



Research Article

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The Impact of the Colonial Legacy on the Processes of Democratic Transition in the Arab Region during the Period (2011-2016)

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Abstract

The study investigates the role of the colonial legacy in establishing the official Arab system ruling within the framework of the state in the Arab region and focusing on its impact on the processes of 'democratization' since the beginning of the outbreak of the Arab popular revolutions, or what was termed the 'Arab Spring'. It relies on the historical descriptive approach and the analytical approach using the content analysis method to measure the extent of this impact by analyzing the dialectic of the relationship between the external variable as an independent variable and the internal variable as a dependent variable within the course of the Arab Spring. This study is conducted in terms of the extent of this impact, positively or negatively, and the processes of democratic transition. It indicates that the course of the "Arab Spring" and the accompanying democratic transformation has resulted in its realistic practical findings in the fall of some Arab regimes and the change of others by renewing their regimes. While others remained self-preserved, not far from the external presence in the Arab political reality, despite the continuity of democratic interactions and transformations in Arab countries, whether radical or reformist.

Keywords: colonial legacy, democratic transition, and its trajectories, Arab Spring, regimes (power), Arab reality

1. Introduction

1.1 The Impact of the Colonial Legacy on the Processes of Democratic Transition in the Arab Region during the Period

This study aims to investigate the role of colonial legacy in democratization processes in the field of the Arab region. The study began with an introduction and procedural introductions that included the problem and its questions, the goal, hypotheses, importance, methodology, determinants, and main concepts. Then, the study moved to the second section to investigate the historical conditions under which the Arab countries arose to present some political theories that explain the emergence of the state and its origin in general. The vision of some researchers explains the emergence of Arab

countries in particular, and the inherited conditions of economic, social, and political structures that affected the extent of the positive or negative colonial legacy on the process of democratic transformation within the structure of the state and the Arab political system. The study did not overlook the role of the internal societal structure and culture as a factor Internal which reciprocates the relationship of influence and influence with the external factor. The third topic entered the process of democratic transformation in the Arab region, which began its modern attempts in 2011. The period in which the first spark of the revolutions / Arab Spring, took the initiative to launch and lead them and became their fuel.

The scientific approach to the study requires several procedural methodological introductions that help the researcher to organize, present, and analyze his ideas according to a logically phased sequence that moves him from one stage to another to form an entrance to access the core of the study, which relies on various sources that enable him in the result to reach the desired results in his scientific research. The problem of the study and its main questions are as follows:

The study problem focuses on researching the role of the factors and variables of the colonial legacy on the processes of democratic transition, its paths, and its direct and indirect effects on the economic, social, and political levels in the Arab region, which requires some questions:

Q1: What are the historical circumstances in which the colonial legacy originated, and the role it played in the emergence and formation of Arab countries and their political systems?

Q2: How was this role an influential factor in the problem of democratic transition in light of the factors driving the outbreak of revolutions in the Arab region?

Q3: Was this role a major determinant of democratic transition, or was it shared by another determinant?

Q4: What were the results of the Arab revolutions, and why?

The study aims to investigate the historical reality of the stage of the formation of the Arab state. It shows its role in shaping the structure and development of Arab countries and its reflection on the nature of democratic transformation through the course of the Arab Spring revolutions.

Whether this role has a positive or negative dimension in the course and processes of the "revolution" and "counter-revolution" in the scene and reality of the Arab Spring and its outcome.

The main premise of this study states that "the more perpetuated the processes of colonial legacy in the Arab region, the greater the obstacles and paths of democratization, and the more disability" in the Arab region, but other hypotheses can shed more illumination: First, the greater the phenomenon of authoritarianism, the more likely and faster the indicators and motives of the revolution. Second: Change is based on the will to transform among people, and without it, the will to democratize declines. Third, traditional cultural structures in Arab societies affect awareness of the importance of democracy, making these structures an influential and decisive factor in hindering democratic transition. Fourth: The reverse tension forces of the former regimes negatively affect the realization of the opportunity for transformation due to the influence of their alliance with external forces and traditional local forces, to represent in the end the "counter-revolution".

The study significance seems to pay attention to the two variables: sociological and political in drawing the reciprocal relationship between the internal, "the superstructure of the state and the political system" and "the infrastructure/society culture and societal groups" and between the external to form the political phenomenon and the extent of democratic transformation in "society" and "state".

