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Berlin 10315 – Gensinger Str: 112**

Tel: 0049-Code Germany

030- 54884375

030- 91499898

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E-mail : afro-asian@democraticac.de

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Index of Issue

Title	page number
Index	<u>08</u>
Readings in the Realities and Prospects of the Mauritanian Party Regime (for 2033) Dr. Ahmed Ould Mohammed Elhadj Professor of History and Geography - Researcher in the field of culture and politics Translated by: Dr. Mbata Anissa University Ahmed Salhi Naama Algeria	<u>09</u>
Unemployment and Political Regimes in Egypt 1960-2010 By Lobna Abdalla Political Researcher The American University Cairo	<u>34</u>
The Social Representations of Politics and Political Action among Young Moroccan Leaders. Marouan Blaiha (Ph.D) in Political science. Ibn Zoher University Agadir Morocco.	<u>49</u>
The Rural Society in Algeria, between the Policy of Renew and the Participative Approach HACHEMI TAYEB Lecturer "A", Faculty of Economics University of Saida, Algeria & CHAIB BAGHDAD Professor, Faculty of Economics University of Tlemcen, Algeria	<u>69</u>
University youth interaction with the videos of the Lebanese movement on Facebook 'A field study' Prepared by: Mahmoud Mohamed Ahmed Mohamed Supervised by: Prof Dr. Mohamed Moawad Ibrahim & ASS. prof Dr. Eman Mohamed Ahmed	<u>81</u>
Iran's Nuclear File in Trump's Speeches and Spiritual Rouhani and Zarif Study their Twitter Tweets Researcher name: Dr. Ghazwan Jabbar Mohammed Hussein Job Title: University of Mustansiriya / Faculty of Arts - Department of Media Translated by: By Lobna Abdalla The American University Cairo	<u>100</u>

**Readings in the Realities and Prospects of the Mauritanian Party
Regime (for 2033)**

**Dr. Ahmed Ould Mohammed Elhadj Professor of History and
Geography - Researcher in the field of culture and politics**

**Translated by: Dr. Mbata Anissa
University Ahmed Salhi Naama Algeria**

Abstract

Politics is the criterion of success by which the national civilization is evaluated, whenever the political system develops through accomplishing the society needs, the people can attest for their progress and civilization. The nowadays experiences had affirmed that the balance of the nation awareness cannot settle down only if the rights between the governmental party and the oppositionist party are equivalent in addressing the national public opinion. Hence, the Mauritanian experiences had proved that the oppositionist party was not right neither at the level of the society that was governed by the tribal leaders nor by the authority that was ruled by the military regime. Consequently, from the beginning of colonialism (1947/2019), the country has lived more than seven ages known by the chaotic foundation of the parties because of the progressive forces dominance and all who want to destroy politics. Consequently, most of parties did not exist for no more than ten years, this fact makes the present study scrutinizing the prospects of the party regime in Mauritania till 2033 depending on the previous experiences and expecting the malfunction.

Key-words: party regime – colonialism – the national country period- pre-democracy period- post-democracy period

Introduction:

It is not the pattern of the historical writings or what relies on the historical narration to tackle the lateral studies, but in politics it seems to be possible since the expectations for the future will be based on the previous political experiences. In the political history, Mauritania was known as a one party dominant country (the traditional powers and the government) as the only pole by its rejection to the other pole (progressive striving forces) what makes the system destroyed after the democracy announcement.

The conflicts between the traditional forces and the liberal forces refer to 1946 in which Ahmed Ould Horma had gained the election against the French Ivon Razak, it was organized to establish a French colony in the French National Assembly which was a shock for both sides: firstly, for French people who did not expect the ordinary man' victory since he was not supported by France.

In addition, in front of the traditional forces control, the liberal forces had faced a big burden, and its main goal became serving the private benefits. This made the power providing a legal provision or a law that prescribed dissolving all the parties that did not gain 1% of voices during two municipal elections or boycott two successive elections.

The main significance of this study is to demonstrate the important stages in the parties' formation in Mauritania, and the factors behind the failure of the liberal or the oppositionist parties in the past and the present. Therefore, it prospects the future of the political regime (till 2033) depending on the previous experiences, expecting the future for the coming 14 years (2033) as being worse for the serious parties practices.

Problematics:

This study scrutinizes a real political fact in a country (Mauritania) that believes in democracy for 28 years, but the political practices are still experiencing non-democratic ways, neither from the power and its relation with the oppositionist politicians nor from the parties and its relation with one another, nor even within the one party. Therefore, this study attempts to shed light on the causes, the external and the internal factors behind this situation

Hypothesis:

Based on what the Mauritanian party faces nowadays and what it faced throughout the previous experiences, this study assumes that the situation will not know any change till 2033 unless an unusual event will happen.

The Significance of the Study:

Founded on the comparison between the past and the future, this current study will demonstrate the repeated facts during the establishment of the parties in Mauritania referred to the defeats of the opposition and the liberal parties and the rise of the tribal forces; thus, it provides the expected future of the political parties till 2033.

Study Methodology:

The study relies on the comparative analysis of the factors behind the failure of the liberal or the oppositionist parties in the past and the present, at the end of each 14 years, especially after the emergence of democracy in 1991. In addition, it shows the similarities between all the phases then expects what the party regime will be in the future of 2033.

First: Party formation during colonization

Mauritanian politicians had confirmed that the beginning of the political party formation started when France had decided to give the right for their colonies people to participate in the elections to represent their countries in the French General Assembly ¹. “Ahmadou Ould Horma” as an ordinary young man had participated in the election of 1946 and won over his French adversary “Ivon Razak” and that was surprising for both sides: firstly, for French people who did not expect the ordinary man’s victory since he was not supported by France. Secondly, for the traditional leaders who were supporting the French side, however, he had won due to his Islamic religious orientation in front of the French non-Islamic adversary.

For that reason, France had canceled the decision of giving the right of election to Mauritanian people because Ould Horma had gained the voices of all the Arab towns. This makes the tribal leaders choosing Sid Almokhtar Yahia Anjay one of the Welf negro-group and translator (Amlaz ²) whose mother was an Arab as a president for their party which is the Mauritanian Progressive Union (M.P.U) founded in 1947 to confront Ould Horma and destroy his relationships with the Senegal leaders such as “Sengor Welmin Kee” in addition to describe him by bad attributes”³. Among those attributes, Sid Brahim Ouled Mohammed Ahmed adds “he⁴ came for favouritism which is inspired by a dangerous tribal mentality, he had claimed for his authority dominance through neglecting any other traditional or French authority, which was not accepted by people”⁵

¹ French decision: a law in the French constitution, delivered on the 27th October 1946

² Amlaz: from the original word “Amilas” which is a prepared drink that contains corns, it was given to the French leaders to feel good as an analogy, translators were called after this drink because they make communication easy.

³ Sid Amor Ouled Chikhna : Modern Mauritania: Testimonies and documents, (1957-1984), p.10 .
سيد امور ولد شيخنا موريتانيا المعاصرة شهادات ووثائق- 1957-1984 ص.10

⁴ The addressee is Ahmed Ouled Horma, and the addresser is the official speaker of the Mauritanian Progressive Union (M.P.U).

⁵ Sid Brahim Ouled Mohammed Ahmed: **The One Party and the development of the political life in Mauritania**, a postgraduate researcher in political sciences, Faculty of Law and Economics, university of Mohammed V, Rabat, 1989-1990, p. 44 .
سيد ابراهيم ولد محمد احمد: الحزب الواحد وتطور الحياة السياسية في موريتانيا

As a preparation to face the upcoming events (from 1946-1950), the parliamentarian Ould Horma attempted to establish a party that focused on the original political movement, especially after the foundation of the French administration for the federal capital in the colonies of the west Africa “Saint Louis”, his establishment of the Mauritanian Accord (Conciliation) Party in 1950 had focused on achieving the following three goals:

- The development of the country through establishing democratic organization under the supervision of France ¹
- The opposition to the local colonial administration.
- The opposition to the progressive union², the existence of the burdens that face Ould Horma, especially when he wanted to neglect French government what made his position weak then he lost the election of the parliament in July 1951³ and in 1956 against his opponent Sid Almokhtar Yahia Anjay. These two events in addition to the referendum (yes/no) in 1958” were the main reason behind the rise of political awareness to seek for freedom and national unity” ⁴

In addition to the aforementioned parties, a new movement had emerged under the name of Mauritanian Youth League (M.Y.L) as a third way to express political awareness under the slogan of “the complete independence of the country from France and the total refutation to the party practices led by the Progressive Union and the Accord Party. “the emergence of the new movement came during important political changes of the parties practices. The young members of this movement were influenced by the idea of the freedom and independence that the third world lived and the Arab regions, especially after the revolution of Egypt on the 22nd June 1954, and the Algerian Revolution Nov 1954”⁵ . this was the first party experience in Mauritania and was considered as an introduction to give Mauritania its

1 Mohammed Elmokhtar Ould Sid Ahmed : National Struggle in Mauritania (النضال الوطني في موريتانيا) , Magister Thesis in Modern History, university of Baghdad, 1997, p. 137 محمد المختار ولد سيد محمد

² ANM Series : Q N 394.Ross 1950, p. 1

³ Mohammed Lamine Sid Baba: Aspects of the Political Contribution in Mauritania (مظاهر) , (المشاركة السياسية في موريتانيا), Center of Arabic Union Studies, Beirut 2005, p. 53

⁴ Mohammed Lamine Sid Baba, Idem, p.54

⁵ Sid Amor Ould Chikhna, idem p. 20

national sovereignty, then a group of parties had been formed such as the **Democratic Kawarkal Bloc** in 1957 in the Mauritanian South by some figures from other movements as Basamboli who referred his withdrawal from his previous party, ‘the Accord’, to the weak political level after Horma’s departure and some leaders of Adrar, about which Basamboli said, “we had decided to found the bloc though we were previously in the “Accord party”¹

At that time, Almokhtar Ould Dada came as an important figure who succeeded in collecting three contrasted movements in May 05th 1958 which were the Progressive Union, the Accord Party and the Democratic Kawarkal Bloc under the **Mauritanian Rally Party**, its aims were the following:

- Rejecting the Saharian associative project which was “suggested by France”²
- Refusing the Maghrebin territorial demands for the region to stand against the African Federation.

Developing the Mauritanian personality, administratively, economically and culturally to reach independence. “At that time, the Mauritanian Rally Party had begun its own political strife as the only one”³. In fact, it was not the only party but the strongest one, the **National Renaissance Party** founded in 1958 as a reaction whose members face the French government claiming the total independence through participating in the yes/no vote to maintain the command which was organized on December 28th 1950, in which they has voted by “no to the self-sovereignty under the French control⁴” this led France to ask Almokhtar Ould Dada to arrest that party members claiming that they were loyal to Morrocco and forcing one main figure who was Boyaki Ould Abdin to sign up the political unity, then this what made Ould Dada

¹ Sid Amor Oued Chikhna, idem p. 23

² Youcef Ouel Marb: Political struggle in Mauritania (النضال السياسي في موريتانيا) 1946-1960, Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences, Nouakchot University, 2006-2007, N.48/2007, p.71

³ Mohammed Elmokhtar Oued Sid Ahmed, idem, p. 167

⁴ Amhadi Oued Djahdan: Political and Economic Development in Mauritania (التطورات السياسية والاقتصادية في موريتانيا) 1930-1960, Phd Thesis, Tunisia University (1990/1991), p.145.

losing his popularity and being accused by “the betrayal and the weak cultural awareness”¹

Although the mistakes and problems that faced the party, but this latter had contributed in Mauritania definite independence, its young members had initiated the **National Mauritanian Union (NMU)** and **Mauritanian Muslim Socialist Union (MMSU)**.

Table1²: list of parties during the colonial period

Party Name	Trend attitudes	Pioneers
Mauritanian Progressive Union (MPU)	Traditional conservative party supporting colonization	Sid Almokhtar Yahia Anjay
Conciliation (Wifaq) Party	Liberal party supportive of the local French administration.	Ahmed Ould Horma
Mauritanian Youth League (MYL)	Liberal movement supporting the previous experience claiming the total independence	Ahmed Baba Ould Ahmed Meska. Boubakr Alfa
Democratic Kawarkal Bloc	Regional party attempting to serve its own region under the light of the national strife..	Bassamboli. Sal Kildor
Maritanian Rally party (MRP)	Conservative tribe supporting colonialism but demanding for the total freedom	Sid Almokhtar Yahia Anjay, Almokhtar Ould Dada.

¹ Mohammed Yahia Ouled Baba Ahmed: Party System Development in Mauritania (تطور الأنظمة الحزبية في موريتانيا) graduation Dissertation in General Law, Tunisia university³, Faculty of Political Sciences, 1994/95 pp.56-57

² Adapted from Mohammed Lamine Sid Baba, ibid.

The National Renaissance Party (NRP)	Supportive party to the colonization and assistant to the Maritanian Rally party.	Bouyaki Ould Abidin, Ahmed Baba Ould Ahmed Meska. Yahia Ould Mankous
Mauritanian National Union (MNU)	Liberal party attempting to unify the African Strife through joining the African Federal Party.	Alhadramim Ould Khatri, Kan Yahia,
Mauritanian Muslim Socialist Union (MMSU).	Conservative party assistance to France and their alliance in the Rally Party.	Ahmed Salem Ould Batbot, Ahmed Ould Karkoub

Second: Parties Formation in the light of National country

After the independence, the formation of parties knew two important stages, one of them is the pre-democracy periods which begun from the independence in 1960 to the announcement of the parties formation in 1991, and this period is divided into two phases, the civilian phase begun from 1960 to 1978 and the military phase ended by the emergence of democracy in 1991. In this period, the civilian phase was characterized by the rejection to the party pluralism and the call for the only one party maintenance; whereas, the military phase prevent any political party formation even the system parties.

1- Parties formation in the pre-democracy Period:

Among the movements that characterized this period, there are: the **People's Party**: the constitution reform was as a preparatory step for its formation, by which “ the country had changed from the parliamentary system founded in March 22nd, 1959 to the presidential system and gave broad powers to the executive branch” ¹ . Among the slogans that the members had maintained, “ this party is the symbol of

¹ Sid Amor Oued Chikhna, idem p.81

unity, a means of the country services, a weapon against the factors behind the disunity, an effective factor in the country development, the only element to preserve the country forces”¹ Ahmed Ould Dada had attempted to unify all the other political movements and practices under his party to achieve the common goal by saying, “if we were agreed on the same goals and objectives, we might have different ways to realize them, since we are different in the theoretical thoughts and the personal experiences”²

The Negro- Movement: Although the elite’s orientations in the Negro society seemed to be functional by the system foundation, but they demand a constitutional reform that guaranteed the creation of the vice president position occupied by one of them³, “this came as a reaction to the Arabization policy as it was known”⁴. In the constitution reform in 1961, the leader Baddamboli had debated “his suggestion to divide the power between the social groups in which every group (region) will be ruled by vice president from nationalism”, but the suggestion was rejected by the Negro because of the conflicts between their leaders ...”⁵ thus, the chief Bassamboli had confirmed that his suggestion was not refused by the president of the country or the Arab leaders but by the conflicts by Negro themselves.

The Arabic National Trend: some researchers had referred the emergence of Arabic Nationalism to the renaissance party practices. The national trend knew two phases: the Arabic National unified trend and the Vanguard Party. The leaders of this trend were relying on the advertisement and media through which they could establish “the Arabic teachers syndicate” in the education field in 1960 “which attempted to preserve the cultural status of Arabic language inside the educational system”⁶. The orientations in this trend were divided into two levels: the first level as a national unified trend, at which they focus on maintaining Arabic language as a language of learning and strife, among its leaders: Mohammed Elmostafa Weld

¹ Statuts du parti du peuple Mauritanien, Adoptés en 1975 Préambule

² Elmokhtar Oueid Dada, موريتانيا على درب التحديات Cartella house, 2006, p. 284

³ Sid Amor Oueid Chikhna, idem.p. 83

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Mohammed Lamine Sid Baba, idem. P.76

Badr Eddine, Sid Mhammed Weld Smidaa, Mohammed Weld Ichdou, Ahmadou Weld Abdelkader, Mohamdou Nadji, Mohammed Yahdiah. The second level which had expanded its cultural dimension was the Vanguard party, its leaders were divided into two organizations: the **Ba'ath Revolutionist Vanguard** and the **Nasserite Unified organization**.

The Ba'ath Revolutionist Vanguard had centered its practices to conserve the Mauritanian identity and the social justice and integrity between the “white” Arabs and the “black” ones, following the Ba'ath principles (union, freedom, socialism). The leaders were known as two generations, the first generation included: Mohammed Yahdiah Ould Abrid Elil, Mohammed Said Ould Dadah, Fadel Ould Sid Hiba, Mohammed Yahdiah Ould Tolba, the second generation included: Mohammed Ould Ahmed, Trad Ould Sid, Trad Ould Didah, Khalil Ould Nahoui, Ababa Ould Ghouth Ould Tolba, Mohammed Ould Hammadi, Ahmed Ould Bayah, Abdellah Ould Mohamdou, Mohammed Ould Nani, Hammadi Ould Abrid Elil, Dafali Ould Chin, in addition to other young members in the 80d mainly: the writer Mohammed Elkouri Ould Mohammed Radi Ould Nahah, Dr. nani Ould Mami.

Moreover, the Nasserite union had followed the general principles of the Nasserite Movement, such as:

- The Arab sovereignty on his homeland (freedom).
- The Arabic country id the whole Arabic lands, and the Arabic citizen is the Arabic human everywhere (unity)
- Arabic countries and citizens share the same capacities and sources (socialism)¹

Among the main leaders in the Nasserite movement: Mohammed Fal Ould Abih, Rachis Ould Saleh, Ahmed Ould Tolba, the journalist Taleb Ould Jeddou, the professor Ahmed Ould Madallah, Sid Mohammed Ould Eliil, Sid Mohammed Ould Lbat, Rlkouri Oul Ahmiti, Moulay Zin Ould Ahmadou, and from the young

¹ Ismail Oued Mohammed Khairat : Political Trends in Mauritania : uncompleted roles (التيارات السياسية في موريتانيا: أدوار لم تكتمل), Modern Edition, Mauritania, 2007, p. 37

members, there were: Sid Mohammed Ould Boubakr, Abderrahman Ould Elkadi, Hamoud Oul Abdi.

Left-wing party in Mauritania

After its establishment on 1968, liberal party has been headed by some active elements in the Arab Nationalist trend, as: Mohammed Elmostafa Weld Badr Eddine, Sid Mhammed Weld Smidaa, Mohammed Weld Ichdou, Ahmadou Weld Abdelkader, Mohammed Mahmoud weld Mohammed Radi, in addition to Mohammed Ainin Weld Ahmed Elhadi, Mohammed weld Mouloud and Mohammed Weld Sid Ahmed.

The liberal party has witnessed two different compositions, which are firstly; the national democratic movement and secondly the hardworking (or **Kadhi People's Party**) party. Those pioneers have considered the crisis of 1967 as the occasion to eliminate the national thinking which seemed to be a failure; That change intended to overwhelm the Negro protest which serve the French attitudes towards the national language and identity claiming that French is the language of learning, this came as a reaction to the government policy of arabization in 1966 which faced many problems because of the Negro people assistance to France. Therefore, the leftists had focused their strive on the country and separated from the Arab World, but this did not make them the idol in the popular view which was ruled by the ethnic leaders who had allied with the military forces in 1979 when the coup current supported by France had defeated the Ba'athists current. Thus, the traditional alliance had created a great conflict between the leftism and the Mauritanian society claiming that the leftism insures the Marxism, and the society "denies the Marxism which equals the atheism and Allah faithlessness"¹

In the civilian country, the political activities had still been limited by the government apart only in its own sphere (the people's party). However, the

¹ Ismail Ould Mohammed Khirat, idem, p. 79

politicians and the ideologists contest was characterized by the contention as opposed to the military period which encased the party activities. Hence, the latter remained as a secret strife which focused on the national mainstream fighting in its both parts: the Vanguard (Ba'athi) party and the Nasserite trend before the involvement of the latter with the government and leave the space for the Ba'athists to face the political system. Accordingly, in 1987, the Ba'athists tried to arrange a military coup against the president Mouawia Ould Sid Ahmed, but they had been condemned to jail till 1989 when Saddam Hossein interfered to save Mauritania from the French conspiracy and some regional states assistant to Senegal against it, as a result, Mouawia had reacted through releasing Saddam assistants in the beginning of 1991 when the president permitted the parties formation and freedom of expression.

