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Abstract

The use of social media tools by individuals and organizations to radicalize individuals for political and social change has become increasingly popular as the Internet penetrates more of the world and mobile computing devices are more accessible. To establish a construct for radicalization, the power and reach of social media will be described so there is common understanding of what social media is and how it is utilized by various individuals and groups. The second section will answer the question of why social media applications are the perfect platform for the radical voice. Finally, the use of social media and its influence in radicalizing populations in Northern Africa and the Middle East during 2011 will be analyzed and recommendations proposed.

Radicalization and the Use of Social Media

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Abstract

The use of social media tools by individuals and organizations to radicalize individuals for political and social change has become increasingly popular as the Internet penetrates more of the world and mobile computing devices are more accessible. To establish a construct for radicalization, the power and reach of social media will be described so there is common understanding of what social media is and how it is utilized by various individuals and groups. The second section will answer the question of why social media applications are the perfect platform for the radical voice. Finally, the use of social media and its influence in radicalizing populations in Northern Africa and the Middle East during 2011 will be analyzed and recommendations proposed.

Introduction

"Give me your tired, your poor, Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"¹

—From the poem *The New Colossus* written for the Statue of Liberty

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Statue of Liberty stood proudly in the New York Harbor, welcoming those who were disillusioned with or persecuted by their homeland or who came to the New World for opportunities. Today, social media connects the world, welcoming those

who feel disillusioned and persecuted, or who want to connect with and share themselves with the world for new opportunities. Instead of Lady Liberty asking for the world's tired, poor, huddled masses, it is the social media users (individuals and organizations) who are willing to take in the same as they try to connect with one another to build friendships or increase membership to support their cause.

Social media is an effective tool to use to radicalize and recruit members into a cause. It is always there whenever the user is. It lures its users with a promise of friendship, acceptance, or a sense of purpose. It is an addiction for half of its users.² Users may one day find themselves down the proverbial radical rabbit hole, unsure of how they ended up there; or they may very well have chosen the radical path, knowing full well where it led. Either way, social media ushered the individual down the path. Facebook and Twitter actually welcome and encourage users to support causes for political and/or social change. Blogs have also become a popular way for individuals to express what is on their mind. Many times social media is a voice that provides TMI—too much information, but TMI is what the people crave.

Al-Qaida and its affiliates understand the Western world's reliance on information sharing and use of technology to communicate. They are increasingly using the Internet to manipulate the grievances of alienated youth, radicalize them, and give them a sense of purpose.³ Al-Qaida encourages homegrown terrorism, and through the use of propaganda messages and information found on the Internet and transmitted through social media, more individuals have access to information and materials to carry out "lone wolf" operations against Western targets.

The purpose of this paper is to help those involved in national security realize that social media is not a fad. It has infiltrated not only the Western world, but the entire world. Terrorists use the Internet to recruit and radicalize members for homegrown terrorism operations. The failure of the Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism Prevention Act of 2007 to pass Congress is worrisome. This bill was introduced during the 2007–2008 session of Congress and passed the House, but never was voted on by the Senate.⁴ Ignoring the problem of social media and Internet use by terrorists and not taking the time to understand how adversarial forces are using it to further their causes will not decrease its effectiveness and use. It will just prolong the problem and put national security at greater risk. The recommendations listed at the end should be considered to mitigate the threat that adversarial use of social media brings to U.S. national security.

This paper will examine the use of social media tools by individuals and organizations to radicalize individuals for political and social change. In order to establish a construct for radicalization, the paper will describe the power and reach of social media so there is common understanding of what social media is and how it is used by various groups. The second section will answer the question of why social media applications are the perfect platform for the radical voice. Finally, the use of social media and its influence in radicalizing populations in Northern Africa and the Middle East during 2011 will be analyzed and recommendations proposed.

The Power and Reach of Social Media

The power of mass communication for social and political change is not groundbreaking news. In 1972, Mathiason's review of mass communications for social change concluded with mass media (print media, television, and radio) being most effective for change, when instead of telling a population how to respond to social and political change, it *showed* the perspective of the individual and how that individual was responding to and coping with social and political changes.⁵ This study was conducted prior to all the contemporary technological devices and only analyzed the contributions of radio, television, and print media. Social media applications today not only show the how and why of something, but if users want additional information, they only need to search or ask for it and can most likely retrieve an instantaneous answer. Whether or not the answer is from a reliable source is left to the judgment of the requestor.

