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## The arab cartoon: from arab spring to arab spring 2.0

### La caricatura árabe: de la Primavera Árabe a la Primavera Árabe 2.0

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#### Abstract

Political cartoons in the Arab world have been regarded as an alternative form of media. They have been viewed as a means of peaceful protest, which gained significant momentum during the Arab Spring of 2011. Furthermore, the development of political cartoons was heavily influenced by Web 2.0, which facilitated the emergence of a synthetic society online. Despite this, political cartoons have continued to evolve and have become an essential tool for demonstrations and protests in the Arab world following the Arab Spring. One noteworthy example is Algeria, where a wave of demonstrations in February 2019 saw political cartoons wielded as an extremely powerful tool.

As a result, the main objectives of this research are to study political cartoons in the context of the Arab Spring and to analyze whether there exists an Arab Spring 2.0, in which political cartoons have been further consolidated. To achieve these objectives, a qualitative methodology was employed, involving the analysis of various documents. In addition, a visual ethnographic method was utilized to describe the sample population under investigation.

Ultimately, this research represents an attempt to analyze a new phenomenon characterized by evolution. In other words, it seeks to determine whether the Arab Spring 2.0 represents a new version of revolution, in which political cartoons play a key role.

**Keywords:** Cartoons, Arab, mass media, cultural revolution, cultural identity.

#### Introduction

The political cartoon in the Arab world has been characterized since its inception as an alternative means of communication. It emerged as a weapon of peaceful protest, which was

#### Resumen

La caricatura procedente del mundo árabe se considera como un medio de comunicación distinto al tradicional. Fue considerado un medio de protesta pacífica y se consolidó en la Primavera Árabe. Asimismo, la web 2.0 influyó bastante a su desarrollo, generando una sociedad sintética en red. No obstante, este arte siguió evolucionando y se convirtió en un elemento esencial en todas las manifestaciones y protestas del mundo árabe que surgieron después de la Primavera Árabe. Destaca el caso de Argelia, donde en febrero de 2019 se desató una ola de manifestaciones y la caricatura pasó a tener un protagonismo esencial y clave. Así, este trabajo pretende estudiar la caricatura en la Primavera Árabe, así como también ver si existe una Primavera Árabe 2.0 en la que la caricatura se ha consolidado y se ha hecho aún más fuerte. Para ello, se ha empleado como metodología básica una tipología de metodología cualitativa a través de la cual se han estudiado diferentes fuentes y se han analizado diferentes caricaturas, usando un método visual etnográfico como referencia. Con todo, este trabajo trata demostrar que verdaderamente se ha producido un fenómeno según el cual la Primavera Árabe ha evolucionado, dando lugar a una nueva etapa, donde la caricatura es esencial.

**Palabras clave:** Dibujos, Árabe, medios de comunicación de masas, revolución cultural, identidad cultural.

consolidated with the development of the Arab Spring. This was reinforced by the development of Web 2.0 and the synthetic society online, which contributed to the importance of the

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political cartoon, becoming a form of resistance art. However, this art has continued to evolve and solidify to the point where it has become an essential element in recent social and political movements in the Arab world. One significant case is that of Algeria, after the revolution initiated against the president's intention to run for re-election and continue in office. In some way, this fact has materialized in the political cartoons, as the cartoonist Ali Dilem was concerned with transmitting the revolts using cartoons as a reference on social networks such as Facebook or Twitter. Thus, gradually, a virtual community has been created whose origin is in the Arab Spring, but in this case, it has gone beyond, as their cartoons have comments and the participation of citizens in the political-creative process.

Therefore, this work presents a series of objectives that have been developed. The objectives set for this work are: (1) to study the political cartoon in the Arab Spring; (2) to analyze its evolution after the Arab Spring; (3) to observe if there is a consolidated Arab Spring 2.0; and (4) to study the political cartoon in these new revolutions that are taking place.

### Theoretical Framework

As a primary source, the most recent cartoons of Ali Dilem have been used. These cartoons were chosen because they best reflect the situation of the revolutions in Algeria. Furthermore, these cartoons had the most impact as they went viral thanks to the development of social media. Therefore, they have been analyzed, observed, and studied in order to see how society has reacted to them.

The objective of this study is to demonstrate that the Arab Spring is still alive and has evolved, giving way to a new phase in which cartoons have become the protagonists. This has been driven by the use of social media, indicating a clear second phase that is likely to continue evolving.