Table (2)¹: List of Political Organization in the Pre-Democracy Period :

Organization name	Trend attitudes	Pioneers
People's party	A controlling party attempt to monopolize the political practices	Mokhtar Ould Dada (president)
Negro movement	National sectionist grouping attempts to provide the Black people (negroes) with the second category in any administrative structure.	Bassamboli
Arabic National unified trend	National trend attempts to give Arabic language its appropriate	Mohammed Elmostafa Ould Badr Eddine, Ahmed Ould

¹ Ibid.

	place.	Abdelkader, Mohamdan, Mohammed Yahdiah Ould Abrid Elil
National Vanguard Party(Ba'ath Party)	Progressive revolutionist national organization attempts to realize the social justice and develop the Arabic Islamic heritage.	Mohammed Yahdiah Ould Abrid Elil from the first generation and Mohammed Elkouri Ould Elarbi from the second generation.
The Nasserite unified organisation	National Arab trend attempts to maintain Arabic rule on the land	Mohammed Fal Ould Abih from the first generation and Hamoud Ould Abdi from the second generation.
Left- Wing trend	Progressive trend works to promise civilian rights and neglects the historical relations.	Mohammed Elmostafa Ould Badr Eddine, Mohammed Ould Mouloud.

2- Party Formation in the Light of Democracy:

The government decision to allow the party foundation had firstly know as the ideological currents, but this recognition was not a governmental admission but only to follow French president's demand (François Mitteran in 1990) of the political reforms, since he had ordered all the Afro- francophone governments to renew the political regime through the openness on the oppositionist and the modernization of the institutions “ the president Ould Talii as other African presidents was the first who accepted this demand in the beginning of 1991, in which he agreed on democratizing the political regime through the popular voting on .pluralism .and provide several rights and public freedom and offer larger opportunities for people to participate in public decisions, this was related to the

institution of 20 July 1991 which was the announcement of the third Mauritanian popular republic emergence” **1** (see **table 2**) the law 10 called for “preserving the individual and public freedom to all citizens” . Whereas, the law number 11 prescribed the roles and practices of the parties in addition to “the condition of founding or dissolving the political parties”¹. During the period between 1998 and 2005, the leading power had realized the second part of that law which was the dissolution of the parties that made it losing democracy at that period². Among the parties that were founded between 1991 -2005 and faced those problems are:

Democratic Social Republic Party: it was the collection of the traditional forces under the leading of Mouawia Ould Sid Ahmed Tai who was supportive to the president. Since during this period, the election was an obligation on people’s decision-making what made the leader Mouawia forming a set of groups within his party called “unities” instead of regional secretaries, and joining the tribes against which he was fighting previously in the 80s. it is remarkable in the 90s that the political powers started to deal with the tribes as realities and entities that could not deny” ³

Union of Democratic Forces new era (UDF/NE): it had established during the organized election in 1992 after the failure of the oppositionist Unified Democratic Front for Change (U.D.F.C) which was founded in June 1991, “what made some leaders joining the government, whereas, the others remained neutral before the election then started to organize under political parties that needs popular supports...”⁴

¹ Mohammed Lamine Sid Baba, *idem.* p. 420

² Mauritanian Islamic Republic: Mauritanian constitution, Official Gazette n.763, 30th July 1991, p.540, 556; Mohammed Ould Elkhazzab *et al.* دار روايع مجدلاوي, 2003, p. 13

³ Mohammed Lamine Sid Baba, *idem.* p. 239

⁴ *Idem.*, p. 391

The labor party for Change (L.P.C): as the case of the unified Democratic Front for Change, this party faced the same experience when “it accused the government by covering up the slavery which made the system disclosed the party and refused to give other authorizations for the foundation”¹. This party attempted to liberate the slaves and refine their circumstances.

Progressive popular Alliance (P.P.A): it is the Nasserite party which started as democratic forces union and divided into two parts: the **Democratic Forces Rally** and **People’s Progressive Alliance**. The Nasserites were divided at that period into supportive and oppositionist to the system. Pr. Rachid Ould Saleh was one of the supportive leaders who had demonstrated in front of the national journal the results of Ould Dadah the Mauritanian minister’s visit to Israel in May 13th, 2001, to be the first and the only Nasserite who cherish relationships with Israel”²

The Vanguard party: it was firstly known as the “**revolutionist Arabic Vanguard**”, then by the democratic orientations, the Ba’ath members had formed the Vanguard party which was affected by the “Gulf war till its dissolution in 1999, though it tried to reformed again under a new name but the system did not renew the authorization for its formation”³

Union of progress forces (UPF): it is the final stage in the left-wing formation which was formed by the constitutional law in 1991 and it stills have the same name including important number of Kadhi members. Remarkably, the experience of the Islamic politics at that period was divided between who believed in democracy considering it as consultative (Shura) and who rejected it claiming that it would reduce the importance and the status of the constitution “apart from the law that focuses on Koran as being a source of legislation”⁴ which made the National Movement for Reform and Development (Twassol) 2001 the first party that had an Islamic Ideology in Mauritania. Since the governmental system rejected the military

¹ Idem, p. 392

² Idem, p. 91

³ Ismail Ould Mohammed Khirat, idem, p. 37.

⁴ Idem, pp.122-124

coups at during that period, the military powers which defeated the authority of Ould Tai in 2005 was forced to lead the country through the authorizing the political practices and the parties foundation and give the power to civilian through the presidential election but the maintenance of military was a fact. Depending on that freedom, many parties had emerged, mainly the traditional forces which knew two experiences: the first one as the **Fair party** from which the traditional forces had withdrawn after the military coup on its president Sid Ould Chikh Abdallah in 20018, the second one in which those forces were collected was the **Union for Republic**. It was founded by Mohammed Ould Abdelaziz. The parties of that period are as follows:

Table 3 ¹: list of the parties that are founded after the democracy

Party name	Status	President
Rally of Democratic Forces	Oppositionist party follows the French socialism, it was the strongest party that compete the system on ruling before being defeated because of its refutation to the election.	Ahmed Ould Dada
People's Progressive Alliance	This party includes a group of Nasserite and group of free led by by Massaoud Ould Belkhir who had still oppositionist in 2011 and join the system treaty.	Massaoud Ould Belkhir
Union of Progress	Progressive party follows the	Mohammed Ould

¹ From the interviews with the leaders of the parties mentioned in the table in 2018.

Forces	Marxist trend it was on among the strongest oppositionists parties before being influenced by the election refutation 2013.	Mouloud.
Right (Sawab) party	National party founded by the Ba'athists before the retrieve of their strife group because of the conflict with the leaders headed by Abdssalam Ould Horma who had allied with e extremist Bram Ould	Abdssalam Ould Horma
National Movement for Reform and Development (Twassol)	Islamist reform party belongs to the Muslim Brotherhood	Mohammed Djamil Mandour and Mohammed Mahmoud Ould Sidi.
Union party for change	Oppositionist party led by one of the military coup on Mouawia in 2003	Saleh Ould Hanna
Alliance for Justice and Democracy/Movement for Renewal	National party classified by the system as an extremist because of its clais against the Arab to get the negroes' right.	Brahim Mokhtar Sar.

Those parties had suffered from the political instability problem which covered the national area since the elector's selection is still restricted till nowadays by the military power and the tribal leaders. When the government had decided to

refuse any candidacy out of parties in the municipal and legislative elections, the parties found the opportunity to use the tribes leaders whom they could not join the party of the system. However, that opportunity did not succeed because of the weak level of the political morals, since the tribe leaders either as parliament members or mayors had enrolled the system after their success in the election and neglected the first goals of their own parties.

For the sake of overcoming this problem, in 2011 the strife forces had focused through a political dialogue on initiating a law that forbids the political displacement from the party. But the power and the traditional forces did not surrender in front of that law, therefore, they prevent the oppositionist parties from having the opportunity to affect the traditional leaders' trends and orientations.

That plan was considered as partial explosion in which the one or two leaders of a tribe had the opportunity to participate in the election, thus, in the 2018 election the participation had reached more than 90 parties among 107 competitive parties among the legislative lists throughout popular basics of about 4 million that almost covered the whole population. Among those 108 parties the number of the ideological and non-ideological parties did not exceed ten parties. Since the political dialogue of 2011 had included a legal provision or a law that prescribed dissolving all the parties that did not gain 1% of voices during two municipal elections or boycott two successive elections. Consequently, this led to the dissolution of 76 party by the end of February 2019 among which only two parties were not assistant to the system under the rule of the president Mohammed Ould Abdelaziz which would continue till June 2019.

Although the expansion of that chaotic authorization, this latter did not cover the files that held intellectual projects that could spread out especially the popular trends. Among those forbidden files, the file of the national party which was delivered by the 400 individual mostly from the Arabic socialist Ba'ath trend who

were under the Sawab (right) party then withdrew from it claiming the deviation from the party provisions by the president and a minority of the political leaders ¹ .

This topic leads to ask several questions, the main ones might be as follows:

What are the prospects for the party status in Mauritania? Will society resign the parties because of the recession that face them? Or will the country live a period of the power parties dominance over the fighting parties?

Third: The Expectations in the Study

Human events are more complicated what inhibits expecting the future in the light of previous experiences but despite of this complexity, the events can be repeated through the same experience with other individuals from different places at different time with different age. This can happen only when there is a stable procedure which does not demolish by the disappearance of individuals because it is the responsible on repeating the experiences since the idea still the same. At the time when this intellectual heritage is appreciated among the progressive groups, it is not esteemed when it comes from traditional trend denies the renewal intellectual development as the case of the burden that face the political development in Mauritania.

The Mauritanian experience had proved that there is a controlling traditional system since the emergence of the Mauritian Progressive party facing the trend of Almed Ould Horma throughout many stages: Mauritanian Rally, People's party and Democratic party to confront all the progressive trends and the oppositionist parties such as Rally of Democratic Forces headed by Ahmed Ould Dada and the Union for the Republic founded by the president Mohammed Ould Abdelaziz who had focused in its first declarations between the years 2009 and 2013 in the statement (renew the political class) on the historical political leaders whom they were known by their strife status .

¹ Withdrawals from the Sawab party: the statement issued on the 9th August 2014, Sohofi News Agency, revised on the 1st March 2019

In order to achieve that goal, that party and its new leader Mohammed Ould Abdelaziz attempted to weaken the fight in the political practices in two parts, through approaching the first part as the leader Massaoud Ould Belkhir to form the opposition of the opposition or the supportive opposition, whereas the second part led by Ahmed Ould Dadah was distressed by the withdrawal of its members and joining other groups claiming the absence of ideology and the materialistic aims.

Accordingly, the National Movement for Reform and Development (Twassol) had participated in the election of 2013 and disappointed the opposition which refused the participation claiming the absence of transparency. In the preparation for the municipal and legislative election in 2018, the public opinion had gained the two ideological movements: Union of Progress Forces ruled by Mohammed Ould Mouloud¹. and National Movement for Reform and Development ruled by Mohammed Mahmoud Ould Sidi² in addition to the government party to guarantee their benefits after the election without the awareness of the opposition. After the election, the party had lost its real goals of striving for people's rights as the case of the traditional forces.

During the 14 years, the period of democracy (1991- 2005), the parties had found the occasions to change the system through the election, but the dominance of the private interests over the public ones had ruined their existence. The parties did not benefit from the coup of August 3rd, 2005 to unify. The second last 14 years (2005-2019) was worse than the first one, since it knew the divisions in the series of the strife and the traditional forces! (Tawasol) had assisted the prime minister of the government that normalize the relationships with Israel: the strife forces were against Sidi Mohammed Ould Boubakr³ because of his alliance with Qatar and the

¹ Mohammed Ould Mouloud: one of the pioneers of the Left-Marxist Trend in Mauritania

² Mohammed Mahmoud Ould Sidi: became one of the pioneers in the Muslim Brotherhood Trend in 2018, after his presidency to the party.

³ Sidi Mohammed Ould Boubakr: the prime minister during the govern of Mouawia Ould Sid Ahmed Ould Tayii (1992-1996), he was the diplomatic minister during (2005-2007). At that period, Mauritania was exchanging diplomatic relations with Israel which started secretly in 1995, till the establishment of the Israelian Embassy in 1999 despite the people's refusal of the decision until 2009 as an end to this period of diplomacy.

Mauritanian businessman Mohammed Ould Bouamatou! Union of progress forces who was striving to nominate his leader in the elections.

Depending on the events and what the strife forces and the political practices had experienced, expecting the future for the coming 14 years (2033) is not a fact, but as the case, many powers and political movements will emerge to participate in the legislative and municipal election of 2023 and the presidential in 2024, which make those powers striving between the government and their supporters among the opposition. This study expects that in the future of (2019-2033) no fight party will gain a status in the society because people have lost faith in those political movements what makes them divided into groups and unities, only at that time the parties will believe that they had lost some opportunities that they will never return unless the real strife will return apart from the private narrow interests.

Conclusion:

This study has demonstrated the main stages of the party formation regime in Mauritania, it has displayed how the traditional forces had controlled the political sphere and how the realization of private and individual benefits were dominant what made the government powers maintaining their rule.

This situation can be referred to some external factors on one hand as the French colonizer's control on the political practices during colonization and even after independence. Thus, the political will of all the country leaders is still managed by the French administration. On the other hand, there are some internal factors that have a great connection with the external ones which is the strong existence of the tribal leaders who were given several privileges from France and they ensure the people's loyalty to France. But the military power also had created the competition between the tribal leaders and threatened who attempt to oppose it by their adversary inside or outside the tribe to confront the liberal forces.

At the same time when government powers were growing, the fighting forces were facing and destroying one another neglecting the real progress. But the results

were contrasted, since we ignored the election small benefits that the National Rally for Reform and Development (Tawassoul) had gained which will not last till 2033 because its power will be restricted by the election either the success of the system's candidate (Ould Ghazouani)who is opposed by the party or the success of (Ould Boubakr) who is supported by the party.

We can conclude that serious problems face the political parties' practices, mainly:

Transforming the political practices from its level of awareness to a means of election to gain private materialistic benefits.

The influence of the external factors, especially the French one, (traditional forces and left-wing trend) and Gulf (Saoudi Arabia and Emirates at the power level and Qatar at the level of Islami Brotherhood) and the division of the National party into two visions, the first one considers Iran as the pole of Nasserite in Mauritania, and the second one that regards Iran as dangerous as America and Israel temptation of colonization. This situation makes all who is interested in the parties' regime to display the following recommendations:

The youth people must liberate their thinking from all what the political practice had faced previously and maintain the fair competition.

The government power must release the public administration from the dependence on the system.

In the case of ignoring these recommendations, the change of the situation is not a fact in the future and to see what the rotation on the presidency will bring to the parties and the country.

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Unemployment and Political Regimes in Egypt 1960-2010**By Lobna Abdalla****Political Researcher****The American University Cairo Egypt****Abstract**

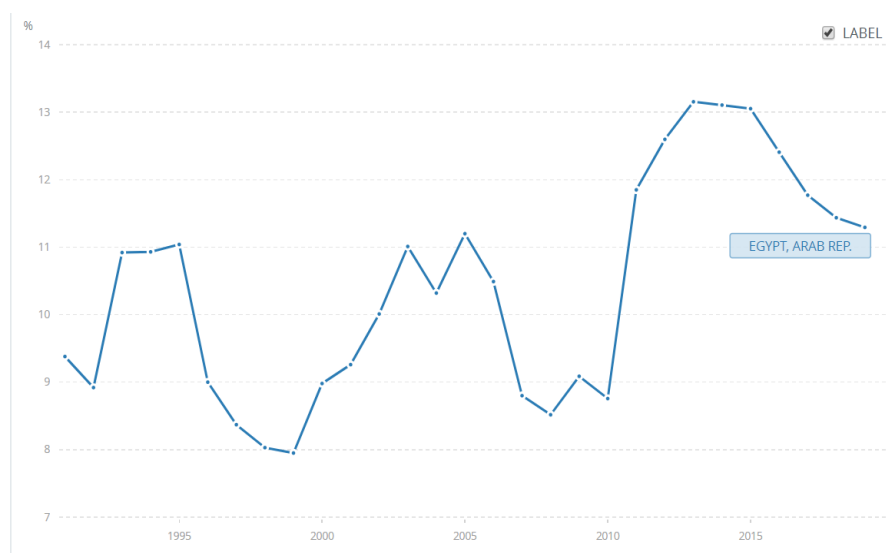
Increasing the unemployment rate in the country leads to instability not only on the economic level but also on the political level, such as what happened in Egypt in 2011. Hence, this paper will study the relation between unemployment rate and political regimes in Egypt from 1960 to 2010. Before addressing the problem in detail, the author will start with the definition of unemployment as there are several definitions for it. Then, the author will discuss the contextual background of the different economic policies that applied under different Egyptian political regimes and affected the unemployment rate in Egypt. Then, the author will review the literature that examined the relationship between unemployment and political issues. After that, the author will identify the theoretical economic background such as the supply and demand curve, Philips curve, and the costs of unemployment. Finally, the author will conclude with discussing the implications of the different policy alternatives.

Key words: unemployment, economic level and policies, Egyptian regimes, implications

1. Introduction:

The right to work is an essential right for a human being. Employment and unemployment are a debatable issue in any country, and it is one of the fundamental factors that countries think about while making policies. Unemployment is one of the controversial issues in the labor market that is facing Egypt.

One of the main reasons that led to the Egyptian January 25th revolution was the rate of unemployment in Egypt. In 2010, the rate of unemployment was 8.8 percent in the fourth quarter. It increased 0.1 percent from the first quarter of 2010 (Krafft, 2013). In the same year, the unemployment rate in the world was 5.478 percent of the total labor force (Bank T. W., 2019). The next graph from the World Bank shows the unemployment rate in Egypt from 1991 till 2019 (2019).



In general, studying the unemployment rate is important for many reasons as unemployed workers do not have wages to afford their lives that have negative impacts on them, on their lives, and the society as a whole. There are serious consequences of unemployment on the society. For instance, unemployment is the main reason for poverty. Moreover, there is a relationship between unemployment and health. Unemployment leads to mental illness, depression, chronic illness, and death. Unemployment is contributing in social division and increasing migration (Macdonald, July 1998). Increasing the unemployment rate in the country leads to instability not only on the economic level but

also on the political level, such as what happened in Egypt in 2011. Hence, this paper will study the relation between unemployment rate and political regimes in Egypt from 1960 to 2010.

Before addressing the problem in detail, the author will start with the definition of unemployment as there are several definitions for it. Then, the author will discuss the contextual background of the different economic policies that applied under different Egyptian political regimes and affected the unemployment rate in Egypt. Then, the author will review the literature that examined the relationship between unemployment and political issues. After that, the author will identify the theoretical economic background such as the supply and demand curve, Philips curve, and the costs of unemployment. Finally, the author will conclude with discussing the implications of the different policy alternatives.

2. Defining Unemployment

The definition of unemployment according to the International Monetary fund is that “those aged 15 years and over who did not have any work during the reference week, had been actively seeking a job during the last four weeks or who found a job to start within a period of at most three months; was able to start to work in the next two weeks” (Essays, 2013). At the same time, International Labor organization defined unemployment as “unemployment referring to persons without work for pay or profit, who are seeking and available to start working for pay or profit in specified reference periods” (Essays, 2013). The World Bank defined unemployment as “Unemployment refers to the share of the labor force that is without work but available for and seeking employment” (Essays, 2013). Although the three previous definitions defined the same concepts, there are some differences between them, as follows:

- 1- The International Monetary fund mentioned the age in its definition, but the WB and the ILO do not refer to a specific age for unemployment person.
- 2- The IMF categorized those who got the job and will start within three months under unemployment.

According to the previous definitions, this paper will address the relationship between the unemployment rate in Egypt and the political regimes from 1960 to 2010 because, in

this period, there were three presidents who ruled Egypt and implemented different policies, which affect the unemployment rate in Egypt. Thus, the research question of this paper will be, “to what extent did the change in political regimes affect the unemployment rate in Egypt from 1960 to 2010?”

3. Contextual background:

In this part, I will tackle different economic policies that were applied under different Egyptian political regimes. I will start with the nationalist socialist and the free education policies that were implemented during President Gamal Abdel Nasser and the effect of these policies on the rate of employment. Then, I will discuss the “Infitah” policies and their impacts on the unemployment rate during President Anwar Al- Sadat. After that, I will discuss Mubarak’s industrial policies and their effect on the unemployment rate.

