

**Digital Advocacy Management
and Peaceful Democratic
Transition in Egypt
(2011-2015)**

By

Dr. Salwa Thabet

Associate Professor of Public Administration and
Acting Vice Dean for Education and Students Affairs,
Faculty of Economics and Political Science,
Future University in Egypt

Dr. Yasmine Zein Al-Abedine

Assistant Professor of Political Science and Head of Quality Assurance Unit,
Faculty of Economics and Political Science,
Future University in Egypt.

المستخلص

أعدت ثورتا ٢٥ يناير ٢٠١١ و ٣٠ يونيو ٢٠١٣ اكتشاف نقاط قوة مُطمسة لدى المصريين، وهو ما يمكن تمييزه من خلال الدور الجديد لإدارة المناصرة الرقمية **Digital Advocacy Management**، ويثير هذا الأمر العديد من الأسئلة حول إدارة آلياتها والمراحل التي تمر بها، وكيفية تحولها إلى فاعل لضمان التحول الديمقراطي السلمي والدائم سواء فيما يخص العلاقة الرأسية (القيادة والشعب)، أو الأفقية (فئات الشعب بعضها البعض). لتناول هذه الإشكالية ولإثبات أن إدارة المناصرة الرقمية طرحت منظورًا جديدًا للتحول الديمقراطي السلمي في مصر في الفترة ما بين عامي ٢٠١١ و ٢٠١٥، وتنقسم الدراسة إلى ثلاثة أجزاء؛ تُستهل بالإطار النظري وعرض الأدبيات السابقة، ثم تلقي الضوء على دور إدارة المناصرة الرقمية في ثورتي ٢٥ يناير و ٣٠ يونيو، مناقحية تعبئة الشباب، وحدود النشاط السياسي الرقمي في مقابل التوافق الجمعي، والهوية المتماسكة والتجانس الاجتماعي، ويتناول الجزء الثالث الحالة المصرية كنموذج للتحول الديمقراطي السلمي، وأخيرًا الخاتمة. تثبت الدراسة أن ثورتي مصر تقدمان نموذجًا جليًا لكفاءة وفاعلية وسائل الإعلام الرقمية، والتي ظهرت كأداة للمناصرة الجماهيرية رفضًا للخضوع للنظام السلطوي وإعادة للتأكيد على ملامح الهوية المصرية وإعادة قراءة للأهداف ومواطن القوة التي تكمن في صلابة النسيج الوطني الذي تعذر معها النفاذ إلى جذور المجتمع وتدميرها.

الكلمات الدالة :

إدارة المناصرة الرقمية - التعايش السلمي- الديمقراطية- التحول الديمقراطي- الهوية- إدارة/ حل الأزمة – إدارة/حل الصراع - الثورة.

Abstract

January 25 ٢٠١١ and June 30 2013 revolutions rediscovered Egyptians' hidden strengths, which can be seen in the new role of Digital Advocacy Management. This raises many questions about the management of its mechanisms and the stages it goes through, and how it transforms into an actor to ensure a peaceful, permanent democratic transition, whether with regard to the vertical relationship (leadership and people), or horizontal (groups of people and each other). To address this problem and to demonstrate that the digital advocacy management presented a new perspective on peaceful democratic transition in Egypt between 2011 and 2015, the study is divided into three parts. It begins with the theoretical framework and the presentation of previous literature, then sheds light on the role of digital advocacy management in the January 25 and June 30 revolutions in terms of youth mobilization, the limits of digital political activity in exchange for collective consensus, coherent identity and social homogeneity, and the third part deals with the Egyptian case as a model for peaceful democratic transformation, and finally, the conclusion. The study proves that the two Egyptian revolutions present a clear model of efficiency and effectiveness of digital media, which emerged as a tool for mass advocacy in refusal to submit to the authoritarian regime and a reaffirmation of the features of the Egyptian identity and a re-reading of the goals and strengths that lie in the strength of the national identity with which the roots of society could not be accessed and destroyed.

Keywords

Digital Advocacy Management- Peaceful Coexistence- Democracy- Democratization- Identity- Conflict Management/ Resolution – Revolution.

Introduction

The last nine years represent a historical moment by which Egypt has passed, and that imposed, and still imposes, a review of many international strategies, on one hand, and a review of many theories, especially on peace and democracy, on the other. It also rediscovered Egyptians points of strength through and highlighted a new role of digital advocacy management, which raises questions on its management techniques and processes and how it led to a sustainable peaceful democratic change in Egypt in terms of vertical (leader-masses) and horizontal (masses- masses) relationships.

For tackling these questions and to prove that digital advocacy management led to a new perspective on peaceful democratic transition in Egypt between 2011 and 2015, this study is conducted through three parts; it starts by a theoretical framework that aims at testing peace and conflict management/ resolution theories, then, it focuses on the role played by digital advocacy management in January 25 and June 30 revolutions in stimulating collective consensus, proving the Egyptian social homogeneity, and finally it presents the basis of a new form of a peaceful change and a sustainable democracy.

Research Problem

Arab spring which took place in Tunisia December 10 and Egypt 2011 in which means of whom are thought to be apathetic were totally mobilized. We witnessed millions of Egyptians, old and young, male and female, going into the streets calling for democratic regime. Though the Muslim Brotherhood seized power in 2012-2013, and due to their exclusive and religious authoritarianism, no less than 30 million Egyptians poured into the streets again and called for a democratic regime.

There are lots of questions that have been raised in the context of Egyptian political history such as, how did it come that the people were mobilized and went into the streets on voluntary basis; another question has been raised about the peaceful march of the Egyptians toward democracy. It seems that digital democracy management was at its utmost utilization. All types of virtual communication tools including internet, facebook, twitter, youtube...etc were utilized for the advocacy of peaceful change.

There is no doubt that digital advocacy management and peaceful transition to democracy in Egypt presents a unique case of transformation of political regime from one type to the other. In other words, a major question which is a legitimate one: How did digital advocacy management lead to peaceful democratic transition in Egypt between 2011 and 2015?

Hypothesis

Digital advocacy management in Egypt presented new perspective on peaceful democratic transition between 2011 and 2015.

Approach and Tool of Analysis

In order to apply a comparative analytical methodology, the research problem would be handled by using the political discourse analysis as an approach and the qualitative content analysis as its tool for analyzing two types of literature; literature which focus on digital advocacy management, on one hand, and literature which tackle conflict resolution, peaceful democratic transition and peaceful coexistence challenges, on the other, in order to achieve three main goals:

- a- Contributing to these studies by determining the role of strengthening and recognizing identity in achieving peaceful coexistence.
- b- Exploring the main issues related to identity and how they could be integrated together.
- c- Comparing between the role of digital advocacy management in general, and in peaceful democratic transition in particular.

