



CHANGING THE PARADIGM OF STATES IN THE ARABIC MIDDLE EAST REGION BRINGS AUTHORITARIANISM TOWARDS DEMOCRACY

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ABSTRACT

The demonstration phenomenon that was launched by the Arab Spring has caused political upheaval in Middle Eastern countries, starting from Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria which is still continuing today, is a bridge to change, the fall of authoritarian regimes, and also as a symbol of struggle pro-democratic Arab people who demand a paradigm shift in the Middle East state. The intended change is in the economic, social, open and democratic aspects of the political system. The Arab Spring phenomenon still leaves many problems, Middle Eastern countries are still in a slump, trapped in conflict and civil war. The democratic transition that was aspired to did not go well, being held hostage by the interests of authoritarian and sectarian regimes: ethnicity, religion, sects and political groups. Authoritarianism is one of the causes of instability and has colored the political dynamics of the Middle East. Socio-historically, authoritarianism and sectarianism in the Middle East have multi-layered roots over a long period of time. This paper tries to read the paradigm shift in the Arab region state against authoritarianism towards democracy

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1. INTRODUCTION

The end of Western colonialization and imperialization in Islamic countries has knocked people's awareness of backwardness, stupidity, stagnation and oppression. This awareness is even more pronounced when remembering that in the history of Islam, it has inscribed the gold ink of its civilization. Islam was once big and advanced in various dimensions of life, progress in the fields of economy, education, military, politics and so on. M. Qutub indicated that Muslims are a large people quantitatively and backward qualitatively, even without any quality at all. Creativity thinking is replaced by stagnation of thinking which leads to a drastic decline in civilization.¹

Is Islam able to revive and glory can be achieved as before? it is a question that has always hovered between utopia and hope. So before and after colonialism, Islamic movements, especially those with nuances of thought, besides revolutionary movements, sprang up in all parts of the Islamic world. Islamic movements that have existed to this day are trying to restore the glory of civilization that has long been lost, as well as trying to revitalize old Islamic treasures.

The Middle East has a unique meaning for the whole world due to religious, political, economic, ethnic and geographical factors. This region is also known to be prone to conflict, to be precise it is full of conflicts, often in a state of turmoil due to a number of domestic, regional and international reasons. In current conditions, for example, the ongoing conflict in Yemen, the civil war in Syria, the campaign against hardline Islam, namely ISIS, which is

¹ M. Yusuf Wijaya, *Visi-Visi Pemikiran Keislaman Upaya Klasifikasi Pemikiran Keislaman Timur Tengah, dalam M. Aunul Abied Shah, (et.al.), Islam Garda Depan Mosaik Pemikiran Islam Timur Tengah* (Bandung: Mizan Learning Centre (MLC), 2001).

increasingly undermining security in the Middle East and also the world with its acts of terror. Moreover, the quest for supremacy by actors outside the region as well as recently regional actors such as Saudi Arabia and Iran has exacerbated ethnic and sectarian divisions and made room for additional regional actors to pursue their own interests. Turkey reaffirmed its traditional role in the region. Israel appears to be the main beneficiary of this chaos.

The complex and turbulent situation in the Middle East makes any predictions about its future difficult. Even from a sociological perspective, the Middle East is an ethnically heterogeneous region and is prone to horizontal conflict. The Middle East is home to many ethnic and religious groups as well as sectarians. Arabs, Azeris, Kurds, Berbers, Druze, Jews, Iranians, Turks, Maronites and Copts and others. These are spread across state borders for example. Kurds are based in Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Iran.²

From the political aspect, there is one other thing that stands out from this feature of the Middle East. All regions in the world have features of democracy, but not all of the Eastern regions are areas of deficit democracy, especially in Arab countries as the majority of countries in the region. There is no democracy in the Middle East, although democratization in the world has gone through three waves, borrowing Huntington's term for democratization waves. Almost all regimes in the region act authoritarily, both those adopting a republican and monarchical political system. These authoritarian regimes have fragile political legitimacy. Succession is done through a coup and or foreign intervention.