### Methodology

To carry out all of this, a theoretical approach to the state in question has been developed. On the one hand, a qualitative research based on data collection has been carried out in order to study and analyze them. Once this was done, an analysis and synthesis process was developed to help organize all that information and subsequently create new information. On the other hand, a visual ethnographic method has

also been employed to analyze the images, not only looking at the forms and structures but also the meaning and impact these images have on society.

### Results and Discussion

#### The Arab Spring 2.0: The Awakening of Algeria.

The emergence of the Arab Spring was contingent upon the utilization of the internet. Novel technologies played a critical role in facilitating the various revolutions that transpired across multiple Arab nations in 2010. Phrases such as "Facebook Revolution" and "Twitter Revolution" were employed to depict the seamless and decentralized exchange of information among numerous online users, while efforts to constrain the dissemination of information proved futile. Furthermore, mainstream media outlets took note of the developments once they recognized the events that were transpiring on social media platforms. The movements were coordinated and structured in virtual space before materializing into revolutionary action on the streets. (Martínez, 2018).

Thus, a network society had emerged that presented a social structure composed of networks activated by digital communication and information technologies based on microelectronics (Castells, 2009). The networked society was structured around a realm of communication channels that facilitated the technological and organizational feasibility of practicing synchronicity without proximity, and thus, without the requirement for physical co-location. Additionally, it was sustained by a social construct of time that, to some extent, obliterated chronology by disrupting sequentiality through the utilization of information technologies, thereby amalgamating the present, past, and future in a haphazard manner (Castells, 2009). Similarly, society can be conceptualized as an array of cultural creations that strive to identify their cultural heritage as a historical marker, and endeavor to establish a culture of communicative protocols across all cultures worldwide, founded on a shared conviction in the potential of networks and the benefits of mutual exchange. Consequently, the utilization of social media and information and communication technology (ICT) is aimed at reinforcing Arab culture and introducing a fresh perception of culture that encompasses the entire Arab world, while simultaneously engaging with a global culture

that mitigates apprehension towards others. (Castells, 2009). Thus, it can be said that the development of the internet during the Arab Spring was an innovative fact because it gave way to mobile computing capable of developing and improving communication standards, while creating a significant virtual community.

However, the impact of the popular movement aimed at achieving greater democratization varied across different countries. In the case of Algeria, although the movement had an impact, the regime took measures to mitigate its effects by publicly acknowledging the need for reforms, particularly in its Constitution. The first measure taken was to lift the State of Emergency that had been in place since 1992. In addition, President Buteflika made statements in favor of normalizing relations with Morocco as part of its foreign policy. However, these actions were largely a response to the unstable environment in North Africa and a desire to project an image of the Algerian government as willing to listen to the voices calling for fundamental changes. Nonetheless, in May 2012, elections were held in which the former ruling party, the National Liberation Front (FLN), led by Abdelaziz Buteflika, won a clear victory with 221 out of 462 seats in the National People's Assembly. The second party was the National Democratic Rally (RND), which was also closely aligned with the government, with 70 seats. On the other hand, the Islamists, who had presented a joint candidacy called the "Green Alliance," were the biggest losers. Consequently, the regime emerged strengthened despite the reported irregularities committed during the electoral process by the opposition, low turnout, and a high number of blank or null votes. (Torres, 2013).

However, the state of passivity did not endure for long. Protests against Buteflika began to emerge in soccer stadiums. In 2018, the chant of a group of USM Alger team supporters, named "Casa del Muradia," garnered over a million views on YouTube. The song played on the name of the presidential palace, Muradia, and the title of the Spanish series "La casa de papel," which was broadcast overseas by Netflix, alluding to the Algerian civil war, the country's crisis, and Buteflika's health. Moreover, in the last months of December 2018, there was a surge in the detention of journalists, artists, footballers, and others. As for the president's response, the presidency had announced that Buteflika would travel to Geneva for a "routine medical check-up." Buteflika had not made a public appearance in a long time. In 2012, he gave a speech, and in 2013, he suffered a stroke, so his public

appearances had been infrequent since then. As a result, many believed that he would not seek re-election, but on February 10, 2019, he expressed his intention to run in a letter addressed to Algerians. This set off an unrelenting wave of demonstrations. (Peregil, 2019). After weeks of protests, Abdelaziz Buteflika renounced his bid for a fifth term and postponed the presidential elections, although the protests continued. Therefore, the president's withdrawal was more symbolic than anything else (La Vanguardia, 2019).

