The New Media and Arab Spring: A Critical Analysis

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Abstract

This study critically examined the new media and the Arab awakening phenomenon with the aim of finding out whether the same pattern of Arab spring could be transferred to other parts of Africa, especially West African countries. The study was therefore built on two theoretical foundations known as emancipatory media theory and the new media theory. Using survey research design, 98 respondents were sampled with questionnaire serving as instruments of data collection. The data generated were analysed and presented in simple frequency distribution tables. The study revealed that though the new media can do more in mobilising the people for action as exemplified in its contribution to the success recorded in the Arab spring, it would be difficult for that kind of new media aided uprising to really replicate itself in West Africa considering the political environment. It was, therefore, recommended that government of nations should make itself present in the new media so as to create an interactive avenue for the people to discuss their plight.

Key words: new media, Arab spring and social movement

Introduction

The Arab awakening has actually drawn the world's attention to a handful countries- Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Libya, Yemen, Syria and Morocco- since the first popular protests broke out in Tunisia in December, 2010. Nearly a dozen countries in the region have seen political unrest, and the protest movement shows no signs of stopping (Aljazeera, 2011). Khalaf (2011:1) observed that "since a vegetable vendor in a restive Tunisian town doused himself with petrol and burnt to death in a December protest against unemployment and corruption, the Flame of popular defiance has travelled across the Arab world".

Today, the Middle East is going through a period of momentous change. Explaining the reason people decided to empower themselves in the Arab world, Soumaya Ghannoushi noted that "people are not only rebelling against an internationally backed political authoritarianism but against the economic model imposed by the IMF, World Bank and in the case of Tunisia and Egypt, the EU's structural reform programmes. Millions have been left to fend for themselves as state-owned firms have been sold to foreign investors and a cabal of local partners: corruption flourished as a result" (Nighthawk, 2011). Khalaf (2011: 1) observed that:

> In Egypt, as in Tunisia, the young people who initiated the campaigns were educated, Internet-savvy activists with no political affiliation. They were enthusiastically joined by secular as much as by Islamist voices. After watching the fervour unleashed in the past month, young Syrians, Bahrainis, Algerians and even the quiescent Libyans are turning to Facebook and Twitter to call for their own "day of rage". As Mr. Khashoggi puts it, the 25-year-old unemployed today have become the strong man.

The aforementioned paragraph points to the fact that the Information Communication Technology played a prominent role in what transpired in the Arab awakening project. It is equally a testimony that whatever that is going on now and the ones yet to be achieved still has ICT as a strong force.

Marshall (2011:2) noted openly that "this Awakening is largely driven by the revolution in Information Technology, including radio, television, but most especially the Internet and Social media". It is, therefore, not a thing of doubt as to whether the social media and Internet played any role in the progress of the Arab awakening process. The new/social media provides the forum for the instantaneous transmission of messages (text, video, pictures, and audios) to a large number of people and receive almost immediate response from them all. It equally gives the receiver the opportunity to be part of the sending process. Thereby creating a unique feeling of been carried along in the whole communication process. This type of communication can be used to achieve almost the impossible considering the fact that messages are accompanied with videos, pictures, audio and text.

According to Diri (2009: 177), the new media are "those methods and social practices of communication, representation and expression that have developed using digital, multimedia, networked computer and the ways that this machine is held transformed work in other media, like books, movies, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, telephone etc".

To Mcquail (2010: 136), the new media are "desperate sets of communication technologies that share certain features, apart from being new, made possible by digitalization and being widely available for personal use as communication devices". Although, Mcquail noted that it is not easy to define the term new media, but that whenever the explanation of new media is done, it would be imperative to look at those aspect that has to do mass media as against the private communication that the internet provide.

Mcquail noted that "attention should be paid mainly on the collective ensemble of activities that fall under the heading 'Internet', especially on the more public uses, including online news, advertising, broadcasting applications (including downloading of music, etc.), forum and discussion activities, the World Wide Web (WWW), information searches and certain community-forming potentials. We are less concerned with private e-mail, game-playing and many other more or less private services provided by way of the Internet" (2010: 136).