The research paper needs the analysis of some important official speeches on democratic transition in order to either criticize or bolster current policies related to the peaceful coexistence and cooperation between different social and political levels on one hand, and between different identities.

Research Questions

This research paper attempts to investigate the following research questions:

1. What is the definition of digital advocacy management?
2. Did social media network interactions create collective consensus?
3. What do we mean by social homogeneity?
4. What was the role of social homogeneity in the January 25th, 2011 and June 30th, 2013 Egyptian Revolutions?
5. How has digital advocacy management led to sustainable peaceful democratic change in Egypt?
6. Does identity resilience contribute to achieve democratic peaceful coexistence?

First- Literature Review

Despite of the limited availability of existing literature discussing the impact of digital technology and social media on public policy advocacy, researchers attempted to study the role of digital advocacy management in presence of both resilient identity and social homogeneity to achieve peaceful and sustainable democratic transition. This section

highlights significant contributions of scholars to explain the concept of digital advocacy and peaceful democratic transformation.

Shane Brady, Jimmy Young and David McLeod investigated utilizing digital advocacy in community organizing, where the researchers studied a case study in Texas where digital advocacy was used to promote workers rights and economic justice. The study asserted that although digital media could not be considered as a replacement of community organizing towards a cause, it provides organizers with effective tools in practice. However, users of digital advocacy tools must comprehend how to manage these tools in community organizing in order to maximize usefulness and navigate challenges (Brady et. Al., 2015).

Floribert Endong discussed media advocacy theory where mass media provides opportunity for mass mobilization through TV, Radio, advertisement, announcements,...etc; yet social media, specifically, in recent history has proven to be an effective and suitable tool for mass mobilization and advocacy and 2011 Arab Spring was a clear example. The book describes social media advocacy as instrumental to the success of sociopolitical mobilization across different countries in the world (Endong, 2018).

Luping Wang highlights in his study the influence and challenges of digital environment on public diplomacy. The author discusses key measurements and structured mechanisms for determining success or failure of digital advocacy management in an attempt to bridge the gap between advocacy operations, i.e. outputs, and ultimate outcomes (Wang, 2016).

Concerning peace theory of the 20th century, it has been introduced by Immanuel Kant essay on “Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch” published in 1795. In this regard, Kant tries to explore the main elements

of a sovereign nation, what ought to be in terms of its stance towards other nations, government and masses attitude in order to achieve peaceful coexistence, and the conditions of external intervention in another nation affairs. Guarantees of perpetual peace reside in some points; first- treaties of peace without any precaution, second- the activation of the social contract set between government and people, third- nations should end the idea of the standing army in order to avoid wars, fourth- nations should work on realizing self-sufficiency economically, which helps in preventing conflicts, fifth- confirming nation's independence and refusing any intervention in its internal affairs, and finally- in case of wars, nations should maintain the minimum of ethics even towards their enemy. The first criticism that could come to mind when analyzing these six points is related to; their impossible existence together except in a just ideal international system on one hand, and within a balance of power framework on the other hand. Accordingly, many scholars argue that this type of peace could be reached only in a democratic republican government (Goodin, Pettit&Pogge, 2012), at the same time, and in order to be described as a sustainable peace, it requires that all nations should also be republics (Democratic Peace) (Lenhard, 2010). Another criticism is based on the idea of the social contract that will lead governments to create federations to maintain interactions with their people on one hand, and the other governments on the other hand (Kleingeld, 2012). Kant theory could never be applied easily due to the vulnerability of its structure and the ambiguity of its procedures that are based on morals and self-interest motives related to the establishment of a global identity integrating all cultural, social and political differences without explaining its framework or bases (Turan, 2016).

The Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung is considered as the pioneer of peace research. He founded the Peace Research Institute Oslo in 1959, and the Journal of Peace Research in 1964. He started his work by focusing on the theories of conflict; stating its definitions and types,

clarifying the difference between conflict theory and game theory, identifying conflict's dimensions, actors, goals, and analyzing its implications and levels (Galtung & Fisher, 2013). According to Galtung, conflicts erupt because of the basic human needs (Galtung, 1996). He refuses the idea of scarcity and refers to politics as a main determinant of priorities, goals and programs of development. These programs are almost the main reason of conflict between state and society because of its ineffectiveness and deleterious impact on both economic and political life. Galtung divided the basic human needs into four progressive categories; the most basic needs (life, survival), basic needs (food, health, education), near-basic needs (freedom, career, political participation), and relation to nature (partnership), corresponding to the main contemporary problems, which are; violence, misery, repression, and environmental deterioration. Peace research was interested -in the beginning- in understanding violence and the conditions of reducing its direct effects, but recently, it was expanded to what Galtung has called "Structural Violence" which means that social, political and economic institutions could harm individuals and peoples by preventing them from their basic needs, which causes either disability or death and leads to cultural violence (Galtung & Fisher, 2013). In fact, he differentiated between personal violence and structural violence. Concerning personal violence, specific persons cause bodily harm to others by using different tools, such as; the economic organizations that reflect a more advanced tool and a development in terms of conflict's sources (Bruch, Muffett & Nichols, 2016). In case of structural violence, individuals and peoples suffer inequality in the distribution of power. Some could argue that this distinction is not clear, on one hand, causing bodily harm might be the result of the unequal distribution of power, and - on the other hand- preventing people from their basic needs could affect health and therefore the body (Price, 2012). Other scholars could consider unequal distribution of power as a consequence of two facts; first- individuals are different, and second- this heterogeneity affects their

behavior and their performance. Based on this idea, Galtung affirms that violence is more natural and normal than peace, which means that in order to coexist together peacefully and to cooperate, humans are in need of mandatory rules to conduct their behavior and to orient them towards peace. These rules are imposed by the competent authorities, such as; the police, the army ...etc. Whenever there is no violence, two kinds of peace could appear according to Galtung; either positive peace or negative peace. Using “positive” and “negative” specifically as a description refers to the impact of the different types of violence (Ward & Perrottet, 2013). For example; the disappearance of the personal violence is not a condition of peace, but in case of the structural peace, its absence means that social justice is achieved, which represents a guarantee of peace. Galtung concludes that peace theory is not only related to conflict theory, but it is also related to development theory (Equal distribution of power and resources) (Flint, 2005).