From 1960 to 2010, Egypt was ruled by three presidents who applied different policies that have been affected by the unemployment rate in Egypt. This part will discuss each policy and its effects on the unemployment rate in detail.

First, the **nationalist socialist policy** was the economic policy that was applied during president Gamal Abdel Nasser's era 1960-1972; as a result, all the major industrial means of production were nationalized, and the private sector shrunk. In that time, the labor was not qualified enough to hold government jobs because of lacking the number of universities and technical schools. Moreover, there was an increasing of the immigrants number to find better opportunity, but the immigration from the countryside to the cities was not an easy process because the countryside’s people were not educated enough for the public sector (Nassar, No year, pp. 11-12). Gamal Abdel Nasser applied the free education policy that means all Egyptian citizens have the right to learn for free in schools till universities, and the purpose of this policy is to prepare qualified and educated employees for the public sector (Loveluck, 2012, p. 4).

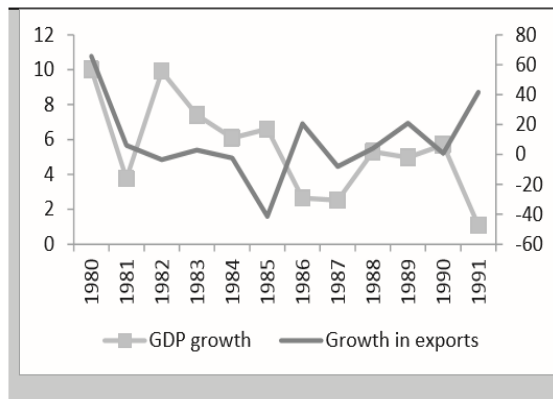
Second, once Anwer El-Sadat held the rule, he went to the opposed side in the economic policy; for instance, he applied the “**Infitah**” policy and liberalized the markets, which were the contrast policy of the Nasser nationalist policy. El- Sadat depended on western technology, natural resources, and Arab capital as major resources to apply

“Infatih.” This new policy encouraged the private sector and encouraged investment in Egypt. Petroleum exports, Suez Canal revenues, remittances, and tourism had positive effects on the Egyptian growth Demotic product as GDP increased from 15% to 38% since 1975 till 1980 (Nassar, No year, pp. 15-16) .

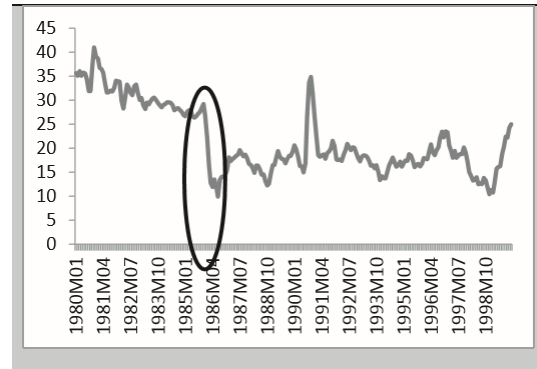
These decisions helped in increasing the number of foreign and private companies, which had various effects on the labor market in Egypt. On the one hand, it led to the weakening of the public sector and its workers and caused deterioration of the situations of farmers and factory workers because the private sector focused on investing in new sectors such as financial transactions, transport and tourism more than investing in the agriculture sector or the industrial sector. On the other hand, these decisions provided new job opportunities, and the workers turned to work on the private sector. The number of employees was about 26 million, and the unemployed were 3 million. Most of the employees were hired in the private sector (Omar, 2018).

Third, Hosni Mubarak applied the **industrial policies** which followed Sadat’s policies that stimulated foreign investments. He used some incentives to expand the investment such as tax holidays, which means the reduction or elimination on taxes (Kagan, 2019), creation of economic free zones, and devaluation the Egyptian pounds to decrease the price of the Egyptian products and give them a benefit to compete in the world market. As a result, these policies promoted foreign investments and increased the export rate of Egyptian products. Moreover, these policies helped to increase real economic growth by 6.8 percent a year from 1981 till 1985. These policies led to increase in the employment rate, but this situation changed in the mid-1980s when the oil prices dropped. The oil dropping had negative impacts on the Egyptian economy as the Egyptian income from Hydrocarbon exports, remittances, and Suez Canal decreased. Moreover, the rate of unemployment became 9.6% because the public sector was not able to recruit any other cohorts after the 1984 cohort of universities and the 1983 cohort of vocational secondary and technical institute graduates (Bank W. , Arab Republic of Egypt More Jobs, Better Jobs: A Priority for Egypt, June 2014, p. 19).

The following graphs will show the Egyptian Growth in GDP and the decline in world oil prices:

FIGURE 1.4: EGYPT: GROWTH IN GDP AND EXPORTS, 1980-1991
(ANNUAL PERCENT CHANGE)

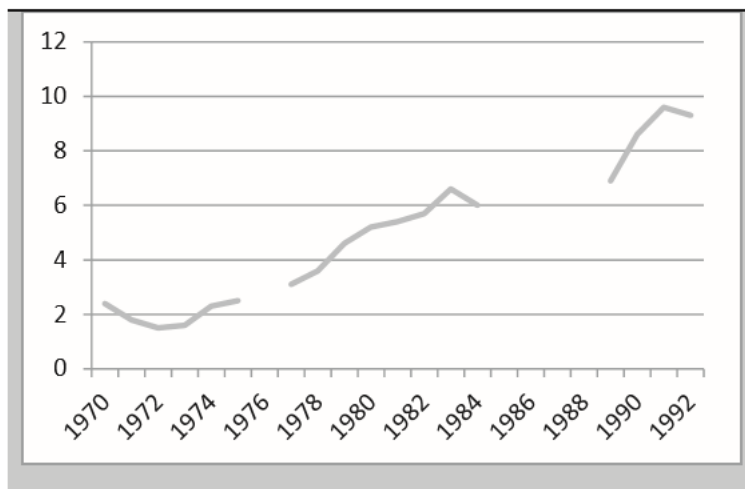
Source: International Financial Statistics.

FIGURE 1.5: CRUDE OIL PRICE INDEX, 2005 = 100, SIMPLE AVERAGE
OF SPOT PRICES (DATED BRENT, WEST TEXAS INTERMEDIATE, AND THE
DUBAI FATEH)

Source: IMF.

To sum up, if we have a look at the case of unemployment rate in Egypt from 1960 to 1990 before Egypt signed “the Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment Program and the Structural Adjustment Loan” agreement, we will find that the rate of unemployment decreased till 1972. Then, it started to increase from 1973 to 1991 that means only Nassar’s nationalist policy enabled to decrease the unemployment rate, but El-Sadat’s Infitah and Mubarak’s industrial policies did not help to decrease the unemployment rate.

FIGURE 1.7: UNEMPLOYMENT RATE 1970 -1992



Source: CAPMAS

After the Egyptian economy suffered from the deficits in the balance of payment and the budget, high inflation, and unemployment, Egypt signed “**Egypt’s economic reform and structural adjustment**” agreement in 1991. This agreement had the main

goal which was to transfer the Egyptian economy to the market-based economy by following specific steps (Korayem, October 1997). These policies divided into two main sections: policies related to the monetary sector and policies related to the financial sector, as follows:

- 1- The monetary policies aimed to reform the exchange rate by making it unified and free. Therefore, it determined according to the market forces of supply and demand. Moreover, these policies sought to give the bank all the freedom to determine its lending and deposit rates.
- 2- The financial policies sought to raise taxes, especially in energy and public enterprise production. Furthermore, the employment rate in the public sector must decrease and restrict the increasing of wages. The public sector must hire qualified managers, and put specific goals for the public enterprises. These policies aimed at structuring subsidies on energy, electricity, fuel, transportation, and renting; therefore, the market forces will determine the prices of them till matching them to the international equivalent. These policies encouraged privatization by reforming investment policies that encouraged competition in the financial and commodities of public enterprises except the strategic public enterprise.

To avoid the impact of the previous policies on the poor, the project included social policies that allocated around 500 million in a social fund for development.

These reforms promoted the growth in GDP, decreased the budget deficit from 20 to 1 percent of GDP, and dropped the inflation from 21 to 6 percent. A few years later, in 2004, the GDP dropped, the manufacturing exports decreased, the rate of investment dropped, the budget deficit increased, and the freeze of public employment continued. Therefore, Mubarak made some changes in the cabinet, appointed **a businessman Ahmed Nazif as a prime minister, and appointed 37 businessmen as ministers**. Ahmed Nazif applied specific policies that promote privatization, own the state enterprises, and liberalize the financial sector. The previous policies controlled the Egyptian economy from 2004 till 2010 (Bank W. , Arab Republic of Egypt More Jobs, Better Jobs: A Priority for Egypt, June 2014, pp. 21-24).

Although these policies led to growth in the GDP, they increased the poverty rate and the unemployment rate because of concentrating capital on a small group of individuals who monopolized different production sectors and control the large slice of the economy. On the one hand, the growth was a result of improvements in not labor-intensive sectors such as the telecommunication sectors, the increase in the international price of oil. On the other hand, the labor-intensive sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing sectors have not seen strong growth. As a result, official unemployment increased to 8.5 percentages (Bank W. , Arab Republic of Egypt More Jobs, Better Jobs: A Priority for Egypt, June 2014, pp. 25-29).

4. Literature Review

This part will review the literature related to the main question of this paper. Therefore, the researcher will have an overview of the topic and how the previous literatures tackled the same topic. Also, the literature review helps to enrich the discussion in this paper.

The researcher reviewed the literature to the main question of this paper to get an overview of the topic and to support the discussion. The researcher concluded that literatures could divide into two main themes. The first theme is that the literatures examined the relationship between unemployment and political issues. The second theme is that the literatures examined the relationship between unemployment and several economic policies in Egypt.

There is some literature that linked unemployment with political issues from different perspectives. One of them discussed the relationship between unemployment and political marginalization. It concluded that there was no evidence to say that the unemployed are politically marginalized compared to the employed as there are many other factors that affect the person's participation in politics. One of these factors is the political interest. In general, unemployed people tend to be more radical in political attitudes and less political confidence in democracy (Ann-Helen Bay, 2002). Another study sought to examine the efforts of the youth unemployment attitudes on political, and it also concluded that the unemployed person is less political trusting in the government than the employed person (Anders Westholm, 1986). These literatures emphasized the relationship between unemployment and political confidence that is very important for this paper to

measure the political acceptance of the policy alternatives implemented in Egypt through different regimes.

Other literature studied the relationship between the unemployment rate in Egypt and other factors such as the GDP. This study resulted that privatization and inflation contributed to increasing the unemployment rate, like what happened in the agricultural sector (Nagwa Mosad El-Agrody, 2010). Another study resulted that the government should encourage private and public investment to increase the growth of GDP that will lead to reducing the unemployment rate (Elshamy, 2013). Another paper concluded that increasing the youth unemployment in Egypt during the 1990s as a result of shrinking on the public sector jobs and weakness role of the private sector in creating new jobs (Wahba, 2005). There is a study examined the trade-off between unemployment and inflation in Egypt from 1974 till 2011. This study resulted that there is a positive relationship between inflation and unemployment rate in the long run (Touny, July 2013). The previous literature examined the relationship between unemployment rate and various factors such as the growth in GDP, hiring in public sector, privatization, and inflation in Egypt. All these economic policies were implemented by different Egyptian regimes and had an impact on the unemployment rate.

The previous literature examined the relationship between unemployment in Egypt and political marginalization, GDP, inflation, privatization, and hiring in public sector. This paper tries to examine the relationship between the different economic regime policies and the unemployment rate in Egypt from 1960 to 2010. Therefore, the contribution of this paper will be to collect the different economic regime policies in the long period in Egypt, around fifty years, and their impacts on the unemployment rate. It will study the effects of the nationalist socialist policy of president Gamal Abdel Nasser on the unemployment rate in Egypt. Moreover, it will examine the effects of the Infitah policy of Anwer El-Sadat on the unemployment rate. Finally, it will examine Hosni Mubark's policies and their effects on unemployment.

5. Identifying the Theoretical Economic Background

In this part, I will discuss the supply and demand curves in the labor market. Then, I will discuss the factors that lead to shift the supply and demand curves to the right or the

left. After that, I will discuss Philips curve. Moreover, I will talk about the costs of unemployment.

In this part, the author will start with the supply and demand curve on the labor market. Then, the part will discuss the factors that lead to shifting the supply and demand curves to the right or the left. After that, it will discuss Philips curve. The last part will be about the costs of unemployment.

The basic relationship in the economy is the relationship between supply and demand. The labor market refers to the relationship between the supply “employees” and the demand “employers” (Kenton, 2019). Therefore, the labor market has a supply and a demand curve. The labor demand curve is called a “derived demand” because it depends on other demands such as the demand for goods and services. On the one hand, there are several factors that lead to shift the demand curve to the right in case it increases, or to shift the demand curve to the left in case it decreases. One of these factors is the demand for output; in other words, increasing the demand for the goodwill leads to increase the demand for employees. Another factor is the well-trained and educated workforce that shifts the labor demand curve to the right. Furthermore, technology plays a massive role in determining labor demand. If technology substitutes the employees, the labor demand curve will shift to the left. If technology complements the employees, the labor demand curve will shift to the right as the employers will need to hire more employees. Also, increasing the number of companies lead to increase the demand for labor. Complying with the government can lead to increase the demand for specific labor and decrease the demand on other labor such as not well-trained labor. Moreover, availability of the input that the labor uses while working can shift the demand curve to the right or the left. Wages also lead to shift the demand curve to the right or the lift as there is a negative relationship between the wages and the demand for labor (University, No year).

One the other hand, there are several factors that lead to shifting the supply curve to the right or the left. One of these factors is increasing the number of workers as a result of immigration, growth in population, an aging population, and so on. All these factors can shift the supply curve to the right, in case there are a lot of people who are willing to work, or it can shift it to the left, in case there is a decrease in the number of workers. Also, there is a negative relationship between the required education and the supply of workers. For instance, there are less number of Ph.D. holders in different fields. Furthermore,

government policies affect the labor supply. As long as there is a tough required qualification for jobs, the supply of labor will decrease. In case the government applies subsidize policies to train employees, the supply of labor will increase. Moreover, applying the welfare policy shifts the supply curve to the right. For instance, applying childcare benefits policies lead to increase the number of working mothers. Wages also lead to shift the supply curve to the right or the left as there is a positive relationship between the wages and the supply of labor (University, No year).

One of the main reasons that lead Egypt to take “the Economic Reform and Structural Adjustment Program and the Structural Adjustment Loan” is the high inflation. Unemployment and inflation called “twin evils” of macroeconomics. To illustrate, there is a negative relationship between them, as inflation becomes high when unemployment is low. When unemployment is high, inflation will be low. Philips curve is about the negative relationship between these two variables. Then, the economist reached that the relationship between inflation and unemployment is reliable or no systematic relationship, which means that inflation and unemployment can be high in the same period. This is against Philips curve. This discovery leads to an important idea, which is can the policymaker guarantee to reduce inflation and reduce the rate of unemployment at the same time (Andrew B. Abel, 2014, pp. 449-452). If we apply Philips curve in the Egyptian case, we will find that it can be useful as after taking the loan, the official unemployment increased at 8.5%, and the frozen of the public employment continued, and the inflation dropped from 21 to 6 percent. Therefore, the relationship between inflation and unemployment in Egypt was negative as Philips said.

Then, there are some costs of unemployment, such as losing the outputs from these unemployed people and losing taxes from them instead the government starts to pay for unemployed people such as any unemployment insurance benefits. Moreover, unemployment has costs on the person itself and society as a whole. To illustrate, unemployed person especially for a long time of unemployed losses their job skills, self-esteem and suffers from stress and other health problems. On the other hand, unemployment can increase outputs in the future as unemployed person will seek to gain new skills that make him more productivity. AS a result, increasing productivity will increase output in the future. Another gain from unemployment is that unemployed people

will have more time to spend with their families and friends (Andrew B. Abel, 2014, p. 463).

6. Conclusion and the Implications of the Different Policy Alternatives

In conclusion, each Egyptian political regime followed specific economic policies that affected the unemployment rate in Egypt. I will clarify the strengths and deficiencies of each policy. First, Nasser applied the nationalist socialist policy as he ruled after a revolution that sought to terminate wealth monopoly and distribute economic welfare. Nasser's policy helped to reduce the unemployment rate and to improve labor qualification by education. He depended on the public sector in creating jobs, and he did not encourage private sector that can create new jobs.

Second, Sadat "Infitah" policy was the opposing of Nasser's policy as Sadat encouraged the private sector and investment to create new jobs. At the same time, these policies caused deterioration of the farmers and factory workers' situations because the investment focused on investing in new sectors. The bright side of this policy is to encourage the private sectors, but it did not use the public sector to reduce the unemployment rate. Third, during Mubarak's era, he mainly depended on the private sector to create new jobs and to restrict the employed in the public sector.

I recommend using both the public sector and private sector to create new jobs. On the one hand, the public sector, except civil servants, should be directed to female labor as there are specific working hours and childcare benefits. All of these reasons are more suitable for women than men. On the other hand, government should encourage investment in the private sector, especially in small and middle enterprises. The government should collaborate with the private sector on the huge projects that will create new jobs. The government should raise the interest rate to rise to save; therefore, the government can use this money to invest in projects that create new jobs. Indeed, any regime should depend on the public sector and private sector to reduce the unemployment rate.

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The Social Representations of Politics and Political Action among Young Moroccan Leaders.

Marouan Blaiha (Ph.D) in Political science.

Ibn Zoher University Agadir Morocco.

marouanblaiha@gmail.com

Abstract

Through this paper, we tackle the issue of young activist's representations toward politics and political action. We argue that there exist two kinds of social representations, the first is related to the ethical view toward politics and political action; this means that young political activists are socialized with the ethical norms of politics and the best-shared ways to practice it through the political structure in which they belong to. The second social representation is looking at politics and political action in a different way; this means that instead of seeing political action as a way of sharing norms and values, it becomes as a tool for social promotion and job-seeking through the social capital that the political structure offers to young political activists. Finally, we argue that these findings are the results of the social representations which are dominating in the political structure. This explains the total conformity between young perceptions about politics, political action and the dominant social representations that young political activists are socialized within their political structure.

Key Words: social representations, young activist, political actions, norms, values.

Introduction

Since The Arab awakening, Youth political action has caught the focus of many researchers in political science and sociology. The interest regarding this issue resides on the crucial role that young leaders can play in the process of democratization and political development. Research that has explained the issue of youth political participation has often been consistent in Analyzing the new forms of political protest, and the abstention from the electoral participation.

The question of political engagement is more complex when the researcher is seeking to understand the individual motivation and individual perception about political action. Individuals may be based on clear motives to participate such as the desire to advocate for issues, a desire to gain power, or a desire to build an influential political figure, which is legitimate as long as the rules governing the political spheres are democratic. However, political spheres that do not invoke the rules of democracy, and where authoritarianism is predominant, necessarily produce political relationship based on loyalties and clientelism.¹

The last political sphere is dominated by the values of clientelism, obedience, and loyalty, rather than the values of competence and integrity. It is a sphere that has been constructed through a historical process since the 1990s Morocco and still influences the collective perception about the meaning of politics.

If this is a summary of the intellectual productions of Abdullah Hamoudi and Mohamed Abd Eljabri, These intellectual conclusions have led us to pay attention to the question of young leader's representations on political action. Meanwhile, we think that representations and mental images formed through a process of personal-social experiences can help understand in-depth the young leader's particular understanding of politics. Thus,

¹ Abdullah Hammoudi (2010) *Sheikh and Al-Mureed Cultural system of Power in Modern Arab Societies*. (Arabic) translated into Arabic by Abdul Majeed Jahfa, Toubkal Publishing House, Fourth Edition, p. 212.

we proceed from the fundamental conclusions of both thinkers in building the central hypothesis of this research.

Papers Concepts:

Social Representations:

Representations are individual perceptions of social life. Individuals always seek to decipher the complexities of the social arena with the perceived representations around the environment. More than that, Individuals make their own representations vis-a-vis the social environment in which they come into contact. Thus, social reality always builds representations¹. Representations have two basic dimensions, the first one being psychological and the second being social, and being a large part of our inner world. We resort to it permanently in order to delight us in moments of comfort and dream and socialize us the moment of loneliness and anxiety. In times of activity and interaction with others, it guides us to what to do because it obliges us to adhere to social norms and cultural context in which we exist².