All of this situation led to the development of a new form of Arab Spring known as Arab Spring 2.0. It seems that the revolutionary spirit of Arab youth had not died down, as the protests that developed were similar. In addition to this, it should be noted that the economic situation had not improved much in the years following the Arab Spring, which somewhat exacerbated the development of the protests (Shankar IAS Academy, 2019).

However, the analogy to other revolutions during the Arab Spring is pertinent. In fact, the crisis in Algeria is rooted in the history of the Arab Spring, where social issues were left unresolved, subsequent political reorganization was irregular, and voters and institutions were bribed to accept the extravagance and promises of oil revenues. Nonetheless, challenges to leadership also began to emerge in neighboring nations. Political protests arose in Sudan, while a military coup was attempted in Libya. In Egypt, a strict security regime and brutal repression suppressed dissent, but civil society eventually rose up. Similarly, various countries exhibited comparable symptoms of illness and maturity for change. Their economies showed excessive dependence on revenues from resource extraction, high levels of debt, socioeconomic imbalances and poverty, a weak safety net, informal labor markets, and low business competitiveness. In their political spheres, they tended to have a strong clique of commercial or military interests directing the country and selecting weak, elderly, and distant leaders. Moreover, civic groups throughout the Arab region were closely monitoring the Algerian struggle to evaluate their own prospects for achieving political change. Algeria is the largest country in the Arab region, and indeed Africa, by geography, and one of the largest by population. The outcome of events in Algeria would have ramifications for the economy and politics of the region as a whole. (Hlasny, 2019).

## Cartooning in the Arab Spring

The Arab Spring is understood as a revolutionary wave of demonstrations and protests that began on December 18, 2010 in the Arab world. The events took place on December 17 of the same year, when a Tunisian man posted a small video on his Facebook wall. This video depicted a nonviolent protest against the Tunisian government, which was instigated by a striking communicative gesture: the self-immolation of the protagonist's cousin as a form of dissent against economic hardship and the oppressive actions of the authoritarian police regime in Tunisia. As a consequence, the Tunisian government had imposed an information blockade on the massive demonstrations, so posting the video on the Facebook social network was considered an act of informational resistance (Eko, 2012).

This wave of demonstrations spread to other countries, such as Egypt, Yemen, Libya, and Syria. Thus, Egypt, Tunisia, and Yemen entered a period of uncertain transition, while Syria and Libya became embroiled in civil conflict, while the wealthy Gulf monarchies remained virtually unchanged by the events. Hence, it is probable that characterizing the rebellions in these nations as a catalyst for enduring transformation would be more advantageous. The principal inheritance of the Arab Spring lay in dispelling the notion of political and governmental elite's apathy. Consequently, states steered clear of public uprisings by endeavoring to maintain societal placidity and torpor. (Manfreda, 2019).

In this particular context, art facilitated a revolutionary shift from singularity to multiplicity and diversity, with the aim of establishing equilibrium between the newfound liberty and considerable fragility. Its scope extended beyond the manifestation of political and social upheavals, encompassing a transition towards an artistic revolution. Furthermore, this form of art was geared towards expressing the release from former restrictions on art and culture, brought on by political and social limitations associated with the previous regime. Therefore, not only does it show the ambivalence and tension experienced in these countries, but also the instability and fragility of the democratic transition process. Thus, the goal of these artists was to become alternative voices of the revolution, through visual and multisensory forms, combining semiotics, politics, and poetics, with the participation of the viewer incorporated into the formation of discourse (Shilton, 2013).

Thus, cartoons found an ideal space to develop. The Arab Spring provided immense inspiration to regional cartoonists, enabling them to break free from the fear that had been haunting them and sharpen their pencils in order to provoke reflection among the various dictatorial governments (AFP, 2011). These drawings sketched out the events happening on the streets and their aim was to incite the population to react against the different regimes. Therefore, young people in these countries used cartoons to fuel anger against the dictators and to urge society to take to the streets to demand peace and freedom, as a single image could better reach all sectors of the population. Thus, during the Arab Spring, cartoons continued to evolve, as they not only criticized the government but also became a symbol of revolution (Kushkush, 2013).