The Arab Spring (Arab Spring or in Arabic it is called ats-Tsaurat al-Arabiyyah - Arab Revolution) was a wave of resistance movements by pro-democracy people who demanded political change in the Middle East region. This movement is a form of protest and people's demands in the hope of changing the order towards an ideal society and nation. This movement is also expected to change the conditions that occur due to the restraint of people's freedom by authoritarian powers, as well as the existence of social inequality between rulers who live in luxury and people who are poor.³

Authoritarian power and political practices that have taken root in the Middle East cannot be changed through revolution. If the country has the role of a dominant single elite force, there will be domination of the people. If not, political power is more evenly distributed so that political actors tend to dominate one another in protracted and bloody civil conflicts.

When the phenomenon that shocked the world ten years ago, January 2011 to be precise, was known as the uprising or uprising of the Arab people, popularly known as the Arab Spring, which demanded democracy, in reality it did not take place according to the expectations of the majority of the Arab people. Indeed, there have been transitions, such as in Tunisia and Egypt which turned into democratic countries, other Arab countries experienced different internal impacts, and some have even been trapped into a protracted civil war until now, namely in Syria.⁴ This paper attempts to discuss first, how has the paradigm of statehood changed in the Middle East after the Arab Spring? Second, how does the paradigm of democracy change authoritarianism in the Middle East region?

A New Phase of Democratic Change in the Middle East Region

The series of mass demonstrations that rocked the Middle East region in January 2011 shocked the world. The rise of pro-democratic Arabs against oppression began in Tunisia in mid-December 2010, in a small provincial town in Tunisia, when Muhammad Bouazizi set himself on fire in protest at being prevented from trading in an effort to make a living. The 26-year-old college graduate, who was expected to become an educated urban professional or government employee, was willing to pay the highest price in protest at not getting a formal job and was not even allowed to work in the informal sector as a vegetable seller due to a lack of economic freedom, and faced humiliation by a female police officer (as a representative of a repressive, oppressive, patrimonial and corrupt state) and a possible future of prolonged poverty. Bouazizi's reckless actions caused great anger among the people, especially young Tunisians in January 2011 which then spread throughout Arab countries. The political landscape of the Middle East is marked by a lively uprising demanding an improvement in life and a regime change.⁵

The change of state in the Arab world is the most spectacular example in the Islamic world, because of the people's protest movement which gave power to the revolutionary movement to overthrow tyrannical and despotic powers. Many people mention this change as one of the biggest popular uprisings in the history of Muslims. The bottom line is the large-scale resistance of the Arab people against repressive authoritarian regimes that began in

² Maltuf Siroj, *Pembaruan Hukum Islam di Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Ilmu, 2012).

³ Samir, "Kegagalan Demokratisasi di Mesir Pasca-Arab Spring1 The Failure Of Democratization In Egypt Post Arab Spring," *Jurnal Penelitian Politik* Volume 18 (2021).

⁴ Syahrin Harahap, *Metodologi Studi Tokoh Pemikiran Islam* (Jakarta: Prenada, 2011).

⁵ Samir, "Kegagalan Demokratisasi di Mesir Pasca-Arab Spring1 The Failure Of Democratization In Egypt Post Arab Spring."



Tunisia and then followed in Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria. Meanwhile, small-scale resistance took place in Bahrain, Algeria, Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and Sudan.

The rebellion occurred because youth unemployment was rising to very high levels and deep economic inequality was an important factor contributing to the rebellion. They are also strengthened by long-standing aspirations for greater freedom and political participation on the part of social groups that feel largely excluded from the benefits of economic development. The rigid and long-lasting political structures in Arab countries began to melt, breaking down the solid paradigm of authoritarian regimes there that would not be shaken.

The history of the Arab world over the past decade has been marked by large-scale popular protest movements that occurred in a number of countries in all sub-regions of the Arab world, both in the West Arab countries, the Arab Nile River, the Arab Levant and the Arab Gulf. According to Ibnu Burdah, there have been at least three phases of popular protest in a number of Arab countries over the last ten years, namely from the end of 2010 to 2012.

First Phase

The first phase of the people's movement was marked by the success of Islamist groups to enter the stage of power after the fall of the regime, even though the Islamist groups were considered not to "sweat" in the process of the movement. The first wave of the people's movement was also marked by the large number of humanitarian victims due to the involvement of the military at a certain level, at least in the early days of the movement

defend the ruler's power against the demonstrators. The January 25 revolution in Egypt that brought down the Mubarak regime was reported with a total of 846 people died and 6,400 people were injured. fell despite the backing of the military, regional and international allies, at least in the movement's early days. In these two countries, Islamist groups also rose to power after the fall of the regime through voting booths. The Muslim Brotherhood (IM) became the ruler of Egypt and al-Nahdhah became the ruler of Tunisia, although both of them later fell from power in different ways.