Within this framework, Galtung presented his peace theory. It is clear that there are some points of criticism that could be addressed to his key principles. First- when tackling the structural violence and its essential cause which is related to unequal distribution of power and resources, Galtung did not mention the criteria according to which state resources could be allocated equally. Second- Galtung did not take into consideration the difference between equality and justice, in contrary; he has used both concepts to signalize the same meaning. Third- according to him, the reasons behind violence and conflict are purely economic and political. In spite of his acknowledgment that the religious perspective on or concepts of peace may contribute to its meaning because it will be related to some values, such as; the feelings of global love, and brotherhood, he omitted the role of culture in the outbreak of conflicts and violent actions. In fact, Galtung tried to synthesize the major theories of peace aiming at producing a cumulative one that is based on specified

hypotheses and able to be tested, without neglecting the effect of what he called “the non-testable dimension”, which is the peace philosophy (Lawler, 1995). To introduce his idea, he differentiated between two main types of individuals’ relations in social sciences; comparative and interactive. This means that people either compare themselves in terms of sources and personal skills and characteristics, or try to interact and to exchange some positive and negative values (Urry, 2013). Regardless of his focus on the resources or values as the only purposes of comparison and interaction, Galtung did not tackle the role of the community as a unit of analysis, and he replaced it by the individuals as actors in these relations. It is true that he has mentioned the word “groups” as a synonym of nations that are composed of individuals, and based on a complex structure, but this was only for analyzing the relationships on international level, and not for testing the possible integration between individuals or for understanding the relationship between them within a community framework, in spite of his avowal that the world is a social system (Poe, 2011). Additionally, Galtung distinguishes between different types of peace thinking, which could be divided into three main groups; personal, national and global types. The third group (intra-global) is not yet meaningful according to him. It needs to get the entire universe with its planets and natural phenomena involved in this relation. Concerning the first and the second groups, they could be considered as the best types of peace thinking, because they are able to be tested, similar and less complicated. The complexity in Galtung analysis of peace theories on one hand, and peace thinking on the other hand, resides in his attempt to adapt social sciences and individuals’ interactions into mathematical formulas based on physics thinking process. This appears -for example- in his distinction between peace theory “atoms”, and peace theory “molecules” to explain the difference between the simplistic peace thinking and the more sophisticated one and the richer in ideas that gather a number of theories, and contribute to them, which reflects his own theory.

As mentioned before, Galtung defines peace as the absence of destructive behavior and violence. In this regard, he presented a specific peace formula, which is the following:

$$\text{Peace} = \frac{\text{Equity} \times \text{Empathy}}{\text{Trauma} \times \text{Conflict}}$$

This formula aims at promoting mutual and equal benefit on one hand, and the harmony (to live the feelings of the others; either suffering or joy) on the other. It also aims at solving violence by reconciliation and conflict by resolution. For fulfilling this equation, Galtung argues that it is important to; first- understand the origins and the dynamics of non-peaceful behavior. This behavior starts by a negative perception, and a destructive sentiment and attitude towards the other, which would lead definitely to conflicts. Second- identify strategies and approaches to peace and conflict management/ resolution, which could be summarized in facilitating constructive behavior and positive attitude. Some strategies aim at separating between the disputing parties and limiting all types of interactions, while other strategies are more successful because they provide parties with specific approaches that increase interactions and consider the strong relations as a protection from any troubling symptoms. Any conflict management/ resolution -according to Galtung- could start by the first strategy, but it would be described as positive whenever it ends by the second. Galtung focused in his criticism of peace theories and his exploration of his own theory on the structure of thinking, and on the personal and the national levels only without tackling the international level. He found it researchable to tackle intra-personal and intra-social types and methods by analyzing education, socialization, interactions, conflict management, and sanctions theories on the individual level, and theories of peaceful relations on the social level. Concerning the international peace thinking, he claimed that it is clear that there are no

specific general characteristics of the nations in terms of sovereignty, decision makers or actors, and diplomatic missions (Galtung, 1967). There is another criticism that could be addressed to Galtung theory' basis on peace. In fact, he found that peace is easier on the micro level (intra-personal) and the macro level (intra-national), or on individuals and groups levels within a specific society or a particular nation. According to Galtung, a world with a lower number of actors could achieve peace easily, because the increasing number means more complexity in testing their interactions, managing information process, such as; gathering, analyzing and evaluating data. He also argued that the lower number is better when making decisions, the society is more secure; there is a high peace building potential, because the fewer actors are more rational in taking the needed precautions, and they are more able to predict. The only positive side in the high number of actors or nations resides in the balance of power (Schellenberg, 1996). Galtung thought that sometimes the fewer actors are much tougher and susceptible to conflicts. Later, he touched on the relationship between homogeneity and heterogeneity, and the complexity of achieving peace between the high number of actors with different racial and ethnic characteristics. The problem resides in his attempt to relate between homogeneity and one nation on one hand, and heterogeneity and many nations on the other hand. These relationships could be considered as illogical or unreal, because not all societies are described as homogenous (USA is racially and ethnically heterogeneous), at the same time, there are many societies that possess the same general characteristics, such as; the majority of the European countries, which means that the number of actors is not an indicator of homogeneity or heterogeneity (Galtung, 1980).

According to Galtung, peace could never be achieved except between homogeneous nations; homogeneity -based on his analysis- creates internal cohesion and avoids external conflicts. Some other scholars defend this idea based on the claim that in the heterogeneous societies and nations, certain groups are excluded from public life and deprived from equal

rights, which limits their impact and reduces the peaceful coexistence opportunities. This is considered as a claim because of the generalization, despite of all efforts that aim at testing the role of heterogeneity between promoting conflict and encouraging peace, which will be treated in details in the fourth idea of this chapter. The heterogeneous society -in Galtung thought- leads to the escalation of internal conflicts because of many reasons; first- it encourages external conflicts that deepen social divisions, second- some groups belong to other nations, and finally- these other nations could intervene in order to protect their groups. For these reasons, he considered homogeneity, especially in terms of cultural and structural characteristics, as the only guarantee to avoid internal conflicts, and to encourage interdependence between different groups. Galtung limited the exchange and the cooperation between homogeneous nations to travel, tourism, visits, work and study purposes on private level, and trade, diplomatic relations and political cooperation on public level, without mentioning any other dimension of integration, as if the type of cultural and structural homogeneity is absolute which is impossible even within the same society*. Based on many theories, Galtung has seen these types of interdependence and exchange as the main indicator because of the following; first- cooperating together reduces interactions with the enemies, which could either solve conflicts or reduce it. Second- conflicts between homogeneous and cooperative nations are rare and limited at variance with the international conflicts that take a long time to be managed and solved. Third- in case of homogeneous nations or groups, conflicts' prediction is easier, which helps in avoiding any violent clashes. Fourth- cooperation between homogeneous nations contributes to the

*For more details, see: Hulliung, M. (2016). Rousseau and the dilemmas of modernity. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

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balance of power policies. Finally- economic and political cooperation encourages internal development and cohesion, which would emphasize integration and decrease aggression and conflicts prospects. Galtung addressed a criticism to some of these theories that aim at the transformation of interdependence to polarization because of the absence of guarantee that this process is stable or sustainable. In other words, polarization is a temporary status, therefore, it is difficult to keep relationships peaceful in its case, on the contrary, it could lead to war. Interdependence without polarization or what Galtung called it depolarization attracts former enemies to positive interaction, lets disputing parties withdraw from conflicts, support the emergence of an ideology of peaceful coexistence, and bolsters cooperation and diminishes the level of military capability (Military Disengagement). Depolarization - based on this way of thinking- involves non-governmental organizations and individuals in the process of interdependence or cooperation, which makes it peace productive because of its ability to provide all parties by certain benefits, especially power through justice, democracy and balance of power (Galtung, 1967).