The study methodology adopted the historical descriptive approach to look at the historical reality. It accompanied the establishment and development of the Arab state, and the analytical approach by adopting content analysis, in an attempt to interpret and analyze the two related variables. They are the colonial legacy as an independent variable and the Arab Spring as a dependent variable and their impact on the processes of democratic transition

Study concepts and terminology: The study includes several concepts and terms: colonial legacy, the Arab region, the state, democratic transition, and the Arab revolutions/Arab Spring.

The most painful colonial legacy practices for Arab geography and societies were the carving out

of parts of the Arab geographical and social body: the Alexandretta Brigade from Syria and annexing it to Turkey, Ahwaz from Iraq and annexing to Iran, as well as other areas in North Africa (Muhammad al-Sammak, 2018: 14). The colonial states also imposed ruling elites and political systems that are consistent and understanding with them, and a political, legislative and executive structure that is similar to the traditional Arab tribal and religious sectarian and non-Arab national societal structure, as well as Arab forces and groups that gained their education in foreign scientific institutions. In parallel, other social and political forces have emerged that have tried to be alternatives or partners in the superstructure of the emerging state, some of which have a local and national social reference, and others whose reference is ideological-political from the nationalist, religious, and leftist spectrum.

Arab Region extends between the circles of 2 souths to 38 norths, and longitudes 13 west to 58 easts, and its maximum extension from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Arabian Gulf in the east is approximately (6000) km. It is slightly less in its extension from the south of Somalia to the northern edges of the Iraqi-Syrian border with Turkey. Its coasts overlook the Arabian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean. The Arab region includes twenty-two countries. Twelve of these are located in the southwestern part of Asia, and ten countries on the northern side of the continent of Africa (Al-Sammak, 2018).

Many theories try to clarify, explain, and analyze the origin of the state in general, including the theory of power, which indicates that it is the product of power and conflicts between individuals and groups so that the stronger party can subject others to its authority, using violence. The theory of the evolution of the family traces the origin of the state to patriarchal authority mainly and the accompanying social developments that expanded towards the formation of tribes, nations, and states. Doctrinal theories held that the state arose based on a contract between the ruler and the governed, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau's social contract theory. The theory of historical development adds that the state arose due to the interaction of economic, social, and intellectual factors over long periods and spaced spatial scales, and the objective circumstances surrounding it, which resulted in the establishment of the state in its various forms and political systems (Numan Al-Khatib: 60-73).

Democratic Transition: The ancient Greeks were the ones who worked to establish the first democracy in the fifth century BC in the city of Athens. Therefore, the term democracy is a composite of two Greek words; Demos, which means the people, and Kratos, which means power, meaning "the power of the people", a method of government derived from the will of the people. According to the description of US President Abraham Lincoln, it is "the people, by the people, and for the people" of the people, by the people, for the people". <https://www.coe.int/ar/web/compass/democracy>

Thus, it is practically exercised on behalf of all people according to their will through an institutional system that ensures access to political decisions in which individuals gain power through means of competitive struggle for the votes of voters, Based on freedom of belief, expression, opinion, dialogue, discourse, publication, assembly, protest, demonstration, and different democratic means, political power in the state emanates from the will of the people and not from the will of the ruler or the ruling minority alone (Al-Assaf, 2021: 15). In this way, the democratic transition manifests itself in the transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic system in which the political structures of the State, the goals, and the processes that affect the distribution and exercise of political power are embodied. Samuel Huntington divides the stages of transformation into three main ones:

- A. Transformation: When the elites in power decide to shift towards democracy.
- B. Trans placement: The stage of the collapse of the authoritarian system or its overthrow by opposition groups.
- C. The stage of democratic stability: It is the final stage that takes place in the process of transformation to reach stability in democratic processes and processes.

Here we can speak of democratization as a transitional process towards meeting certain criteria so that the exercise of power becomes less arbitrary and less exclusive to others.

Arab Spring Revolutions are the Arab popular uprisings that took place in the Arab region against tyrannical regimes. The first outbreak of demonstrations was on 18/12/2010 following the burning of the young Mohamed Bouazizi / one of the sellers of Tunisian rugs on 17/12/2010 and his death later from his wounds. Then, feelings of anger and popular protest were ignited, to take people out to the streets over the following days in numbers of two thousand and two million angry at the regime of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. After bloody confrontations with the repressive security services and the arrival of the ruling authority to a dead end by failing to satisfy, the crowd fled the president and the regime collapsed on 14/1/2011.