The fall of the IM in Egypt occurred tragically, which changed the fate of the group's leaders from palace and parliamentary rulers to prison inmates again. The cases of Libya and Yemen to some extent display this kind of ugly dynamic. It was these things that made the outbreak of the Arab people's protest movement which was considered an anti-authoritarianism movement and upholding people's sovereignty seemed to have stalled for seven years. During those seven years, people in Arab countries seemed to be evaluating these change movements in the midst of conflicts and wars which were accompanied by humanitarian casualties and destruction everywhere after the movement..⁶

Second Phase

In early and mid-2019, the attitude of military officials became clearer, resolutely keeping their distance from those in power who wanted to maintain power by all means, including using violence against their people. The cases of Algeria and to a certain extent the Sudanese reflect this second wave of popular movements. In Algeria, the massive and uniform movement for quite a long time in almost all cities in this largest country among the 22 Arab countries (after the breakup of Sudan) almost did not cause any casualties. However, the Bouteflika regime could collapse.

In Sudan, something similar happened, although later the army appeared to be taking advantage of the situation. Unlike in Tunisia and Egypt, political Islamic groups in Algeria and Sudan cannot get windfall to enter the arena of power "without" sweating in the movement process as in Tunisia and Egypt. Even though this second wave of movement is far better than the movement in the first wave of this historic moment which is often called Arab's springs because the number of fatalities has been reduced significantly, criticism of this movement still exists, namely that the fall of the regime did not have a significant and immediate impact on improvement of the real life of society in general.

The trend is still the same, the standard of living of the people tends to worsen after the fall of the regime due to the vulnerability of security due to elite disputes over power, both old and new elites. This is certainly understandable because the transition period is a period that is not easy to pass. The process of institutionalizing the results of people's protest movements is often more difficult than the process of the protest movement itself which traditionally takes a very long time, from spreading ideas to mobilizing on the streets..⁷

Fase ketiga

If at the end of 2019 and early 2020 a new wave model emerged from the Arab people's movement for change. Lebanon and Iraq are examples. What is being opposed is the power of the sectarian elite who control the country's economic and political resources. And the issues raised are specific and real issues that directly touch the needs of the people's lives. In general, the issue of people's protest movements in the two countries is related to the real and

⁶ Ibnu Burdah, "Quo Vadis Dunia Arab Kontemporer Gerakan Protes, Politik Muslim, Covid-19, dan Arah Perubahan" (Yogyakarta, 2020).

⁷ Burdah.

urgent needs of the community, such as prices for basic commodities, clean water services, electricity services, waste management.⁸ Until protests against high unemployment and tax increases, including the WhatsApp tax plan in Lebanon, which due to strong public pressure was finally canceled. This mapping is just an effort according to Burda the process of the movement since the change at the end of 2010 in order to be able to provide a global map overview of popular protest movements that have occurred in many Arab countries over the past ten years.⁹

The rebellion occurred because youth unemployment was rising to very high levels and deep economic inequality was an important factor contributing to the rebellion. They are also strengthened by long-standing aspirations for greater freedom and political participation on the part of social groups that feel largely excluded from the benefits of economic development. The rigid and enduring political structures in Arab countries began to melt, breaking down the paradigm of the robustness of the authoritarian regimes there which would not be shaken. The uprising of the Arab people was the result of various accumulative factors, namely structural factors and factors that had direct influence.