For a general theory of peace that could gather all previous consistent dimensions, Galtung started by explaining the concept of entropy as the common concept that plays an essential role in peace thinking. He tried -in this part- to focus on only one rich and flexible idea that could cover all previous mentioned components. Galtung's choice of this concept is a proof of his interest in physics thinking methodology, because "entropy" is considered as a synonym of homogeneity and disorder, it is the inverse of negentropy that means heterogeneity and order in a system (Singh, 2013). It also means a change in an element's characteristics due to its total mixing with a different element, which reflects an exchange of characteristics while retaining the original ones (Greven, Keller&Warnecke, 2003). In this regard, high entropy means high

variance and great disorder or that the elements are widely affected by each other (Dugdale, 1996), while low entropy means an ordered system with low variety and uncertainty or that each element keeps its own features without any change (Gigch, 1991). Based on this conceptual framework, Galtung has built his integrated theory of peace; he focused on the links between the different members (or actors), and he was trying to find out how these links are distributed and their meanings. The answer on this question depends on two essential points; first- the distribution of parties in terms of positions (Actors Entropy), and second- The distribution of links between each two parties (Interaction Entropy Actors). The distribution of actors and the links between them revive the social structure, in other words, according to Galtung, whenever there is a high entropy or homogeneity between the different parties, and a high interaction, peace could be settled easily, and with high number of actors, homogeneity and interactions are less probable, which affects peace building negatively. In this regard, Galtung presented four types of interactions; first- Isolationism where interactions are concentrated within nations and focused on either governmental (strong public sector) or non-governmental (strong private sector) actors, second- Bilateralism where interactions are alive between each two parties and occurred either between governments or private persons and organizations, third- Multilateralism where there is an interaction between more than two nations either through governments or private organizations, and finally- Internationalism where international organizations play the role of members or actors and interact together (Galtung& Fisher, 2013). As mentioned before, in case of multiple actors, in this theory, there is less opportunity for peaceful coexistence and cooperation, which could undermine any effort for peace, because of the increasing number of actors that are embodied in persons, states, governmental and non-governmental international organizations all over the world, and the need to interact peacefully without being homogeneous. At the same time, as

long as peace could be applied within people in one society, and between a small number of nations, it could also be applied between a large number of nations and organizations, if not, there must be a defect in the theory or a flaw in the general framework that gathers or integrates all actors. Galtung did not only differentiate -on his general theory- between high and low entropy, but he also distinguished between dissociative and associative peace thinking. Concerning dissociative peace thinking, positive interaction is transformed into either neutral or negative interaction, while in case of associative peace thinking, the inverse is true; negative interaction is transformed into either neutral or positive interaction. The relationship between these two types of peace thinking on one hand, and entropy on the other hand, appears in the role of the private sector; in the dissociative thinking, there is no interaction between private sector entities within low entropy systems, and there is no interaction between all types of sectors in case of high entropy systems, while in the associative thinking, interaction is developed within public sector entities in the low entropy systems, and it is developed within all sectors in case of high entropy systems, which means that the dissociative thinking would never lead to peace, in contrary it leads to total war, especially in case of high entropy systems, and that the associative thinking leads to peace especially in the same case. Perhaps, the most important idea that was delivered by Galtung -in this part- resides in the relationship that he explored between effective peace and means of communication between people, which does not require homogeneity or could be hindered because of heterogeneity, but it needs suitable tools that are able to facilitate it.

In addition to his equation of peace, Galtung also focused on many important key concepts that could help as approaches to achieve his formula. However, his stance towards the international level of peacebuilding on one hand, and his understanding of the concept of homogeneity by relating it to the number of actors, on the other hand, represents a real barrier facing the application of his theory. In other

words, Galtung theory lacks the framework that could allow all heterogeneous characteristics and sophisticated actors to integrate together and to cooperate peacefully, because the only way that helps in achieving peace according to him is the common cultural, structural, racial and ethnic features between masses and actors. There is no doubt that Galtung succeeded in projecting the micro level to the macro level, but he abstained from tackling the mega level, which reflects a dire need for another larger and deeper perspective that is able to handle all complicated relationships, manage all information process, and at the same time, maintain the balance of power. According to Galtung himself, in his criticism of the international organizations because of their failure in stopping wars and aggression, and in putting an end to the colonial and the neo-colonial thinking and policies all over the world, this mission could never be achieved except through specific morals and social processes. These two factors are able to oblige humans to resist hatred and violence on one hand, and to support love and peaceful coexistence and cooperation on the other hand, which implies an analysis of conflicts and an understanding of their solutions. In this regard, Galtung presented an idea that was in need of being developed, he emphasized the role of culture in creating a common ground or a compromise and in reducing incompatibilities between humans (2017)*.

Second- Theoretical Framework

Digital Advocacy Management.

The massive wave of new cyber technology especial social networks such as Facebook and twitter have created borderless virtual forum conducive for political discourse, freedom of speech, networking, coordination, collaboration and civic engagement. Such new media has transformed the pattern of advocacy management from traditional to

*For more details about the criticism of Galtung's theory, see: Lawler, P. (1989). A question of values: A critique of Galtung's peace research. *Global Change, Peace& Security*. 1 (2), 27- 55.

digital advocacy by introducing a more pluralistic and diverse media scene as it might include individuals, grassroots social movements, interest groups with different ideologies, backgrounds, needs, ... etc. unlike a rather monolithic pattern offered by the traditional media (Khamis, 2013). Digital technology has offered a broad range of opportunities to easily access and innovatively use information at no additional cost (Joseph, 2008); with much greater user control putting an end to mediators and controlling elites (Rowbottom, 2006). Information are no more locked behind barriers of limited access paper-based sources; webpages such as Wikileaks stands as a vivid indication of the emergence of a “Universal Citizen” (Almashat, 2010). Nowadays computers and cell phones text messages have introduced new forms of information exchange, communication and coordination between social actors and hence new kinds of social mobilizations untied to traditional face-to-face interactions (Langman, 2005) replacing traditional mass media.

Global internet users have reached almost 4.75 billion users representing 59% of the global population and 3.81 billion are active social media users (Statista, 2020). While in the Middle East around 70% of the population uses the internet with growth rate of 5,477% between 2000 and 2020 (Internet WorldStats, 2020). Global statistics assert that daily, there are about 300 million zoom meetings participants, 200 Microsoft virtual meetings participants and Google Meet hit 100 participants (Warren, 2020).