Arab spring is a term that was used beginning in March 2005 by numerous media commentators to suggest that a spin-off benefit of the invasion of Iraq would be the flowering of Western-friendly Middle East democracies. The term took on a new meaning in 2011, as democratic uprisings independently arose and spread across the Arab world (sourcewatch.org, 2011, para. 1). Today, almost all the nations in the Arab world are clamouring for better leadership and a move towards democratic regimes.

The democratic uprising took a surprising note in the Arab world due to the gradual spread of the crisis from one nation to another. The Tunisian Revolution or Jasmine Revolution began on Dec. 17 after Mohammed Bouazizi, a 26-year-old Tunisian man, set himself on fire in front of a local municipal office. According to Aljazeera, earlier that day, Tunisian police confiscated his cart because he did not have a permit and beat him. He went to the municipal office to file a complaint where workers there ignored him. Bouazizi then set himself on fire (Ryan, 2011).

Following the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia, Egyptian activist organized a demonstration on Jan 25, Egypt's Police Day, to protest the Emergency Law, unemployment, poverty and Hosni Mubarak's government. Police day, a national Egyptian holiday, celebrates the 50 officers killed on Jan 25, 1952 by the British in Ismailia, Egypt. This sparked anti-British protest leading to the Free Officers taking power in Egypt (*The Guardian*, 2011). The protests began in Cairo, Egypt and spread throughout the country. According to Aljazeera's Timeline, the protests gained more strength when widespread strikes happened throughout the country (Aljazeera, 2011).

The uprising in Libya instantly became violent when the Libyan government reacted harshly towards peaceful protests. On Feb 18, three days after the protests began, the country erupted into an armed conflict when protesters executed policemen and men loyal to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi for killing protesters (Wikipedia, 2011). In the case of Syria**,** the protests which started

on a small scale, faced harsh retaliations from the government. The protest began in January after another young man lit himself on fire and groups began organizing on social media sites. They picked up speed on March 16 with a small group of protesters, but security forces quickly and violently ended them (Aljazeera Middle East, 2011). Today, the Syrian revolution has taken a different dimension and it is now a centre of global interest and disagreement among world power nations.

Most observers of the awakening opined that the new media aided the revolution and the gradual movement of the revolution from one country to the next. This study, therefore, set out to examine the happenings in the Arab world, particularly as it concerns the role of the new media in the protest with the aim of finding out if the same pattern of Arab spring can occur in West African countries.

Statement of Research Problem

As crises rage in the Arab region, to mobilise the people for more action and inform the outside world on the success of the protest so far, protesters were turning to Facebook, Twitter, Youtube, Skype and other social networks and blogs. This was done in order to pass messages about the protest and communicate cases of injuries and oppression so as to raise empathy and support from the masses

Due to the way the crisis was moving from one nation to another as a result of the power of the new media, there was this fear that the new media can be used to promote more Arab-like crisis in different regions of the world, especially West Africa. The issue of West Africa became peculiar because the region has similar cases of economic hardship.

The primary purpose of this study is to x-ray the happenings in the Arab world, particularly as it concerns the role of the new media in the protest in the region and whether the same pattern of Arab spring could be transferred to other parts of Africa, especially West Africa. Other specific purposes of the study are to find out whether the new media contributed to the success of the protest in the Arab world; to find out whether there are traits peculiar to the Arab region which might have aided the use of new media in the Arab awakening process; to ascertain whether the new media can be used to prosecute the same pattern of Arab spring in West Africa.

Therefore, the study was guided by the following questions. First, did the new media contribute to the success of the protest in the Arab world?

Secondly, what were the traits peculiar to the Arab region which might have aided the use of new media in the Arab awakening process? And thirdly, can the new media be used to prosecute the same pattern of Arab spring in West Africa?

Literature Review

In a study conducted by Amr Hamzawy in the year 2005, titled "Understanding Arab Political Reality: One Lens is not Enough", it was observed that a gradual change is shiftily taking over the Arab region and changing the nature of political engagement. Hamzawy (2005:1) observes that "the Arab world is changing, and in a very profound way. But in contrast to ideological debates about the extent to which the events have been initiated by Middle East policies of the Bush administration or whether local and regional factors have also contributed to them, the real challenge of the moment is to comprehend the various directions in which such widely different countries as Lebanon and Saudi Arabia are developing politically. It is difficult to foresee the outcomes of the long-anticipated Arab change. The dream of pluralist politics and open public spheres goes hand-in-hand with the risk of authoritarian backlash and radial Islamist insurgencies, although analysis and policy makers are tempted to forecast a sweeping movement toward democracy and freedom in countries from Morocco to Bahrain".