This event was a qualitative Arab historical station that prompted the outbreak of demonstrations and protests in other Arab countries, which were triggered by the Arab youth and formed their body and leaders, who were able to mobilize and mobilize the Arab streets with millions of people demanding the reform of political systems through respect for civil and political freedoms and popular economic, social and political rights based on the will and sovereignty of the people. Then, these demonstrations demanded the overthrow of tyrannical regimes and a radical and deep reconstruction of the structure and democracy of the Arab state. Tyranny in the Arab region was the most important and decisive factor in the uprisings and protests of the Arab peoples against their ruling regimes. In addition to the fact that throughout their rule they did not only achieve what they promised in terms of liberation and freedom nor economic and social development. So, the state was inflated by a political and military bureaucracy in which the ruling minority took over the capabilities of the state and the wealth of the homelands, which provided the internal environment in which the qualitative historical opportunity for revolutions in more than one Arab country matured.

2. Historical Conditions of the Colonial Legacy in the Arab Region

The state as a human phenomenon has arisen and developed throughout the historical stages of humanity as an institution and a social, economic, and political system. They aimed at regulating the relationship between the individual and the group and defining the status and roles within the structure of its political system governed by rules and values of governance that preserve balances within it and grant legitimacy to the ruler or authority to conduct its affairs and the right to use the legitimate authority of force. The emergence of the Arab states at the beginning of the twentieth century came in light of global international changes and interactions. It began with conflicts and a First World War that erupted between the major powers at that time 1914-1918. The Allied countries led by Britain and France and the Axis countries led by Germany, ended with the victory of the Allied countries, and the defeat of Germany and its ally the Ottoman Empire. However, international conflicts continued to culminate again in a Second World War, in which the Allies won again and resulted in the emergence of a new bipolar world order. The first was led by the United States of America on the one hand, and the second on the other hand led by the Soviet Union, and continued the international conflict between the major powers called the "Cold War". With the collapse and fall of the Soviet Union at the end of the nineties of the last century, a new unipolar world order headed by the United States of America was formed.

These Arab countries and their political systems have lived and coexisted all the time, not far from the international environment, which made the historical conditions of the colonial legacy and the interactions of major powers an active role in the formation and development of the Arab state later. Some have described the modern Arab State as a state project and these views are supported by socio-economic data, modes of production, and natural phenomena associated with the particular authority of Western friction.

Origin and Role of Colonial States: The circumstances in which the Arabs lived with the Ottoman Empire in its last stage were bad. The Ottoman mistreatment of the Arabs, the growth of national sentiment, and their quest to grant them freedom, equality, and independence, created an opportunity for a consensus between Britain and the advocates and leaders of the Arab revolt against the Turks, headed by Hussein bin Ali Sharif of Mecca. Its beginning was embodied in secret

correspondence between him and Sir McMahon, Britain's representative in Egypt and Sudan, known as "Hussein-McMahon correspondence", which resulted in the participation of the Arabs in the war at the end of The Ottoman Empire in return for the promise of establishing an independent Greater Arab state headed by Hussein bin Ali. These correspondences led to the fate of the Arabs being placed in the hands of Britain and France (Mahasneh, 2010: 177).

As soon as the war ended, the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 revealed the agreement of Britain and France, according to an agreement known as "Sykes-Picot" (1916 (Sykes, British delegate and French delegate François-Georges Picot), to divide and share the Arab region in Iraq and the Levant as areas of influence and direct occupation of the two states. Britain and France showed a retreat from the promise to establish the Arab state, and the fragmentation of the Arab region into separate political regions under the administration and supervision of the Mandate and colonial tutelage (Al-Shannak, 2003: 162).

The political system of the Arab state according to its vision, as in Jordan, Iraq, and Syria. While interactions, confrontations, and popular uprisings led by social and political movements that worked to try to achieve political changes did not stop them, and other political movements from the forces. Parties of Arab liberation with their national, religious, and leftist intellectual spectrums continued to establish republican political systems in Iraq and Syria after the failure of attempts to continue the rule of the sons of the Hussein bin Ali family, and the same in Egypt after the coup against the monarchy. While Britain established "sheikhdom states" in Al Jazeera and the Persian Gulf. Political parties and social forces in other Arab countries continued to rule in which military "minority" leaders and civilian bureaucracy were not far from coordination and understanding with external powers to support their political systems. Thus, these Arab countries were distinguished by two models of systems:

1. Family monarchies and princely systems with tribal and religious roots stretching back to the past.
2. Republican regimes formed by national and national liberation forces, parties, and movements that arose during the colonial period.