John Samuel defined public advocacy as “a set of deliberate actions designed to influence public policies or public attitudes in order to empower the marginalized” and “if advocacy is not rooted in grassroots realities and is practiced only at the macro level, the voice of the marginalized is increasingly likely to be appropriated by professional elites” (Samuel, 2007). In an environment of mounting political marginalization and economic deprivation, there is always a rising need

for a new space for a broader and more factual vision of public interests to grow to be more cohesive; and social communication networks have made that possible. The digital media has founded new increasing number of non-state advocates who might be confronted with brutal resistance by many powerful interests, yet, as Longman puts it, a fluid "mobilizing structures" enable "cyberactivism" introducing a new version of advocacy coalition forms (Samuel, 2007); and hence have no frontiers to control or squeeze.

The highly dynamic digital environment has changed public policy actors map and brought to the scene a new category called Digital Actors who interactively discuss social, economic, cultural and political issues not only reflecting public interests but also powerful enough to influence shaping public opinion. Accordingly, new concepts have been introduced to the field, digital advocacy management which we can define as a planned effort to use digital media to galvanize people toward a specific cause or policy by influencing their perceptions, attitudes and actions.

Conflict Management and Resolution Theories. Meanings and Historical Framework.

Conflict resolution started between the 1950s and the 1960s at the beginning of the Cold War, when the development of nuclear power and the conflict between USA and USSR appeared as a threat to the whole humanity. The new idea attracted intellectuals' interest; scholarly journals in conflict resolution were created, specialized institutions were established, the field was developed and taking into consideration and practice by groups tackling international crises, internal social and political clashes, and approaches focusing on negotiation and mediation. By the 1980s, conflict resolution ideas affected positively acute conflicts, and at the end of the Cold War, its role has changed dramatically because of the evolution and development of the superpowers and the increasing number of struggles and ethnic conflicts which became unprecedented in

the 1990s which was representing a great opportunity to apply conflict resolution strategies and to improve its types, after this phase, three developments were taking place; first- international interveners faced difficulties which hindered their tasks especially in Bosnia and Somalia, second- the failure of the Palestinian- Israeli peace process in Oslo and the outbreak of the second Intifada in September 2000, finally- September 11 events which launched the global war on terror and interrogated about a specific role of conflict resolution under these circumstances (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse&Miall, 2011).

The term “conflict” has many dimensions; structural (legislation, organization and budget), instrumental (methods and procedures), interest (money, labor and space), value (political, religious and moral values) or personal (identity, self-esteem and loyalty) (The Danish Centre for Conflict Resolution, 2011). Conflict means a broad range of human activities which reflect a hostility between people, there are many different interpretations of the word “conflict”; some theorists view it as “fight, struggle or clash of principles”, others define it as struggle over values, competition for status, power or scarce resources, some thinkers, such as; Wertheim, Love, Peck and Littlefield perceive conflict as occurring when there are real differences between unsatisfied interests. Conflict could also be defined as the status which manifests when the needs and values of two or more people are incompatible. Conflict could arise when there is a clash between the internal beliefs, values and interests of two groups. Concerning the term of “conflict resolution”, it has also many interpretations; some analysts view it as a process that resolves or makes an end to conflicts through specific strategies and tools which could include warfare and violence, it could also be defined as a non-violent process that manages conflict via compromise, or via the assistance of a third party who either eases or imposes a solution or a settlement. Specialists of conflict resolution focus on the importance of provisions for power sharing, in the post

conflict societies, provided by the political system and depending on the force of the law (Manning, 2002). Some sociologists use the term of conflict resolution as a way of achieving change, social justice, social responsibility, health, and retributive and distributive justice. It is a way to find a solution from inside out and outside in, it is also about relationships and approaches to problem solving. Finally, conflict resolution could be understood as the art of handling problems and disputes between people, groups or countries aiming at reconstructing their relationships with each other (Trujillo, 2008).

Debates on Conflict Resolution Theories and Strategies.

Theories of conflict resolution are closely related to social conflict; the main theoretical approaches which help to understand social conflict are also used to analyze conflict resolution (Schellenberg, 1996). According to John W. Burton, handling problems and disputes through negotiable interests are not a major problem, but conflict resolution is a challenge to all economic and political systems, it is a process which could deal with acute situations on national and international levels, the resolution of particular conflicts is just a beginning; it provides the system by specific indicators which concern the nature of conflict but it does not deal with the problem of conflict in spite of aiming at preventing the conflict. All these processes depend on the political system change and reconstruction (Sandole (ed.) 1993). By applying the assumptions of John Burton, a space for practical methods appear and could be used through what is called “Track Two Diplomacy” which was defined, in 1981, by Joseph Montville, the former US Foreign Service officer and founder of the preventive diplomacy program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington DC, as an “unofficial, nonstructural interaction between members of adversarial groups or nations that is directed toward conflict resolution through addressing psychological factors” (Fisher, 1997, p. 117). One of the conflicts which could be tackled by the track two diplomacy is

the protracted social conflict, Edward Azar described this type as ongoing and seemingly intractable, he presented almost ten propositions on protracted social conflict which summarize its features and characteristics. He also confirmed that the most important factor used in analyzing this type of conflict is the identity groups; racial, religious, ethnic and cultural...etc. According to Azar, identity is more important and more powerful than the nation-state (Azar, 1990).

Protracted social conflict -as mentioned- is about needs and not interests. In this regard, Herbert C. Kelman, the Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics, Emeritus at Harvard University, found that conflict resolution process goes beyond national interests; it explores the reasons of the conflict, especially the threats which face identity, security, anatomy, recognition and justice needs, it searches for solutions responsive to needs of all sides. Therefore, agreements achieved through conflict resolution differ from compromises achieved through a mediator or a third party, however, it is like creating a long term commitment between the two parties and reconstructing their relationship. To sum up, an agreement which appeared as a consequence of a process of conflict resolution, it will lead to stable peace, mutual cooperation and conclusive reconciliation (Cunningham, 1998).