The first sign of reflection on the issue of representations has emerged with the sociologist Emile Durkheim who indicates that representations are basically collective and homogeneous shared by all members of the group. The function of representations according to Durkheim, is to maintain the collective bond and to prepare individuals to think and identify uniformly across generations, a common feature of all social realities characterized by stability.³

Thinking about representations took on another dimension, especially with Moscovici in the 1960s. It has been thought that the psychological and social dimension should be invoked in the objective study of human behaviour, based on the fact that mental

¹ Jodelet, D. (1989), « *Représentations sociales : un domaine en expansion* », in Jodelet, D. (ed.), *Les représentations sociales*, Paris : Presse Universitaire de France, p 47.

² Kawther Souissi 2016, Social Representations: *An Approach to Study Behavior, Attitudes, stances, and Understanding the Mechanisms of Identity*. The Arab Journal of Psychology. First volume, first issue. (Arabic) P. 48

³ Serge Moscovici (2003) *Des représentations collectives aux représentations sociales : éléments pour une histoire* press Universitaires de France, sociologie d'aujourd'hui p 82.

life is social in nature¹. In contrast to Durkheim's view, Miscovici considers that social representations are constantly changing and unstable. They are unstable in that they are social, subject to review, renewal and reconstruction by the social milieu and the pattern of

values. Representations in this sense change and vary in their meaning and content according to language, culture, ideological context, interests and communication relations between group members. Thus, much of representations are based primarily on knowledge that has been transformed into beliefs and instilled in us.²

Trough Miscovici's conception, Doise discussed social representations based on his interest in social interactions that take place in the general framework "society", which influence the construction of representation through a process of interactions regarding social interests, values, and norms.³ Thus, the consensus built in the general framework defines the mental image on the subject of representations. In addition to the general framework "society" and its relationship to representation, other scholars, including Abric, are interested in the internal structure of social representations and their harmonious structure. Abric points out in this regard that representation is governed by a central nucleus or structured principle that has a generative function as a primary element which is responsible for forming and transforming the representation.⁴ Therefore, the representation itself is dynamic, mainly due to the central nucleus, which is constantly changing, either gradually or spontaneously.⁵

Abric defines social representation as an organized set of information, attitudes about a subject, produced socially and holds all the values of the social and ideological system and the history of the group, which is an essential part of its vision regarding the

¹ Serge Moscovici (2003) *ibid* p 82.

² Serge Miscovisi (1994) ***Social representations and pragmatic communication*** Fondation Maison des sciences de l'homme p 166.

³ Gordon Summut et al (2015) *The cambridge handbook of social representations* Cambridge University Press, P 83.

⁴ Mohamed Lamsadi 2014. ***Social Representations of Politics in Morocco: An Empirical Study in Marrakech***. PhD Thesis. P. 10

⁵ Mohamed Lamsadi 2014 *ibid*. P 10.

world.¹ Meanwhile, Flament defines it as a set of structured perceptions². They are elements rich in information, Knowledge, ideologies, benefits, norms, values, attitudes, opinions, and images.

In this article, we draw on Miscovici's view of social representations, and we link social representations with political action. We consider that the Latter's pattern is based on a process of interactions in the political group that constitutes a particular meaning about politics and the best ways to practice it.

Political action: Political participation, in the end, is an act of individual participants. In this aspect, we determine the concept of political action based on Max weber's contributions in his definition of social action, which he defines it as/

An image of human behaviour that includes the internal and external direction expressed by the Act or refrains from doing so. the act is when the individual devotes a certain self-meaning to his behaviour, and the act becomes social when the self-meaning given to this activity is associated with the behaviour of other individuals and it is directed to others.³

According to Max weber's approach, social phenomena may be understood from two basic angles. First, we understand social action from an individual's understanding of the act. Second to understand this act in relation to the collective level, that is, understanding the relationship between the individual and the group.

In order to understand the first level, according to weber, we need to examine primarily individual motives, interests and subjective meanings that an individual gives to his actions that underlie his behaviour. In the same vein, the interests and motivations that

¹ Kawther Souissi 2016, Social Representations: *An Approach to Study Behavior, Attitudes,stances, and Understanding the Mechanisms of Identity*. Ibid (Arabic) P51.

² Kawther Souissi 2016, Social Representations: *An Approach to Study Behavior, Attitudes,stances, and Understanding the Mechanisms of Identity*. Ibid (Arabic) P. 51.

³ Taher Hasso Al-Zebari (2016). *Contemporary Sociological Theory*. Dar Al-Biruni Publishing and Distribution, Amal. (Arabic) First Edition, p. 150.

underlie the behaviour of the group in which the individual belongs to.¹ From these standpoints, it is clear that Max Weber gave a broad concept of social action as it includes all kinds of behaviour as long as the action has a meaning.

Weber points out that the act has goals and objectives. It is, in fact, the product of rational thinking and it targets a specific value. the individuals when they act, they follow their perceptions that become social realities².

On the other hand, Individuals are not really free to act. Actions, whether it is individual or collective, are restricted to the size of all types of resources, including educational and economic resources, but the options are always open to actions based on the size of the self and collective resources.³ Weber substitutes the analysis of community action to social action as the subject of sociology, and thus “built a scientific approach to understand and explain how to build societal orders, through social action.”⁴

Political action is part of the social act in weber’s theory⁵. The political act as a branch of social action, it necessarily contains actors who are already based on their resources and goals and interact both with the self and its ends and the group to which they belong.

The Statement of the Problem:

In this paper we start from the following central problem:

What are the determinants that govern youth representation about the meaning of politics and political action?

We also proceed in this paper from a central Hypothesis summarized in the following form.

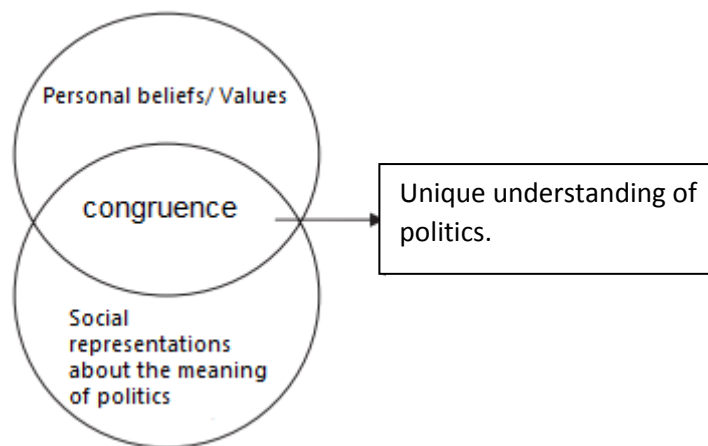
¹ Michael Th. *Greven Max Weber's Missing Definition of 'Political Action' in his 'Basic Sociological Concepts: Simultaneously a Commentary on Some Aspects of Kari Palonen's Writings on Max Weber.* *Max Weber Studies* Vol 4, issue 2. P 182.

² Michael Th. Greven, Ibid P 182.

³ Michael Th. Greven, Ibid P 182.

⁴ Michael Th., Ibid. P 181.

⁵ Michael Th. Greven, Ibid P 181.



Hypothesis

We assume that social representations about politics, formed through a historical process of personal-social experiences, directly affect the behaviour and political practices of the individual, as well as individual perceptions about the concept of politics and how to exercise it. Consequently, if values and beliefs coincide with these representations, they produce a special understanding of the meaning of politics leading to unfamiliar political practice.

1 Method

In order to study the basic determinants that govern the representation of young leaders on political action, it is necessary to conduct a field study that questions the personal and social experiences of the actors in order to uncover the representations that govern their view on politics and the political action. Thus, we chose to conduct interviews as a way by which we can study the subject matter because this technique is able to highlight the representation through interactive discourse between the researcher and the interviewee. Thus, we conduct 80 interviews in the city of Agadir.

The way Flaks Richard and Jack Whalen have monitored the changes in the political action in their book “the former actors” seemed to be interesting. They suggest that studying personal biography is the closest way to reveal an act’s image in the past.¹ Alain Lancelot

¹ Olivier, (2009) *Conséquence biographique de l’engagement*. Dictionnaire des mouvements sociaux, sous la direction d’olivier Fillieule, Lilian Mathieu, Cécile Péchu, presse de sciences po, Op.Cit, P134.

points out that this way to explain changes in individual political affiliations.¹ This method reveals the past, current and future reality of political participation, and brings with it a great momentum of beliefs, feelings and memories retrieved through the narrative mechanism.²

Based on Wahlen and Flak's method, we make sure that the first part of the interview questions the political history of the actor. In this way, we give the actor a large and open space for self-narrative and give him/ the possibility to talk about all those beliefs and the first spaces in his political actions. We have relied heavily on this approach to create a trustworthy atmosphere between the researcher and the interviewee, as this type of questions pushes the respondent to recall memories that consist of events that have passed on human life experiences.

On the other hand, we have conducted a semi-structured interview. Thus, we ask more open-ended questions, allowing for discussion with the interviewee rather than a straight forward question and answer format. If our starting in the first questions is to question the history of self engagement in politics, the subsequent questions have focused on the perceptions of young leaders regarding politics and political action.

As a methodical plan in asking questions, we always seek to start with the question how, a question that makes the interviewee retrieves events and facts, so as to address the details that are important in the study of the subject matter.³ This plan starts with pushing the individual to narrate by referring to the earliest beginnings in the practice of politics. Then we proceed gradually to ask the question why? It is a question that leads individuals to look for rational reasons to justify their pattern of political action, and may sometimes make individuals in a defensive area of their own political choices. In our view, if the two questions are paired together in this order, it may lead us to touch the representations of young people about political action and Politics.

¹ Alain Lancelot, (1964) *Les attitudes politiques*. que sais-je, les presses universitaires de France Op. Cit P 55.

² Charle F et al, (1974) *Les méthodes de recherche dans les sciences sociales*, tome 2, psychologie d'aujourd'hui, press universitaires de France. Paris, pp 338-389.

³ Marc Suteau (2002). *Howard S. BECKER, Les ficelles du métier, La Découverte, Paris*, Sociologie du travail. Vol 46. N 1. P 106.

If this is our starting point in the paper, we are fully convinced by Raymond Bodon's idea that the methodology is built in parallel with the continuity in field research, because Only social reality which can determine the method of research.¹

While conducting the field research, we observe that the logic of understanding is one of the methods that helped us greatly in the study of the subject matter.

The method of understanding, according to Raymond Boudon, refers to the fact that individuals proceed from a set of reasons that already exist in their minds and based on a cognitive understanding. Boudon starts from the postulate that an individual does x believes in y based on the individuals who share the same situation with him.² Based on this perspective, Bodoun considers that social action is subject to beliefs, and those beliefs, actions, and individual attitudes should be approached in the sense that they are rational, and resulting from reasons that social actors consider correct.³

In our view, the prevailing social representations about the meaning of political action and politics convince the actors that what they are doing is true and based on a set of agreed ideas in the political group.

2 Field Research Results:

From the field study, it is found that young actors in political parties are motivated primarily by utilitarian motives, which is the idea that we will shed light on in this axis.

1.2 Utilitarian motives to participate in political parties.

It is noticeable through the sample that most of the respondents are unemployed and have not established families yet, while twenty of them achieved economic and social stability. Moreover, it is noticeable that most of them were active in the protest movements,

¹ Raymond Boudon (2010). *The General Theory of Rationality, Social Work and Common Sense*, translated into Arabic by Dr. George Suleiman, Center for Arab Unity Studies, First Edition Beirut, p 157.

² Raymond Boudon (2010), *The General Theory of Rationality, Social Work and Common Sense*, Ibid, (Arabic) p. 163.

³ Raymond Boudon (2010), Ibid, (Arabic) p. 153.

specifically the February 20th movement as well as human rights organizations. Remarkably, the young leaders in the protest period called for the departure of some political parties representing a facet of corruption, while they recently joined the same political parties that they initially rejected and protest against.

We note through the sample young political activism is governed by clear utilitarian motives, considering that the choice to participate in this format was characterized by the obsession of profit and loss.

The Justification given by the young leaders about participation in the institutional framework differs among them. This difference is mainly in the fact that a sample of young leaders justifies the involvement in their willingness to expand the social network that enables and achieves the very ability to power and spend the purposes of daily life, While others said that they are willing to be very known influencing political figures.

Furthermore, young leaders in left-wings parties have indicated that their active engagement was in line with their political ideas and values. If the entry of some groups into left-wing parties is understandable because the political values they believe in are consistent with the orientations of these parties, it becomes incomprehensible to understand the situation in which some young leaders who join parties they have protested against in 2011.

One of the key explanations and ideas that emerge in the interviews is the search for utilitarian incentives. In the case of young people joining traditional parties, the reason for choosing such structures is to look for the possibility of taking advantage of the Network relations that political participation contains. In this regard, an interviewee said, *“I joined this party because it will give me access to information and take advantage of the material capital”*. In addition, some leaders have tried to join political parties in order *“to form a network of relationships close to state institutions in order to take advantage of this environment.”*¹

It seems that the Utilitarian motivation to participate is predominant at this level. It should be noted that this motive is strongly observed in the sample. On the other hand, there are slight differences between the young actors. We have noticed that the utilitarian

¹ Al-Hussein, a member of the Authenticity and Modernity Party. Interview dated in October 18, 2019, Agadir.

motive is understood by the young leaders, each according to the way they understand politics and the way it should be practised. If a group views the party as an area of promotion and access to power to benefit from it, another group practices politics within political parties only to seek an opportunity for social promotion through the search for public employment, or income-generating project. These motives will be discussed in the next point.

2.2 Participating for the Purpose of Social and Economic Promotion

From the interviewee, we have noticed that these motives are mainly in the search for protection, the search for work and the search for interests with local politicians.

A group of respondents went to justify their political action by being convinced of the need to look for outlets to improve its relationship network, which could be a link in improving its social and economic status. In other words, this sample practice politics for the sake of finding a job in the public sector. On the other hand, ten respondents pointed out that their political action did not reside on a full conviction of the party's project, but it proceeded from the determinants of seeking the necessary protection provided by the political group.

It should be noted that this sample was very active in the forms of protest, both with the February 20 Movement or in "the unemployed associations," and because they are active and known by the security services, they join different parties¹ *"to avoid repeated prosecutions by these authorities". "As a Human Right activist, I am at constant risk, and therefore all of us are facing possible arrest for our continued activity."*²

In addition, another interviewee pointed out that his joining the party came through a process of prosecutions and *"threats of imprisonment as a result of my activity, the latter only stopped after I joined my political framework."*³

¹ Mubarak, civic activist and a member in the Independence Party. Interview dated 17 October 2019 Agadir

² Mubarak same interview source.

³ Adel, a civic activist and member in the National Rally of Independents Party. Interview, 1 November 2019 Agadir.

Along with this belief in the search for protection, there is another type of motivation that drives young people to join parties, namely the search for a job. This is an interesting aspect, as we have seen this recurrence through interviews. In this regard, the respondents pointed out that the main purpose of their involvement in the parties is the large space of relationships provided by these structures, which can lead, if properly exploited, to find jobs. An interviewee said: *"For me, this party opens many doors, its youth and its leaders; most of them are in the public sector. Thinking about finding a job is my concern and takes a great deal of my time."*¹

In addition, another interviewee pointed out that his relationship with the party came through his joining the campaign organized by the party during the 2015 local elections. The latter did not hide that he has been rewarded by the party's leaders for his work, by enabling him to fill the position of local coordination and *"I am now occupying this task by taking a monthly wage from the party"*²

Another Female respondent pointed out that the party did not nominate her at the top of the electoral list at the time of the election, which she did not accept, especially since she is an active leader in local political affairs.

She also reached a consensus with the leadership of the party that is managing the municipal council to enable her to have an income-generating project instead of nominating her name on the women's list, which comes to her by being able to benefit from a financial grant and an income-generating project³.

Another respondent pointed out that participating in the political party came through his conviction that the social capital contained in the parties contributes

¹ In this case, the respondent expressed this obsession with the following phrase: *"I joined the party in order to be promoted socially."* From an interview with Adel belonging to the National Rally of independents.

² In this case, the respondent expressed this achievement with the following phrase: *"Praise be to God, God has bestowed this job in the ranks of the party, and now I work with them permanently."*

³ Fatima, civic activist and a member in the Independence Party. Interview dated 23 October 2019 Agadir.

significantly to the development of relations that facilitate access to services in public administrations and jobs.¹

In the same vein, another female respondent pointed out that participation in the party gave her a privileged social status at the local level, so the latter does not need for instance to wait in line in order to get an administrative paper in various public administrations because it has become a well-known local figure.²

The search for relations with politicians both at the local and national level suggests that there are newly constructed representations about the politician and politics. Some respondents indicated that their primary purpose is to establish relations with politicians that can play the role of mediators in order to get personal matters.³

Another interviewee indicated that these relations enabled him to get out of a personal Trouble with the Police that arrested him at a certain time; meanwhile, he was able to release him only by a phone call from a party leader⁴.

Thus, the intentions to participate are different between the actors. As we have noticed there are young leaders who seek to participate in political parties, especially the parties that have succeeded in the management of governments. Furthermore, they are motivated by utilitarian purposes and are not fully convinced by the party project. Otherwise, they seek to improve their social and economic status as much as possible by exploiting in the network provided by the party.

¹ The respondent expressed his opinion on this matter with the following phrase, "*I joined the party in order to get a job.*"

² Hasnaa a former member of the Socialist Union Party interview on 3 November 2019 Agadir

³ Abdullah, a member of the Popular Movement, interviewed on November 4, 2019, Agadir. This respondent indicated that most young people do not be patient much in political parties. "*Personally, I was patient and the response from the party leaders was to enable me to start an income-generating project.*"

⁴ In this regard, the interviewer indicated that the aforementioned leader answered the security services with the following: "*you have better to release our activist member*", an interview with one of the respondents belonging to Authenticity and Modernity Party, on October 29, 2019, Agadir.

This category seeks to employ this network in order to find work, get promoted at work, or change the working framework. This category does not hide that "*patience, struggle from within the party is followed by reward and recognition in the end.*"¹ What is interesting is that this category considers that political action according to this logic is reasonable, and is considered as the least that leaders can do as recognition of gratitude.²

2 The impact of social representations on individual beliefs about politics and the pattern of political action

It is noted from interviews that there is a consensus between social representations and individual beliefs about the meaning of politics. The latter was greatly influenced by the view of the political structure regarding the politician's image in Morocco, as an actor seeking to enrich and accumulate wealth during his term in office.

These social representations are fully compatible with the cases studied. Young leaders who participate in political parties practice politics based on the need to seek political cover in order to get a job or to benefit from an income-generating project.

Thus, on the face of it, young leaders participate in political parties, which may be explained by the fact that they seek to participate from within institutions. However, the constructed perceptions on politics per se indicate a particular representation and meaning about politics and political action.

It is noteworthy that we have two groups that understand politics differently. Based on the interviews, we have noticed that there is a group with a political vision that understands the political reality and tries to change it, and this is reflected in the quality of the activities that they work on in their civil and political organizations. They always try to focus on the human and political dimension as a gateway to self-expression, and therefore, as it has been assumed, what drives young leaders to participate in the institutional setting are special representations of politics derived from the socio-political structures to which they belong.

¹ Hanan, activists in the National Rally of Independents. Interview dated on 25 November 2019. Agadir.

² Hanan, activist in the National Rally of Independents. Same Previous reference.

The young leaders always want to express their political views and the general orientations that they believe in, and we add in this aspect that this incentive is not only individual but strengthened to be social, that is, the individual who belongs to an organization or movement, this organization creates a kind of meaning that facilitates the process of participation in its various forms.

Thus, it is apparent that, by virtue of their connections and the extent of their extensive relationships, they have been able to achieve some sort of proportionality between the social forces involved and self-satisfaction, which in other words is an ethical concern generated by the individual about the necessity of political participation. This group, most of it participate in left-wing parties defending "**what ought to be**".