As for the theoretical attempts to explain the emergence of the Arab state, these attempts and theories seem right to explain this according to the circumstances and specificity that surrounded the emergence of each of them separately. So, external and internal conditions are combined and supported together.

Colonial Legacy and Democratic Transformation in the Arab Region: The section is divided into two headings: Historical circumstances of the colonial legacy in the Arab region and the democratic transformation in the Arab region.

The Historical Circumstances of the Colonial Legacy in the Arab Region: They are divided into (i) theories of the emergence of the modern Arab state and (ii) the effects of the colonial legacy on democratic transition. The modern Arab state is considered the illegitimate fruit of the colonial system. The Arab region was under direct colonial rule for varying periods. It was subjected to various methods of governance that made most of the structures of these states, later, fragile and weak to achieve their interests by creating elites who dominated the government which then turned into the military (Bjørnskov & Rode, 2020; Brown, 2021). Thus, the modern Arab state was born with a colonial tint with an external supra-governance, and it became the product of a historical stage characterized by colonial conquest. The imposed country state in the Arab countries has become a local phenomenon that represents clear country sovereignty, the fruit of external cultivation that was imposed strongly on society and from above by the colonial powers that maintained their presence within these countries even in light of the attainment of independence through institutions and individuals subject to the authority of the colonial states, either directly or indirectly (Gause, 2019). Colonialism perpetuated many negative issues in the Arab world, such as tribalism, and sectarianism, and it aborted all projects that would advance the nation and lift it from the bottom of the ocean to the top.

Theories of the Emergence of the Modern Arab State: Amid the accelerating events and the

many anecdotes about the modern Arab state, several theories and views emerged. They explain the emergence of the modern Arab state and the foundations of its formation and the reflection of this formation on the political, economic, social, and cultural aspects and the foundations of modernity. In this context, some approaches analyze and illuminate the emergence of the modern Arab state as follows:

1. The first trend views that modern Arab entities have become apprehensive about the process of their social fluctuations, the experience of the pre-modern state that precedes the phenomenon of Western colonialism. It has enjoyed the legitimacy of the society that exists in it. This exists in different parts of the Arab world, especially Egypt, Morocco, southern Lebanon, and some areas of Syria.
2. The second trend understands that the modern Arab state was the result of an external wall and was not the result of an integrative social process stemming from the inside. It is not based on integration or harmony between classes or ethnicities and other conflicting sects that lead to the emergence of a nation. Chiefly, what happened is that the central tools of government such as the army and the bureaucracy contributed to calming these groups and balancing them or moving them against each other.
3. The third trend perceives that the emergence of the modern Arab state is the result of the interaction of internal factors with external forces, and this is confirmed and proven by the political history of this emergence (Abdel Reda, 2015).

Henceforward, it can be concluded that the emergence of the modern Arab states is a double mixture between what is a natural development and the legacy of the Ottoman Empire and what is Western-based on the configuration of Western countries and colonial rulings by placing controls on absolute freedom of the authorities. This means that the modern Arab state was not a product of the interaction of social contradictions and development in a single aggregate form, but rather its appearance was artificial and imposed on it from above and from the outside. It inherited the pattern of its external authorities, staff, apparatus, and intellectuals. It held in its hand and gripped the reins of government, political organization within the state became marginal and meaningless in all different aspects (Ibrahim, 1998). Some researchers describe the modern Arab state as a state project and these views are supported by social and economic data, production patterns, and natural phenomena associated with power, with a special feature related to Western friction (Al-Ansari, 1995).

In part by an external source of legitimacy, with the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, the modern Arab world was divided and its map was drawn by the European colonial powers, which gave it the status of a state. But there is no legal evidence or historical documents that determine the borders of any Arab country except the records, agreements, and decrees of the European countries that colonized the Arab world and developed its map. Among the manifestations of this emergence of Arab countries and indicators of their subordination to the colonial powers is their association with military agreements, and continuous coordination about the interests of those powers in the Arab region (Aref, 2005: 538-540).