When the Internet became widely used in the late 1990s, email was one of the first medium of social connection. It was a revolutionary concept for the adults of that time to be able to reach out and immediately communicate with anyone in the world who had a computer connected to the Internet. The world became an increasingly smaller place. For the younger generation of today (those born after 1990), social media is commonplace; and children grew up with it in their homes, schools, and on their cell phones. Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter, along with mobile computing and Internet-capable devices (cell phones, smart phones, iPads®, gaming systems, etc.) provide users the opportunity to connect and share content anywhere at any time. Technology advancements helped create the platforms and applications to feed the voracious information and social connection needs of the user. Social media opened up the borders of the world, and users today don't think twice about communicating with or having "friends" in other countries.

Social media applications took hold in the U.S. just after the turn of this century. It began with texting on cell phones and quickly moved to Internet-based applications. Facebook started in 2004 and now connects over five hundred million users worldwide.⁶ Approximately three hundred and fifty million of these users are outside the United States; two hundred and fifty million users access Facebook from their mobile devices in sixty countries.⁷ YouTube was founded in 2005, and today users from around the world upload over thirty-five hours of video every minute.⁸ Twitter was founded in 2006, and an organization or person with a Twitter account can immediately connect to millions of followers, sending short messages of one hundred and forty characters or less (called tweets). With the use of smart cell phones and other mobile computing and Internet-capable devices, people have the ability to access online content and send/receive instant messages anytime and anywhere there is an Internet connection or cell phone signal.

High profile individuals use social media to rally support for their causes, and a combination of social media applications to market themselves. Actor and philanthropist, Ashton Kutcher, who was an early Twitter user, has 6.8 million followers and frequently updates his followers on his initiatives, social activities, and his nonprofit organization with Demi Moore, The DNA Foundation, which works to end human trafficking and child-sex slavery. Politicians also use social media to communicate with their constituents. U.S. President Barack Obama has eight million followers and uses his account to update followers on his daily activities and thoughts. During the 2008 Presidential campaign, Barak Obama was the first Presidential candidate to leverage the power of multiple social media applications to recruit supporters, fundraise, and overcome smear campaigns.⁹ His use of social media reached out to the younger voters, which helped him win their votes. The religious leader His Holiness the Dalai Lama has 1.7 million followers and sends messages of internal peace, enlightenment, and love. Charlie Sheen, a more recent Twitter user, broke the Twitter record by obtaining over one million followers in less than twenty-four hours after he was fired from the television show *Two and a Half Men*. Sheen currently has 3.9 million followers.¹⁰ No longer are there six degrees of separation between people. Social media provides one degree of separation between people.

Hugo Chavez, President of Venezuela, considered radicalizing his socialist revolution before the 2012 elections to increase his chances for reelection, and he has the most popular Twitter and Internet blog in the country.¹¹ Chavez tweets his followers to keep their eyes on the enemies of the State

(primarily the wealthy). Citizens send him tweets when they see issues or concerns, and Chavez even hired a staff to work his Twitter account and look into citizens' reported concerns.¹²

Once individuals begin using social media applications, they find that it is difficult to cease, especially if they have a cell phone with texting capability or a smart phone with 24/7 Internet access. Anyone who has observed cell phone users, especially the younger generation, knows that texting and constantly checking social media status updates can be an addictive behavior that often violates social norms (texting at the dinner table, answering a call that interrupts face-to-face conversations, and texting/calling at a movie theater) and laws (texting and cell phone use while driving a motor vehicle). Being a consumer of information is not enough. Local news channels also encourage social media users to generate information and anyone with a cell phone can become a reporter and take a cell phone video of news while it is happening and upload the video to the news station.

Social media users are constantly bombarded with information and messages. It can be information overload, but the user does not have to keep up with all the various applications. YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, and other social media sites now interact with one another; and posting a status update or message to one site automatically updates the other social networking sites. One person or group can instigate a domino effect of events, influencing the attitudes and behaviors of populations worldwide with one tweet or social media status update, which forwards the information to all the other major social media applications. Social media heightens user awareness, connects a multitude of users at a global level, and distributes information to those users quickly and efficiently.