The interpretation of this situation can be based on the theory of Max Weber's social action theory. Based on his view, the socio-political action can be a morally rational act, that is, the act itself carries moral goals.¹

For this group, they participate in political parties based on the compatibility of individual values with social representations about the meaning of politics. Consequently, perceptions of politics were built entirely through a process of personal experiences, interactions between individuals, and socio-political organization that functioned to create a collective meaning about politics, and political action. Therefore, individuals from the same culture interact with each other to find the consensual meanings of their shared experiences. They come to agree on what is important to their values.²

In addition to this category, there is another category of young leaders that have a different representation about politics, and this is shown that the perception of the young leaders is based on the representation of politics as a spoil.

The respondents did not conceal that their political action is in line with the way political actors think in political parties. This explains the social representations of politics

¹ Karim Mohamed Hamza (2015). *Sociology theories introductory introductions*. The Insights House and Book Printing and Publishing,(Arabic) p 117.

² Ching Vain (2010) *Intersubjective cultural representations predicting behaviour : The case of political culture and voting*. Asian journal of social psychology. World reference.P 260.

that has been established through a process of interactions between actors within these structures have led to a particular conception and meaning of politics as a space for social advancement and individual enrichment.

These social representations are ultimately constructed by actors to create a set of knowledge, information and attitudes that the group has about itself. ¹Hence, the current youth political action, which is dominated by expediency and the desire for social advancement, is mainly due to the apparent compatibility between individual values and social representations about the meaning of politics and the proper ways to exercise it. This explains that individual values constantly interact with the political group that always creates new consensus and new interests, and new criteria in defining itself as a group, and in creating a new perception and representation about politics. Thus, Instead of being an area for highlighting the political and community project, and a space for political representation, it has become an area of self-enrichment.

Therefore, the emergence of social representations can only be through social interactions and processes of communication, and since identity is reflected only in the discourse and communication processes, representations become the main resource on which the group depends to shape the central features of its identity and determine its changing pivotal features.²

Moreover, the personal and social experiences of young leaders in these political structures have contributed significantly to building new perceptions about how to practice politics. If these perceptions at the beginning of practice, specifically in 2011, were based on a culture of rejection and protest, and the desire to change political structures, it is noticeable that there is a significant change in attitude towards these structures, mainly due to the identification of young leaders with existing social representations in these political structures formed through a historical process.

¹ Gordon Summut et al (2015). *The Cambridge handbook of social representations* Cambridge University Press, P 51.

² Kawther Al-Swisi (2016). *Social Representations: An Approach to Study Behavior, Attitudes, stances and Understanding the Mechanisms of Identity*. (Arabic) Ibid, p. 52

Identification with social representations in political structures also contributed to building new perceptions not only based on seeing politics as spoil but also as an area for seeking protection from local authorities.

Thus, social representations were built in this case through a process of personal and social experiences that led to the construction of mental images and perceptions translated through the speech of the young actors.

We conclude from the above that the mental images of young leaders about politics are based on a set of ideas, representations and beliefs– a web of significations instituted by an anonymous collective – constitutes a resource for creativity as it gives an answer where none could be found otherwise¹. Meanwhile, The scholar **Angela Arruda** points out that in order to better understand the process of elaboration of many social representations, identifying the presence of an imaginary is requisite. It may require a good knowledge of the multiple contexts of the person/group who represents-historical, political and situational-so as they have access to the modes of inspiration for coping with the novel in that group, contributing to the dialogue between experience and the unknown²

Conclusion:

To conclude, the social representations of politics vary according to the personal and individual experiences of young leaders. While part of the youth has representations of politics based on the need to link political practice to moral ends, another part sees politics as a tool to increase material gains and social advancement. This observable situation, as we have highlighted, is mainly due to social representations in the political structures in which young leaders participate. The reason for perceiving politics based on its practice from an ethical stand is due to the perfect compatibility between mental images, and personal experiences on the meaning of politics, and the social representations produced by the group within the political framework. Individuals ultimately interact with their social network, drawing on the question of identity and belonging, and the basic pillars of common meanings that are constantly woven.

¹ Gordon Summut et al (2015) *The cambridge handbook of social representations*. Ibid p 141.

² Gordon Summut et al (2015) *The cambridge handbook of social representations*. Ibid p 141.

Also, perceiving politics as a spoil or as a tool of protection are also due to the complete compatibility between the personal experiences of individuals and the pattern of social representations of politics and political action. It was found from the sample questioned that their practice of politics was fully consistent with the beliefs prevailing in the political structures. This was evident in the speech of young leaders who wanted to see opportunities for personal aspirations.

The central hypothesis from which we proceed is confirmed by the two forms. In this repudiation starting from Figure 1, social culture constantly creates images and speech that affect the individual perception on the subject of representation, through which representation is constructed and reshaped.

We have come across this situation, especially with the young leaders who have moved from protest action against political framework to an action within the political structures. thus, this transition changes the young leader's representation concerning political practice with new prevailed perceptions into the socio-political network.

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The Rural Society in Algeria, between the Policy of Renew and the Participative Approach

HACHEMI TAYEB

Lecturer ‘A’, Faculty of Economics

University of Saida, Algeria

Email : hachemitayeb@yahoo.fr

CHAIB BAGHDAD

Professor, Faculty of Economics

University of Tlemcen, Algeria

Email: chaibbaghdad@yahoo.fr

ABSTRACT

The debate on the rural society has always taken some place in some literature and discussing papers, for the fact that some international institutions and organisms have, already, warned about the disastrous situations of the rural spaces, mainly the question of rural poverty, unemployment, precarity, famines, social exclusion, poor social conditions of life and living, and principally, the lack of opportunities to undertake a serious launch of economic development projects. In this case, our concern, through this paper, is to study how the rural population and actors are dealing with the governmental decision to undertake a wide program to develop the rural regions, called the revival of the rural development, knowing that such population has suffered, for a long time, from the marginalization and exclusion, and voluntary lack of serious projects which has resulted to deteriorating economic and social conditions of life, and the rise of a general idea about these rural population, that any other program or project of development is just another idea of the political responsible in order to respect some electoral deadlines, but in any way to

develop, seriously, this part of areas. The launch of this project, by the state, is heading to ameliorate the conditions of life of rural households and to give more chances and opportunities to rural actors and agents to choose and undertake their own projects, but the question is to analyze the reaction and behavior of the rural areas towards such program.

Key-Words: rurality, Algeria, participative- decentralization, renewal, local knowledge.

1. The question of Rural Development in Algeria

It is important to stress that the concept of rural development is the fruit of the evolution of the rural company, and the natural capital (grounds, air, trees, food, environmental rivers, spaces...) that constitute a basic element in the debate on this question.

Thus, the rural development does not focus solely on the factors which explain a productivity of the systems of production but includes, in fact, a dynamism and renewed interest for the other activities (Para-agricultural breeding, pastoralist activities, commercial activities, craft industry, pasture...).

On this subject, many authors like Cote, M & Kayser, B (1990), Jollivet, M (1997), Campagne, P (2000), Mahdi, M (2004), Bessaoud, O (2005) contributed enormously on this topic; in particular on the historical identity, and the social and economic transformations which occurred. Moreover, one could seize another assertion that the rural societies must overcome the complex of modernity, mainly mentioned in favour of the urban world and industrialization, and that they must impose themselves, a recognition, reconsideration and why not a rehabilitation, by taking account of its social context, its dynamism, and its link between production and governance.

To summarize if the agricultural development is identified more like one purely lucrative and economic strategy (production, output, price, incomes, profits, added value,...), the rural development is characterized more by cultural, social and identity aspects, which reflects a society related to the wellbeing of all, namely the households, spaces, zones, partners. As consequence, the debate on the rural development is not summarized just on questions of diversification and multiplication of the available funds ,

nor about the manners of implication and of attraction of the various partners, including external ones, or what kind of researches and policies which could be more adapted and suitable, but searching real policy about the mechanisms to include and participate, initially, the concerned themselves, with through their associations, elected officials, and those who are carrying the real concerns of the rural populations.

However, the rural area in this country attempts to conserve its main components in order to face some facts and challenges, mainly in this moment and period. It is characterized by instability and dysfunctioning of the world market, especially through the recent financial crisis and the recurrent monetary and financial problems of some Europeans countries, mainly Greece, Ireland, Italy, Spain, and more worse, France and Germany, which could result to some problems to the rural regions in this country for the reason related to the strong commercial and financial relations between Algeria and the European Market (more than 70% of Algerian foreign trade and commerce is made with European Market), could create a probable and eventual lack of revenues and financial resources which are necessary in order to undertake and cover the heavy expenses of the rural projects and programs of development (about 200 milliards DA each year in order to cover and to take in charge the financing of more than 26.000 projects in the rural areas around the territories),

According to Berque (1), "the employee of the agricultural populations is, in fact, one of the most significant features of the evolution of Algerian society rural during the colonial period." On the other hand, the legacy of colonialism (either Turkish, French...) have strongly influenced the evolution of these regions and have contributed considerably in the cultural, social and economic rural space configuration (Bessaoud, 1997).

In this sense, Cote, M (2) identifies rural societies in Algeria as "an assembly of uncoordinated campaigns which occupy some rudimentary soil without significant developments", understanding by that the effect of natural factors on these campaigns and the difficulties of Algerian rural areas to stand as one of the main region for any economic development.

Thus, rural areas are characterized by a disturbing degradation of some factors and other phenomena such as:

- ✓ An increasing rate of poverty.

- ✓ A concentration on subsistence economy
- ✓ Difficulties of access to basic social needs (water, health, education, transport...).
- ✓ A worrying unemployment rate
- ✓ A return of the phenomenon of rural exodus
- ✓ Damaging and deteriorating natural factors such as lands, ecology, forests, and natural spaces.
- ✓ Lack of participation and involvement of some organisations, mainly from women, youth, local elite, and the main actors that are concerned with the development of rural areas.
- ✓ A widen gap between the decisions of the authority and the real needs and concerns of the rural population,

Furthermore, it should be known that rural illiteracy is quite impressive with a rate of more than 31%, and the most worrying rate of rural poverty, verging on 70%. It is essential, in this paper, to follow the pace of the rural population, through the following table:

Table N01: The rural population in Algeria

	2000	2010	2030
TOTAL	30.290.000	35.600.000	45.500.000
RURAL	12.900.000	13.300.000	13.500.000
URBAN	17.390.000	22.300.000	32.000.000
Gap Rural/Urban	+4.000.000	+9.000.000	+18.500.000

SOURCE: Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, 2004.

Using some indices such as the I.D.R (Index for Rural Development), the I.D.H (Human Development Index) and the I.D.R.S (index of Rural Sustainable Development), the observation that can be identified in Algeria rural revolves around the following indications:

- a) The part of the rural population has declined significantly, from 78% in 1950 to 43% in 2000.
- b) The size of the household between 7-8 persons is quite significant (25%).
- c) Near 52% of the economic activity consists of the agricultural sector (agriculture and livestock).

To better summarize the panorama of the rural environment in this country, some observations and remarks can also, be quoted such as:

- 1) A strong trend of pluriactivity of households.
- 2) A dominant of small farms.
- 3) A fairly irregular production.
- 4) A finding of malnutrition higher than urban areas (near 8% of rural).

2. The Strategy of Rural Development in Algeria

Recently, Algeria has engaged a vast program and project of recasting and reorganization which concerns, from now on, all the economic sectors, including those of the State and the State itself as economic agent, with an aim of better adapting its economy to the rules and principles of the liberal economy. This process of change required the installation of the economic policies more appropriated and adapted the mobilization of the appreciable resources, institutional and legal instruments, in order to meet the best conditions for such processes.

a) *Inventory of fixtures*

a) With more than 12 million inhabitants, the rural world in Algeria represents approximately 40% of the total population, and the share of the households, made up between 7 and 8 persons, accounts for 25%.

b) On the 948 rural communes, it was noted that about 250 communes post up a rather acceptable level of development, and 373 communes have a level of development just average, and only 27 communes can be praised of a remarkable level of development.

c) The agricultural activities account for 52% of the activities in these communes and constitute the essential and fundamental rural activities, which show the prevalence of this activity in this specific world.

d) The rate of average unemployment, estimated (according to the last data) at 27%, touches, in great majority, the young people of section 20-29 years, and constitutes a source of permanent concern of the political and economic decision makers.

b) *Beginning of a Rural Development Policy*

Two important instruments have been launched:

I. National Plan of Agricultural Development (P.N.D.A) set up in June 2002 to lead to the revitalization of the rural areas.

II. National Plan of Agricultural and Rural Development (P.N.D.A.R), which is a natural prolongation of the P.N.D.A and must ensure a synergy and coordination between the various partners of the agricultural and rural world.

The principal and essential axes and ideas of this policy can be gathered according to following points':

a) This policy will have to support and accompany the rural actors to conceive and develop coherent and convincing prospects for their territories.

b) This policy falls under perfect and comprehensible logic of assistance for these actors, to become aware of the true stakes of the rural development.

c) This policy constitutes a decisive and innovating stage in the field of democratization,

d) Lastly, this policy constitutes a space of dialogue and exchange of ideas which allow a flexibility of the actors and the partners

In accordance with this subject, Hervieux, B (3) thinks that the policies are not issued: they are prepared, built and improved thanks to the co-operation, the exchange and the division of information.

In the same register, A.M.JOUE and O.BESSAOUD (4) think that the new strategies of agricultural and rural development support also the emergence of new social actors and the development of new social needs in accordance with the rural areas.

c) Tools of intervention

The strategy of rural development, conceived in a form of revival and proximity, also wanted to be like a step based on the integration of the actions, as well as the mobilization and participation of the local actors, through the projects of proximity of rural development (P.P.D.R), then relayed by another type of projects (P.P.D.R.I) in August 2006.

In addition, the installation of the projects of proximity (P.P.D.R.I) tries to achieve some strategic axes (also called federator topics) which are concentrated on:

A. Modernization and/or rehabilitation of the villages and K' sours (improvement of the living conditions).

B. Diversification of the economic activities and the incomes.

C. Protection and valorisation of the natural resources.

D. Protection and valorisation of the rural, material and immaterial inheritance.

As planned, the implementation of these projects and programs requires, inevitably, the availability of the following factors:

- ☐ The desired and required participation of rural populations.
- ☐ A local administration which is aware of expectations and basic needs of the rural ones
- ☐ A coordination and synergy of multiples and various interventions.
- ☐ An engagement of an active partnership.
- ☐ Development of a program of planning (mainly regional planning).

In addition to that, the P.P.D.R.I profit from an accompaniment and support on the financial level, with the example of the F.N.R.D.A (National Funds of Regulation and Agricultural Development), the F.D.R.M.V.T.C (Development Funds Rural and Land utilization by the Concession), F.O.N.A.L (National Funds of Improvement of Rural Housing)...

3. Rural Participative Approach

The rural development strategy, as developed in the Algerian case, indicates that rural actors have a great responsibility to conduct projects and programs selected and accepted by their own initiation and approval, following the classic schema for mounting of projects, namely, initiation and preparation, formulation, decision process, launch of the project, implementation of the programmes of action closing projects, projects management, and monitoring and control of them.

In the Algerian case, and in this context to adapt the rural world according to the new bases of the liberal economy, the principle of participatory becomes a necessity and urgency, and, according to the experts on this issue, this type of program ensure a participatory management of all actors, specifically in:

- 1) Promoting the participation of rural civil society.
- 2) Reconstructing the institutional landscape.
- 3) Granting more power to rural representative.
- 4) Organizing the agricultural and rural profession.
- 5) Encompassing all factors and their interaction.

In a study by the CENEAP¹, concerning a sample of 67 communes and 2760 households, the results were the following:

¹ National Center for Studies in Development Economic and the Population

A) Concerning the participation in the elections: Interviewed on participation in the last elections, members of households have answered "Yes" for 62.98% and "No" for 35.86%.

B) Participation in volunteer activities: Among the interviewees, the most numerous to assert that they participate in volunteer activities live in the High Plains, the West Highlands and Northern respectively at height of 26.48%, 19.70% and 18.76% of the interviewed people in these regions.

C) Participation in the associative movements: On the 14.329 people, members of the 2.760 households interviewed, only 4.08% of them activate in 0.13% and associative sector in a Community framework.

D) Participation in citizen groups: According to regions, it is in the North and South West that commitment in the Community is the most important. It is about 10% of persons over 18 years interviewed in the first region and over 7% in the second. In other areas the figures are less important particularly in the North which has extremely low figures (1.36%) and southern (2.50%).

On the other hand, and as part of a panel of training, awareness of rural population on the basis of rural renewal, concerning the Wilaya of Ain-Temouchent, located in Western Algeria, and distinguished by an interesting agricultural nature, primarily, production of vines, meeting the rural society of eight Dairas of this Wilaya, it was found the following comments to better measure this participatory approach in this renewal policy:

- a) The rural population still understand such policy of an angle of another policy, implemented by the State, to attempt relief and recovery of the rural landscape.
- b) This renewal policy is more seen as only a funding for rural projects, as decided and desired by the planners and officials of the institutions of the State.
- c) A full demotivation and demobilization of rural and peasants regarding on this policy, despite the many assurances and guarantees on the sincerity and the will of the State in this process.
- d) A serious lack, noted and raised, of associations representing rural women and rural youth.
- e) An idea of the rural population that such policy is a more designed to promote the agricultural profession and the agricultural activities.
- f) A reading that the policy of rural renewal is only a question of distribution of funds and investments.

Among the grievances registered to understand the behaviour and reaction of the rural population, and the reluctance to participate in the different phases of this mechanism:

- ❖ The pending question of unemployment.
- ❖ The administrative constraints.
- ❖ The difficulties of access to social services.
- ❖ The constraints of access to credit.
- ❖ Complications at the level of the different administrations and public services (water, electricity, transport, housing, education, assistance and social and other protection).
- ❖ The rural “foncier”.
- ❖ Lack of transparency.
- ❖ The problem of land degradation.

The example of the cited Wilaya and the summaries of the reports in this sense, the perception of participatory by the rural population, confirm that such policy, implemented by the Central hierarchy without any real connection with the expectations and needs of the rural world, may lead, therefore, to a rather pessimistic results, and may take some time to reach the rural, on the basis that rural program is not only an economic process, but more sociological one.

4. The issues of the rural participative approach on the light of renewal

The Rural Renewal Policy (RRP) aims at bringing both local development projects and local development actions, bearing in mind that the rural actors are building the territories, which is the fundamental of this policy and the main challenge of the local deciders in order to boost the rural productivity, and to ensure the real participation and involvement of rural population.

According to O.Bessaoud and M.Petit (7), this policy is trying to achieve the followings targets:

- 1) This policy is designated to improve rural households, particularly people living in enclaves.
- 2) It is built on large scale programs and projects.
- 3) It constitutes a true basis to rise up the potentialities and the strengthens of the rurals.

The decentralization process is still on its starting bloc and needs some time to be implemented and established in the rural administrations, but it remains the fact that the

new policy must be, widely, transmitted and covering the main rural regions, trying not to exclude any categories of the population, and insisting on the participation and involvement of rural women and youth in this process.

In the case of Algerian rural areas, the withdrawal of the State is translated by the need to implement some new mechanisms that disrupt the already existing structures and support activities that value local resources and involved in the management of natural resources. It is important to note that, under the effect of globalization, rural associations are aware of the fact that the burden will be too heavy and very costly and deserve that one is strives only to the problems which are "manageable" at the local level.

In the Algerian case, and in this context to adapt the rural world according to the new bases of liberal economics, decentralization principle becomes a necessity and urgency for:

- ✓ Promoting the participation of rural civil society.
- ✓ Reconstructing the institutional landscape.
- ✓ Granting more power of representative rural local decisions.
- ✓ Organizing the profession agricultural and rural.
- ✓ Effectively managing resources in the concerned rural areas.

CONCLUSION

The discussion about the policy of rural renewal confirms this enthusiasm and determination of the Algerian Government to implement a true foundation based on an effective participation of the rural population, without any exception or exclusion, in order to properly oversee rural development and improve the living conditions of rural households.

According to the developments of international economy and national context which require a necessary development of the rural world, the Algerian state is more intransigent on the issue of the participatory approach, and tries to convince the major components and categories of this world to understand that time of centralization and the monopoly of the decisions at the central and hierarchical level is well over to let place to other concepts, such as decentralization, deconcentration, delegation and devolution, brief, local governance.

Opinions converge towards the idea that the participative approach is another alternative that public authorities can use and build in order to preserve this momentum of cooperation, dialogue, and negotiation. If it is well implemented and understood, it will send some significant and positive signals to the rural and may be a bit of hope for rural development which is the measurement of makers and rural populations.