It is clear from the foregoing studies that the modern Arab state was the colonial and legitimate fruit of the Western system, and it fell under the direct brunt of the colonial powers. Most of its structures were inspired by the colonial powers to achieve their interests (Abdul-Jabbar, 2010). It has been established according to the foundations and gradations witnessed by the modern state in the West. Thus, creating a bloated civil-military bureaucracy works to serve the objectives of the colonial states without taking into account the interests of local and national groups (Mahdi, 2010). The Arab states emerged from the process of political fragmentation sanctioned by the colonial project under the influence of this superstructure (Alwan, 2009). It became imposed as a phenomenon that represents the dominance of a Western colonial culture spread over all Arab entities and the world (Qarni, 1989), as it is the product of a historical stage characterized by the Western colonial invasion of the Arab world (Al-Mawsili, 2003).

The Colonial Legacy and Its Impact on Democratization Processes: In the face of the

foundation of Arab states with its various processes, the modern Arab states became independent as new entities imposed by the will of the colonizer with new borders and regulations based on the interests of the colonial Western countries. So, they were established in a way that exhausted the building of the nation-state (Sadiq & Tsourapas, 2021). The colonial states did not and will not allow the growth of areas that encouraged the establishment of modern and real political institutions based on a solid economic, political, social, and cultural foundation. Therefore, the will of the colonizer has not contributed to the development of the structures of political systems that lead to the fusion of traditional structures and cultures in a political and social framework but rather contributed to creating a state of social turmoil and political strife among the people of the country (Huntington, 1991). It drew the borders of fragmentation that left points of border and other disputes between most Arab countries. Rather, its various methods and trends were reflected like political systems, so it established the routes leading to the absence of the freedom of political choice and the failure of the authority on the principle of freedom of choice and persuasion (Abbas, 2001). It made the political authority dominate the state with all its facilities which caused a clear democratic imbalance because the authority was originally part of the state. But the portrait has become completely reversed so that the state is part of the authority that is the main determinant in the state and that imposes everything to serve the interests of the ruling elite as a small group allocated by the colonizer. Thus, constitutes the most important obstacle to democratic transformation processes which is clarified through the following graphic:

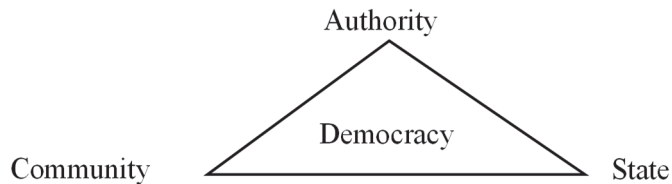


Figure 1.

Figure 1 shows that the authority leads the state and society. Thus, democracy is originally determined by the authority. Then, democracy and the processes of democratic transformation will be put in countries that lose the compass of democracy in the first place. Principally, the vertex of the triangle is the state as illustrated in Figure 2:

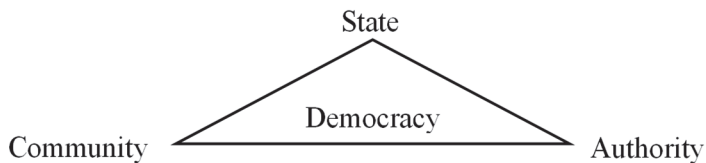


Figure 2.

As illustrated in Figure 2, the state is a container for all other elements and are integral part of it. All elements are based on serving the state. This is the case in the Arab situation in which all elements in the state serve the authority which is a small group of individuals who control everything in the state to serve their interests. Thus, this democracy is not real (Kwet, 2019). Accordingly, the colonial powers focused in one way or another on the political authority of the modern Arab state as the first

key to control it through instilling ruling regimes affiliated with them. Besides, they innovated in drawing a map of conflicts between neighboring Arab countries. Then they created sectarian conflicts and strife within the same state (Tapscott, 2021). This is about the political aspect. As for the economic aspect, the colonial powers carried out clear adaptation operations in the internal structures of societies according to what served their colonial interests. They did not care about the interests of the people of the state themselves (Chazan, 2019). The colonial powers also linked the colonized countries' economies directly or indirectly to their economies. Then, they worked on the social level from the beginning of their colonization of the Arab region to invest and "Tribal culture" pluralism in a manner consistent

1. Exacerbating the tribal conflict and finding justifications that preserve its continuity and permanency (Al-Jabek, 2001).
2. Most of these tribal entities were established based on empowering local, sectarian, tribal, or clan fanatics, representing colonial settlements for the state structure and making it subject to the structure of the tribe (Salameh, 2008).
3. Reflecting colonial competition on the relations between tribes, whether within the tribes of the same entity in the same country or with other neighboring countries (Al-Jabek, 2001).
4. Making the tribe a means of deterrence and discouragement in the service of the states, so the colonial authorities placed some sheiks (heads of tribes) in the organs of authority to give legitimacy to representation (Al-Jabek, 2001).

