uprising
Bahrain	14 february2011	Nationwide protests, reforms	Foreign interference and people uprising
Kuwait	18 February 2011	Minor protests and reforms	Cabinet resignation, governmental changes

As it is evident in the table, regional developments initially have taken place in the aim of achieving civil rights but have changed following governmental suppressions and caused to violent developments that cannot be controlled easily. Even in some countries such as Libya ended in civil war and also foreign interference and war.

For studying causes and origin of developments, it is necessary to consider application of political science theories. The method of studying is that assumptions driven from each theory about each country to be examined distinctively in order to explain the causes of developments from theories perspective.

Tunisia: the theories appropriate to Tunisia developments are: 1) by studying and investigating Tunisian developments, we found that accumulation of wealth in the hand of some people lead to widespread social class gap and therefore rulers have structured economic corruption in society and creating many economic problems (Ross, 2011), so that people cannot tolerate such situation. This condition is compatible with discussed assumption in class struggles theory that argues the existence of different economic classes is the cause of conflicts. Also, according to this theory, people by awareness of common economic interests involving in collective acts in revolutions that its main goal is obtain to economic interests.

2) Considering that people protest for 4 weeks resulted in fall of Ben Ali cabinet, we can point to the importance of political realism theory and power theory in explaining Tunisian developments. The main assumption of this theory is that weakness of state crackdown organization leads to revolution. In fact, it had not effective role in Tunisia protests.

Egypt: 1) According to UN official reports, 40 percent of Egypt population from total 80 million have a less than 2\$ income a day and live under poverty line. This poverty along with unemployment among young generation and university graduates has become plague in Egypt society. These facts prove the class struggle theory that considers economic factors among important causes of developments. 2) The second theory in studying Egypt developments is political realism theory which views weakness of state suppression apparatus as the second factor of revolution. Application of this theory can be seen in army behavior. In a way that army forces while had an order for suppression of protesters they avoided and many of them removed their uniforms and joined to the protesters. 3) By increasing democratization process globally, individuals want to take part in self-determination, but because of three decade of dictatorship by Mubarak, there is lack of equilibrium between political participation and existing political bodies that is one of the causes of revolution in this country. In fact, Egyptian people get worried about life-long ruling and demanding an active political participation. 4) As in Tunisia, there were a number of self-immolations in front of Egypt governmental institutions and in an objection to country circumstances.

Therefore, Egypt developments confirm the theory of psychology and individualism. 5) According to nationwide presence of people from among different groups and classes, Egypt developments can be explained based on mass society theory. 6) The Johnson's theory as in Tunisia is also applicable in Egypt.

Libya: The situation in Libya is different and we are facing a kind of internal war. We try to assess this country circumstances based on different theories and perspectives: 1) according to class struggle theory, economic interests are the main cause of protests. This assumption is compatible with Libya events to a certain extent. Libya is among oil exporting countries and have a high income from this natural resources but people have not any share in this revenues. These conditions have created a profound gap between people and rulers and encouraged them to rise against dominant class. But according to ethnical-tribal context of Libya the application of class cannot be appropriate when it is used in broader concept than Marx's theory. 2) According to the assumption of social solidarity theory, we can assess Libya's developments. Libya's despotic ruler had taken holds of power and taken the possibilities of political participation from people and eliminated the political bodies and by hereditary ruling had aroused people's protests. 3) Johnson's theory by referring to lack of equilibrium can appropriately explain Libya developments. In Libya there was an evident imbalance in political, social and economic fields that have become the main cause of protests. 4) The Pareto's theory can explain the Libya developments to a certain extent. Civil war in Libya can be considered the war of groups and tribes for obtaining power and the elite's attempts to take power.