Some political scientists addressed a critique to conflict resolution Western theorists because of their broad analysis without presenting a specific perspective on peace, even on conflict; its roots; its strategies and when violence could be used to make an end to the dispute. Part of Western perspective on conflict is very narrow concerning the need of struggles to achieve peace, While the inverse is true in some Arab perspectives which perceive the revolutionary change as the best way for resolving major economic, political and social crises, but the Western perspective assumes that the pain is bad, and the pleasure or comfort is

good, which needs a significant and deep analysis to be accepted. According to Paul Salem, the attempt to establish leadership and authority over a negotiation process may lead to dissatisfaction and may become part of the problem in the form of a struggle for power or hegemony between the mediator and the other parties, and the same could happen when rules are imposed by force, because in this case, an inappropriate authority could be in power. Conflict resolution could never be achieved except through another concept which is the “team work” or work together between all parties, and to let collective interests lead instead of social interests or individual interests, and that differs from the liberal ideology. At this time, a coercive power will be needed to impose collective will, and guarantee freedom, justice and equality. Another critique is addressed to the Western perspective on conflict resolution concerning agreements which is the final phase of negotiation, but in an unstable political environment where the rule of law does not necessarily govern, moving toward an agreement is worrisome. Conflict resolution theory should be applied whenever the system is able to protect the opposition, but in an authoritarian regime, conflicts will be better than less conflict and more interdependent and uncertain end (Salem, 2007).

Third- Role of Digital Advocacy Management in January 25 Revolution

Mobilizing Youth via Digital Advocacy Management.

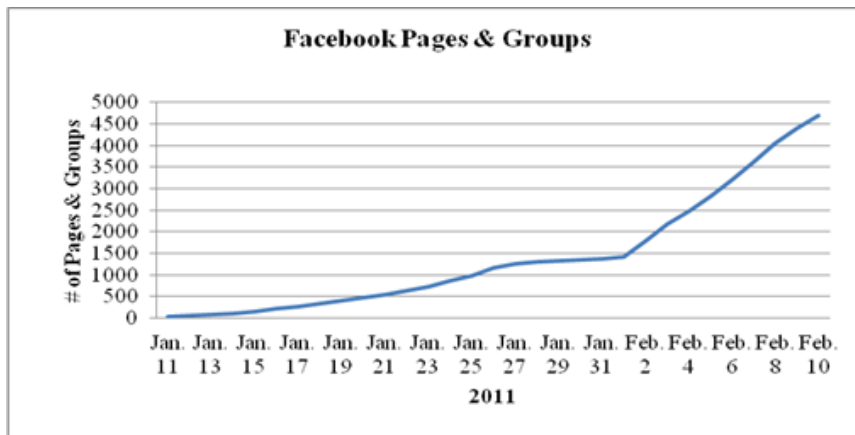
Looking at the case of Egypt, digital media acted as a catalyst in paving the way to January 25 Revolution 2011 (Khamis, 2013). Digital actors, through cyberactivism via commentaries Facebook and tweets were not only able to influence political discourse but most importantly mobilize masses to join a common cause and act on it.

Egypt hits the highest growth records of internet users and social media, where internet users reached, end of 2019, 49% with a total

number of around 49.2million (Internet World Statistics, 2020). In addition, mobile users has, as reported by the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology, reached 96.36 million (Mubasher Egypt, 2018), while 37 million Egyptians access Facebook every month, and 151 million tweets generated in Egypt per month. Egyptians have been described by many researches as addicts of social media where more than 14 million users are active on social media and do not stop posting, chatting and liking. Furthermore, the largest age group using Facebook is 18-24 followed by age bracket of 25-34. Moreover, 92% of facebook users use it on daily basis and rate of growth is the highest in the MENA region (Ahmed, 2017). Remarkably, in 2018, Egypt is ranked 4rd in the Arab region and 23rd globally according to Global Cyber Security Index (Global Cyber Security Index, 2018).

Statistics indicate thatbetween January 11 and February 10, 2011, number of facebook pages and groups increased steeply from 30 calling for upheaval on January 25 reaching 2312 pages as well as groups actively involved in the revolution eventsrepresenting almost 50% of total number of facebook pages and groups added during this period (see figure 1). Evidently, the 2312 active pages and groups were connected to 34,585,884 users on February 10, starting with only 365,633 cyberactivists January 11 (see figure 2). During the same period, interactions on these pages mounted from 113 to 9,815 (figure 3) and comments respectively increased from 4,584 to 461,120. Cyberactivism of these social media movements echoed and attractedpluralistic and diverse individual advocates, pages and groups, representing different age groups, backgrounds, interests, political and social ideologies and various professions (Ghitas, 2011).

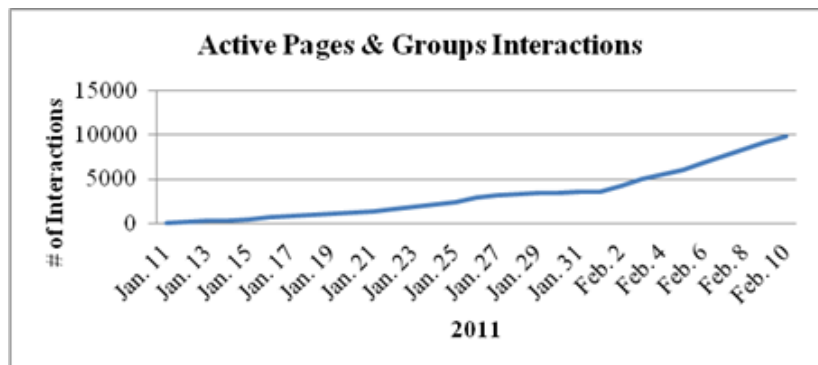
Figure 1: Facebook Pages & Groups (January 11 – February 10, 2011)



Source: Ahdath El Asr, Al-Ahram, Vol. 123, March 2011, p. 18

Following this so-called “Camel Incident” in Tahrir Square on February 3, 2011, the number of Facebook cyberactivists increased dramatically by 152,168 (see figure 2).

Figure 2: Facebook Interactions via Pages & Groups Active in the Revolution (January 11 – February 10, 2011)



Source: Ahdath El Asr, Al-Ahram, Vol. 123, March 2011, p. 20

Digital media has transformed a citizen into a journalist (Rowbottom, 2006), uploading pictures and videos of January 25 Revolution telling stories not only to Egyptians but to the rest of the world. Youtube has replaced the traditional media channels, where number of uploaded videos reached its peak between January 25-26 and February 8-9, 2011

hitting 739 videos viewed 3,608,872 times (Ghitas, 2011). Political discourse has been revolutionized by the inception of digital political advocacy since then.

Limitations of Digital Activism vs. Collective Consensus.

We have to acknowledge limitations of digital activism in terms of enacted change through advocacy given revolutions aftermath in the Arab region except in Egypt; making digital media a catalyst or an accelerator of change rather than a magical stick (Khamis, 2013). Outcomes of revolutions could take different routes of actions, one form is turning struggle for freedom into a bloody and violent war like the case of Syria and inability to implement real change, on the other hand, an alternative route is ousting rulers and implement political change peacefully and stability like the case of Egypt. Egyptian youth deployed social media to organize and coordinate efforts to enact public will. This highlights the main limitation of digital media where it can only acts as a catalyst for political change and social reform only in case the environment is conducive for consensus building and constructive civil discourse inevitable for nation-building (Khamis, 2013).