Why Social Media is the Perfect "Voice" for Radicals

The Widely Available Internet

Intelligence or research reports based on technological capabilities, usage, and availability by adversaries need to be re-examined every other year. Anyone familiar with technology knows that Moore's Law states that every eighteen to twenty-four months technology capabilities double and previous technologies are outdated. Many of the findings in technology-focused studies could be obsolete, and any theories or policies for prediction outdated. For instance in 2008, it was written that the majority (96%) of young Muslim men in the Middle East and Northern Africa are recruited and radicalized via interpersonal physical connections (religious

institution, family members, friends/neighborhood).¹³ One of the reasons for this finding was because the Internet was not widely available to the mass public in Northern Africa or the Middle East where these foreign fighters were recruited. What was true in 2008 may no longer be true. Findings like this need to be reexamined for validity. For example, in Bahrain, in 2008 it is estimated that only 34.8% of the population accessed the Internet; in 2010 it was 88%.¹⁴ In two years, the percentage of the population using the Internet increased 152%.

It is also important to remember that beginning in 2004, social media applications like Facebook were developed. Twitter and YouTube followed in the next two years. It may be coincidental, but the introduction of these social media applications may have inspired users to become active Internet users.

According to the 2010 world Internet usage rates, the Middle East and Northern African countries have average to above-average Internet usage rates compared to the rest of the world.¹⁵ When one looks at the percent of the population that has Internet connectivity, China, with the world's largest population, only has a penetration of 31.6%. India, which has the second largest population and is perceived as extremely tech savvy, only has an Internet penetration of 6.9%.¹⁶ Internet penetration in the Northern African countries is significantly higher than India and on par with China.¹⁷ Table 1 provides an overview of the Internet and Facebook user and population penetration statistics for selected countries. While Northern African and Middle Eastern countries are not as penetrated as many Western countries, there is still a significant user and penetration rate that is above average and higher than in China and India. There has also been significant Internet growth between 2005 and 2010.

People living in the U.S. and other Western countries, where the Internet is available to the entire population, are more likely to be recruited and radicalized via the Internet. Al-Qaida focuses its attention on recruiting young people from the West to help them transport materials, act as suicide bombers, or do what they can for the cause.¹⁸ Some overseas terrorist websites cater to children by using cartoons and entertaining media to transmit their terrorist ideology.¹⁹ Al-Qaida's efforts to recruit and radicalize Westerners are evident in their online magazine, *Inspire*, intended for young men in English-speaking countries to self-radicalize and become one of the multitudes of homegrown terrorists who will carry out attacks against the West, especially in the United States.²⁰

**Table 1: Internet Usage and Penetration Statistics for 2010—
Select Countries²¹**

Country	Internet Users *not in millions	% of population penetration	Facebook Users *not in millions	% of population penetration	% increase Internet users 2005–2010
Asia					
China	420	31.6	24,060*	0	23.7
India	81	6.9	23	1.9	4
South Korea	39.4	81	3.9	8	17.8
Japan	99.1	78.2	3	2.4	17.3
North America					
United States	239.9	77.3		46.2	9.2
Canada	26.22	77.7		51	7.4
Europe					
United Kingdom	51.44	82.5	27.8	44.6	22.7
Spain	29.1	62.6	11	23.7	24 estimate
Germany	65.1	79	10.9	13.2	22.1
Italy	30	51	16.9	29.1	3
Russia	59.7	42.8	1.6	1.1	28 estimate
Turkey	35	45	23.5	30.2	35 estimate
Northern Africa					