Structural Factors

1. The breakdown of the authoritarian bargain or exclusive social contract, whereby the state provides services, jobs and food energy subsidies in exchange for political support (or compliance), is the main reason for the loss of legitimacy of the Arab regime and popular anger.
2. The population explosion in the Arab world coupled with the failure of governments to carry out structural reforms and create jobs, has led to an increase in unemployment, especially youth unemployment. Rising levels of education across the region have contributed to rising expectations among young people, and frustration when public sector jobs are no longer available, and those working in the private sector are underpaid or not up to par with their skills.
3. The austerity measures implemented as a result of the structural adjustment program, and the impact of the global financial crisis, led to rising prices (especially food prices), economic hardship and reduced living standards for the great majority of people.
4. The corruption of the ruling elite and their cronies is carried out on a larger scale and in a more blatant manner, which further widens income inequality. The stark contrast between the struggles of ordinary people and the luxuries enjoyed by corrupt elites sparked public outrage.
5. The authoritarian contract led to the emergence of a substantial middle class in Arab countries, but they saw their quality of life deteriorate when the contract was broken. Life satisfaction statistics show that, at the end of the 2000s, people in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Tunisia and Yemen were among the most unhappy people in the world.
6. Authoritarian regimes are characterized by consolidation of power in the hands of a few; denial of fundamental rights such as freedom of expression and association; the use of force to suppress opposition and massive violations of human rights. In addition, when the social contract breaks down, the regime becomes more dependent on repression and violence. Greater access to information and awareness, including individual cases of blatant human rights violations by the security services, led to widespread anger and a sense of injustice.
7. Public anger and frustration over underemployment, denial of rights, corruption, and inequality among others, fuels the desire to restore individual and national dignity.¹⁰

Factor (Nearest)

1. Electronic information networks and social media play an important role in raising awareness of violations (especially self-immolation).
2. Muhammed Bouazizi who sparked the Tunisian uprising), also in mobilizing demonstrators.
3. There was a demonstrator effect that must have led to the Arab Spring, as evidenced by the speed with which the uprisings followed each other across the region, as people see what's happening in other countries and are inspired to follow suit.
4. Errors in state responsiveness, especially when the state uses a coercive approach to destroy the opposition
5. The army played decisive wars in many Arab revolts, especially the first in Tunisia and Egypt. In both countries, the army voted for the people, forcing Ben Ali and Mubarak to resign. In contrast, in Libya the army was split between the regime and the pro-opposition, which then led to civil war. In Syria, the army

⁸ Yon Mahmudi, *Timur Tengah Dalam Sorotan Dinamika Timur Tengah dalam Perspektif Indonesia* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2020).

⁹ Burdah, "Quo Vadis Dunia Arab Kontemporer Gerakan Protes, Politik Muslim, Covid-19, dan Arah Perubahan."

¹⁰ Saiful Syam, "Transformasi Politik di Timur Tengah Pasca Musim Semi Arab: Demokratisasi yang Gagal," *Jurnal Studi Interdisipliner* Vol. 18 no (2021).



remained loyal to the regime, resulting in ongoing conflict and civil war,

6. Popular protests are not ideological in nature, are not led by any political party or even any figure, and generally start spontaneously. Demands for regime change and social justice have an inclusive appeal, bringing together people from different groups in society. The grassroots nature and scale of popular mobilization made it difficult for the regime to take effective action

3. Direction of Democratic Change

The wave of the People's protest movement was a watershed in the Arab world. The impact of the protest movement which immediately received widespread attention was of course the fall of authoritarian regimes which were previously very difficult to overthrow, even by movements with very strong organizations, strong leadership and strong ideology. People's movements with a spontaneous type, less ideology, less organization, and less leadership can actually bring down military regimes that have been in power for more than two decades on average, with a character very different from previous social movements. Another impact of the wave of protests was actually very broad and profound for the common life of Arab society in general.¹¹ Anti-authoritarian government sentiment has increased sharply, especially among young people in almost all Arab countries.

In a number of countries, such as Morocco, Jordan, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and Syria, the wave of protests at the initial stages was responded with various constitutional amendments which generally changed to a more "democratic" direction. Governance in a number of Arab countries also underwent organizational changes, adapted to deal with the new situation created by the wave of popular movements. However, the negative impact of this process of change was also extraordinary, especially after the outbreak of the first wave of popular movements.

The Arab pro-democracy popular movement for the past decade or so has marked a new chapter for the common life of Arab society. The source of power no longer only comes from weapons, tribal authority, or religious authority, but also from the voice of the people. The people have become new actors in the social and political landscape of the Arab world after previously being dominated by the army, and sometimes added to or colored by other traditional actors, such as tribal aristocrats or religious leaders. The role of the people, public opinion, and the like have suddenly become elements that are highly reckoned with in the region after they could be said to have been barely taken into account before. This development is actually too slow when compared to other regions.