With regards to the cultural level, the colonial powers have imposed their culture, and the language of the colonizer has become the dominant and official language in many countries so far. So, the culture of the colonial country has become entrenched (Hilal & Massad, 2010). Besides, they thwarted all aspects of education that could raise the level of civilization and culture (Foster, 2019; Meko, 2019). Based on the foregoing, the colonial powers' legacy in the Arab region has been the most prominent and general feature in all political, economic, social, and cultural aspects which created a state of frustration among the people of the region and a lack of awareness of the concept of the state which led to the weakness of the institutional structure of the state and the absence of political pluralism (Abdul-Jabbar, 2010). This caused a clear imbalance in the idea of citizenship that leads to democracy and ultimately has led to the Arab Spring revolutions in many Arab countries.

3. The Arab Spring and Democratic Transition

3.1 Democratic Transition in the Arab Region

The processes of democratic transformation in the Arab region were already stumbling before their birth, in light of the difficult labors that they experienced. The result was the faltering of the Arab democratic project during the second half of the twentieth century. This is attributed to several factors, but not limited to most notably the dominance of traditional mixed culture, economic factors, and the variables of the international conflict in the Arab Mashreq (Arab countries in Asia). The rule of the state referred to the one-party regimes, and the ruling family controlled the wheels of the economy. The nature of social obstacles reflected the inability of the prevailing regimes to achieve the minimum of a decent life for their communities. These factors have led to a big explosion the manifestations of which deepened in some Arab countries (Abdel Latif, 2016). This means that achieving the message still needs more time to be achieved.

As the beginning of the third wave of democratic transformation in the world, there is a global perspective towards democracy, and it is no longer only Western. Huntington (1991) stated that in 1974, there were only forty electoral democracies in the world, and very few of them were outside the borders of Western countries. When the "Journal of Democracy" was published in 1990, there were seventy-six electoral democracies slightly less than half of the world's independent countries. By 1995, this number had risen to one hundred and seventeen countries (i.e., three out of every five countries in the world). Then a global vision was formed to motivate non-democratic countries to adopt the

democratic approach in all countries of the world except for one major region in the world which is the Arab region. It is still an exception now, and it has not added to a democratic presence at all (Diamond, 2010; Hilal & Massad, 2010).

The Arab Spring Revolutions and Paths of Transformation: Some of the reasons that shaped and generated the events of the Arab Spring are the injustice, exclusion, marginalization, and tyranny of ruling regimes and the domination of factional elites over the capabilities of states and transforming them to their advantage. The ruling regimes plundered the nation's wealth at the expense of the people, and these huge capitals were entrenched in foreign hands. They are astronomical numbers in global banks controlled by the money gangs and mafias (). Then the violation of the freedom of people, the absence of freedom and justice, the absence of democracy, the spread of injustice, poverty, and unemployment to the highest levels exceeded the permissible limits (Fergany, 2016; Malik, 2013). Thus, the Arab states transformed into rentier states whose people do not own the means. There is no power for the daily vulgar subjugation of hungry and thirsty souls for freedom. However, the matter gets worse for these authoritarian regimes at the beginning of the third millennium through the fourth technological revolution (Nasrallah & Sarkis, 2020; Wolfsfeld et al., 2013). What was unknown becomes now accessible and in the hands of ordinary people, and what was hidden is no longer what it is. It reached at the same moment to big masses and even millions of people which put the regimes in the Arab region in a real predicament, so social networking sites have become a major driver in the orientations of people and regimes, and even have become with tremendous mobility roles (Nasrallah & Sarkis, 2020). If we take the causes of the Arab Spring revolutions, we will find in the end that the cumulative outcomes that led to the ignition of this revolution were the main reasons hindering the processes of democratic transition in the Arab region (Abd Rabou, 2020). The revolutions of the Arab Spring have become the ordinary Arab people's hopes to reach a democratic transition.