During the Arab Spring's development, opposition to authoritarian control over information manifested through information activists in cyberspace, who utilized the internet and social networks to mobilize youth and society as a whole in demanding political, social, and economic rights, as well as a change in the governing regime. These information activists harnessed the power of the internet and associated emerging social networks as a novel means of expression. Consequently, social media emerged as a new tool of resistance against informational repression, enabling the population to rally against their respective governments. In response, the governments resorted to communication tactics, including censorship of telecommunications infrastructure, the internet, and social networks, while maintaining control over traditional media. In the face of such control, activists joined forces with hacktivist allies to subvert government efforts to control information, and to report to the world the pressures they were under. These events ultimately redefined the internet and social media, giving rise to new alternative communication channels that enabled the circumvention of state boundaries. (Eko, 2012).

Consequently, cartoons have found the internet to be an ideal medium for criticizing politics and emerging society due to fewer obstacles than those in newspapers and the ability to reach a broader audience. As a result, social networks have become a critical platform for the dissemination of this art. The invention of social networks and their use through the internet has facilitated enhanced communication, enabling individuals worldwide to access this content from any location. (Hicks, 2009).

However, the novelty of this art lies in the fact that for the first time presidents were represented without any taboos. Until then, the representations were impersonal and universal, for the most part, meaning that the caricatures could be applied to any country. However, the development of the Arab Spring led to the creation of drawings that directly represented the presidents, that is, they began to be directly related to each country, while spreading through cyberspace and going around the world, promoting a spirit of unity and identity that had developed in a virtual community that had materialized in the demonstrations (Flores, 2017).

### The Cartoon in the Arab Spring 2.0

Caricature as a form of resistance had become a significant art during the Arab Spring. It had found an ideal means of communication for society to participate in a political and social process, where creativity was key to attracting attention. Thus, caricature had become a way of inciting revolution, and during the course of the Arab Spring 2.0, it was no different. Different cartoonists emerged, but Ali Dilem stood out significantly among them. This artist was already

famous for having been sentenced to a year in prison and a fine of 50,000 dinars (550 euros) for dozens of cartoons he published in the newspaper *Liberté* in 2003 referring to President Bouteflika. Dilem was convicted under Article 144b of the Algerian Criminal Code, which allows for imprisonment for two to twelve months as well as a fine for "insulting" or defaming the president (Memri, 2006). Thus, Ali Dilem was already a well-known cartoonist for his exceptional vision of Algeria's political situation. He had already shown his opinion on the National Liberation Front Party, the army, and Islamist action. In fact, he had been sentenced to death during the civil war, and more than 20 cases had been opened against him (Anónimo, 2019).

Therefore, Ali Dilem began to depict the different protests and the speeches of the president and army in response to such reactions through his drawings. However, this time he used social media as a platform to publish them, as its reach was superior to other media. In addition to this, publishing them on the network allowed him to foster that virtual community that had developed in the Arab Spring, consolidating in this significant upturn.



Figure 1. The Algerians protest against Bouteflika's 5th term (Dilem, 2019a).

In this cartoon, we can see the demonstrations in Algeria during February and March 2019. Two distinct groups can be appreciated. On one side, there are the protesters holding up signs with the number 5 crossed out, referring to Bouteflika's fifth mandate. Others carry Algerian flags while demanding that he leaves. The clothing of these demonstrators also draws attention, as they wear worn-out clothes as an index of the economic problems the country has been suffering for years. On the other side, there is the police force. They are all in uniform and equipped, ready to face the demonstrators. The police leader also carries a megaphone and shouts at the society: "Go back to social media!". Therefore, the objective of this cartoon is to accentuate the repression of the demonstration, as well as the development of the network society that allowed the demonstrations to be organized online. It should not be forgotten that the online community was so strong that it manifested itself on the streets. That is, the network generated a

virtual community in which the subjects organized under the same cultural code to such an extent that it materialized in the streets in an astonishing way.

However, the result of the use of social media was surprising. On one hand, it allowed for public interaction, so that the figure of the presumed solidified. For example, this cartoon was posted on Facebook and has received over 1,200 likes. In addition, users have made more than 55 comments and it has been shared more than 686 times, generating greater reach and creating a space to discuss this topic using the cartoon as a bridge. In other words, this drawing has contributed to the society participating in a creative process, accentuating the sense of art as resistance (Dilem, 2019a). Likewise, this image was also posted on the social media platform Twitter\*.



*Figure 2.* Bouteflika resigns from a 5th 5-year terms (Dilem, 2019c).

