The Role of the Media in Shaping New Social Movements in the Islamic Awakening

Abdolreza Alishahi[1*], Anna Popov[2]

[1]*Ph.D Student in Political Science at Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran*
[2]*Ph.D Student in Political Science at Saint Petersburg University, Saint Petersburg, Russia*

Corresponding Author: *Abdolreza Alishahi, Ph.D Student in Political Science at Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran, Iran*

ABSTRACT

The decision-making, power-building, and state-nation relations processes (in terms of legitimacy and legitimacy) are affected by the power relationship between state and nation as two fundamental components of a modern political entity; therefore, a kind of geopolitical match between state and nation. . It is known that depending on the type of competition, the form of the political system will be affected. Role-playing in the public sphere and nations is a development that is referred to in the geopolitical literature as public geopolitics. Critical definition of public geopolitics examines the power relations in shaping the geopolitical perceptions of individuals and groups in relation to the media; in the meantime, the political developments in North Africa and the Arab Middle East over the past few years (albeit) each have their own characteristics. And many governments have been overthrown, but these developments cannot be analyzed in the traditional literature of the revolution. Therefore, this article seeks to answer the question with a descriptive approach and a descriptive-analytical approach: "From a general geopolitical perspective, what? A factor in the emergence of social movements and the deconstruction of the Middle East and what has led to North Africa? "In response, we have suggested that the formation of Arab Middle East movements and the overthrow of authoritarian and inefficient Arab regimes, in contrast to the spheres of power between the two spheres of government elites and popular strata, is a fundamental political construct. Therefore, from the geopolitical point of view, the mentioned developments are formed as a result of the confrontations and tensions in the field of general geopolitics and the geopolitical field of the (specific) state.

Keywords: *Middle East, Media, Islamic Awakening, Authoritarian Regimes*

INTRODUCTION

The struggles and turmoil of society have always been influenced by fluctuations in the concept of power in the constituent layers of the construction of a political unit. From the perspective of domestic politics and the actions of the state and the nation, power is a tool for governing and governing the country.

Whenever the relationship of power with the state has a threatening and distressing approach to the nation, the public sphere will react; Slow reformist changes are taking place until revolutionary and structuralist movements; therefore, the public sphere's reaction to confronting the power of the state is within the framework of the concept of general geopolitics; One Nqshafrynymyknnd so that the media in directing the perceptions, attitudes, and by extension, political and social behavior patterns of individuals, such Karkrddarnd outstanding.

The most important function of the media is to convey the message. Through its message, the media helps people to communicate with their socio-political environment. With the proliferation of information and communication technologies (ICT), the media has become more widespread and challenging the boundaries of sovereignty and absolute power by pushing political boundaries. The emergence and expansion of social networks in cyberspace has been one of the most obvious consequences of the development of Internet infrastructure; therefore, in the last two decades, the media system in the field of public geopolitics has attracted many audiences. Social movements are a collective movement to move from the unfavorable situation and achieve common interests or goals. Names such as labor movements, anarchists, blacks, civil rights, anti-war, women, environmentalists, etc., have been only part of the most invisible and widespread

contemporary movements; in the meantime, new media in the form of cyberspace and social networks have facilitated The collapse of authoritarian regimes, the preservation of members' communication, and the leadership and formation of the movement have been shown to be very effective. The socio-political developments of the Arab countries in the last few years are also the latest kind of social movements that have been formed in response to the inefficiency of authoritarian regimes and in the context of socio-political issues of these societies. Given the nature of recent movements and the role of the media in shaping these movements, the general geopolitical approach is one of the most important approaches that can be effective in identifying the causes of these movements. Has the emergence of social movements and the disintegration of the Middle East and North Africa led to the question? Middle East and North Africa Therefore, the aim of this study can be to investigate the function of media strategy in shaping the social movements of the Arab Middle East and North Africa.

BACKGROUND RESEARCH

- In this regard, research has been done on this issue. In a study entitled Islamic Awakening and its share of technology and communication technologies, Jamshidian has studied the impact of communication media and new technologies on Arab revolutions (Islamic Awakening). He recalls the "Facebook and Twitter revolutions." Facebook has played an important role in organizing popular support for the Egyptian, Libyan, Bahraini, Syrian, Tunisian and Saudi people's revolutions (Jamshidian, 2014: 66).

- Khalilnia and Heydari conclude in a study entitled The Analysis of the Egyptian Social Movement in the context of the recent theories of the John Furan social movement that the presence and participation of various segments in the anti-regime social movement in Egypt is due to accumulated dissatisfaction over the past few decades. The Internet and social networks (Sardarnia and Heidari, 2015: 69).