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Country	Internet Users *not in millions	% of population penetration	Facebook Users *not in millions	% of population penetration	% increase Internet users 2005– 2010
Morocco	10.44	33.4	2.5	9.5	37 estimate
Tunisia	3.6	34	1.7	15.8	33 estimate
Egypt	17.1	21.2	4.6	7	24 estimate
Algeria	4.7	13.6	1.4	4	7.8
Libya	353,900*	5.5	182,380*	2.8	Not avail
Middle East					
Bahrain	649,300*	88	276,580*	34.2	57
Iran	33.2	43	131,750*	.17	32.4
Iraq	325,000*	1.1	397,140*	1.26	0
Israel	5.4	71.6	3.2	42.93	26.6
Jordan	1.74	27.2	1.1	17	15.7
Kuwait	1.1	39.4	629,700*	20.6	16.6
Lebanon	1	24.2	983,380*	23.1	10.6
Oman	1.24	41.7	219,320*	7.55	31.6
Palestine	356,000*	14.2	474,400*	10.7	9.3
Qatar	436,000*	51.8	512,060*	33.9	31.1
Saudi Arabia	9.8	38.1	3.2	12.2	27.3
Syria	3.9	17.7	241,859*	1.07	13.5
UAE	3.78	75.9	2.13	45.38	41.2
Yemen	420,000*	1.8	179,400	.74	0

Rallying Support for a Cause and Ideology

Protests and revolutions have been around as long as human beings have disagreed. They are not new, and social media does not cause revolutions. Two things that are distinctive about these revolutions in Northern Africa and the Middle East are the lack of an official leader organizing the protests, and the influence social media appears to have on the intensity of the protest or revolution. Because social media easily connects people very quickly with a wide audience, the synergy creates a movement en masse of like-minded persons. A leader is not needed. Ideas are exchanged and people choose to act on them—or not. Groupthink is a very powerful force.

The formula is simple. An egregious behavior at the hands of a government authority against a presumably innocent person is captured as a video or photo, and the image is posted to a social media application and quickly spreads throughout the region via the Internet. People are outraged that the behavior is condoned by the government. Bloggers discuss the event and provide their opinions. Users share information back and forth via social media. Twitter hashtags record the tweets relating to the event. If there is a death, Facebook pages will be created to commemorate the abuse at the hands of the government. Links to YouTube videos are provided so people can see the event for themselves. People become radicalized and discuss a response for the incident. The response is carried out via a protest that could lead to a revolution.

Government officials can no longer hide and hope to outlast the protestors, waiting for their support to fade away. Government officials in the Philippines (in 2001), Spain (in 2004), Moldova (in 2009), and most recently Egypt (2011) have been ousted due to mass protests coordinated and announced through social media.²² In 2001 and 2004, it was primarily through the use of text messaging; but in 2009 and 2011, the full gamut of social media applications was used. In these four protests, government figures felt the pressure of the protestors who garnered support for the protest/revolution through social media. The support was not only en masse from the local population, but from other governments throughout the world. The protestors let their government know that the voice of the people could not be silenced, and it was not going to go away. In the words of an Internet activist "The regime is ready to do anything against us, including committing massacres...But we are telling the regime that if you shoot and kill people the pictures will be online and on television five minutes later."²³

The purpose of social media is to connect with others and share information. One does not have to be popular or a well-known individual to use social media. The average person with a worthwhile message or cause can send it to a high-profile individual with a large social media following, and that individual may forward the message to his or her followers, immediately bringing the message or cause to the attention of millions of people throughout the world, who will in turn share the message/cause with their friends. No longer is there six degrees of separation from people in the world. Social media makes it more like one or two degrees of separation.

Social media platforms thrive on sharing causes and establishing causes to rally around. In April 2011, a thirteen-year old Syrian youth, Hamza al-Khatib, was picked up by Syrian security forces at a protest. That much the Syrian Government and Hamza's family agree upon. Syrian forces state Hamza was shot at the protest, and it took them three weeks to identify the boy and his family. Hamza's family stated he was taken alive and tortured, shot multiple times, had cigarette burns all over his body, had a broken neck, and was castrated. His body was returned to his parents by Syrian security forces who told Hamza's family to never speak of the incident. Hamza's parents defied the order and posted photos of their son's body on YouTube, and a simple search of Facebook reveals multiple Facebook pages related to Hamza. Hamza's father was picked up by the Syrian security forces a week later, and his whereabouts are unknown.²⁴ Hamza is the new poster child for the uprising in Syria. He has his own hashtag on Twitter, videos are uploaded on YouTube, and there are multiple Facebook pages dedicated to his death and the subsequent Syrian uprising. Some Facebook pages have over ten thousand members (English version) and sixty-eight thousand (Arabic version), which show the local interest in Hamza's death.²⁵ Social media users know how to work the multiple applications for maximum effect to rally support for and radicalize a cause.