However, the change anticipated has not been properly implemented, hence the impatience among the citizens and the pro-democratic change. This, no doubt, caused the current regional conflict that is wrecking the region. The autocratic rule, the pro-democratic move opined, must be set aside. Currently, Tunisia, Egypt and Libya have been conquered. Syria, Yemen, and the rest of the countries are on their way to cave in for the pressure that plagues the regimes of the governments in power.

In a related study conducted by Robert E. Crowley on the subject "Analysis of the Inherent Tensions of the Arab-Israeli Conflict", Crowley observed that crisis in the or with the Arab world is always protracted in nature. He observed that the protracted nature of crisis in the region has been the major reason many nations especially the West are not inclined to direct conflict with the region. This is why Crowley (2011:2) averred that:

> The challenges facing America strategist in the Middle East and N. Africa are immense. This is because here in this region and sub-region confrontations is often

> protracted and lasting. It is not so much of armies as it is of every different set of values and emotions: reason and irrationality: faith and fear: survival and hegemony; and justice and perceived oppression and domination. It is not as much as clash between cultures, civilizations of religions, as much as it is between civilization and anarchy-between civilization and lawlessness, and between the rule of law and no law.

The above quote is accurate in terms of the multitude and variety of tensions that plaque the Middle East and North Africa. However the tension described is neither intractable nor insurmountable. In relation to the Arab- Israeli conflict, the tensions are magnified, of times distorted, and frequently used to generate conflict between the many states, their respective polities, and the plethora of domestic, regional, and international interest groups that have a stale in the outcome. The quote is also accurate in terms of the challenges that face American strategists, the nation that serves as the primary mediator and interlocutor in an effort to establish a just and last peace in the region (Crowley, 2011:2).

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on two communication theories known as *The New Media theory and Emancipatory Media theory.*

The New Media Theory

This study is anchored on the new media theory. The new media theory is part of the medium theory which is built on the premise that "media productions respond to social and cultural developments and in turn influence those very developments. The mere existence of certain kinds of media like television affects how we think about and respond to the world, and while the media function in a variety of ways for different segments of society, audiences are not uniformly affected but interact in unique ways with the media" (Littlejohn and Foss, 2008: 289-290). Writing about the new media theory, Littlejohn and Foss (2008:291) noted that:

> In 1990, Mark Poster published his landmark book, the *Second Media Age,* which heralded a new period in which interactive technologies and network communications, particularly the Internet, would transform society. The idea of the second media age, which really has developed from

the 1980's to the present time, signalled important changes in media theory. For one, it loosened the concept of media from primary 'mass' communication to a variety of media ranging from very broad to quite personal in scope. Second, the concept drew our attention to new forms of media use that could range from individualized information and knowledge acquisition to interaction. Third, the thesis of the second media age brought medium theory from the relative obscurity of the 1960s to renewed popularity in the 1990s and beyond.

The new media theory which is also referred to as the second media age is described as "(1) decentralised (2) two-way (3) beyond state control (4) democratised (5) promoting individual consciousness and (6) individually oriented: it is more interactive and creates a new sense of personalised communication" (Littlejohn and Foss, 2008: 292).

Pierre Levy as cited in Littlejohn and Foss (2008) saw "the World Wide Web as an open, flexible and dynamic information environment, which allows human beings to develop a new orientation to knowledge and thereby engage in a more interactive, community-based, democratic world of mutual sharing and empowerment. The Internet provides virtual meeting place that expands social world, create new possibilities for knowledge and provide for sharing of perspectives worldwide" (p.292).

The basic tenet of the new media theory, which is a component of the medium theory, is anchored on the fact that the media respond to social development and in turn influence those very developments. By this, it is argued that happenings in the society have a way of determining the way the media would be used. However, this same media use, turn around to dictate the pace and direction of the event or happenings in the society.