Through the participative approach, the rural areas can express themselves and promote the ideas and thoughts on the appropriate and suitable mechanisms in order to better target interventions of the State, and to combine the efforts between the latter, which is part of a logic of accompaniment and support for this policy of renewal, and rural people who best know the expectations of the population. It takes into account the mistakes above, by the exclusion of the rural, and projecting to another era, more oriented to a dynamic of coordination, cooperation and synergy, which remain the true and only strength valid arguments on the basis of sustainable development and the given wealth of the rural spaces available and potential one.

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University Youth Interaction with the Videos of the Lebanese Movement on Facebook 'A Field Study'

Researcher name: Mahmoud Mohamed Ahmed Mohamed

Ph.D Researcher, Department of Educational Media, Faculty of Specific Education, Minia University, Egypt Email: Mahmoud.mido646@yahoo.com

Supervisor

Prof Dr. Mohamed Moawad Ibrahim

Professor of Media and Child Culture, Faculty of Higher Studies for Childhood, Ain Shams University and Dean of Al-Jazeera Higher Institute for Media

.ASS. prof Dr. Eman Mohamed Ahmed

Assistant Professor of radio and television of Educational media Department of Faculty Specific Education - Minia University

Abstract

The study aimed to get acquainted with the interaction of the respondents with the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press in the Arab DW channel, I used the descriptive method using the sample survey method. The data was collected by means of a questionnaire newspaper that was applied to a sample of (400) male and female students from the Cairo and Minya universities, I reached out: The presence of a statistically significant correlation between the respondents' follow-up of the Lebanese movement's videos with the two pages of the "Today's" press programs, "An-Nahar", a reading in the German press on the DW Arabic channel, and the forms of interaction with them. The value of the correlation coefficient reached (0.41 **), It is a function at the level (0.01).

key words : Interaction, University youth, Videos of the Lebanese movement, face book.

Introduction:

Interactive visual journalism programs have become a significant feature of modern media and communication on Facebook as an important medium in the spread of media material, As it is a pattern among social media users, In particular, the interaction with the videos of the Lebanese movement in my pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press in the DW Arabic channel, Digital media is also the ideal way to produce and manufacture news that is broadcast by audio and video via interactive media, It enabled workers in the media to transmit live events with sound and image as they occurred to various parts of the world, In light of the foregoing, the current study will examine the extent of university youth interaction with the videos of the Lebanese movement on Facebook.

Previous studies:

In the division of previous studies, the researcher relied on the following axis, which is:

Firstly: Facebook Interactive Studies:

The objective of the study was Khaled Mostafa (2019). To monitor the audience's interactions with the official pages of the Egyptian satellite channels via Facebook and its implications for building its agenda, And get to know the most important issues raised by the public, and show: That the audience's admirable interaction came first in the forms of interaction with the issues under study in the pages of "Paper and Pen, Hamza Wasl" via "Facebook" (65.5%),⁽¹⁾ , **It also monitored the study of Majdi Milad (2018).** Analyze and interpret the relationship of videos on social media to promoting responsibility among Libyan youth, and shows: The video clips contain the content of religious responsibility in the first place, and this source is very important for the individual, to understand the vision of the closest persons trusted by the respondent in those contents and their reference is specialized or have confidence in him,⁽²⁾ , **In a related context she sought a study of Nitish Kelvin Bissonauth (2017).** To analyze (360) video clips on ethics and

¹ Khaled Mahdi Hamid Al-Shaer (2018). Treatment in YouTube channels and the extent of awareness of the Egyptian public, unpublished Master Thesis, Al-Azhar University, Faculty of Information, Radio and Television Department.

² Majdi Milad Oweidat (2018). The relationship between watching video clips on social media and promoting the concept of responsibility among Libyan youth, unpublished master's thesis, Mansoura University, Faculty of Arts, Department of Media.

responsibility on social media on Facebook and YouTube, and it was found: That Facebook helped the video journalist to ask questions related to ethics and responsibility on social media to the public in (360) domain, and to capture videos and broadcast them on the net, In addition to judging the reliability of video sources better⁽¹⁾.

Comment on Previous Studies and Ways to Benefit from Them:

It is clear from previous studies that Arab and foreign schools are interested in interacting with video journalism on social media. Being a medium that allows the user to interact with media content that includes different topics and issues, It is a feature of both the method and the user, Among these studies is the study of Khaled Mustafa (2019), Magdy Milad (2018), Nitish Kelvin Bissonauth (2017), The researcher also benefited from previous studies in determining the problem of the study, its aims, hypotheses, questions, and samples; Where the theoretical frameworks of previous studies that were commented on in the current study are related to the forms of interaction of the users of the two pages of the press program today with the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the DW channel 'Arabic', With the videos of the Lebanese movement under study.

The Statement of the Problem:

Through a review of previous studies, it becomes clear that Facebook's interactive visual journalism programs acquire a special importance for their users, Where the public depends on it to obtain information and news related to the Lebanese movement under study, This is also confirmed by the scientific literature relevant to the subject of the study, And in connection with the forms of user interaction with the videos of the Lebanese movement on my press pages today in the channel 'An-Nahar', a reading in the German press in the DW Arabic channel, Therefore, the study problem is centered on a main question that says: **How much do university youth interact with the videos of the Lebanese movement on Facebook '?** In the presence of the social audience of interactive programs to follow the contents of social platforms on the network.

Objectives of the Study:

¹ Nitish Kelvin Bissonauth(2017). 360--Degree Video Journalism: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DIFFERENT ANGLES OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY AND NEWS REPORTING, requirements for the degree of Master of Digital Media, Canada: Ryerson University, Faculty of Information.pp41.

The study aims to identify the following main goal, which is: **The extent of university youth interaction with the videos of the Lebanese movement on Facebook '.**

From this goal the following sub-goals are derived:

- 1- Knowing the relationship between the respondents' follow-up to the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press in the Arabic DW channel, and the forms of interaction with them.
- 2- Explain the relationship between the extent of the respondents' follow-up to the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the DW Arabic channel, and the degree of benefit from them.

Study questions:

The study works to achieve its goals by answering the following main question, which is:

How much do university youth interact with the videos of the Lebanese movement on Facebook '?

And it pops up The following sub-questions:

- 1- What is the relationship between the respondents' follow-up to the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the Arab DW channel, and the forms of interaction with them?
- 2- What is the relationship between the extent of the respondents' follow-up to the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press program today in the channel "An-Nahar", a reading in the German press on the DW Arab channel, and the degree of benefit from them.

Study hypotheses:

To achieve the goals of the study and answer its questions, the study hypotheses were in two main hypotheses, namely:

- 1- There is a statistically significant correlation between the respondents 'follow-up of the Lebanese movement's videos with my“ Al-Nahar ”journalistic programs,“

Reading in the German Press ”by DW Arabi, and the forms of interaction with them.

- 2- There is a statistically significant relationship between the extent of the respondents' follow-up to the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press programs today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the DW Arabic channel, and the degree of benefit from them.

The study sample:

The study was conducted on a sample of (400) singles from Cairo and Minya University students who used the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel. The reasons for selecting the sample are as follows:

- 1- The researcher has chosen the sample of Egyptian youth to describe the topic as a category and a segment that represents an active sector in the human society. In addition, young people in this period have a love for seeing the videos of the Lebanese movement that interest him.
- 2- On social media, there are young people with different age levels, a varied educational level, male and female. This provides the researcher with a sample that correctly represents the indigenous community for youth within the community. Therefore, the study sample was distributed equally to both males and females among users of the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel. When selecting the sample, it was taken into consideration that it be representative of males and females The following is an offer to describe the sample according to demographic variables:

Table(1)

**Characterization of the sample according to demographic variables (n
(= 400)**

Demographic characteristics		Repetition	%
Type	Males	200	50%
	Females	200	50%
Age	18: 35	244	61%
	35: 40	156	39%
Educational level	Bachelor's	280	70%

	Postgraduate	120	30%
Geographical distribution	Cairo	200	50%
	Minya	200	50%
residence	countryside	145	62.5%
	Attended	255	37.5%
Total		400	100%

The above table shows the following:

- 1- **In terms of type:** The use of males and females for the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the DW Arabic channel, came in an equal percentage (50%), This is because both pages are an important source for the public to obtain news related to the videos of the Lebanese movement being studied on both pages.
- 2- **In terms of age:** That the age group of users of both pages of the press program today in the channel, "An-Nahar", a reading in the German press in the DW Arab channel, was as follows: from (18: 35) in the first place by (61%), according to the respondents 'follow-up of the videos under study, followed by (35: 40) in second place with percentage (39%), It is clear from the previous results: that a category of (18:35) is the younger age group and the most likely to follow the videos under study in my press pages today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press in the Arab DW channel, This explains that the younger the age, the more attention and follow-up to the case in question.
- 3- **In terms of educational level:** The distribution of the vocabulary of the study sample according to the variable of the educational level reflected the different levels of education at the universities of Cairo Minya, which follows the videos in the study of my press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press in the Arab DW channel, which came as follows: (Bachelor) in first place By (70%), then (graduate studies) in the second position by (30%), **It is clear from the previous results:** that the category "Bachelor", "Postgraduate" is the category most interested in following up the issue under study and interacting with

it in my pages of the press programs today in the channel "An-Nahar", a reading in the German press in the Arab DW channel ", Ali explains the extent of the respondents' awareness of following the videos of the Lebanese movement, the higher the follow rate, the more interaction.

- 4- **In terms of geographical distribution:** The distribution of the study sample items according to the geographical distribution variable came equally for both the governorates of Cairo and Minya, each governorate has obtained (50%) of the total sample of users of the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press in the Arabic DW channel '.
- 5- **In terms of accommodation:** The distribution of the vocabulary of the study sample according to the variable of residence for the users of the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press in the German Arabic DW channel, was as follows: (Al-Hadr) is in first place with a percentage of (36.75%), and comes in the second and last Al Reef (36.25%), **It is clear from the previous results:** The 'urban' category is the most popular category for watching and interacting with the videos of the Lebanese movement under study, due to the fact that the urban areas have a high population density than the countryside.

Study population:

The human community is represented in the university student audience that is used for the two pages of the press program today in the channel 'An-Nahar', a reading in the German press at the DW Arabic channel, on the social networking site 'Facebook'.

The Limits of the Study:

Human Frontiers: The human limits of the study are represented by a sample of students from the universities of 'Cairo', 'Minya' who use the pages of the journalism program today at the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the Arab DW channel, between the ages of (18:40) years as they were applied during 2019.

Spatial boundaries: Restricted to the governorates of 'Cairo,' Minya, The governorate of Minya was chosen because it relates to the place of study of the researcher as it represents the tribal side, while the governorate of Cairo was chosen because it represents the face of the sea.

Objectivity border: I am limited to the videos of the Lebanese movement in my pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press in the DW Arabic channel, on the Facebook network.

Time limits: It is the period during which the researcher conducted the field study on a sample of Egyptian youth using the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the Arab DW channel, in the period from 10/1/2019 to 11/30/2019 .

Study tool: questionnaire newspaper was applied to an intentional sample of (400) individuals from the students of the universities of 'Cairo', 'Minya', who are users of the two pages of the journalism program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press in the Arab DW channel, which was applied in the period between 1/10 / 2019 PM, and until 11/30/2019.

Type and Method of Study:

The study belongs to descriptive studies that use the sample survey method. Which mainly seeks to know the interaction of university youth with the videos of the Lebanese movement in my pages of the press program today in the channel 'An-Nahar', a reading in the German press in the DW Arabic channel ', In order to learn about the relationship between the respondents' follow-up to the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the DW Arabic channel, and the forms of interaction with them, And to show the relationship between the extent of the respondents' follow-up to the videos of the Lebanese movement in my press pages today in the channel 'An-Nahar', a reading in the German press on DW Arabi, and the degree of benefit from them and the knowledge of their reactions towards it.

Study variables:

Independent variable: Videos of the Lebanese movement.

Dependent variable: Youth interaction.

The cognitive framework of the study:

Lebanese Movement:

A series of popular protests started on October 17, 2019, as a result of the Lebanese government declaring a tax on voice calls for the application of "What Sapp" at a rate of six dollars per month, This is part of a set of austerity measures aimed at alleviating the financial crisis the country is going through⁽¹⁾

Interacting with the Lebanese Movement's Videos via Facebook:

It is a "Facebook" site is an important media used by television channels to broadcast its various media contents on the network, as it is a network that allows its users to obtain information and news and interact with the contents of press video files through and comment on them Rupiah ⁽²⁾, Interacting with the videos of the Lebanese movement is a key feature of the electronic news media, It allows its users to publicly record their reactions to a video or news article⁽³⁾, And this is due to the various political, social and economic issues in an interactive, mutual framework between all of them in a high climate of freedom among users.⁽⁴⁾, Where it depends on the interaction mechanisms available on the site, the more interaction mechanisms are available on the site, the greater the percentage of interaction, dialogue and participation between the sender and the recipient about the media content.⁽⁵⁾.

Forms of interaction with the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press program today in the channel, "An-Nahar", a reading in the German press in the channel DW Arabic:

¹ Dana Khraiche (2019). "Nationwide Protests Erupt in Lebanon as Economic Crisis Deepens", Available at the following link: www.bloomberg.com.

² Rakuran Rupiah Mustafa (2018) Political marketing via social media, Research published in the Arab Journal of Information and Communication, Saudi Society for Media and Communication, the sixteenth issue, November 2016 1438 AH,p20.

³ Schmitz Weiss, De macedo goyce(2017). compressed dimensions in digital4media occupations: journalism in transformation, journalism: theory, practice, criticism, vol 10,NO 5,16SEPTAMPER,PP593,Avalibale at: <http://www.sagepub.co.uk/journalspermission.nav> ,recevedat:13-12-2017.

⁴Abdullah Saad Al-Anri (2019). The relationship between Kuwaiti youth exposure to social media sites and their political awareness, unpublished Master Thesis, Jordan: Yarmouk University, College of Information, Radio and Television Department,p22.

⁵ Interaktiv medien- Wörterbuch Deutsch: Wörterbuch, Übersetzer. (2015). Available at: <http://worterbuchdeutsch.com/de/interaktiv>

There are many forms of interaction with the videos of the Lebanese movement in my press pages today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press in the German DW Arabic channel, including:

LIKES records:

It means showing admiration for the content on the site and is available among friends, groups and channels⁽¹⁾

Interaction through writing comments:

It is a form of interaction available on the news pages of the social networking site 'Facebook' where users can write 'comments' about issues that interest them and then press the inter button, it also features to achieve the mechanism of interaction between users⁽²⁾

Share:

It means the users' participation of the content provided by the news pages of the social networking site 'Facebook' and exchanged among users via the user's e-mail or published on a group shared between users or another social networking site⁽³⁾

Percentage Valid:

The questionnaire newspaper was designed to verify the apparent honesty in the light of the aims and assumptions of the study, and then presented it to a group of arbitrators in the field of media, The questions were designed in light of previous studies related to the subject of the study, It has been The form was modified according to their observations, and then a stability test was conducted for the questionnaire newspaper by reapplying the Retest form using the stability parameter over a period of time by answering them, And based on the rationing sample, which consisted of (50) individuals from university students, The researcher also relied on calculating the stability of the results of the questionnaire on calculating the percentage of agreement between the respondents' answers in the first and second applications. The value of the persistence coefficient (90%), which is a high persistence coefficient, indicates that there is no significant

¹ Khaled Mahdi Hamid Al-Shaer (2018). Treatment in YouTube channels and the extent of awareness of the Egyptian public, unpublished Master Thesis, Al-Azhar University, Faculty of Information, Radio and Television Department.,p59.

² Mahmoud Mohamed Ahmed (2017). Interactive communication of users of news channel pages with social networking sites and verified gratifications, unpublished Master Thesis, Minia University: Faculty of Specific Education, Department of Educational media,p57-58.

³ Khaled Mahdi Hamid Al-Shaer (2018). Treatment in YouTube channels and the extent of awareness of the Egyptian public, unpublished Master Thesis, Al-Azhar University, Faculty of Information, Radio and Television Department.,p59.

difference in the respondents' responses, as it indicates the validity of the questionnaire for application.

Statistical Analysis:

After completing the collection of field study data, the data was coded and entered into the computer, then it was processed, analyzed and extracted statistical results using the statistical package program for social sciences known as 'spss', By resorting to the following statistical treatments, tests and treatments, which are: (Simple ratios and ratios of survey questions, Pearson correlation coefficient to find the severity and direction of the correlation between respondents' follow-up to the Lebanese movement's videos on my "Today" channel's "Al-Nahar" program, a reading in the German press on "DW Arabi", and the forms of interaction with it, And to show the relationship between the extent of the respondents' follow-up to the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the DW Arabic channel, and the degree of benefit from them.

Studying Results:

The sample of the field study was represented in the 18: 40 age group of Egyptian youth, As it included a sample of (400) singles from students of the universities of 'Cairo', 'Minya' from users of both pages of the journalism program today at 'An-Nahar', a reading in the German press at DW Arabic channel, In addition to the results of testing the validity of hypotheses and linking them to the questions and objectives of the study, The following is a presentation of the study results:

Table (2)

Respondents' follow-up of Lebanese videos on my press program today at the 'An-Nahar' channel, reading in the German press on DW Arabi channel, (n = 400) (you can choose more than one alternative)

n	The respondents' follow-up on Lebanese videos	Today's press program page for 'An-Nahar' Channel		DW Arabic channel's German press reading page	
		Iteration	%	Iteration	%
1	Yes	388	97%	381	95.25%
2	No	12	3%	19	4.75%
Total		400	100%	400	100%

The data of the previous table indicate:

a. The respondents' follow-up to the Lebanese movement's videos on the "Today's" press program at the "An-Nahar" channel reached a percentage of (97%), compared to (95.25%) of the German program's page on the German-Arabic DW channel.

As for the respondents' failure to follow the videos of the Lebanese movement, they were as follows: (4.75%) for the German newspaper DW Arabic Reading Program page, compared to (3%) for the German newspaper Today program page, "An Nahar". It is clear from the previous results: that the respondents' follow-up to the videos of the Lebanese movement is necessary, as it came in a high percentage on the page of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel. This is due to the presence of a well-known writer on Lebanese affairs who enjoys the confidence and follow-up of the respondents, Thus, it attracted the largest audience and opened the way for enriching the interactive discussion on issues of public interest in interactive online programs.

Table (3)

The extent of the respondents' follow-up to the Lebanese videos on my press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the DW Arabic channel, (n = 400) (you can choose more than one alternative)

n	The extent of the respondents' follow-up to the Lebanese movement's videos	Iteration	%
1	I follow very large much	161	40.25%
2	I follow very much	109	27.25%
	I follow at unlimited times	130	32.5%
Total		400	100%

The data of the previous table indicate:

- Although there was a response (I follow a very large degree) on the highest percentage of my press program today in the channel "An-Nahar", a reading in the German press in the DW Arabic channel (40.25%), there is a difference in the two categories (I follow a large degree, I follow at times other than Specific), **It is clear from the previous results:** That exposure to the videos of the Lebanese movement with my pages of the press program today in the channel "An-Nahar", a reading in the German press in the DW Arabic channel, among the respondents, has become something they have within the exposure habits of the public or a ritual of exposure rituals they do whenever they can navigate the network.

Table (4)

The degree of the beneficiaries' benefit from following up on the Lebanese videos in my press pages today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, reading in the German press in the Arab DW channel, (n = 400) (you can choose more than one alternative)

n	The degree of benefit from following the videos of the Lebanese movement	Iteration	%
1	I benefit very much	208	52%
2	I benefit greatly	152	38%
	I benefit a little	40	10%
Total		400	100%

The data of the previous table indicate:

- The degree of the beneficiaries' benefit from following the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press in the DW Arabic channel, was as follows: (I benefit very much) in the first place by (52%), and comes in the second position (I benefit greatly) by (38%), then (I benefit a little degree) in the third position by (10%). **It is clear from the previous results:** The vast majority of the respondents benefit greatly from following the videos of the Lebanese movement in my press pages today in the channel, "An-Nahar", a reading in the German press in the DW Arabic channel, This is due to the fact that interactive programs aim to attract the largest number of audiences and open the way for enriching the interactive discussion about the Lebanese movement's videos that arouse the public's interest in interactive programs on the net.