- Movassaghi Gilani and Attarzadeh have also concluded in a study entitled the role and impact of cyberspace on social movements that the successful interaction between cyberspace and the social

movement stems from a dynamic adaptation between the functions of social and political groups in the real world and the virtual world (Movassaghi and Attarzadeh, 2012:147).

- Abdullahi et al. In a study entitled The Role of New Media in Social Movements point out that social movements need mainstream mass media to continue their activities and to perpetuate protest movements because they involve a wide range of people in different classes (Abdollahi et al, 2012: 145).

- In a study titled "The Role of the Internet and New Social Media in the Developments in the Middle East and North Africa", Mr. et al. Political provided some of the regimes in the region (Aghaei et al., 2015: 7).

Although the above studies emphasize the role of mass media in the occurrence of political movements on a case-by-case basis (theoretically), what distinguishes this study from previous research is its approach to the study of this issue from a general geopolitical perspective. Given that human actions and role-playing (individuals and groups) as spatial actors (geographical space) can have different political repercussions, human role-playing therefore has geopolitical aspects. How groups influence political structures is influenced by a variety of factors, the most important of which are the media, which today serve as an important source of geography; in fact, the role and process of media, especially social media, in representing news and information.

It affects people's mental geography and, consequently, the geopolitical role of individuals and groups in the objective space in the form of political movements, including socio-political movements; therefore, on the recent developments in the Middle East, how the role of the media In particular, social media in cyberspace focuses on the intellectual space of users and its reflection on the political role of individuals and groups crystallized in recent social movements. Overcoming the discourse of the centralized state, will shape and ultimately lead to the creation of social movements.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is descriptive-analytical and the method of data and information collection is in the form of libraries and in the framework of using books, articles and internet resources.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Geopolitics

Geopolitics is the science of studying the interrelationships of geography, power and politics, and the actions that result from combining them (Hafeznia, 2006: 36). Geopolitics is the teaching by which the phenomenon of power is studied in the context of territorial or geographical distinctions and characteristics (Sheikh, 2003: 31); it deals with geopolitical systems. The geopolitical system is a set focused on the relationships between the interests of political actors, space-related interests, and geographical elements. Accordingly, the co-operation of power, politics, and geographic space is considered a geopolitical basis, among which the multiplicity of the conceptual domain of power has led to the multiplicity of geopolitical functional areas in space (O Tuathail et al, 2011: 23).

One of the most important and effective factors in geopolitics and, consequently, the domestic and foreign policy of countries is the human factor, the effects of which can be studied quantitatively and qualitatively; in other words, the most important factor in geopolitics is human because all natural phenomena And what a variable), in one pole and man alone in the other pole. The main factors of geopolitics are the creation of social foundations and political institutions and the provision of the ground for the adoption of political policy. Social institutions are based on the political regime, economic organization, habits, history, and beliefs of a nation, and differ from each other in that they exist in a variety of geographical contexts. The greater the correlation factors of social institutions in a society, the less it will be exploited by the material and spiritual influence of foreign policies; in other words, all factors affecting geopolitical policies in the political and social context, find meaning and concept (*Gogwilt: 2000*: 36).

State-Centered Geopolitics (Special Geopolitics)

The geopolitical conceptual framework of the state-centered geography reflects the official views of elites and political leaders on the geopolitical environment of the country and its relations with the world system; these relations and functions are a function of the strategy and geopolitical position of states In this field, geopolitics explains the integration and expansion of the sphere of influence of those actors and political activists who seek to gain power through the use of leverage and geographical opportunities, in such a way as to provide them with power and dominance over the rival. In order to seize opportunities and competencies, they compete in geography and try to have a wider influence in geographical spaces and add them to the realm of exercising their will, and on the contrary, to drive competitors away from disputed spaces (Hafeznia, 2006: 84). In this field of geopolitics, the military and hard-working approach in directing policies and strategies has been prominent and the competition of powers is for domination of regions or the world (Mojtahedzadeh, 2002: 32).

General Geopolitics

General geopolitics is one of the emerging areas in the field of geopolitical studies, especially critical geopolitics. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the spread of democracy and cyberspace from the mid-1990s to the "general geopolitical sphere in the dynamics of geopolitical foundations."The general geopolitical theme is based on the assumption that power lies in the lower strata of society; therefore, in contrast to the traditional geopolitical concept of power in state-building and territorialism (MirHeidar and et al, 2012: 2), the government's political and official elites (geopolitics).

General geopolitics analyzes the geopolitical practical arguments for people's increasing daily interactions with the media (visual, auditory, and written) and people's general understanding of political events (Brown & Purcell, 2010: 66).