Everyone is a Sensor and an Intelligence Collector

Every person with a cell phone and a social media application is a ground sensor capable of collecting and distributing raw, real-time intelligence. News channels have leveraged this capability for the past ten years, when cell phones with cameras came out on the market and users contributed their videos to the evening news reports. One can imagine the degree of power and control an adversary could have if it used those persons during contentious situations to feed them information. During the Greece riots of 2008 and 2010, riot organizers used social media applications for command, control, and communication, and people around the riot areas were sharing information on where the hot spots were in the affected

areas. Rioters could move to the area and offer additional support if necessary.²⁶ The perpetrators of the Mumbai attacks in 2009 used BlackBerry smart phones to send and receive information in real time and watched the events unfold on the Internet. People also tweeted the movements of the police, which decreased the effectiveness of the operational plans and movements of rescue and response forces. Indian and foreign nationals who were hiding in buildings were using their social media applications to figure out what was happening. The attackers were reviewing social media; and if those who were hiding revealed their hiding spots via social media, they were found by the attackers.²⁷

Social Media is Effective and Has Multiple Functions

Bloggers of social media used in the Egyptian revolution of 2011 examined the density of the social connections (how many people are connected in the region?), the density of the information (from how many sources is the information being shared?), and the density of the emotional perceptions (are readers experiencing the event as if they are there themselves?).²⁸ If there is a high density of connections and the information is being routed through multiple sources, and the people feel connected to the event as if they are living it, then there is a higher probability for radicalization because people will feel inclined to be involved instead of sitting on the sidelines watching it happen.²⁹ Social media effectively connects people with different sources of information and brings the individual into the event so he or she can watch it unfold as it happens. This increases an emotional reaction within the individual to become an involved and radical supporter.

The same way that governments and politicians use social media to spread their influence, communicate to supporters, and fundraise, radical groups can use social media for the same purposes. People can make donations via Facebook and Internet sites. Chat rooms are also useful social media tools. Al-Qaida uses PalTalk and sets up a chat room to communicate. It also is an open forum where anyone can join the conversation and become recruited and radicalized into the al-Qaida ideology.³⁰ Social media applications are a triple-edged sword that can create addictive information-seeking behaviors that break down social-norm behaviors of its users, encourage users to generate and report information that normally would have been kept private, and ultimately provide users with increased access to information that could be used to manipulate the user's perception of the world and the user's environment.

Social Media and the Domino Effect in the Early 2011 Protests

In the early part of 2011, a string of protests and regime changes occurred in Northern Africa and the Middle East, inspiring political and social change. While social media use did not cause these events, it helped increase the effectiveness of the events; provided command, control, and communication capabilities for protestors; and reported the events in real time as they unfolded, which in turn, raised awareness and motivation for the participants and those who desired change in other parts of the region. Social media also kept the rest of the world informed as to what was occurring with tweets, videos, blogs, and postings that circulated on social media applications a days or weeks before the actual protests occurred.³¹

Mainstream media had to catch up to the story that had already unfolded on social media. In Egypt, the mainstream reporters, who normally are allowed to move freely to report the news, were beaten, their equipment was confiscated, and Egyptian security forces detained them. Because social media had numerous *on the scene* reporters feeding the social media sources, it not only had the first story, but it had the most perspectives and the most comprehensive coverage of the events. Bloggers also had faster coverage of the events than mainstream media and had better coverage of the stories since they lived daily life in Egypt.³² While traditional media sources have filters and approvals, social media is the best way for a message to be heard and is one method for people to speak out since other methods are usually repressed by the government. Table 2 in the Appendix provides a timeline of the events and how social media was used.