The explanation for this change is usually associated with the birth of new media, especially social media. The most important role of social media in this process of change is to break the monopoly of information flow which is usually one-way, from top to bottom or from the authorities to the people. Most people are recipients of information only. With the birth of new media, the map completely changed. People are not only recipients of information, but they can also act as sources of information. He is not only a reader or viewer, but also at the same time as a journalist or news producer. More than that, social media has also created a new public sphere (online public sphere) which in fact has a great influence on the real world and in its later development these "loose change" media can even set the news agenda for the mainstream media, and can even replace their domination. Equally important, social media also plays an important role as one of the "guides" of the transition process towards democracy, despite the euphoria of freedom in social media, which in turn creates a trap of sectarianization that is currently taking place in a number of Arab countries..¹²

Until now, the "social media impact" has been powerful in driving change in the Arab world. Nine authoritarian regimes fell, six of which were strong regimes that were not easily resisted by resistance movements with strong ideologies, very neat organizations, and high obedience relations between leaders and followers, such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. The IM, which is neat and solid, has been carrying out "resistance" against several authoritarian regimes in Egypt for a long time in various ways. In fact, they failed. However, all of this can be done easily by "social media". On the one hand, social media has helped to do something that previously seemed "impossible" to do. However, on the other hand, social media has also contributed to sharp polarization, fragmentation and conflict in Arab society after the fall of the regime which then resulted in the difficulty of consolidating to build a stable democracy. In certain cases, the disunity led to a horrific human tragedy on a wide scale due to civil war which also involved major actors in the Middle East region, and even the world, with various interests, be it geopolitics, economics or other interests. Although the role of social media cannot be underestimated in the process of change in the Arab world, the explanation of "social media" as the main factor in the Arab people's protest movement clearly has limitations. In fact, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar and Kuwait alongside Lebanon were the Arab countries with the highest use of social media in the early years of what came to be called al-rabi, al-"araby.

¹¹ Burdah, "Quo Vadis Dunia Arab Kontemporer Gerakan Protes, Politik Muslim, Covid-19, dan Arah Perubahan."

¹² Burdah.

The dynamics of domestic politics as a result of technological developments are no longer the consumption of the elite, but have entered the public domain. Even mass movements oppose authoritarian regimes by using modern technology such as Facebook, Twitter, WA, YouTube and other media without any censorship. The actions they take are uploaded on YouTube and accessed by the domestic and international public. Efforts made by the regime in power to limit public information were unsuccessful, because forces outside countries that were experiencing upheaval helped to get out of the conflict area to spread information. Revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria are an illustration of the influence of information technology transformation. in political life.

The explanation above shows that globalization in the media field has been exploited by both aggressor countries, occupied countries, and non-state actors including groups categorized by the US as terrorists. In recent developments, social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube have also been used as a platform to encourage processes of change in various countries in the Middle East, recruit followers, campaign for actions and fight against the oppression of rulers as happened in the Arab Spring transformation wave in the information sector. What happened in the Middle East at the political level created what is known as a political community, namely a group of people whose members are bound by a common symbol, working together to realize their goals. This community seeks to regulate itself on the basis of free rules so that these rules are not alienated. In other words, they seek to democratize their political life without having to wait for formal institutions (the state). The Arab Spring is a mass movement phenomenon that really wants the existence of parties outside the state to be recognized to live more freely and to get what is their right.

Islamic movements that want political change, such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, An-Nahda in Tunisia, Al-Ishlah in Yemen, Hamas in Palestine, and Hezbollah in Lebanon, have grown outside the corridors of the state. These movements have an organizational discipline that binds their members which even the formal institutions of the state have difficulty controlling. The Muslim Brotherhood as an example, even though this organization was designated as a banned movement in Egypt since the Gamal Abdul Nasser era in the 1950s, in reality the Al-Ikhwan still exists today..¹⁴

In fact, people's protests on a massive scale so far have not occurred in these countries except in Lebanon which occurred around 2019 and continued on a limited basis in early 2020. Another explanation is of course very much needed to read the causes of the movement, namely a structural explanation which is indeed the most widely used to read the broad symptoms of protest, namely the almost absence of freedom of expression and lack of democracy, the praxis of repression, the high unemployment rate especially among educated youth, the sluggishness and economic disparity, corrupt practices, the nepotism of clans or sects, and so on..¹³