General geopolitics examines the influence of the media on the creation and perpetuation of the dominant geopolitical understanding. General geopolitics is the knowledge of the ways in which unprofessional perceptions of geopolitical issues are produced and reproduced through public culture. there is also the fact that the media is an integral part of public geopolitics, as the Duds class argues: public geopolitics emphasizes the importance of the media in shaping our perception and interaction with the world (Dodds, 2006: 78) And in confirmation, Gerard Towell, General Geopolitics The emergence and dissemination of geopolitical discourse in public culture is recognized by the mass media.

Thus, general geopolitics can be defined at the following two levels:

a. General geopolitics is the geopolitical representation of the media to guide perceptions, and the goal in this approach is to gain power.

b. General geopolitics is the representation of a geopolitical subject (subject) produced in the media, and the goal at this level is to define, construct, break, and discover power relations.

Therefore, the unofficial geopolitical ideas and beliefs that are non-political at the political level and are considered by Aflab to be the field of mass activism is the field of general geopolitical research; the general public examines people with the type of perception that people produce and reproduce (Dittmer and Dodds, 2008: 457).

The Model of Public-Government Geopolitical Relations

In the context of state-society relations, the two factors of popular revolt and the collapse of the state are the necessary conditions for the revolutionary event (skocpol, 1979: 68); the first factor represents the public sphere and the second factor represents the governmental elite. Since the construction of the state is a common and harmonious conceptual and research field of geopolitics of the state-centered (specific) and general geopolitics, inevitably there are special patterns of intertwining between these two areas:

a. Interactive Pattern: In this model, the public and private spheres, geopolitical perceptions are similar to geopolitical issues; common perception makes it impossible to reveal conflicts in the political decision-making process; in such a model, maximum government interests in the regional geopolitical system and the world will be provided.

b. Controversial model: Unlike the previous model, public and private spheres, geopolitical perception does not show similarity of geopolitical issues and issues, which results in disruption of political decision-making; the emergence of such a situation creates a rift in the structure of the nation-state structure. Its manifestations are in the form of civil disobedience, riots, revolutions and social movements (Haverluk et al, 2014: 24-25).

Geopolitics and the Media

In parallel with the complexity of the social structure of societies and the diversity of spheres of power, the media has changed its nature from a simple means of conveying a message to a political tool of power, so that in controlling social movements and relations, new components of society's political power are considered; In order to lead people and social groups to specific intellectual patterns and the paths that have been considered for them.By being in the middle of the intellectual community and the organization of power, the media provide the opportunity to exchange ideas and interact with thought and power, a component that can change the flow of power in societies through its diverse imagery (Kayaoglu, 2010: 199). People's perceptions and daily actions are largely dependent on the performance and goals of mass media operators or specific and general geopolitical elites, which focus on creating geopolitical notions, transcendental and concrete concepts, and from which domestic and foreign policies are designed and operated; Objectively, such developments in the Third Persian Gulf War (US invasion of Iraq), invasion of Afghanistan, and the creation of an international psychological climate of uncertainty about Iran's nuclear dynamics by US general geopolitics can be explained by the link between the semantic realm of media imagery. It has the dimensions of the position of the media in general geopolitics. The element of mental imagery in the media system is important because the actions of human societies in modern times, due to the complexity of societies and the multiplicity of factors, are formed and defined based on images (Luke, 2003: 227-228).

The centers of power gain the power to influence, direct, and shape public opinion through the control of the means of group communication and, consequently, their content and messages.