Hence digital media presents new capacities of mobilizing, coordinating and orchestrating efforts stimulating political transition but only in case of the presence of collective consensus. Revolutions in Egypt set a clear example of how effective digital media acted as a ‘mass advocacy tool’ in defying authoritarian regime. Accordingly, we can define digital advocacy management as a type of new media which acts as a catalyst in advocating institutional and policy changes initiatives reflecting public will through actionable collective consensus. This raises an important question whether collective consensus has been already a latent existing construct within the society or created via digital media activism?! Has virtual media reinforced latent collective consensus and has transformed it into actionable collective consensus?!

Fourth- Resilient Identity and Social Homogeneity

Social Homogeneity and Collective Consensus.

One key phenomena that this paper questions is the state of collective consensus which took place during the Egyptian Revolutions creating what we could call political unity. Did social media network interactions create collective consensus (CC) among millions of Egyptians who poured into the streets? Or was it latent consensus and technology was only an effective intervening tool to transform latent consensus into actionable consensus?! This dilemma is one of the reasons why a regime could perceive technology as a threat on one hand, yet an effective tool of inclusion in policymaking process as it creates a borderless discourse forum for government-public dialogue which turned into political reality, where political unity was developed calling for regime change and preserving state identity as well as entity.

A key issue to investigate here is how consensus had been scaled-up that fast turning digital advocacy into mass advocacy. Hermann Heller described democracy as “the conscious process of the formulation of political unity from bottom to top”, where all representations should reflect community will. In addition, for the people as ‘plurality’ to consciously form itself into the people as ‘unity’, there must be a certain degree of ‘social homogeneity’ existing. Yet the degree of political unity is proportional to the degree of social homogeneity (Heller, 1992: pp. 257-265). Hence the more social homogeneity existing, the faster political unity could be formed and consequently collective consensus especially with respect to public issues that reflect public interest.

Social homogeneity, as Gehrlein defined, refers to the degree to which preferences of individuals within the society tend to be alike (Gehrlein, 1987: P. 219). In the context of investigating the impact of social homogeneity on political democracy, it is described as “social-psychological state in which the inevitably present opposition and conflicts of interest appear constrained by a consciousness and sense of the ‘we’ by a community that actualizes itself” (Heller, 1992: pp. 257-265). Social homogeneity in this sense transcends far beyond demographic aspects which includes structure of demographic characteristics, nationalities, ethnic groups...etc, it rather emphasizes an integrated process that develops and sustains comprehensive cohesion reflecting social, political and institutional dimensions.

Comprehensive Cohesion in Egypt.

Looking into the structure of the Egyptian population, we find that it is relatively homogeneous. Looking in to the ethnic composition, Egyptians are 99.6%, where the majority, exceeding 90%, are Sunni Muslims, speaks Arabic language, around only 6% are Christians who are described as “indistinguishable in other respects from Muslims”. In addition, most Christians are Coptic Orthodox while minorities of the Christians are Catholic and Protestant. Furthermore, Egypt has very few linguistic minorities namely Berber. Around 96% of the population lives in the Nile Valley, where most economic and social activities take place and hence the Nile River has represented prevalent cultural themes that have been core pillar in creating and sustaining the Egyptian identity as well as cohesion (Encyclopedia Britannica).

However, demographics are not the sole driver of social homogeneity, there are other dimensions that creates a sustainable comprehensive integrated process transforming homogeneity into a multifaceted cohesion. These dimensions include:

- **Social Homogeneity.**

A key driver of developing and sustaining social homogeneity in Egypt is the constitution throughout its long history which goes back to 1923, developing into Constitutions 1956, 1958, 1964, 1971, 2012, and 2014. Principles persistently asserted by these constitutions have contributed to a built-in value system in the Egyptian society enshrining and institutionalizing the concept of inclusion, equality, unity and solidarity which are indispensable to create and sustain a cohesive and homogeneous society. These constitutional principles have not only been reflected into moral standards but rather into the culture. Table 1 shows the frequency these concepts have been stipulated by the Egyptian Constitution since 1923.

Table 1: Determinants of Social Homogeneity in the Egyptian Constitution:

Constitution	Social Homogeneity Determinants (Constitutional Articles #)			
	Citizenship	Equality	Solidarity/unity	Inclusion
1923		3	1	
1956		6, 17, 31, 49, 53, 56	4, 192	19
1958*		7		
1964		8, 24, 38, 40, 42	1, 3	34, 49
1971	1	8, 11, 17, 18, 40	3, 7	14, 162
2012**		8, 9, 33, 62, 63, 66		
2014	1, 6	9, 11, 17, 18, 19, 53, 79	8	11, 14, 87, 88, 102, 180, 214

- **Political Homogeneity.**

Inclusion is a significant criterion in promoting political homogeneity. As aforementioned, the principle of inclusion has always been asserted by the Egyptian constitution more and more through time. The principle of inclusion is a cornerstone in laying out development key drivers. Inclusion in both policymaking reflects the political dimension of homogeneity

within the Egyptian society. Parliament and Cabinet structures, vividly clarify the inclusive approach that has been adopted to achieve sustainable development in Egypt.

One of the key milestones toward development is endorsing a representative parliament. Establishing an inclusive forum of political and socioeconomic discourse would address multifaceted interests and needs of citizens and promote public will. The structure of Parliament 2015 is characterized by a high degree of inclusion and diversity in terms of political composition, gender, field of interest, educational levels... Unprecedentedly in the Egyptian parliamentary history, independent members in Parliament 2015 hit 58.9% compared to 41.1% party-affiliated members compared to 29.2% in 2005 as the maximum percentage independent members have ever reached. In addition, women's representation hit 15%(90 seats) compared to 2.2% in 2012 (11 seats) during Muslim Brotherhood rule. In addition, it encompasses Copts 6.5%, youth 7.2%, and both the disabled and expatriates secured equal representation of 1.4% each.

Furthermore, the Egyptian Cabinet during the Brotherhood rule in 2012 further insisted on minimize cohesion through adopting exclusion strategy rather than inclusion. A clear indication was the percentage of female ministers, only 2, representing only 5.5%. This is compared to 25% in 2019 with 8 female ministers confirming on integrating the principle of inclusion in policymaking. Moreover, inclusion is considered to be the building block for achieving Sustainable Development Strategy SDS: Egypt Vision 2030. SDS promotes inclusion not only in policymaking but in all its three targeted dimensions- economic, social and environmental. "SDS is based upon the principles of inclusive sustainable development" (Egypt Vision 2030).