\* The favorite social network of the caricaturist is Twitter. Although he has an account on Facebook, he tends to use his Twitter account more frequently, so his most recent cartoons

can be found on Twitter. However, on Facebook, they tend to have a greater impact.

This cartoon, on the other hand, reflects one of the standout events of the revolution: the resignation of President Bouteflika from seeking a fifth consecutive term. The cartoonist plays on the president's illness and ridicules him, taking it to the extreme. In this way, it can be seen that the president is ailing and has an IV bag hanging from the wheelchair. Additionally, the cartoonist has the president speaking, adding some French words, "I will instead do a quarter of a ten-year term." Therefore, this cartoon has a double meaning. On the one hand, it celebrates the fact that the president is not seeking re-election. On the other hand, it underscores the fact that no elections have been called, and he will continue to be in power, hence referring to President Bouteflika as giving a false speech that has little to do with reality. Thus, the objective of this cartoon is to reflect the lies that are told to suppress revolutions.

Regarding its dissemination, this cartoon appeared on different social media platforms and had a social impact. On Facebook, it was shared more than 1,800 times and received over 6,000 likes, as well as having more than 316 comments that support the revolution and the need for a transition where society can vote democratically (Dilem, 2019c). On the other hand, this cartoon also appeared on Twitter, where it also had a significant impact. On Twitter, it had more than 569 likes, as well as more than 378 retweets and over 39 comments (Dilem, 2019b). Therefore, compared to the previous cartoon (Figure 1), it can be seen that it had a great impact, given that the decision not to run for re-election was a revolutionary event. However, this drawing served to highlight the government's lies but also to accentuate the digital revolt of society on the internet. It is true that people were protesting in the streets, but they were also doing so on social media, making the virtual community a reality.

## ENFIN L'ANNONCE QUE TOUT LE MONDE ATTENDAIT

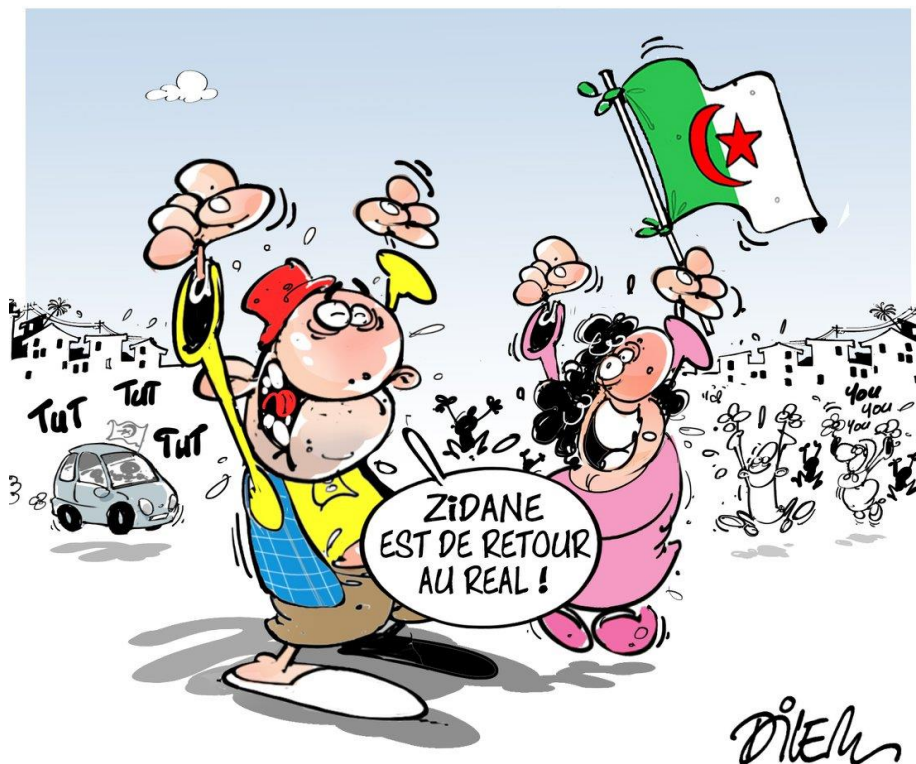


Figure 3. Finally, the announcement that everyone was waiting for. (Dilem, 2019d).