Social movements called the Color Revolution in Eastern Europe are one of the most obvious examples of the functioning of the media in the context of general geopolitics. Colorful or velvet revolution as a kind of non-violent overthrow and bloodless transformation was the result of political media scrutiny in the process of legitimizing the regime and regime change in these countries during the street march and with the central role of anti-government media Therefore, the media have found a special function in strengthening the field of civil liberties, strengthening democracy and the electoral process in the field of general geopolitics. Certainly, with the increasing advancement of media and communication technologies, societies will become more aware of what is happening in the political arena than ever before (Devetak, 2011:142).
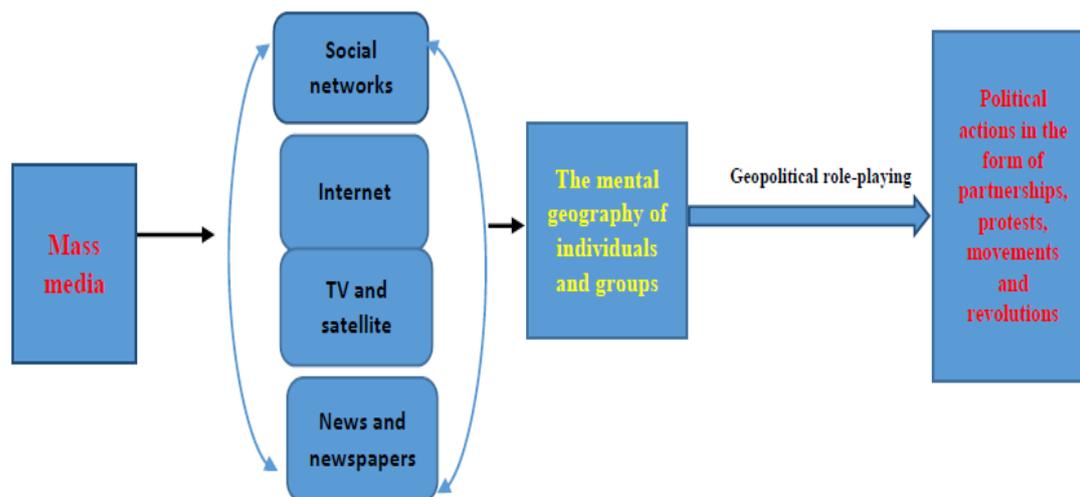
Figure1. *The process of media influence on political actions from the perspective of general geopolitics*

The Function of New Media in the Field of Governance

New communication technologies have eliminated the monopoly of the government in introducing and interpreting events, the result of which has been manifested in the form of relative immunity of society against government pressure. Unlike e-books, online messaging, satellite networks, and Internet projects (projects) are not easily controlled. New media (satellite and the Internet) in the fields of information and communication have caused changes in the nature of human interaction with the environment and accelerated institutional changes in economic, political, cultural and social dimensions; as a result of these developments, the geopolitical weight of the masses Increasingly challenging the authority and power of the government, the popular and public geopolitical notions and ideas have transformed the construction of political power in modern societies so that the convergences of the domestic power field form the public sphere alongside the realm of power, the environment. Unlike traditional media, which governments have been able to control to a great extent, virtual media such as Twitter, Facebook, email communications, etc., are generally outside the control of governments and have made profound changes in content, context, and series of issues. The issue is so great that we are witnessing the emergence of the word virtual government. The growing spread of the World Wide Web reflects the importance of this area (Islam, 2019: 99-100).

The Internet, as a modern medium, has unique capabilities that have transformed the center of power relations in societies; it has expanded its boundaries beyond traditional domains related to the legal authority of governments and created its own models for managing affairs (Moshirzadeh and Ebrahimi, 2010: 142). Information technology and applications such as Newtel and Frient allow Internet users to exchange information anonymously; such programs provide a wider space for individuals and make it difficult for governments to control the Internet; in these networks, individuals and groups without physical presence or construction. Institutions come together for joint action. Modern media enable the activists of movements to create virtual communities and associations; these associations do not have a physical appearance and are formed within electronic networks.

Because associations are easy and quick to set up and can be built for any purpose, "these associations" enable individuals, groups, companies, etc. to express their interests, goals, perspectives, and ideas independently, and challenge the government. And face a crisis (Nye, 2008: 14).

New media provides unlimited communication between an individual and an individual (via e-mail), one more person per person (via a personal home page or e-conference), or a large number of people communicate with one person (via electronic programming); Connect with many people through the chat room at the same time. Internet messages are able to flow more and faster with the intervention of a small number of intermediary units (individual and organization) (Nye, 2008: 89). Thus, relations of political power-building in countries will not be

the realm of government role-playing, but power will be more widely distributed, and the realm of popular power or public geopolitics will challenge the traditional monopoly of power by governments.

New Social Movements

New social movements are conscious attempts or collective actions to bring about desirable changes or to prevent the occurrence of undesirable social, economic, political, and cultural changes that sometimes use transcendental methods to achieve their goals. In all societies, social movements enumerate the manifestations of social and political life (Moshirzadeh, 2002: 44), which sometimes challenges the permanence of government; And the premise that they are based on class classification is based on the drive to democratize daily life and the expansion of civic funds versus political ones, the use of cultural and symbolic issues that do not deal with identity to mobilize power instead of economic discontent. In these movements, the role of the individual in front of the group is strongly emphasized, emphasizing the personal and private aspects of the individual; weakening the organizational and regional connection in these movements has led to phenomena called "self-referential element" in which individual persuasion is very important (Huang and Benyoucef, 2013: 21-22).