Table (5)

Forms of respondents' interaction with the videos of the Lebanese movement on both pages of the press program today on the 'An-Nahar' channel, reading in the German press on the Arab DW channel, (n = 400) (you can choose more than one alternative)

م	Forms of interaction	Today's press program page for 'An-Nahar' Channel		DW Arabic channel's German press reading page	
		Iteration	%	Iteration	%
1	LIKES records	137	34.25%	133	33.25%
2	Writing comments	139	34.75%	134	33.5%
3	Sharing work	124	31%	133	33.25%
Total		400	100%	400	100%

The data of the previous table indicate:

- **The respondents' preferences for the use of forms of interaction with the videos of the Lebanese movement on the page of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel were as follows:** (Commentary commentary), in the first place with a percentage of (34.75), and the use of the comment tool is due to the fact that it expresses the opinion of the public freely regarding the aforementioned issue, then (like records like) in the second position with a rate of (34.25%), and finally (the work of the participant Shaer In third place (31%), The respondents use the participatory tool because it allows the case to expand and multiply its audience from one location to another, And This result is with the results of the findings of Hisham Saeed's study, whereby the phrase writing a comment got first (69.7%), while it came in the current study in first place.⁽¹⁾

As for the DW Arabi 'German newspaper reading program page, the respondents' preferences for using forms of interaction with the Lebanese Harak videos were as follows: (Writing comments), in the first place with a percentage of (33.5%), and the use of the comment tool is due to the freedom of the public to express the opinion of the public regarding the aforementioned issue. like, Sharer Action (33.25%),,, And This The result differs with the results of the findings of Mahmoud Mohamed's study, whereby the phrase commenting commented on the news content ranked fourth (13.5%), while it came in the current study in first place⁽²⁾,**It is clear from the previous results:**That the respondents find that the interaction and tools of the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the German DW channel Arabic, is important because it helps in knowing their opinions and ideas regarding the Lebanese crisis, The result of the Lebanese government's announcement of a tax on voice calls via Internet applications (WhatsApp) at a rate of six dollars per month, as part of a set of austerity measures aimed at alleviating the financial crisis the country is going through.

¹ Hisham Saeed Fathi Omar Al-Burj (2015). The effect of using social networks via the Internet on the social relations of the Egyptian family, unpublished Master Thesis, Cairo University, Faculty of Information, Radio and Television Department,p130.

² Mahmoud Mohamed Ahmed (2017). Interactive communication of users of news channel pages with social networking sites and verified gratifications, unpublished Master Thesis, Minia University: Faculty of Specific Education, Department of Educational media,p119.

Hypothesis Validation Results:

First hypothesis: This assumption states that: There is a statistically significant correlation between the respondents' follow-up of the Lebanese movement's videos with the two pages of Al-Nahar, Al-Nahar, and the German press, DW Arabic.

And to verify this hypothesis, The Pearson correlation coefficient was used to measure the severity and direction of the correlation between the respondents' follow-up of the Lebanese movement's videos on my "Today" channel's "Al-Nahar" program, a reading in the German press on "DW Arabic", and the forms of interaction with it. , And the correlation coefficient value was (0.41 **), which is a function at the level (0.01), **By this we accept the assumption that:** There is a statistically significant correlation between the respondents' follow-up of the Lebanese movement's videos with the two pages of Al-Nahar Today's "Al-Nahar" channel, a reading in the German press on "DW Arabi", and the forms of interaction with them, This indicates that the more respondents follow the videos of the Lebanese movement in my press pages today in the channel, "An-Nahar", a reading in the German press on the Arab DW channel, The higher the reaction rate.

The second hypothesis: This assumption states that: There is a statistically significant relationship between the extent of the respondents' follow-up to the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press programs today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the DW Arabic channel, and the degree of benefit from them.

And to validate this hypothesis, The Pearson correlation coefficient was used to measure the intensity and direction of the relationship between the extent of respondents' follow-up to the Lebanese movement's videos on the pages of the press programs today on the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the DW Arabic channel, and the degree of benefit from them, The value of the correlation coefficient was (0.44 **), which is a function at the level (0.01), **By this we accept the assumption that:** There is a statistically significant relationship between the extent of the respondents' follow-up to the videos of the Lebanese movement in the two pages of the press program today in the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the Arab DW channel, and the degree of benefit from them, This indicates that the more follow-up, the greater the degree of benefit.

The results of the study in light of the hypotheses:

After conducting the field study, we reached a set of results, the most important of which are:

The first hypothesis has been proven true: There is a statistically significant correlation between the respondents' follow-up of the Lebanese movement's videos with the two pages of the "Today's" press program, "An-Nahar", a reading in the German press on the DW Arabic channel, and the forms of interaction with them. The correlation coefficient value was (0.41 **), It is a function at the level (0.01).

The second hypothesis has been proven true: The presence of a statistically significant relationship between the extent of the respondents' follow-up to the Lebanese movement's videos with the two pages of the press program today on the 'An-Nahar' channel, a reading in the German press on the Arab DW channel, and the degree of benefit from them, and the value of the correlation coefficient (0.44 **), It is a function at the level (0.01).

Conclusion of the Study:

Through this study, the researcher tried to find out the relationship between the respondents' follow-up of the Lebanese movement's videos with my "Today" channel's "Al-Nahar" program, a reading in the German press on "DW Arabi", and the forms of interaction with it. As a media platform for presenting different opinions and ideas related to the videos of the Lebanese movement, This is because interactive visual journalism programs have a great influence in shaping the public's attitudes towards the Lebanese issue that arouses their interest that is broadcast on the network, The study recommended the following:

The need for media organizations to pay attention to interactive video journalism on the Internet and support them through social media workers, In addition to training journalists to use modern technologies for digital photography and digital broadcasting techniques for the public from the event site, in order to reach new and innovative theories and concepts in the context of the relationship between the public and new media.

Research proposals:

In light of the study, the researcher presents a set of proposals, namely:

- Use social media to promote advertising campaigns.
- Using social media to address cases of violence against women.

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**Iran's nuclear File in Trump's Speeches and Spiritual Rouhani
and Zarif**

Study their Twitter Tweets

Researcher name: Dr. Ghazwan Jabbar Mohammed Hussein

Address: Iraq / Baghdad

**Job Title: University of Mustansiriya / Faculty of Arts -
Department of Media**

E-mail: ghazwanggg@yahoo.com

**Iran's Nuclear File in Trump's Speeches and Spiritual Rouhani and Zarif
Study their Twitter Tweets**

Translated by: By Lobna Abdalla
The American University Cairo

Abstract

The last two years have witnessed political debates over Iran's nuclear file, and the rhetoric between US and Iranian leaders has increased since Donald Trump took power. Political rhetoric has increased in public opinion with the rapid development of communication and communication to the extent that the public From viewing the events of the policy, without waiting for the politicians to disclose it through the media and audio in the news bulletins and newsletters, as the platforms of social communication more used by politicians who fire their speeches across the sites Who set up advisers behind the scenes, and the most prominent of those personal sites Twitter, which devoted many of the media areas of print and electronic pages and hours of broadcast to analyze the letters of politicians published by Twitter. Most politicians have official accounts on Twitter or other websites, sending messages of reassurance, threat, or intimidation during political crises or before taking

action against any of the other countries. It is easy to reach as many people as possible through sites. This communication, as well as other traditional media, which in turn addresses those statements and speeches that are published through social networking sites and translated according to the language of the media and analyzed and host specialists to comment on them. Politicians use the quickest means to deliver their speeches to the public; the public seeks to learn about the latest developments in the political arena, including the speeches of political leaders, because of its importance to the public. These speeches have become a concern of public opinion and are expected by the public in times of peace Crises and wars, because of the fateful decisions that determine what will happen between the different countries of the world, they constitute an important aspect in the war of forgetfulness that precedes or even replaces actual wars, to win public opinion before making decisions fateful.

The importance of public opinion in foreign policy has crystallized since the middle of the twentieth century, and public opinion began to be affected by the crises and wars of the 21st century. It was clear after September 11, 2001, attacks in the United States. The leaders of the United States And the leaders of the world's political discourse, which is involved in the preparation of professional advisers, and focuses the US political discourse at the current stage on key issues, including preventing Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons at any price, which we will consider in this research, which consists of three axes, The third deals with the role of political discourse in promoting psychological warfare; the third examines the state of the political speeches of Tramb and Rouhani and Zarif responses via Twitter, which were reported by the Arab and international media on Iran's nuclear file and concluded with American sanctions. On Iran, after a series of fiery political speeches between the two leaders, followed by other statements that worsened the situation, despite the belief among many that the relations between America and Iran can not reach the extent reached, and that the difference of views between Only a formality, while a different view was expected to go even further, and that there would be a direct military war, but if it happened, it was limited to US military operations targeted at Iran's fugitives, according to America, and confined to a psychological war that seemed clear In the speeches of US President Donald Trump and the psychological warfare in the responses of his Iranian counterpart Hassan Rowhani, as well as the responses of Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Jawad Zarif.

Key words: Iran's nuclear file, political discourses, speech and public opinion speech and psychological war, politicians' tweets

Introduction

The researcher presents a set of methodological steps (the importance of the research, purposes, problematic, hypothesis, limitations and structure) as follows:-

The importance of the research: the researches that are related to political speech is considered one of the most important researches because of what the political speech adds to the country's influence and status among the other countries. The leader's influence on their people is considered a powerful one, as it directly affects people's minds. This influence depends mainly on the political leader's ability to make the country's decisions, objectives, intentions, and directions in an acceptable way to the citizens.

The research's purposes: the researcher via his research aims to achieve a set of goals, knowing to what extent the strategic forces are achieved during the political speech, how the conflicting leaders influence the public opinion and win the psychological war. He will know that through an attempt to know these points:-

- 1- The leaders' abilities not only deliver the message effectively and attractively but also to help them to understand it.
- 2- The leaders' abilities to communicate with the citizens and to convince them of the decisions they make.
- 3- The political leaders' abilities to gain their people's trust in their countries, in other fellowship countries, and other countries they target in their psychological war.
- 4- The leaders' abilities to transmit the political perspective to the public; to achieve their desired goals via their speeches.

The research problem: the problems that lay in some political speeches are issued from presidents and leaders of major countries, towards other countries suffer from political conflicts. The researcher seeks to view the strength points of the U.S.A President Donald Trump's political speeches, the responses of his Iranian counterpart Hassan Rouhani, and the Iranian foreign minister Mohammed Jawad Zareif amidst their political speeches, and to know to what extent each one of them can use the synonyms which empower the strategic forces in the addressed political speech, in turn, that is believed to be one of the

foundations of the directed psychological war to other targeted countries. All of that depends on the achieved results in reality.

The research's hypothesis: the researcher seeks to test the following hypothesis:

The political leaders can make a successful communication with the public opinion, to convince it of their political decisions, besides winning the psychological war, which they direct to other countries' governments and citizens, where they have political conflicts.

The research's limitations: the time of the research was determined in the last two years 2017-2018, since Donald Trump, who took the reign of the U.S.A, began launching a campaign of political speeches against Iran, with this campaign the speech war of his Iranian counterpart and other Iranian politicians including the foreign minister Mohamed Jawad zareif. That is why the researcher will attempt to analyze some parts of their speeches to figure out the strength and weakness points. In addition to what their speeches include from the psychological war on each other, which left a sign on the public opinion and negatively reflected on the political, social and economic life in Iran.

The research's structure: this research includes three themes divided as following:

The first theme: to what extent the political speech influence the public opinion

The second theme: the political speech role in causing the psychological war

The third theme: study trump's speech and the responses of Rouhany and Zareif about the Iran's nuclear file

The first theme: to what extent the political speech reflect on the public opinion:

Since the middle of the last twentieth century, the importance of public opinion has clarified in foreign politics as the western governments were very eager to inform the public opinion in the appropriate time with their foreign politics and their instructions towards what decisions they intend to make. They do so by issuing political discourses about what is happening in the scene because the powerful political discourse empowers the political leaders to deliver the ideas and the decisions they believe in the people. The politicians intend to use the various kinds of communication to influence the public opinion in their countries and the other counties that may be affected by their decisions.

They benefit from the social media they own, including their accounts on different social media platforms, especially twitter.

The political speech is, in other words, a social speech that connects to the political society, to which it is directed and carries the society values. Analyzing the speech clarifies the relationship between the speech and the society, their way to communicate, and their means ⁽¹⁾. By using these methods, many of the politicians around the world aim to influence public opinion in order to gain its agreement to their issues. Perhaps, it's the continuous evolution in media that shows the importance of the media in the political advertising and political marketing that equally serve the foreign politics and their diplomatic objectives. In addition to rank people's prioritize.

According to the prioritization theory, which is built on the fact that media is considered to be the alert to what the citizens respond. The media plays a role in publishing the speech and ideology. this theory is one of the communication theories because this theory supposes that media rank people's prioritize through emerging the worthy issues and neglecting the other ones so that the audience shows interest just to those issues exclusively⁽²⁾. the issues are separated into two sections: either it's obtrusive- Concrete issues (they are issues that people can live it and have personal experience with it so they can understand and imagine it) or its Non- Obtrusive- Abstract Issues (they are issues that people haven't experienced directly so they can't imagine it)⁽³⁾. The media especially satellite TV channels, as well as the social media platforms; have the greatest responsibility in attracting public attention towards the major issues and the political speeches accompanying these issues, according to their importance, which directly affects the citizens' lives.

The TV satellite channels are a great way to directly communicate with the numerous citizens with their different classes such as the elite and the public. That's the way a major ability to form the public opinion ⁽⁴⁾. furthermore the development of the broadcasting made a lot of possible ways to communicate, reduce costs, expand geographical coverage

1. محمد عكاشة، خطاب السلطة الإعلامي وتقنية التعبير اللغوي، مكتبة النهضة المصرية، ط1، 2004م، ص6- (1)

2. سناء محمد الجبور، الإعلام والرأي العام العربي والعالمي، دار أسامة للنشر والتوزيع، عمان، 2010م ص131- (2)

أحمد زكريا أحمد، مدخل لإهتمامات وسائل الإعلام وجمهورها، المكتبة العصرية للنشر والتوزيع، القاهرة، 2009م، ص23، نقلاً عن: (3)
عبد الله محمد عبد الرحمن، سوسيولوجيا الاتصال والإعلام، النشأة التطويرية والاتجاهات الحديثة والدراسات الميدانية، دار المعرفة الجامعية، الاسكندرية، ص84.

إسماعيل علي سعد، الرأي العام بين القوة والأيديولوجية، الكتاب الثاني من سلسلة السياسة والمجتمع، دار النهضة العربية للطباعة - (4)
والنشر، بيروت، 1988م، ص71.

and to contribute in overcoming the natural and human barriers (¹). The development in the TV satellite has increased the importance of public opinion, likewise playing a very effective role in formulating it. the TV satellite discussed every political and security issue with what accompanying it from presidents' speeches so that you will find a sensation for it in the local, regional, and international public opinion. According to how important the issue is. The follower of media such as the TV satellite with what it transmits from newsletters finds that it usually discusses what the politicians shared through their accounts about different events, the leaders' speeches and the political and public reactions to them.

The current political situation inside the country affects the public opinion. Therefor the political regime based on tyranny and authoritativeness deprives people of expressing their opinion and leads to the trustless between the ruler and the ruled that leads to chaos and instability in the country. On the contrary, in the democratic regime, the public opinion finds its way to freedom and effectiveness; it becomes an opinion that is public and obvious, not hidden. in the free society the public opinion's discussions contribute in establishing advanced and developed practices and behaviors(²).as the political regime allows to deliver the information and the political speeches to the citizens so they can form an effective opinion, that facilitates it to the political regime in taking the right decisions. This requires credible information to be delivered to the public from the political regime's media. Because now it becomes hard to hide what is happening in the scene from the citizens to whatever cause. The media in other countries, living in a mature stage of democracy, is responsible for that delivering.

Furthermore, the issue of supplying people with credible information and the level of professional treatment of media coverage is a priority to the successful media works. They work on satisfying these things to the public, by debating the issues of interest to the public perspective, particularly those, which is concerned with the citizens' life crises (³). In these crises when the political speech turns into a cramping one, the political regime's media confronts the directed media, which spread information leads to a revolution against the regime. Therefore, the political regime through its financed media seeks to unify the political speech to influence the public opinion in the purpose of persuasion.

هبة شاهين، التلفزيون الفضائي العربي، ط2، الدار المصرية اللبنانية، القاهرة، 2010م، ص34 (¹)

كامل خورشيد مراد، مدخل إلى الرأي العام، دار المسيرة للنشر والتوزيع والطباعة، عمان، 2011م، ص127 (²)

عبد الرزاق محمد الدليمي، الإعلام وإدارة الأزمات، دار المسيرة للنشر والتوزيع والطباعة، عمان، 2012م، ص230 (³)

(There is no way to persuade someone with something without giving him evidence and proves. Any political speech's strength depends on its ability to make successful communication with the citizens, and there is no way to achieve this without getting public satisfaction by persuasion and evidence as the speech argues a specific reality and context through its special synonyms. There are specifically agreed elements that we use to judge if this speech accomplished a successful communication or not. Therefore, there is one message or more to deliver through every political speech. The persuasion is considered the center stage of ineffective leadership) ⁽¹⁾. The persuasion is made by sequential efforts grooming the mind and emotions or one of them indirectly, so it should be a plan, time, and effort to get over the struggles that obstruct persuasion. This process has two main kinds: the first lean on symbolic strategies evokes passion to pointed person, the second depends on persuasive strategies is used to draw mind and logic to the targeted person. In addition to these two kinds, there is a third strategy that combines these two kinds; depending on grooming the mind and the emotions at the same time. Bettinghous clarified that persuasion is an intentional attempt from the sender to change the consignee's beliefs, directions or behavior via sending messages. He also added that recognize the convincing message is not considered a negative process, as the consignee during the receiving process becomes as active as the source during the sending process as beliefs and future trends are intermediate factors that mediate the way, which the message is received². Political and persuasive speech strategies focus on formulating political media planning in a form consistent with the unity of purpose, and knowing the regional and international communication messages scientifically provides the basic building blocks for informed and influential political speech projects that are produced from the state's public policy.

The preparing stage of the political discourse is not made by one person as there is more than one person involved in the preparation process. Forming a general idea about the situation and its circumstances precedes the preparation process. Specialists and consultants are involved in the forming process³.

أمانى مسعود، مبارك ومفهوم حقوق الإنسان- قراءة في الخطاب السياسي، دار الأندلس للنشر، مصر، 2008م، ص43 ⁽¹⁾
معنى كلمة إقناع في قاموس المعاني، إقناع : (قنع) (مصدر أقنع) ، حاول إقناعه برأيه، أن يجعله يُسلم به عن رضى، والإقناع خير ⁽²⁾
من الترغيب والترهيب.

فاروق خالد، الإعلام الدولي والعولمة الجديدة، دار أسامة للنشر والتوزيع، عمان، 2011م، ص152 ⁽²⁾

محمود عكاشة، لغة الخطاب السياسي، منتدى سور الازبكية- دراسة نظرية تطبيقية في ضوء نظريات الاتصال، دار النشر للجامعات، ⁽³⁾
مصر، 2005، ص54.

Public opinion may formulate the state's public policy, and it is not far from it. The extent of the influence of public opinion in politics reflects the extent of pressure that the public opinion does to determine government decisions and on the policymaking process, and the reluctance of officials to take a specific decision that they expect to face with opposition from the public. Since the general framework of the policymakers move, which may make decisions that achieve the public interest, is determined by the public opinion and its trends. The success and continuity of the taken policies depend on the extent to which public opinion accepts them, and their implementation is convinced¹, which puts politicians in front of a massive challenge, as they must persuade their people with their decisions to win the local public opinion before going to other targeted countries. Thus, state leaders must persuade their people and gain their support with the leaders' decisions to reassure them that all their decisions are in the interest of their country before directing discourses to the leaders and peoples of other countries that are dealt with. Those countries with which tensions and crises occur may continue for years without witnessing direct military wars, so it needs political skill and ability to communicate with people of the world in order to keep the situation from collapsing. This is not done through traditional media only, but also through the social media platforms that are used by the majority of the masses in the world, and the official and unofficial accounts that the political leaders tweet on them to win the world public opinion.

The second theme: the role of political discourse in promoting psychological war

Political leaders from different countries of the world continue their purists to influence public opinion to convince them of their decision in a critical time of peace, wars, and crises that are before or after wars. They direct their speeches through their social media as well as the media. But it is a mistake to think that politicians prepare their programs and plans to present them in the form of letters by the traditional media only as politics is now more complex. Sometimes, politics begins and ends behind the scenes away from the media, and surrounds with mystery and silence; however, what politicians hide in peace, may expose during crises and wars, to distance themselves from what happened in their countries of destruction, which they are the main cause of it.