This image was published the day after the previous cartoon (Figure 2) was published. In this case, it reflects society's "happiness" that President Bouteflika has resigned. The society appears in black and white, but in the foreground,

there is a woman dressed in pink holding the Algerian flag, and next to her is a man shouting, "Zidane is back at Real (Madrid)." Therefore, this cartoon is a critique of the part of society that was celebrating that President Bouteflika would

not run for re-election. It criticized the ignorance of people who were more concerned with football than with what was truly happening in the country.

This cartoon, on the other hand, decreased participation even though it was published a day later. In fact, it is difficult to trace this cartoon on Twitter, although it can be seen on Facebook. On Facebook, it received more than 149 likes, 7 comments, and was shared more than 98 times (Dilem, 2019d). Therefore, this cartoon represented a decrease in society's participation in the creative process.

However, despite the passage of several months, there was no announcement regarding the presidential elections. Despite this, in October 2019, the de facto authorities went ahead with the decision to hold the presidential election on December 12, despite the expressed popular will and against all legal and political legitimacy. To achieve this, the regime intensified their campaign of terror against political activists and citizens who were demonstrating. Journalists, political party activists, unions, and members of civil society were targeted with arrests and accusations. This arbitrary behavior was a clear indication that those in power were unwilling to accept any democratic change. In addition to the institutional brutality, the government launched a

seduction campaign aimed at foreign powers, with the aim of hindering solidarity among Algerian civic opinion and benefiting from their silence or protection. In the absence of national support, the government passed financial and hydrocarbon laws, without considering their provisional status and their inherent illegitimacy. The forces of the Pact for Democratic Alternative reiterated that only a democratic transition period, oriented towards a sovereign constituent process, could enable abandonment of the authoritarian system demanded by the Algerian people's aspirations. Therefore, the forces of the Pact for Democratic Alternative remained determined to continue their struggle with Algerians to achieve all the objectives of the February revolution, both before and after December 12, 2019. (Correspondencia de Prensa, 2019).

All of this was, of course, reflected in the cartoons. After March, Ali Dilem continued his own revolution on social media. However, he used Twitter as a bridge to continue his revolution, probably because it is easier to post and users tend to see them more easily thanks to the use of hashtags. For this reason, once the cloud passed, Ali Dilem focused on criticizing society, as well as emphasizing the need for revolution, so that Figure 3 was nothing more than a prelude to what could happen.

## LES ALGÉRIENS MANIFESTENT PENDANT LE RAMADAN



Figure 4. The Algerian protesters during Ramadan (Dilem, 2019e).



This cartoon reflects the need to continue with the protests despite Ramadan. A group of black-colored protesters simulating shadows can be seen, while in the foreground there is a man holding a sign that reads "the hunger for democracy is stronger". This man appears in color, except for his arm and foot which turn black like the rest of the protesters. Therefore, the purpose of this cartoon is to emphasize the need to protest in order to hold elections as soon as possible. In other words, this cartoon is an

attempt to encourage society to achieve everything that had been initiated in February 2019.

Regarding its dissemination, this drawing appeared on Twitter on May 10, 2019. It had a significant impact, with 220 retweets and 657 likes, as well as over 18 comments. Thus, this image represented a new boost for society as it was reacting to a new surge in protests, even if it was from the virtual community (Dilem, 2019e).



Figure 5. He Tunisian Presidential Elections as Seen by Algerians. (Dilem, 2019f).

This drawing plays with the margins to give the impression that the viewer is behind bars. Through these bars, a man with a Tunisian flag is seen entering a room happily, even singing, to cast his vote. The objective of this cartoon is to emphasize the lack of freedom for Algerians. It can be understood that Tunisians have achieved, in some way, the initiatives of the Arab Spring, given that they have the right to vote and can do so freely. On the other hand, the case of Algeria and its Arab Spring 2.0 is different, since they have not properly called for elections, so the situation has not improved, although it has changed. This is due to the change in the way of revolution and demonstrations.

This cartoon appeared on Twitter on September 18, 2019. Its diffusion was quite significant, so it has 6 comments, 55 retweets, and 193 "likes". However, although it has had considerable diffusion, it can be said that it has decreased significantly, as its diffusion has been lower than the rest. However, the revolutionary spirit seems to still be alive and has not died because there are still people fighting for it. Therefore, these recent cartoons show that cartoons have become a significant art of resistance that promotes demonstrations in networked society, accentuating the concept of virtuality and multimedia.