The collective search for identity in modern social movements has a fundamental function in shaping the movement in such a way that the mobilization of forces emphasizes cultural and symbolic issues. Issues that have been highlighted by a sense of belonging to a social group distinct from another group or ruling ruling ideology have become a mobilizing factor, challenging the ruling intellectual and cultural system. Mobilization action patterns in these movements on nonviolence and nonviolence. Civil disobedience is based on common norms of behavior and the use of violent emotions, and has been used by successful leaders such as Gandhi and Kropotkin. Based on the same characteristics that the movements of modern social movements often have with revolutions. They are distinguished (Blanton, 2009: 229-230).

ANALYSIS AND ANALYSIS

Instability in the Middle East

The Middle East, which is bounded on the east by Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Indian Ocean, and on the west by the Sahara and North Africa), has a geographical area with complex territorial and cultural diversity, consisting of numerous geopolitical and geopolitical areas. Therefore, the demands and needs of governments and their nations are different; on a national scale, most Middle Eastern countries have a variety of regions and territories (Alishahi et al, 2018 :). Factors such as political instability, multi-faceted crises, tribal political systems, economic stagnation, authoritarian rule, inefficiency of political systems, unemployment and poverty, illiteracy, elite migration, mafia groups, etc., most future Middle Eastern countries and the current crisis Contracts on a regional and global scale.

It should be noted that the focus of this study is mainly on the Arab Middle East. The Arab governments of the Middle East face many challenges and gaps in terms of political, social and economic construction. Inefficiency, inadequacy and corruption of the state apparatus are seen as a form of public discontent in all rich and poor countries, and the central government continues to use physical violence. Rising population growth rates in the region are especially prevalent in poor countries such as Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, etc., which provide less services to the people. Economically, the Arab governments are very fat; with the exception of the agricultural sector, they act as employers in other areas; therefore, the citizens benefit from the government; therefore, the corruption and inefficiency of the government also affect the people's economy; Through the oversight of public sector companies and, in some cases, oil and other sectors directly dependent on the state treasury, they dominate the country's official economy, an economic system known as the "rentier government." The rentier government in the Middle East has played a decisive role in economic development and the expansion of political freedoms; the economic impact of such a situation can be seen in the government's dependence on oil-generated rents, which are the main source of income for Arab governments.

Since most of the national income does not come from the people, it is often not necessary to hold the ruling body accountable to the people(Qayyum and Mahmood, 2015:29). The available data and findings suggest that rentier governments are less inclined to expand freedom in their political systems because rent is a key factor in governing authoritarianism;

therefore, the function and position of rentier governments is one of the fundamental deterrents to reform in these countries. In parallel with the formal economy, the informal economy is one of the plagues of the economic system of these countries; for example, in Egypt, the informal economy is usually equal in size to the formal economy. The continuous growth of the informal sector ultimately paves the way for the failure and helplessness of the formal sector (Mansfield, 2006: 158).

From a typological point of view, the political systems of the Arab countries encompass a range of unbridled authoritarianism that paves the way for deep crises in society; in fact, one of the major causes of instability and political and economic turmoil in the region is the government's unbridled power in their political structures and procedures. It is clear, therefore, that the dysfunctional nature of governance and the construction of government and political power in the Middle East should be considered among its fundamental structural weaknesses. When sovereignty is not accountable to the people but is the exclusive property of a particular family or group, its sources of power usually belong to a particular oligarchy, which provides the basis for the formation and emergence of authoritarianism in which freedom of association and liberty prevails. The expression of notes is set in a narrow range. There is no separation of powers and judicial independence in these countries; therefore, the political structures of the Arab countries of the Middle East are very far from democracy or even the process of democratic change;

therefore, the crisis of legitimacy is widespread in most Middle Eastern countries (Agnew, 2005: 51-52).

The Geopolitical Function of the Media in the Arab Middle East Movements

In 2010 and 2011, a massive social upheaval storm swept across Southwest Asia and North Africa; Protests continued in other countries in the region, with a series of unrest in Algeria, Jordan, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Syria, and to a lesser extent in other Arab countries. In many cases, the peak days of the protests were described as "Day of Rage"; during this time, angry Arab youth were able to use the Internet and social networks such as Facebook and Twitter to play a key role in organizing activists in the Arab Middle East. Many active Yemeni dissidents said that when we first called for a demonstration on Facebook, many people did not have a clear idea of the number of people who would accept the invitation, but the result was astonishing. Hours before the rally, hundreds of young people gathered at Sana'a University Square (www.telegraph.co.uk); affected by the events, the Egyptian, Tunisian and Libyan governments have so far fallen as a result of the protests, and other countries, such as Bahrain, have He is involved in popular demonstrations. The importance of the role of ITC-related technologies was so great that the Saudi king's $150 billion offer to buy Facebook in its entirety was aimed at distorting the media wave of the Arab uprisings and not spreading them to Saudi Arabia (www.zdnet.com).