Part of the attempts to achieve the reformist model is close to the model of "Enlightened tyranny" in European historical experience, with the difference that the European model arose independently and as a result of internal factors and internal forces. While the contemporary Arab model arose under external pressures that led to the distortion of any societal movement and its lack of balance, whether it benefits from external pressures and encourages it, or rejects and opposes those pressures. In both cases, the reform process takes place within the framework of an international, regional, and internal environment whose most important features are "pressure" and coercion (Muhammad Aref: 544). It is the issue of the colonial legacy and the interaction inside and outside the Arab region in the service of this colonial legacy that does not hide its view of the region and its bounties (Monterescu & Handel, 2020). This legacy is considered the most important factor of the general democratic transition stumbling in the Arab region at all levels. It requires reformulating the prevailing values and changing patterns of behavior through a large group among the transformations, the most important of which are the following:

1. Changing to positive participation, moving to democratic thinking, and engaging in constructive opposition that will win the new regime's support.
2. Moving from confidentiality to transparency and future directions that serve the public interest.
3. Adopting a cooperative perspective based on the acceptance of the other and the acceptance of differences of opinions.
4. Attaining liberation from despair to self-confidence.
5. Reminding that democratic transformation is not just slogans or formal elections (Al-Rashidi, 2003).

Democratic transition is a gradual process by which societies are transformed by modifying their political institutions and trends through various processes and procedures related to the nature of political parties (Abu Asba', 2003). The ruling elites should take the initiative to encounter the civil forces and popular demands for democracy and respond promptly to them. At this juncture, the role of the people is concentrated as a main driver which may lead to massive protests.

The deeper understanding of democracy is not limited to being a form of political organization, but it includes the state and society, knowing that without the existence of this society, a system of government that does not take democratic forms remains just organizations or institutions that do not take root deep in the ground (Ali Eddin Hilal, 2012: 65). Through the multiplicity of transformation patterns and their complexity, they have witnessed a great overlap between the various paths of transformation. It has a clear impact in bringing about the process of democratic transformation, and it also has a clear impact in bringing about or starting the process of democratic transformation. This all stems from the implantation of colonialism in all the ways leading to the processes of democratic transformation and thus the colonial legacy impacted on all paths of transformation. With leadership that initiates transformation, we will reach constrained democracy because these elites do not have any reformist tendencies and benefit from the status quo but were forced to enter this stage out of fear for their interests.

Colonialism has left a great negative legacy in the Arab region by ensuring its access to raw materials, plundering its resources, providing markets for its products, and creating individuals who are entirely dependent on the colonial powers (Ibrahim, 1998). Then the colonial powers began to find logical justifications with different names such as mandate, custodianship, or defense, justifying all their colonial projects by the immaturity of the Arab peoples to rule themselves without outside help or interference. Then, they claimed that this would increase the knowledge of the people. This inheritance created several problems as follows:

1. Drawing the map of the Arab world, which was one state during the Othman Caliphate, in a torn way into twenty-two countries, and each group follows a colonial administration.
2. Planting the Zionist entity in the heart of the Arab world.
3. Employing the policy of “divide and rule” by encouraging ethnic and sectarian differences in the region to make it easier for them to tighten their grip on them.
4. Distorting economic, social, and political development in all countries of the Arab world (Ibrahim, 1998).

Thus, the interests of colonialism were achieved in the face of the weak awareness of the people. The regimes and the states, even after the departure of colonialism, failed with all development plans and remained trapped in space and time, with no progress or change. Rather, the Arab peoples lost Palestine which is a real link between the East and the West which made this matter more complicated. It gave the regimes legitimate opportunities to be entrenched around this issue. At times, they are revolutionary, nationalist, and sometimes progressive (Kadri, 2021). However, time passed, and all of the Arabs' experiences were stuck in place. Rather, it got worse, and the Arabs were in a state of greater decline until the Arab Spring revolutions occurred. People expressed the prevailing state of tension and salvation from all previous predicaments by taking to the streets and began to stir the revolution to reach democratic action. This led to the downfall of some authoritarian regimes, and their secrets were revealed, while others remained vacillating and struggling. This has caused the Arab peoples to bleed again in the face of unbearable prevailing conditions.

The image and forms as a legacy and inheritance instilled by colonialism still exist in reality. The Arabs are divided into twenty-two countries and the processes of border separation are artificial. Arabs' common history and culture as a nation linked by unique ties between the nations of the world have not achieved anything for them until now. Even with the Arab Spring revolutions, the colonial powers rode this wave to serve their purposes and interests and claimed that they were with the people in the right to self-determination and the establishment of real democracies for their children and offspring. All this made Arabs live in a stage of shuffling the cards, as they are the weakest link in the international community and the receiving party that has no power or control over it, so the way to get rid of colonialism and its legacy and its remnants is still in question.