In relating this theory to the happenings in the Arab world, one would argue that the new media were used to share the feelings, experiences, disappointment of the people in the activities of their government. These forms of massages created a kind of network community of people with the same problem, fear and aspiration. At a point it would gradually create a network community of people with the same problems and desire to achieve the same goal. Mobilising the people at this juncture would no longer be a difficult thing.

The underlining issue here is that the new media give room to people in the Arab world to sending messages, communicate and schedule time and venue for protest and as they report the activities and progress of the protest on Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and other social networks and online media outlets, so are more network community of people created, which in turn changes the development and direction of events in the region.

Emancipatory Media theory

This theory is an improved alternative to the theory of public sphere developed by Jurgen Habermas in 1962 in his popular book titled *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere.* The guiding principle of this theory, according to Macquil (2010: 183), which focused on the process of communicating rather than the content are "participation, interaction, smallness of scale, locatedness, cultural autonomy and variety, emancipation and self-help".

Writing about this theory, Mcquail (2010: 183) noted that "John Downing in year 2000 coined a term known as 'rebellious communication' to refer to media that operate in a positive way for political ends in situations of oppression… They include those serving a political cause, ranging from female emancipation to the overthrown of oppressive or bourgeois regimes… and grass-roots micro-media in developing countries or in situations of authoritarian rule or foreign occupation".

This theory is related to the happenings in the Arab world because it helped to explain how the people from the region employed the new media for the sake of executing the protest drive against the government that be. The new media was used in sending information and mobilising the people for a cause geared toward   liberating the people from a form of political enslavement. The people saw the new media as a forum to share information and rally round support for the liberation of the region.

Methodology

The research design for this study is the survey method. This is because survey allows for the study of people's opinion over a given issues of concern. The population of the study centred on the postgraduate students of the Department of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria and Enugu State University of Science and Technology, Enugu State, Nigeria. These universities were selected in order to have wider opinions of people from both federal and state universities in Enugu state. The choice of

the population was anchored on the fact that the students of these departments were already at home with the concept of new media and Arab spring. The data gathered from the departmental secretaries of the various universities put the population of the postgraduate students at 145 persons as at the time the study was carried out (2011/2012 academic session).

In selecting an appropriate sample size for the study, therefore, Yamane (1967: 886) as cited in Eboh (2009: 94) provided a simplified formula for calculating sample sizes. With a confidence level of 95% and a precision of 0.05, the study arrived at a sample size of 106 respondents. The random sampling technique was used in administering the research instrument. The study made use of questionnaire as an instrument for data collection. The instrument had two sections: the demographic and psychographic sections. The demographic section was used to elicit information about the bio-data of the respondents while the psychographic section focused on the research questions. The questionnaire was drafted in simple sentences consisting of 13 questions. It made use of close and open ended techniques in order to give the respondents enough room to field in responses to the questions.

The instrument was administered with the help of the class representatives of the post-graduate classes. A response window of two weeks was given to the respondents to complete the questionnaire. However, out of 105 copies of the questionnaire that was distributed, after several efforts, only 98 were returned and used. This represented a 93.3% return rate. The questionnaire was face validated by two communication experts who were senior lecturers in the Department of Mass Communication. It was tested if the questions in the questionnaire were related to the topic under consideration and whether they actually provide answer to the questions raised in the study. In checking the reliability of the study instrument, fifteen (15) postgraduate students from the Department of Mass Communication, University of Nigeria, Nsukka were asked to field in responses to the questionnaire. The reason was to determine whether the responses were in line with the required result expected from the instrument. This pilot study was done after the questionnaire has been validated by the experts earlier mentioned.

The data collected were analysed using simple frequency distribution tables and percentages. The reason for the use of tables was to show the relationship between the various responses fielded for the options at the disposal of the respondents.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The tables below provided the demography and psychographic analyses of data collected for this study.

Table 1: Sex of Respondents

Items	Frequency	Percentage
Male	61	62.2%
Female	37	37.8%
Total	98	100%

Table 2 analysed the sex of respondents. From the table, 61 (62.2%) respondents are male while 37(37.8%) respondents are female. This result shows that there are more male than female in the sample studied.