Table1. *The impact of popular movements on developments in Arab countries*

Date	Country	Type of protest	Consequences
December 18, 2010	Tunisia	Mohammad Bouazizi's self-immolation and the beginning of street protests	Ben Ali's escape, the overthrow of the government and the holding of general elections
December 28, 2010	Algeria	Street protests	The end of the state of emergency law by the President
January 13, 2011	Libya	Protest against corruption and housing	East Libya fell into the hands of the opposition. The opposition fought a six-month battle until Gaddafi's fall with the central government
January 7, 2011	Jordan	Street protests	Changes in the Jordanian cabinet
January 17, 2011	Oman	Street protests	The increase in salaries and wages and political reforms by Sultan Qaboos
January 14, 2011	Yemen	Street protests anddisagreements within the anti-presidential government, Ali Abdullah Saleh	After the bloody protests in Yemen, Ali Abdullah Saleh agreed to step down and the government of national unity was formed in the country for a transitional period
January 21, 2011	Saudi Arabia	Street protests and self-immolation and the killing of	The start of protests in the Shiite-dominated Qatif region has led to

		protesters	widespread security and social restrictions across the country
January 25, 2011	Egypt	Protests and national uprisings	The fall of Hosni Mubarak's government and the victory of the Egyptian revolution, parliamentary elections, the election of Mohamed Morsi, the Muslim Brotherhood's candidate
January 30, 2011	Morocco	Self-immolation and street demonstrations	Political reforms by the Moroccan monarchy and the victory of Islamists in the parliamentary elections
February 14, 2011	Bahrain	Extensivestreet demonstrations	Violent confrontation with demonstrators and continued protests by the people

Much of the organization of events related to the Arab Middle East social movements in cyberspace and social networks took the form of announcements, calls, news, movement information, how the revolutionary forces and government forces, geographic-communication situations, and messages were displayed, for example on Facebook. A page titled "Plane Preparation Project for Every President" was set up to ridicule the leaders and dictators of Arab countries; on this page, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak was asked to consider packing his bags; "We are waiting for you," said Yen Ben Ali, the deposed Tunisian president, as well as a plane waiting for you. "We want to lift the state of emergency," he wrote on Facebook. "We are opposed to a mass uprising in Egypt and we want to be free."

In 24 hours, 25,000 people joined the Facebook page; many Arab Facebook users also used the country's flag instead of their images as a sign of solidarity with the Tunisian people (www.Telegraph.co .uk).

Table2. *Number of Internet users in the Arab Middle East (http://www.khabaronline.ir/news-126393.aspx)*

Country	Number of Internet users	The whole population	Average age
Egypt	20.136.000	80.471.869	24
Tunisia	3.500.000	10.432.500	24.9
Algeria	4.700.000	34.895.470	27.1
Lebanon	1.000.000	4.223.553	21.8
Libya	353.900	6.419.925	24.2
Morocco	13.213.000	31.992.592	26.6
Jordan	1.642.000	5.951.000	21.8
Syria	4.469.000	21.092.262	21.5
Yemen	2.349.000	23.580.220	17.8
Saudi Arabia	9.774.000	25.391.000	24.9

However, it seems that the most coherent and obvious manifestation of cyber-protests is related to the events in Egypt and the April 6 movement. The April 6 Youth Movement is an Egyptian Facebook group designed by Ahmed Maher in the spring of 2008 to support workers in the industrial city of Al-Mahalla al-Kubra, which went on strike on April 6. Bloggers and journalists used Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, websites and other media outlets to report strikes and warn networks about police activities, legal protection, and recruitment. As of January 2009, the group had about 70,000 members, mostly young and educated, most of whom had not been active in politics before, and their main concern was "lack of freedom of expression, government kinship and economic stagnation." The public march was organized to demand the release of imprisoned journalists and protests related to the Gaza war (2008-2009) in protest of Israel; the group distributed 20,000 brochures a day before Friday's fury in places where protesters should be present and what they should offer. They explained; they urged them to publish their information via email instead of Facebook and Twitter to prevent government interference (www. Nytimes.com). The US State Department also launched its Twitter page at the same time as the popular protests spread, and in its first text published in Arabic, it addressed the people of the Arab countries, noting that "Washington is aware of the" historical role "of social media. The world is Arabized and we want to talk to you" (www.guardian.co.uk); in the Libyan revolution, social networks and virtual

communications also played a significant role (www.aljazeera.com). In Tunisia, Internet activists shared information about how protesters could use Coca-Cola as a way to protect themselves from tear gas (www.slate.com).