Yemen: 1) Yemen is structurally among most poor countries of Arab world therefore, economic problems are of the main reasons of protests that can be explained based on class struggle theory. Hence, it can be argued that people have undertaken the uprising for attaining good economic conditions. 2) After 33 years ruling in Yemen, Saleh brought down the people's political participation to zero and they have become wearied of this situation and demanding active participation in political arena of their country but because of political poverty of country, there is not necessary political bodies and this is one of the reasons of creating

protests.3) Johnson's theory by referring to the factor of disequilibrium can explain Yemen developments. In Yemen like Libya we are seeing disequilibrium in different fields that have become a reason for people's protests.4) It seems that tribal and ethnic elites have a significant role in forming the protests. Therefore, Pareto's theory about the circulation of elites has conformity with these transformations to a certain extent.

Bahrain: 1) The situation in Bahrain is different from other countries. The protests are mainly among Shiites that in spite of having majority have no share in government. So it can be said people more than attempting to obtain more economic interests they are demanding to have share in political power. Therefore, the theory of class struggle can not be explained in case of Bahrain. 2) Majority of 70 percent Shiites of this country have not any presence in sultanistic and managerial institutional and no participation in Bahrain great trading. Therefore, according to the theory of social solidarity it can be said that the disequilibrium between political participation and political inclusion is the reason for protests. 3) It is true that rulers have violated the rights of people for many years but based upon Johnson's theory it can be argued that changes outside Bahrain including events in Arab countries and people's winning have encouraged Bahraini to protest. Therefore, Johnson's theory can appropriately explain Bahrain developments. 9) It seems that religious elites have a significant role in forming the protests so Pareto's theory of circulation of elites has conformity with these developments to a certain extent.

Syria: 1) It is true that Syria has economic problems but they cannot be considered as a reason for recent protests because on the one hand the state has attempted to do some economic reforms and on the other hand, the opposition has not an economic and class based nature but they have mainly religious, ethnical and political nature. Therefore, we can not explain Syria transformations based on class struggle theory. 2) Bashar Assad is not a corrupt ruler and tries to do some reforms in his country but the factor that is important in Syrian people's protests is that they have become worried of long-life and patrimonial rulers and demanding political participation and self-determination. The religious-ethnic minorities have been deprived of citizenship rights and these

factors created widespread protests in Syria. In fact, Syrian protesters have come to the streets for acquiring civil rights and democracy. These transformations can appropriately be explained based on social solidarity theory. 3) The theory of rising expectations can appropriately explain Syria transformations. According to the assumption of this theory, protests starts when the government intends to do reforms that it is true about Syria and people have demand that the government can not meet them. 4) According to the Johnson's theory, Syrian people's values have changed that affected by internal factors such as increasing of young generation, increasing of use of public communication means and also external factors including people's victory against despotic rulers.

It can be said that the theory of social solidarity is the most applicable one in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Algeria and Kuwait. According to this theory, protests create for increasing people's political participation. The following table briefly assesses the transformations that took place in each country and their relationship with theories:

Theory	Class struggle	Political realism	Social solidarity	charisma	individualism	Mass society	Rising expectations	Johnson	Pareto
Country									
Tunisia	*	*	*	-	*	*	-	*	-
Egypt	*	*	*	-	*	*	-	*	-
Libya	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	*	*
Yemen	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	*	*
Syria	*	-	*	-	-	-	-	*	-
Bahrain	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	*	-
Algeria	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jordan	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kuwait	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saudi Arabia	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-

*: certified

-: not certified

Conclusion:

This article appropriately shows that naming of the Middle East 2011 developments on the one hand and finding their causes or reasons on the other hand is an easy and impossible work. Of course by analyzing

the formed literature of these developments, it is can be found that there are various ideas about these developments and their nature. This article attempts to apply key concepts and central theories of political science discipline in recent Middle East events that had been called "Islamic Awakening" and "Arab Spring". As specified, these events had not been the same in starting, continuing and ending and some of them although had not the form and shape of revolution at the beginning but resulted in revolution at the end. It can be said about the causes of this transformations that they were not mono-casual and a set of factors had been involved in their forming. These developments in different countries that are mainly Arab have similarities and differences that need another research.

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