Table 2: Age of Respondents

Item	Frequency	Percentage
16 – 25	24	25.5%
26 – 35	44	44.9%
36 – 45	23	23.5%
46 – above	7	7.1%
Total	98	100%

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From the table above, 24(25.5) respondents fall within 16 – 25 years, while 44(44.9%) respondents fall within 26 – 35 years of age. Whereas 23(23.5%) and 7 (7.1%) respondents fall within the age categories of 36 – 45 and 46-above respectively.

Table 3: Number of respondents on the Know in the happenings in the Arab world

Item	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	98	100%
No	-	0%
Can't say	-	0%
Total	98	100%

From the table above, 98 (100%) respondents agree to have known about the uprising in the Arab world. From this arrangement, it is obvious that that all the respondents sampled are aware of the development in the Arab world.

Research Question 1: Did the new media contribute to the success of the protest in the Arab world?

Table 4: Respondents view on whether the new media contributed to the success of the protest in the Arab world

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	79	80.6%
No	8	8.2%
Can't say	11	11.2%
Total	98	100%

From the table above, 79 (80.6%) agree that the new media actually aided the success of the protest in the Arab region, while 8(8.2%) are of the opinion that the new media did not really play any major role to the success of the protest in the Arab world, whereas 11 (11.2%) are indifferent to the place of the new media in the success of the Arab spring.

Research Question 2: What were the traits peculiar to the Arab region which might have aided the use of new media in the Arab awakening process?

Table 5: Respondents view on whether the sit-tight nature of government aided the success recorded by the new media in the Arab spring

Item	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	83	84.7%
No	9	9.2%
Can't say	6	6.1%
Total	98	100%

Table 5 analysed data concerning how the political structure of the Arab world aided the success recorded so far by the new media in the Arab spring. From the table, 89 (84.7%) respondents said the sit-tight nature of government in the Arab world was instrumental to the success recorded so far by the mew media in the Arab spring, while 9 (9.2%) respondents said the sit-tight nature of government in the Arab world was not responsible for the success recorded so far in the Arab uprising. On the other hand, 6 (6.1%) respondents were indifferent as to whether the sit-tight nature of government in the Arab world was instrumental to the success recorded so far in the Arab spring.

Table 6: Respondents view on whether the belief system and culture of the Arab world influenced the development of the awakening

Item	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	67	68.4%
No	28	28.6%
Can't say	3	3.1%
Total	98	100%

The table above shows whether the culture and belief system of the Arab world was responsible for the progress exercised by the new media in the Arab awakening. Sixty-seven respondents (68.4%) opined that the culture and belief system of the Arab world was responsible for the development of the protest, while 28 (28.6%) respondents opined that the belief system and culture of the Arab world has nothing to do with the revolution. However, 3 (3.1%) respondents were indifferent on the issue at stake.

Research Question 3: Can the new media be used to prosecute the same pattern of Arab spring in West Africa?

Table 7: Respondents view on whether the new media can be used to prosecute the pattern of Arab spring in West Africa

Item	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	25	25.5%
No	73	74.5%
Can't say	-	0%
Total	98	100%

This table analyses whether the new media can be used to prosecute the same form of Arab spring in West Africa. From the table above, 25 (25.5%) respondents opine that the new media can actually be used to reincarnate the happenings in the Arab world in West Africa, while 73 (74.5%) respondents opine that the new media cannot be used to achieve the same feat recorded in the Arab world in West Africa.

Table 8: Respondents view on why the new media cannot be used to prosecute the pattern of Arab spring in West Africa

Item	Frequency	Percentage
The new media are not popular among the people, especially those in rural areas	21	28.8%
Most West African countries do not suffer prolonged sit-tight government	17	23.3%
Democracy is largely practiced in West Africa	22	30.1%
Corruption is gradually being managed	13	17.8%
Total	73	100%

Table eight looks at respondents view on why the new media cannot be used to prosecute the same pattern of Arab spring in West Africa. From the table above, 21 (28.8%) respondents opine that the new media cannot be used to reincarnate the same protest recorded in the Arab world in West Africa because the new media are not popular among the people, especially those in the rural areas. Similarly, 17 (23.3%) respondents opined that most West African countries do not suffer prolonged sit-tight government which aided the protest in the region. In the same vain 22 (30.1%) respondents said the fact that democracy is largely practiced in West Africa, coupled with the response of 13 (17.8%) respondents which opined that corruption is gradually being managed are part of the reasons the new media cannot be successful in reincarnating the same protest recorded in the Arab world.