In Libya, Google earth software was considered a strategic tool for revolutionaries. Google earth Software allows the user to view and navigate different parts of the world using satellite images and geographical maps; this program can be used to view real-time recorded images of the Earth with magnification. With the latest Internet and satellite imagery program in North America and now, Google Earth covers all parts of the world; this service, which for years was only available to spy agencies, is now available for free to all people, and anyone anywhere in the world According to this, it is possible to view cities, streets and human settlements as they are; on the other hand, the cooperation of this program with Google search engine, makes it possible for a person to have coffee shops, restaurants, restaurants when the city is passing by.

 Foodstuffs and thousands of shopping malls can be found next to them, and by clicking on each of them, you can get the most detailed information about each of them from Google's search engine; Government supporters used Google Earth. Libyan revolutionaries were able to use Google Earth to identify their targets with high accuracy (www.theaustralian.com).

In Egypt, the social network Facebook has played a significant role in organizing and leading the protest movement; in this country, the murder of a young man named Khaled Saeed, similar to the self-immolation of Mohammad Bouazizi in Tunisia, led to a popular uprising.

Khaled Saeed was a businessman in Alexandria who was beaten and killed on June 10, 2010 for failing to pay money to two Egyptian police officers in a cafe (www.thenational.ae); he was accused of broadcasting a video of police corruption on the Internet. (www.bbc.co.uk); in this case, a person nicknamed "Al-Shuhaid" (none of the Egyptian activists are aware of his true identity), a Facebook page in his memory and with the slogan "We are all Khalid Saeed" Despite the disruption of the Egyptian Internet, it attracted more than 375,000 members, and the first public announcement on Friday was announced on the page (www.faceb). ook.com); this page was the main driving force in

informing, guiding the revolutionary forces and the gathering place of news and announcements related to the current events in Egypt, which were organized and directed through cyberspace.

Egyptian officials blocked the Internet and mobile phone services to suppress and quell anti-government protests, but the protests came too late. Twitter and Facebook have been on the rise since early Friday morning, with Reuters reporting that the Egyptian revolution was a "Facebook revolution" and that an Egyptian father had taken part in a protest against Facebook's significant role in supporting protestersش .Everyone in Egypt named their baby girl Facebook (www.cnn.com).

In addition to cyberspace, Arabic satellite television has been a new vehicle for the formation of shared experience and identity among Arabs; in the meantime, Al Jazeera has become a major actor on the Arab streets due to the ongoing coverage of street riots in some Arab countries (except Bahrain). Experts in Middle East developments believe that without Al Jazeera, public policy and diplomacy in the Middle East cannot be studied; 1390: 126); In any case, the available findings indicate that Arab societies want a government whose dignity and needs of different social classes are compatible (Bsoul,2017: 19).

The rise of popular uprisings in countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, Bahrain, Yemen, Jordan, and the Maghreb and Algerian kingdoms in the media field has led to increased awareness and information aristocracy of protesters so that overthrown governments could not cover up the events.

CONCLUSION

The media, new means of communication, and virtual networks have played an important role in mobilizing the social movements of the Arab Middle East due to their high speed of communication; The role of the media strategy in shaping the Arab Middle East movements was such that some analysts referred to it as the Twitter or Facebook revolutions; the common denominator of these movements was the role of modern electronic media in shaping the lower strata of society for geopolitical activism. They use official power.

The field of public geopolitics focuses on the fact that part of the power lies in the lower strata of society. Contrary to the pre-modern political structure in which the nation lacked power, each

unit (individual or organization) is considered an active activist in the relationship between power and politics in the construction of the modern nation-state; meanwhile, the public media has provided a field of power. The monopoly of classical power has challenged the ruling elite; it has played a key role as a general geopolitics in guiding the will and aspirations of the people. Today, the growth and spread of information and communication technology, in the form of the Internet, satellite and the creation of new social networks and movements that governments are less able to control and identify, has challenged the traditional category of sovereignty and absolute power and helps citizens express their needs and perspectives. This situation was well reflected in the developments in the Arab countries of the Middle East. The authoritarian nature of the political systems of the Arab Middle East is such that they do not have much room for political freedoms and have sharply increased the cost of criticizing often dysfunctional political systems. These reactions depend on the type and purpose of the nation-state confrontation; therefore, the scope of public geopolitical activism, the construction of power and the policy of the Arab countries of the Middle East and North Africa, and the overthrow of many authoritarian regimes Follow-up.