Recommendations

Policies need to be brought forth faster to correspond with the rapid changes in technology. The Internet has been used by the general U.S. population since the late 1990s and only recently has the U.S. Government provided any sort of policies considering cyber warfare responses. Radicalization via the Internet was mentioned in the Violent Radicalization and Homegrown Terrorism Prevention Act of 2007, but it was only one paragraph and the bill was never passed. Technology quickly changes. It appears that policies do not. If the U.S. Government does not implement a faster response to the problems, then it will always provide policies that address old problems and never provide policies addressing the newer and more relevant problems.

Government officials working in national security also need to take the time to understand the radicalization process and how the use of social media influences radicalization. This study does not argue that social media is a cause for radicalization or revolutions, but it is a strong influence in their effectiveness, especially in countries where there is a strong Internet presence. In contrast, in Libya, Syria, and Yemen, there is a low Internet penetration rate of the population (5.5%, 17.7%, and 1.8% respectively) and an extremely low penetration rate for Facebook users (2.8%, 1.07%, and .74% respectively), which may account for the ineffectiveness of the protests for political and social change. Research into the Internet and social media penetration rates in relation to the effectiveness of political and social protests would be an excellent research topic for further research.

Finally, senior leaders in national security need to familiarize themselves with how technology is being exploited; fund intelligence and law enforcement initiatives that detect, deter, and mitigate technological threats; and view social media as a major influence in radicalization, instead of as something trivial or too complex to understand. Ignorance and neglect by senior leaders is no excuse. Intelligence community and law enforcement personnel should be trained to understand technological threats and funded for equipment to mitigate technological threats. Establishing a senior-level national security leader course with an overview of how technologies and social media applications are used and exploited by adversarial forces would be a good beginning to bring senior leader awareness to the problem so they can begin to establish policies and fund initiatives to address the threats.

Conclusion

Analysts and decision makers involved in intelligence and national security need to be engaged in social media so they can understand the nuances of how nefarious users can leverage the benefits of social media to radicalize populations. If terrorist groups or enemies of a State are employing social media for command, control, and communication purposes during an attack or major event, and receiving live media feeds via social media services, then government agencies need to mitigate that threat.

Unfortunately, social media capabilities change rapidly and unless one is actively using the social media application and keeping up with the changes, one cannot truly understand the capabilities of the application, especially how others are using it for their own benefit. At an Intelligence,

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Surveillance, and Reconnaissance (ISR) conference in 2010, a speaker asked the audience of approximately one hundred and fifty national security and intelligence persons "who has a Facebook account?" A handful of people raised their hands. When asked who had a Twitter account, only one person raised her hand.³³

The U.S. is one of the most "connected" populations and voracious users of social media in the world. Populations in less connected countries have used the benefits of social media for political and social change. They have furthered their causes, ousted governmental leaders, manipulated elections, coordinated protests, and communicated and redirected ongoing terrorist attacks. Al-Qaida knows that social media applications appeal to their target demographic and are using social media to recruit and radicalize young people. Social media applications are not a fad, are continually being populated and updated, and government leaders need to seek to understand the benefits and consequences of the application.

About the Author

Dr. Robin Thompson has an extensive background in security, counterintelligence, and information operations. She has been a USAF Security Forces officer, a civilian Special Agent with Air Force Office of Special Investigations (AFOSI), and an independent security consultant in the private sector. Currently, she is the Lead Counterintelligence Special Agent for a NASA Center. She has a Masters Degree in Criminal Justice from Minot State University and received her Doctorate of Management in Organizational Leadership from the University of Phoenix. She is also certified as a Chief Information Officer from the Information Resources Management College at National Defense University, is a graduate of the Air Command and Staff College and Air War College, and is certified as a Six Sigma Black Belt.

APPENDIX**Table 2: Social Media Use in Northern Africa and Middle East Uprisings—2010/2011³⁴**

Date	Country	Event	How Social Media Was Used
18 Dec 10	Tunisia	Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation over abuse by Tunisian Government, subsequent protests, and ultimate ousting of President Ben Ali and Prime Minister Ghannouchi. 223 killed.	In protest, Bouazizi set himself on fire, and the video was posted on YouTube. Tweets and hashtags (#sidi bouzid and #anonymous) erupted on Twitter and Facebook chats, and pages were created to make the movement progress towards revolution. ³⁵
28 Dec 10	Algeria	Multiple self-immolations, protests resulting in lifting a 19-year state of emergency. 8 killed.	Inspired by the Tunisian protests.
12 Jan 11	Lebanon	Protests. 0 killed.	Bloggers and social media posted videos of protest scenes. ³⁶
14 Jan 11	Jordan	Self-immolation and protests resulting in the dismissal of Prime Minister Rifai and his cabinet. 1 killed.	Protests organized via Facebook, Twitter, blogs, and other social media. Freer use of social media in Jordan is enjoyed by population, and citizens are not penalized for stating opinions. ³⁷