- **Institutional Homogeneity.**

The concept of comprehensive cohesion goes beyond social and political homogeneity, it embodies institutional homogeneity as well, which reflects the managerial aspect. This has been undoubtedly vivid in the case of Egypt in comparison to other countries like Libya, Yemen and Syria which almost failed to cope with dramatic changes post revolutions. Despite of the fact that bureaucracy in the third world countries, especially Arab countries, show high levels of corruption, it has played an indispensable role in state sustainability. Bureaucrats and executive branch affiliated agencies committed to both state's entity and identity contribute to creating Institutional homogeneity. Here we are referring to the concept of State Sustainable Bureaucracy (SSB) which 'enacts an inherently self-correcting mechanism which contributes to helping states confront and cope with drastic changes' and this highly prevails in case of non-politicized bureaucracy (Almashat and Thabet, 2019). Non-politicized bureaucracy is structured with high level of discretion, powerful enough to be responsive to their clients (Frederickson, 2012); rather than being captured by political arm's ideology compared to politicized bureaucracy which adopts regime's ideology in policymaking and service provision, and in this case loyalty to regimes precedes efficiency.

Regimes fail if institutions are unable to provide services and meet citizens' needs when drastic changes take place, and hence "failure and collapse wipeout both institutions and bureaucracies". Clear non-Arab country examples are the collapse of the politicized Soviet Union bureaucracy in 1991 dominated by communist party as well as Somalia coopted by fanatic Islamic groups that were unable to maintain legitimacy or provide services. Whereas collapsed Arab-States examples are Syria dominated by Baath party, Iraq torn apart by ethnic and sectarian divisions, and Libya divided between fanatic religious and civil military

groups while Yemen between legitimate government and the Houthis. In all these countries “state entity and identity withered away”. On the contrary, in Egypt, during and post revolutions, institutions’ role in services provision has been self-sustained despite of the drastic changes that took place. In spite of the fact that bureaucratic institutions being characterized as rigid and encircled, all functioned and were able to provide services, such as educational institutions, hospitals, clinics, transportation services, civil service agencies including the Government Agencies Complex in Tahrir Square the center of demonstrations (Almashat and Thabet, 2019). In the case of Egypt, as a result of the existence of non-politicized bureaucracy, institutional homogeneity prevailed and contributed to sustainability of state’s entity and identity.

Conclusion

Based on this study, resilient identity could succeed to achieve democratic peaceful coexistence through differences, but without integrating all identities within one suitable homogeneous framework that is able to receive new types of differences and to sprinkle them with the original identity aspects.

It is clear that there is a direct relationship between the concepts of democracy and peace, as two historical social concepts; where democracy leads to societal peace, just as peace cannot be achieved in the absence of democracy, which is the only way to achieve peace, according to the democratic peace theory. January 25 and June 30 revolutions suggested the need to review the context of an evolving meaning of democracy that is not limited to the opinion of the majority or the right of the individual, but it is extended to the interest of the group and the integration of its will to reflect the meaning of social democracy, liberal democracy, and cross-border democracy and cultures combined, which is a prerequisite for the peace that the individual seeks in all societies.

Democracy is the broadest framework that included the demands of the demonstrators in the January 25 and June 30 revolutions; they (the two revolutions) came as a rejection of tyranny and an attempt to distinguish between the different categories of the Egyptian society, whether for political or religious considerations, because this is considered incompatible with the strong Egyptian identity capable of resistance and the nature of the Egyptian national identity, which is historically characterized by diversity and pluralism within a homogeneous framework that does not accept, in its essence, to impose a specific way of thinking on the society or to orient this society by the thought of a particular group.

All society categories, in spite of their educational and social levels, have used social media to express opinion, mobilization, solidarity, and civic participation, which in turn reflected the extent of political and ideological pluralism, but the diversity that allowed greater opportunities for integration, it also allowed the emergence of what has been called a "cosmic citizen" who could communicate and coordinate with community actors and send and receive a greater volume of information at the lowest possible cost.

In this context, and in response to the vulnerability and agglomeration, there has become a greater ability to influence public policy-making and the positions of political decision-makers in order to empower politically and economically marginalized groups, by discussing social, economic, cultural and political issues in a way that can guide public opinion.

Looking at the Egyptian situation at this time, after enough time has passed for many local, Arab and international events, draws attention to some important facts; the first is that Egypt has the highest rate of internet and social media users; as the number of their users reaches 48%, which

means about 45 million people, as the number of mobile phone users reaches 110.6 million people, about 37 million people visit Facebook every month, while 151 million tweets are broadcast every month in Egypt, which makes many researchers describe Egyptians as communication addicts between the ages of 18 to 34 years.

Statistics have shown that from January 11 to February 10, 2011 the number of Facebook pages rose to 2,312 pages related to the revolution, to include about 34 million users, accounting for nearly 50% of all Facebook pages that existed during this period. These pages all reflect different political orientations, different ages, social and religious backgrounds, interests, ideologies, occupations and job grades. The digital media has turned the layman into a journalist who grabs the news and photos of the revolution and uploads them to the pages in question for transmission not only to Egyptians, but to the whole world. Digital media, especially Youtube, has transformed the role of traditional media, transforming it from digital media into what is called “digital advocacy”.

Social media or social advocacy has rediscovered the fundamentals of Egyptian identity and the ability to stand on goals and sacrifice individual rights in exchange for the group’s interest and the integrity of the land, which can be seen from a comparison between the outcomes of the revolutions in the Arab world; some of them transformed the struggle for freedom into bloody wars without any real change, such as what happened in Syria, in the system that sees technological development a challenge that must be eliminated, while others led to the displacement of the ruler of the state and the achievement of peaceful political change while ensuring stability, this is what happened inside the Egyptian state, in the systems that transform technology into an arena for expressing energies and directing them in the interest of the group and achieving harmony and harmony between different directions, whether at the leadership level or at the level of the people or regarding the relationship between the two levels.

Egyptian youth used social media to organize and coordinate efforts to activate the public will, meaning that these means have become a catalyst for political change and social reform while maintaining a coherent environment and through constructive civil society discourse that guarantees the development of state building and achieving sustainable development, which reflects new capabilities for mobilization, coordination, harmony and homogeneity of efforts to reach the turning point on the political scene, but in the context of a state of collective consensus and difference in integration and not the difference of dissonance, rivalry and division.

Egypt's two revolutions provide a clear example of the efficiency and effectiveness of digital media, which emerged as a tool for mass advocacy in refusal to submit to the authoritarian regime and a reaffirmation of the features of the Egyptian identity and a re-reading of the goals and strengths that lie in the solidity of the national fabric with which the roots of society could not be accessed and destroyed, which in general achieves the following equation:

Coherent Identity + Social Homogeneity + Digital Advocacy Management = Peaceful Change + Sustainable Democracy

To sum up, it is worth mentioning that digital advocacy management can be defined as a planned effort to use new type of interactive new media as a stimulus to achieving vital initiatives for political and institutional changes that reflect public will through effective and influential collective consensus, originally hidden latent until it had the opportunity to manifest itself, influence decision-making, and make general policies.

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