Discussion of Findings

From the analysed data, the study revealed that out of 98 respondents sampled, 61 (62.2%) respondents were male while 37(37.8%) respondents were female. By this, it became obvious that there were more male respondents in the sample than the female respondents.

The study acknowledged that the respondents are aware of the uprising in the Arab world. This means that the respondents sampled were aware of the development in the Arab world and in most cases have been following the development squarely. It was based on the knowledge at the disposal of the respondents that 79 (80.6%) respondents, in table 4, agreed that the new media aided the protest in the Arab region, while 8(8.2%) respondent were of the opinion that the new media did not contribute to the success of the protest. The implication of this is that the new media played a tremendous role in the success of the Arab awakening.

This finding is in line with the statement of Marshall (2011:2), who observed that "this awakening is largely driven by the revolution in Information Technology, including radio, television, but most especially the Internet and Social media". Similarly, Khalaf (2011: 1) noted that "in Egypt, as in Tunisia, the young people who initiated the campaigns were educated, Internet-savvy activists with no political affiliation… After watching the fervour unleashed in the past month, young Syrians, Bahrainis, Algerians and even the quiescent Libyans are turning to Facebook and Twitter to call for their own "day of rage"".

The study further revealed that the political structure of the Arab world, in this case, the sit-tight nature of the government in power aided the success recorded so far by the new media in the Arab spring. This is because the people found more reasons to keep on with their protest. From the analysis, 89 (84.7%) respondents said the sit-tight nature of government in the Arab world was instrumental to the success recorded so far by the new media in the Arab spring, while 9 (9.2%) respondents said the sit-tight nature of government in the Arab world was not responsible for the success recorded so far by the new media in the Arab spring. Similarly, it was also revealed that the culture and belief system of the Arab world was responsible for the progress exercised by the new media in the Arab spring. This argument holds because sixty-seven respondents amounting to 68.4% of the sampled population opined that the culture and belief system of the Arab world aided the development of the protest, even though 28 (28.6%) respondents opined that the belief system and culture of the Arab world has nothing to do with the revolution.

The study equally revealed that the new media cannot be used to prosecute the same pattern of Arab spring in West Africa. This is because the analysed data showed the opinion of respondents, who averred that such kind of protest as exemplified in the Arab region, cannot take place in West Africa. In the analysis, 73 respondents amounting to 74.5% of the entire sample ranted that the happenings in the Arab world cannot really take place in West Africa. This percentage which is higher than the 25.5% of the sample that said the happenings in the Arab world can take place in West Africa, aided in the finding that West Africa cannot really experience the level of protest that took place in the Arab world.

The study went ahead to supply reasons why such protest cannot be prosecuted by the new media in West Africa. From the analysed data, 21

(28.8%) respondents opine that the new media cannot be used to reincarnate the same protest recorded in the Arab world in West Africa because the new media are not popular among the people, especially those in the rural areas. Similarly, 17 (23.3%) respondents opined that most West African countries do not suffer prolonged sit-tight government which aided the protest in the region. In the same vain 22 (30.1%) respondents said the fact that democracy is largely practiced in West Africa, coupled with the response of 13 (17.8%) respondents which opined that corruption is gradually being managed are part of the reasons the new media cannot be successful in reincarnating the same protest recorded in the Arab world.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that the new media is an important aspect of interactive communication especially in this era of information society. However, care must be taken to examine the use to which the new media are employed to serve in the society, considering the fact that it has the capacity to create a virtual village/community of people with like minds. If care is not taken, the new media can be used to advance causes which are practically against the collective goal of a nation. This is what stakeholders must stand against if society is to function as one and remain peaceful.

Recommendations

This study, therefore, recommends that nations should borrow leave from the United States of America and establish structures or pass bills which would help to monitor the content of new media communication so as to put online communication in check. The ultimate goal behind this would be to protect society from harmful information hovering around new media contents.

Governments of nations should make their presence felt in the new media of communication so as to encourage dialogue and interaction between her and the citizens. This would go a long way to help bridge the gap between the governed and the governors. It is believed that through this means protest and crisis can be effectively ironed out before it disrupts the developmental processes of the state.

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