Date	Country	Event	How Social Media Was Used
17 Jan 11	Mauritania	Self-immolation and protests. 1 killed.	The youth organization, February 25, initiated a social media campaign using sit-ins and protests using Facebook. ³⁸
	Sudan	Minor protests resulting in President Bashir stating he will not seek another term in office after 2015. 1 killed.	Protesters were wary of social media compromise by government and did not use it to promote protests and communicate. ³⁹
	Oman	Major protests resulting in economic concessions, dismissal of ministers. 2–6 killed.	Pictures of activists being led away in handcuffs posted on Facebook and other social media sites. ⁴⁰
18 Jan 11	Yemen	Protests resulting in resignation of the MPs from the ruling party. President Saleh stated he would resign, but later changed his mind. 716–778 killed.	Facebook and Twitter used to organize protests. ⁴¹ Due to low Internet penetration rate in Yemen, the Internet and Facebook activity appears limited to university students. ⁴²
21 Jan 11	Saudi Arabia	Self-immolation, minor demonstrations, and medium protests resulting in economic concessions and men-only elections held in Sep 11. 2 killed.	Online campaign called for political and economic changes. Social media coordinated protests. ⁴³

Date	Country	Event	How Social Media Was Used
25 Jan 11	Egypt	Self-immolations, protests, attacks, and burning of government buildings, storming of prisons, and raiding of State Security Investigations Services (SSIS) offices resulting in ousting of President Mubarak and Prime Ministers, suspension of Constitution, dissolution of Parliament, disbanding of SSIS, and dissolution of NDP ruling party. 846 killed.	Facebook was used to schedule the protests, Twitter to coordinate them, and YouTube to inform the world. ⁴⁴ Widespread shutdown of the Internet, landlines, and mobile cellular devices. Twitter hashtag #Jan25 used.
26 Jan 11	Syria	Self-immolation, protests, and attacks on government buildings, resulting in end of emergency law, release of political prisoners, dismissal of Provincial Governors, and resignations from Parliament and government. 1,037–1,250 killed.	Foreign journalists banned, so Facebook and Twitter were used to spread/share information, and YouTube and Flickr to post photos and videos. Skype was used for communication, and information was tweeted. ⁴⁵ Widespread shutdown of the Internet and mobile cellular devices. ⁴⁶

Date	Country	Event	How Social Media Was Used
30 Jan 11	Morocco	Self-immolation, protests, and property attacks, resulting in political concessions, constitutional reforms, respect for civil rights, and end to corruption. 0 killed.	Protests planned through Facebook. ⁴⁷
10 Feb 11	Iraq	Self-immolation, major protests, and attacks on government buildings, resulting in Prime Minister Maliki stating he would not run again and resignation of Provincial Governors and local authorities. 29 killed.	Protests coordinated primarily through Facebook. ⁴⁸
14 Feb 11	Bahrain	Major demonstrations resulting in economic concessions, release of political prisoners, and dismissal of Ministers. 36 killed.	Organized protests through Facebook, Twitter, and email. ⁴⁹
15 Feb 11	Libya	Nationwide protests, armed revolt, defections, and civil war. War still ongoing. At least 10,000 killed—ongoing.	Due to Internet monitoring and detainment by Col. Kaddafi's forces, social media users use dating websites to post cryptic messages to coordinate opposing forces. LibyaFeb17.com aggregates Twitter postings and coordinates protests. ⁵⁰

Date	Country	Event	How Social Media Was Used
18 Feb 11	Kuwait	Protests resulting in resignation of the Cabinet. 0 killed.	When police blocked off roads during the protest, people used social media to find alternative protest sites. ⁵¹

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