The current Arab scene is harmful. The Arab revolutions brought down some regimes, while others were able to renew themselves. Others were able to preserve themselves, and the cost was high for all of them, who used the utmost repression and bloody violence to kill, arrest, and displace their

people. All this was not far from the contribution of international powers to silence, understanding, and granting them legitimacy as states and regimes. In Tunisia, the first spark revolution ended with the fall of the regime, in which conflicts continued between political forces from different intellectual spectrums, until the conflict ended with the president's coup against all state authorities and reconstituted them according to his vision in alliance. As for Algeria and Morocco, their regimes have renewed themselves, with surgeries and reform processes that have preserved their political and authoritarian essence.

In Libya, the regime fell with direct Western military intervention, so the state was divided into Western geopolitics and Eastern geography, both of which relied on external support. Mauritania and Djibouti remained under the impact of the conflict of local political forces and outside the Arab Spring, so democratic changes and transformations were within their equation and internal tools. As for Somalia, it remained outside all Arab chapters, conflicted by internal political and military conflicts that kept it out of the equation. In Yemen, the Salafi religious forces regained their glory, and the Houthi alliance with the old authority led by its president, Ali Abdullah Saleh, as soon as they managed the state, they killed him, and the Yemeni state became fragmented into two "failed states" that have no control over them, except the order of the jurist and the Gulf Arab states. In Syria and Lebanon, the regimes have withstood and maintained their sectarian legacy, and their alliance with the forces of money and sectarian leaders, supported by Iranian military militias. In addition to the Russian military power, the geography of the state has been fragmented to be shared by other militias supported by the US and Turkish military occupation presence. The state ends up being a "failed state" and a regime that has nothing to do with it. As for Iraq, it was decided by an American-Iranian understanding almost a decade before the Arab Spring, and it is still groaning under its impact, in which sectarian militia, political, and military forces were later able to suppress a youth movement that rose up against the regime and to add Iraq to Yemen, Lebanon, and Syria as a model for a failed state. Jordan, where the spring breezes entered and demonstrations and marches erupted demanding reform rather than the overthrow of the regime, and reform measures proceeded, but those that enabled the regime to dominate the legislative authority and acquire security forces capable of protecting it.

This study concludes that the Arab countries arose from the circumstances of the history of the colonial era and the accompanying external international interactions, so they were characterized by two types of states and regimes:

- States and systems of "royal or ruling families" erected and formed by colonial states, from a mixture of traditional socio-cultural structure and structure, and military and civilian bureaucracy that arose within the framework of the colonial structure.
- States and regimes of "Arab national liberation movements" emanating from movements and parties that emerged during the colonial era, in which civilian and military "party minorities" were in power, characterized by an absolute authoritarian character.

This emergence has contributed to the impact of the colonial legacy on the processes of democratic transformation, so that it combined with the interior in drawing the social, economic, and political dimensions of the Arab state, without there being a separation between the "state" and the "regime" with the regime's domination of the state so that both elements, the region, and the people, become part of the system, so there is no longer independence of the state authorities, legislative, executive and judicial, if any, from the authority of the individual ruler or the ruling minority, which paved the way for motives and factors that led the peoples, represented by their young group, to protest and rise up. The ruling authority of those countries ended with the fall of some regimes, but it was not rebuilt as aspired by the revolutions, their leaders, and peoples, but the "reverse tension forces" or the so-called "deep state" returned to dominate by renewing its characters and tools, while the breezes of the Arab Spring were unable to pass some others, while others were able to withstand and survive after practicing bloody repression, and all of these were not far from support, and the least of which was the spectacle, by major global countries and regional countries,

The "official Arab system" returned to the strongest authoritarianism and authority. The colonial legacy also enabled the continuation of traditional social and religious structures throughout the subordination of states and regimes to it, while the regimes maintained these structures as part of the main system and a reserve force if it was threatened by modern institutions and intellectual currents, to be popular supporters in the event of protests, and even to employ them during its formal electoral seasons above the role of its civil and security government agencies. All this was accompanied by the role of colonial legacy and dependency, which means a mutual interaction between the inside and the outside that hindered the process of democratic transition, and this relationship constituted an intersection and mutual service between the regime, external states, and internal social and political forces.

But there is an objective fact that the colonial legacy does not bear all that political heritage represented by Arab countries and regimes, because democracy is a feature of civilization of Western origin, with its dedication to people's freedoms and human rights of life, as it was born in ancient Athens and grew and developed recently in the stage of Europe's uprising against the "emperor and the church", providing an infrastructure led by creative minds that were able to invent science and technology.

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