كامل خورشيد، مدخل إلى الرأي العام، مصدر سبق ذكره، ص 197⁽¹⁾.

(Public opinion was affected by crises and a war in the twenty-first century after the September 11, 2001 attacks in America, which resulted in a clear demonstration of America against Muslims, which was termed as “Islamic terrorism.” this was clear by the collective panic of the American public opinion, and the subsequent bad reactions towards Muslims and Arabs. These defects that surround the American public were exploited to achieve some interests by using propaganda, psychological war and rumors. There are prominent leaders of public opinion who are working to influence public opinion on a different level such as the local, regional, and global opinion, to serve their political agendas. The power of public opinion is considered an existing authority as these leaders can enlighten, mislead, numb, or distraction the public from its crucial issues)¹. That can happen by exporting official discourse on global issues related to In the Arab world, the entire Middle East, Russia, North Korea, or other countries in which the United States of America has relations or agreements with them. The most important political speeches are related to wars and promoted the psychological war.

The definition of psychological war by the US Department of War is, "the use of a plan by a state or group of states for propaganda and other media measures directed at a hostile, neutral, or friendly group to influence their opinions, emotions, attitudes, and behavior, in a way that achieves the goals and policy of the country or countries that use them." The psychological war is not directed at all countries in the same way, although they are agreed on the general goal, which is to influence the emotions, ideas, and behavior of the people and the army on the other side. There is no doubt that the speeches that precede or follow wars, which are formed one of the most prominent forms of psychological war, have diversified and developed in a striking way that may alert to open war on different levels such as political, military, and economic level. The impact of it has become clear on the societies to which it is exposed, which pushes it to move against the existing authority and hold it responsible for the economic deterioration and calling for step down. Here, politicians seek to direct speeches through various communication sites and media platforms to overwhelm the public with their speeches at the local level to calm the public and at the global level to influence other parties. The psychological war is a non-military operation launched by a state against the supposed enemy, intending to affect his morale and weaken his internal front by certain methods. This kind of war may extend behind the time of armed conflict or emergency.

كامل خورشيد مراد، مدخل إلى الرأي العام، مصدر سبق ذكره، ص 156-157⁽¹⁾.

The political discourse differs from other speeches that express its owner and his personality as it is not a spontaneous or automatically speech to express his emotions, but it is a speech made and prepared carefully to affect the audience and convince them¹.

Messages are the most important pillars of psychological war, and there is a group of messages that are formulated and then transmitted to the target audience, and they change according to the need²:

- 1- Messages to the inside audience showing the enemy with the appearance of evil to kill and destroy.
- 2- Messages to the enemy crowd showing that there is no hope of winning the war, and the defeat is inevitable.
- 3- Messages to the general audiences that assure justice and ethics in the field.

Countries take various ways to deliver their messages by investing the nature, mentality and thinking of human beings, such as using the repetition method of a specific message so people start believing it and making it real. Some beliefs and myths may use to deliver a message or broadcast false news that has incomplete aspects as fact. It uses the fastest means to deliver it in order to influence the public who imagines that war is inevitable, which leaves a negative impact. Hence, it creates chaos and leads to the economic collapse of the target country from this war. On the other hand, the one who directs this war uses all available capabilities to gain popular support for this war, which may face a war on the contrary. It is unreasonable for the other party to stand without a response as it issues speech in response to the other side after the state devotes all its communication capabilities.

Psychological war involves what we might call the communication function of the state in a wide way. It describes as one of the functions of the contemporary state, which means that it is the duty of the state or the ruling authorities to transfer to individuals a certain

محمود عكاشة، لغة الخطاب السياسي، مصدر سبق ذكره، ص 54 (1)

عبد الباسط محمد أبو ناموس، الحرب النفسية التي استخدمتها المقاومة الفلسطينية في مواجهة العدوان الإسرائيلي على محافظات غزة عام (2) 2014م، رسالة ماجستير منشورة، ص 34، 2015م.

amount of information that must be known before making a political decision. The main axis of it is to create a stable moral and intellectual relationship between the individual and the state; this relationship contains five distinct functions¹:

- 1- Arranging the collective value system.
- 2- Supporting the concept of political cohesion.
- 3- Creating national satisfaction.
- 4- The advertising function.
- 5- Prepare for a reverse psychological war.

A reverse attack must follow a specific plan to succeed. It must follow the same principles in order to put an end to the attack on which faces. The reaction must equal the attack².this is what happens and what can be read in political speeches as well as The military maneuvers when the situation becomes worse between two countries, or between a group of allied countries that launch an attack on other allied countries as each party seeks to win the war. Perhaps, those political speeches that precede or follow with firming decisions may be more effective than the military war because of its negative effects on the economy of the targeted countries, and it has implications for the collapse of the local currency against the global currencies. All of this is promoted with speeches that are broadcast through various communication sites and the media. These letters are backed with information, and who owns it and invest it in a good way will have better opportunities than others to achieve victory, as influencing the opponent is no longer a chaos thing. It follows specific studies that are looking at psychological motives and the nature of different cultures as well as the customs and traditions of societies and other topics that researcher works on them to exploit their results in psychological wars. This is invested and included in direct speeches. All gaining information is used in that war, which can be called "information war."

The "information war" is a term that describes the use and management of information, and may include collecting strategic information, making sure the validity of existing information, publishing propaganda or false information to frustrate the enemy or the

حميدة سميسم، الحرب النفسية، الدار الثقافية للنشر، بغداد، 2004م، ص12-13⁽¹⁾.

حميدة سميسم، المصدر السابق نفسه، ص26⁽²⁾.

people, reducing the quality of information that the enemy has and working to reduce the opportunities for the enemy to collect information, which is Using information systems to exploit, destroy, and disrupt opponent information and its information-based operations to gain and advance on its military and economic systems. It is possible that this war will take place at the level of persons, companies, or on a global level. The information war is divided into seven sections: Free Command and control, intelligence war, psychological operations war, information pirates' war, economic information war, electronic war, virtual information war¹. The international community is currently overwhelmed with information issued by US news agencies or communication platforms, and other means of public communication.

(The exciting of mass communication means a crucial element for modern propaganda as delivering political speeches to the public and forming the public opinion can only be achieved through these means that can achieve successful propaganda, in case they are central, varied and direct. The leaders' political speeches cannot spread and reach the targeted audience if they are not able to attract the attention of the public)². Also, social media platforms become the focus of the media's attention, with the leaders' political speeches and the international and public reactions on them as it is no longer platform For Social communication only, but also to the political communication.

If we discuss the political field, we find threats, accusations, manipulations, and challenges that have become part of the psychological formation of people as their perceptions were directed to political, social, and economic aspects that accommodate their issues and their understanding of the type of strategies that governments plan to be a point of tension every day in people's lives³. With the development of the media and electronic communication, people increasingly follow politics because political decisions have become part of their daily lives, even if they are issued by other countries. The sanctions imposed on a country are quickly reflected in its political, economic, and social conditions.

The third theme: analyzing trump and the responses of Rouhani and Zareif on twitter.

ويكيبيديا الموسوعة الحرة، على الرابط الإلكتروني الآتي⁽¹⁾
<https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8>

مي العبد الله، الدعاية وأساليب الإقناع، دار النهضة العربية، بيروت، 2011م، ص37⁽²⁾
أنور السباعي، التخطيط الإعلامي السياسي، وزارة الإرشاد القومي، دمشق، 1971م، ص77⁽³⁾

The researcher analyzing the speeches of the U.S.A president “Donald Trump” about Iran and the speeches of his Iranian counterpart Hassan Rouhani as well as the Iranian foreign minister Mohammed Jawad Zareif. Speeches that the media and the different social media platforms have shown interest in. The researcher clarified some of the strategic forces in the political discourse, and they are the elements that the political discourse not only adds to the state’s influence and status among the other countries but also adds to the leaders’ capability in front of their people. That means after all these elements are the dimensions of the positive effect on the strength of the leader and the state. To the necessity of the political speech’s accuracy, its formulation goes through several stages, so that it can appear powerfully and effectively.

This research discusses the four strategic forces, which the political discourse applies, and they are:

1. Delivering the message: the major target that the leaderships seek to achieve, formulating and believing in the message is not enough for it to achieve its purpose, to do so, the leadership must deliver the message effectively and attractively that could help the people first to understand it, then to be an inspiration for them¹.
2. Persuasion, the power of persuasion: any political speech’s strength depends on its ability to make successful communication with the citizens; there is no way to achieve this without getting public satisfaction by persuasion and evidence. As the speech argues a specific reality and context through its special synonyms. There are specifically agreed elements that we use to judge if this speech accomplished a successful communication or not. Therefore, they are one message or more to deliver through every political speech. The persuasion is considered the center stage of ineffective leadership².
3. Gain trust: leaders’ strength and increasing popularity represent through people’s trust in them, their intelligence and their ability to lead, also people believe that they are eligible for leadership. Therefore, anyone who seeks to lead should look for gaining people’s trust³.

¹ شيل لين، قلها مثل أوباما- قوة التحدث ذات الهدف والرؤية، مكتبة جرير، الرياض، 2009، ص 97.

² . أمانى مسعود، مبارك وفهوم حقوق الإنسان- قراءة في الخطاب السياسي، دار الأندلس للنشر، القاهرة، 2008م، ص 43.

³ علي جمال محمد، الأساليب الخطابية وعالقتها بقدرات التفكير التقاربي والتباعدي، جامعة عين شمس، القاهرة، 1987م، ص 3

4. Transmit the political perspective to the citizens: the capability to transmit the political perspective to the citizens is a way to show the political leader's cleverness in transfer his desired goals via his way in intimation, influencing, persuasion, motivation or directing. Thus this feature in the speech is very important in transmitting the information effectively even in the tense atmosphere and stages of distress.

The researcher chose models from American President Donald Trump and some responses from his Iranian counterpart Hassan Rohani and the Iranian foreign minister Mohamed Jawad Zareif .

Tables from the researcher, depending on tweets, which the media shared, the four strategic forces in political speech

Table number (1)

Speaker	Text	Strategic forces	Effects
Trump	Repressive regimes can't last forever	delivering the message	describing Iran's regime as repressive
Trump	the day when the Iranians will take their good choice will come soon	gaining their trust	flirt with the Iranians and aiming to persuade them with the necessity of change
Trump	the whole world understands that the good Iranian people want change	delivering the message	unifying visions
Trump	besides the Military force of the united states, the Iranians are their leaders biggest fear	recurrence	psychological war to terrify the Iranian government and gain the collegiality of Iranian people
Trump	A lot of reports about peaceful protests; which the Iranians did for their weariness about the regime, and how much it spends from the nation's wealth on financing the terrorism abroad	recurrence-an attempt to gain the public opinion in Iran and the world	his support for the peaceful protests in Iran against the regime, which is accused of corrupting and wasting the wealth on financing the terrorism abroad, which means accusing Tehran government of financing the terrorism abroad and

			starve the Iranians
Trump	The Iranian government should respect its people's rights, including expressing themselves	an attempt to gain the public opinion in Iran	criticizing the Iranian government for not respecting its people's right- aims to gain the Iranian trust
Trump	The world is watching	transmitting the political perspective	the world is waiting for what will happen
Trump	fanatic regime	delivering the message	describing Iran's regime as a fanatic and hopes the world believes it

Table number (2)

Speaker	Text	Strategic forces	Effects
trump	this deal is "enormous" and allows the Iranian regime to keep in enriching uranium	transmitting the political perspective	dangers of the nuclear agreement with Iran
trump	declare today that the united states will withdraw from the agreement about Iran's nuclear program	delivering the message	declaration of withdrawal
trump	proven evidence confirms that the Iranian regime is breaking the nuclear agreement	delivering the message	breaking the nuclear agreement
trump	the middle east will fight for the nuclear agreement, in case of its extension of the agreement with Iran	delivering the message	the admonition from the extension of the agreement
trump	Iran and its regime will suffer from harsh penalties and will face bidder problems than ever	transmitting the political perspective	promised sanctions
trump	his country will impose harsh economic sanctions	recurrence-transmitting the political perspective to the citizens	promised sanctions

Table number (3)

Speaker	Text	Strategic forces	Effects
trump	we will impose a hard sanction against ever country will help Iran to get the nuclear weapon	delivering the message	a warning to any country will help Iran to get the nuclear weapons
trump	Obligation “full application of harsh penalties.”	recurrence-delivering the message	application of penalties
trump	he threatened the Iranian regime if it continues to aim for nuclear power, it will face bigger problems than ever	transmitting the political perspective	a threat of what’s bigger than psychological war
trump	The nuclear agreement with Iran includes “enormous flaws.”	recurrence-transmitting the political perspective to the citizens	the flaws of the nuclear agreement
	his extension to hold the penalties represent his “last chance” to change the agreement	recurrence-delivering the message	correction of the flaws of the nuclear agreement

Table number (4)

Speaker	Text	Strategic forces	Effects
trump	he announced America’s decision in withdrawing from the nuclear agreement	delivering the message	final withdrawal decision
trump	he will sign a memoir to start a new wave of penalties on the Iranian regime	transmitting the political perspective	the start of sanctions phase
trump	The penalties will include not only Iran but also every country had been involved with it. the united states with its allies will look for a suitable and comprehensive solution	transmitting the political perspective	threatening the countries colluding with Iran and welcoming the countries that will ally with Washington
Rouhani	his country can do with the nuclear	transmitting the political perspective	Rouhani challenges that his country will

	agreement even if Washington withdrew, but with one condition that the rest of the agreement's members Tehran's interests		continue to the nuclear agreement, even after Washington's withdrawal decision
Rouhani	Iran is facing problems will last for a bit more	delivering the message	preparing the public opinion
Zarief	trump's speech "demonstrates" ignorance and does not deserve a reply	delivering the message	criticizing trump's speech- reversal psychological war
Zareif	the ignorant and hateful speech which trump through; belongs to the middle ages and does not deserve a reply	transmitting the political perspective	confronting the speech with another on

Table number (5)

Speaker	Text	Strategic forces	Effects
Zareif	"False sympathy with the Iranian people does not fool anybody."	the power of persuasion	an attempt to gain the Iranian public opinion after trump's attempt to do so
Trump	he describes Iran as "the corrupt dictatorship" and "Rouge state," he also added " the victims who are suffering most from Iran's leaders are actually Iranians	transmitting the political perspective	shift the public opinion against Iran's regime to gain it and to cause destabilizing Iran
Trump	the nuclear agreement which Zareif negotiated with the former foreign minister john Kerry is " an embarrassment to the united states"	transmitting the political perspective	describing the Iranian agreement as an embarrassment and criticize former officials in the united states to negotiate with Iran
Trump	he accused Tehran to use its wealth to support the Syrian president Bashar al-Assad, also to support	transmitting the political perspective	accusing Iran of causing destabilizing in the middle east

	the Houthis in Yemen, and to undermining peace in the middle east		
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Table number (6)

Speaker	Text	Strategic forces	Effects
Trump	the nuclear agreement is considered one of the worst agreements that the united states signed	delivering the message	criticizes the Iranian agreement
Trump	Tehran didn't respect the agreement and still can have nuclear weapons	delivering the message	accusing Iran of lack of commitment
Trump	he imposes "additional sanctions on the Iranian regime for its financial support to terrorism" through a new strategy to deal with Iran	transmitting the political perspective	delivering a message to the citizens
Trump	he will deprive Iran of all the possible ways to have nuclear weapon	transmitting the political perspective	aborting every Iranian attempt to have a nuclear weapon
Trump	I've asked the US treasury to impose "harsh penalties" to "the revolutionary guards" of Iran. demanding his country's allies "to join him in taking powerful measures against Iran's destabilizing behavior."	delivering the message	unifying efforts to impose penalties on Iran

Table number(7)

Speaker	Text	Strategic forces	Effects
Rouhani	"it looks like Trump does not know that he	delivering the message	canceling the agreement is not in

	can't cancel international agreements because the nuclear agreement document is not bilateral."		the united states' ability
Rouhani	it looks like Trump doesn't know that the united states led a military coup to bring down the Islamic revolution	delivering the message	using history
Rouhani	it looks like Trump doesn't know that his country supplied Saddam's regime with projectiles to use them against the Iranian people	delivering the message	using history
Rouhani	it looks like Trump doesn't know that his country participated in the military coup, brought the shah back to power, and overthrew the legitimate government	delivering the message	using history
Rouhani	the American president forgot that his government supported bombing and chemical weapons against Iraq	delivering the message	using history
Rouhani	He calls trump to "read history, study the international agreements and literature." reminding him that " the only country used nuclear bomb was the united states."	delivering the message	using history
Rouhani	"There was nothing in trump's word but a set of insults and accusations, and he released a lot of lies and slanders against	delivering the message	accusing trump of lying

	the Iranian people.”		
Rouhani	Iran will adhere to the agreement as long as “it guarantees our interests, we will continue to cooperate with the international agency for atomic for the sake of our national interests, and what we hear day trump is just a recurrence of what we heard from the American officials for 40 years.”	gain the trust	aims to gain the international community’s trust

Table number (8)

Speaker	Text	Strategic forces	Effects
Rouhani	The united states don’t dare to attack Iran as it realizes that the military force belongs to us and the high price of the conflict	transmitting the political perspective	a response to the psychological war
Rouhani	Why doesn’t the united states attack us? because they know it and they know revision of the war	delivering the message	reversal psychological war to extend the horrors
Rouhani	the necessity of developing Iran's military capabilities to confront any military force that wants to grab its land or any of its resources	gain the trust	gain the trust of security forces and people

Results and conclusion:

The researcher concluded, through qualitative analysis of speeches of Trump's, Rouhani, and zareif, the following:

- 1- Leaders give great attention to social media platforms, especial twitter, although they have visual, audio and written media.
- 2- The leaders seek to deliver their messages to their people in their countries and around the world in order to gain public opinion.
- 3- Trump described the nuclear agreement with Iran as the worst agreement that did with Iran, in many of his speeches, to encourage other countries to withdraw from the nuclear file.
- 4- Trump has delivered his political opinion to all countries that have relations with Iran. He told them to adhere to the sanctions; otherwise, they will be faced with the same sanctions.
- 5- The two leaders (Trump and Rouhani) entered a psychological war against each other, and each of them seeks to win that war for their benefit. The Iranian people are the most harmed from this war, which negatively affected the Iranian economy.
- 6- Trump has always sought to gain the trust of the Iranian people and directs messages to them, but his counterpart, Rouhani, does not do the same with to the American people as he always talks about historical events in which he accused Washington of trying to bring down the Iranian regime over the years.
- 7- Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Jawad Zareif, in turn, directed speeches to respond to Trump, which is a psychological counter-war, and sought with taking President Rouhani's side to explain what Trump said, Zareif describing Trump's sympathy with the Iranian people's demonstrations as elusive support.
- 8- None of both sides get benefit from this psychological war as it reflected negatively on their people. On the one hand, American citizens feared to be in areas controlled by Iranians. On the other hand, the Iranian economy was affected negatively and the Iranian currency collapsed.
- 9 - None of the Iranian officials (Rouhani and Zareif) were able to persuade the Iranian people as they focused on their speeches on the Iranian nuclear file and directed accusations to Trump. As a result, the Iranian demonstration continues against the regime

because of the collapse of the Iranian currency and the deterioration of the economy. Then Rouhani was investigated in the Iranian Parliament.

Recommendations:

The researcher recommends the follows:

- 1- Iranian leaders should appoint specialized advisors with the ability to formulate speeches that successfully communicate with the Iranian people so that the leaders' speeches will be able to get the public satisfaction, rather than attack other countries. So that they should pay attention to their speeches as long, they give attention to social media.
- 2- Every political leader must determine his target audience, so he will be able to formulate a speech that goes in line with public opinion. This cannot happen without doing qualitative and quantitative exploratory studies.
- 3- Political leaders should use tactics instead of using fear to win the other parties' support. This is what Trump should have done to win the other countries in the nuclear alliance and urge them not to deal with Iran, instead of using threat in the speeches by imposing sanctions on them if they deal with Iran.
- 4 - That political leaders should take into account in their speeches that their ideas should go in line with the strategic goals of the state.
- 5- Paying attention to formulate the appropriate words in influential phrases that coup with the people's aspirations.

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