REFERENCES

[1] Abdollahi, Reza and et al. (2012). Role of New Media in Social Movements (Case study, Occupy Wall Street movement), Journal of Culture Communications Studies, 13(18): 145-172.[In Persian]

[2] Aghaei, Davoud and et al. (2015). Analysis of the role of the Internet and new social media on developments in the Middle East and North North Africa,(Information, organization and rapid development of developments),Quarterly Foreign Relations, 4(2): 7-34. [In Persian]

[3] Agnew, John. (2005). Hegemony: The New Shape of Global Power, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

[4] Alishahi, Abdolreza and et al. (2018).Independenceof Iraqi Kurdistan, Iran's NationalSecurity and Possible Scenarios, Journal of Bioterrorism & Biodefense, 9(3): 1-7.

[5] Blanton, Robert. (2009). Surveying International Studies Programs: Where Do We Stand?, Journal of International Studies Perspectives, 10(2): 224-240.

[6] Brown, Melissa and Purcell, Darren. (2010). Achmed the dead terrorist and humor in popular geopolitics, Geo Journal, 75(3): 52-69.

[7] Bsoul, Labeeb Ahmed. (2017). An Arab-Islamic Awakening or a Setback to the Community?, Journal of Social Science for Policy Implications, 5(1): 14-26.

[8] Devetak, Richard. (2011). An Introduction to International Relations, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

[9] Dittmer, Jason and Dodds, Klaus. (2008).Popular Geopolitics Past and Future: Fandom, Identities and Audiences, Journal of Geopolitics, 13(3): 437-457.

[10] Dodds, Klaus. (2006).Geopolitics very short introduction, London: Oxford University Press.

[11] Gogwilt, Christopher. (2000). The fiction of geopolitics: afterimages of geopolitics, Cambridge: Stanford University Press.

[12] Hafeznia, Mohammad Reza. (2006). Geopolitical Principles and Concepts, Mashhad: Papeli Publications.[In Persian]

[13] Haverluk, Terrence and et al. (2014). The Three Critical Flaws of Critical Geopolitics: Towards a Neo-Classical Geopolitics, Journal of Geopolitics, 19 (1): 19–39.

[14] Huang, Z and Benyoucef, M. (2013). User-centered investigation of social commerce design, Paper presented at the International Conference on OnlineCommunities and Social Computing.

[15] Islam, Tarequl. (2019). The Impact of Social Media on Muslim Society: FromIslamic Perspective,International Journal of Social and Humanities Sciences, 3(3): 95-114

[16] Jamshidian, Mehrdad. (2014). Islamic Awakening and the role of technology and communication technologies in it,Quarterly Journal of Media and Ummah Studies, 1(1): 1-16. [In Persian]

[17] Kayaoglu, Turan. (2010). Westphalian Euro centrism in International Relations Theory, Journal of International Studies Review, 12 (4): 193-217.

[18] Luke, Timothy. (2003). Postmodern Geopolitics, Oxford: Blackwell.

[19] O Tuathail, Gearoid and et al. (2011). The geopolitics reader, London: Routledge.

[20] -Mansfield, Peter. (2006). A History of the Middle East, London: Penguin.

[21] MirHeidar, Dorreh and et al. (2012). Geopolitics from a New Perspective: Decentralizing Power / Knowledge ,Journal of Human Geography Research, 43 (4): 1-22. [In Persian]

[22] Mojtahedzadeh, Pirooz. (2002).Political Geography and Geopolitics, Tehran: SAMT Publications. [In Persian]

[23] Moshirzadeh, Homeira and Ebrahimi, Nabiollah. (2010).Transformation of concepts in international relations, Tehran: The Research Institute for Strategic Studies. [In Persian]

[24] Moshirzadeh, Hamira. (2002).A Theoretical Introduction to Social Movements, Tehran: The Research Institute of the Islamic Revolution and Imam Khomeini.

[25] Movassaghi, Ahmad and Attarzadeh, Behzad.(2012). The role and impact of virtual space in social movements: The case study of Egypt, Journal of Political Science, 7(3): 147-191. [In Persian]

[26] Nye, Joseph. (2008).Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization, London: Routledge.

[27] Qayyum, A., & Mahmood, Z. (2015). Role of Social Media in the Light ofIslamic Teaching, Al Qalam, 14December 2015.

[28] Sardarnia, Khalilollah and Heidari, Mostafa. (2015). Analysis of Egypt's Social Movement in the Framework of Late theories and John Fouran Theory, Politic Quarterly, 45 (3): 699-719. [In Persian]

[29] Skocpol, Theda. (1979).States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis, of France, Russia, and China, Cambridge: Cambridge UniversityPress.