## L'HÉRITAGE DU 5 OCTOBRE



*Figure 6.* The legacy of October 5th (Dilem, 2019g)

This image portrays a man giving a pair of sneakers to a young boy while saying, "they are yours now." The boy looks astonished and enamored with the sneakers. However, the man's intention is to convey the legacy of the protests that began in 1988, when young people in Algiers took to the streets to protest against high unemployment rates, rising prices, and political autocracy. These protests were very similar to those that occurred in 2019, and this cartoon aims to commemorate those who initiated them while also criticizing today's youth, who prefer sneakers over continuing the fight. The dissemination of this cartoon has been lower than the previous one, despite its significance. It has had 51 retweets, 198 likes, and 4 comments (Dilem, 2019g). Nevertheless, it is a very direct criticism that reflects society while also inciting it to continue the struggle.

### Conclusions

Generally, the conclusions have been glimpsed throughout the entire work. Firstly, the Arab Spring was considered a revolution and was highly successful, thanks to the development of social networks. An unprecedented phenomenon

within the Arab world occurred, which led to the development of a network society, united by a space of flows, upon which a cultural code had been established, culminating in a wave of revolutions and demonstrations in different cities of the Arab world, demanding political and social changes. This fact also experienced a resurgence in February 2019 in Algeria, where another wave of demonstrations began, leading to talk of Arab Spring 2.0. However, as seen throughout this work, the case of Algeria has been somewhat different. It is true that the course of the Arab Spring changed in each country where it occurred, so what happened in Algeria in 2019 was probably a different kind of Arab Spring from that of 2011. In other words, the movements that took place in February 2019 in Algeria can be seen as a substitute for that Arab Spring that was still alive and had not yet fully developed in Algeria.

This fact can be appreciated in the cartoons. As seen, the use of cartoons was quite similar. The only difference is that during 2019, the conclusions have been glimpsed throughout the entire work. Firstly, the Arab Spring was considered a revolution and was highly

successful, thanks to the development of social networks. An unprecedented phenomenon within the Arab world occurred, which led to the development of a network society, united by a space of flows, upon which a cultural code had been established, culminating in a wave of revolutions and demonstrations in different cities of the Arab world, demanding political and social changes. This fact also experienced a resurgence in February 2019 in Algeria, where another wave of demonstrations began, leading to talk of Arab Spring 2.0. However, as seen throughout this work, the case of Algeria has been somewhat different. It is true that the course of the Arab Spring changed in each country where it occurred, so what happened in Algeria in 2019 was probably a different kind of Arab Spring from that of 2011. In other words, the movements that took place in February 2019 in Algeria can be seen as a substitute for that Arab Spring that was still alive and had not yet fully developed in Algeria.

This fact can be appreciated in the cartoons. As seen, the use of cartoons was quite similar. The only difference is that during 2011 the cartoon was seeking its place in network society, that is, it was trying to consolidate itself as an art of resistance. It should not be forgotten that the cartoon was already a developed art years before, but the Arab Spring served to consolidate it as an art and give it the strength it needed. Moreover, all this was materialized with the development of the cartoon during the movements in Algeria. The cartoon had become strong and had become the perfect critical system to convey a series of ideas that incited society to fight. However, during the movements in Algeria, transmission through the network had already been consolidated, that is, it was no longer transmitted in a magazine but was easier on social media. In this way, a virtual community had been forged where people could add their relevant comments regarding the country's situation. Therefore, a virtual community had been developed where the cartoon was the nexus of unity given its simplicity and the ability to generate criticism through laughter and humor.

In any case, the cartoon used Arab Spring 2.0 as a bridge to consolidate its territory on Web 2.0. It became a tool capable of generating criticism in society, being used as a weapon against the regime, that is, as an art of resistance. Similarly, the cartoon became a significant forum for debate, so in addition to being used for the revolution itself, it also allowed for the generation of a significant current of opinion that users shared and spread. Therefore, they served

to consolidate the figure of the "prosumer," that is, the cartoonist was not alone but faced his audience, who could also generate their own communicative content.

In this sense, it is also demonstrated that the cartoon is inherent in human beings and adapts to each society. It can be said that it is a cultural block that has specific cultural codes that adapt to any situation that may arise. Therefore, it cannot be said that Arab caricature has stopped evolving. We must wait to see how events unfold in the Arab world to see what happens and what direction the cartoon takes.

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