People's Daula Sues Authoritarianism Towards Democracy

The slight changes in democratic regimes that were formed after the Arab Spring, indicate that the process of transformation towards democracy in Arab countries is facing a steep road. The Tunisian uprising of December 2010 ushered in what appears to be a new political phase in the Arab world, namely the beginning of the unraveling of Arab autocracies. It was followed by the Egyptian uprising in January 2011 and later the same year by uprisings in Syria, Libya and Yemen. However, five years of this journey have yet to materialize across the region and the prospects for a future democratic transition remain highly uncertain. Tunisia may have progressed successfully along the path of democracy, but Egypt's democratic course seems indecisive while in the other three countries the uprisings have turned into civil wars linked to military intervention from outside, the case of Syria being particularly tragic.

Even though there has been democratic transformation, the process has actually been stagnant. With few regime changes and Arab monarchies still in existence, the Arab Spring did not have a decisive impact on democracy. In Michael Hudson's view, Arab politics after the rebellion was still looking for legitimacy. The political legitimacy of regimes, as one of the characteristics of democracy, is also still fragile, including after the Arab Spring. Although there was a transformation in Bahrain with the category of countries in instability in the form of oppressed transitions, in general, monarchical Arab countries were not significantly affected by the Arab Spring. . This indicates that the monarchical regime is so strong and resistant to the swift demands for changes to democracy.

Thus the political transformation after the uprising illustrates changes in political events in Arab countries which are characterized by efforts to change the political structure which is defined as the rules and principles for the formation of political power. There are three main phases of transformation that can be identified, namely the opening of an established regime, the transition to democracy (including the change of authoritarian regimes and institutionalization processes) and the consolidation of democracy. Its function is as a guide to describe changes in the political structure within. Government elites can respond to public discontent by introducing reform programs

¹³ M. Muttaqien, *Departemen Hubungan Internasional FISIP Universitas Airlang Arab Spring: Dimensi Domestik, Regional dan Global*, 2017.



that leave the foundations of the political system intact, known as changes in structure such as those undertaken by the regimes of Saudi Arabia and Jordan.¹⁴

1. Regime change due to waves of protests represented by Tunisia, Egypt and Libya with different characteristics. the wave of protests supported by external intervention, represented by Libya and the peaceful transition of power through external intervention and mediation represented by Yemen, indicates a democratic transition. Arab countries have several characteristics in common in this upheaval in the Middle East, but between different countries there are also very big differences. Their common features include: protest waves are the main form; the main political demand was to improve people's livelihoods and strengthen democracy; lack of independent leadership and political philosophy; youth is the main force; widespread use of networks, mobile phones, and other new media; there are significant regional and transnational features.
2. The robustness of authoritarian regimes in the Middle East, including in Arab monarchies, is based on several factors.
3. Civil society is an ineffective supporter of democracy.
4. Top economic command remains largely in the hands of the state.
5. poverty rates and low literacy rates.
6. Countries in the Region are geographically far from the epicenter of democratization, except for Turkey which is directly adjacent to a successful democratic model, namely European countries. Fifth,
7. culture, especially Islam, which is seen by the West as unfriendly to democracy.¹⁵

It is these factors that Eva Bellin stated that the Middle East does not have the prerequisites for democracy. The Arab Spring as a process of profound political change in the Arab world, previously the only major region of the world where authoritarianism persisted unhindered for decades. While in many countries of the Arab world, mass protests in 2011 forced rulers to resign, other authoritarian regimes - despite political and economic pressures - have so far been able to stay in power, or have been only slightly affected.

Many Middle Eastern countries, it has challenged the political power of the current regime in one way or another; it also dominates domestic political debate in countries where the Arab Spring has not yet gained traction. Second, a quick look at the changes in the political map of the Arab world makes it clear that the region's political diversity has increased significantly. Until the Arab Spring, differences between Middle Eastern political systems could be found predominantly on the level of their authoritarian character. But now there are two characteristics that differentiate them substantially namely authoritarian versus systems in transition, and stable versus unstable systems. Against Arab Monarchy countries.

The Arab Spring had no significant effect. The impact of the upheaval in the Middle East on the eight Arab monarchies can be divided into four types: Qatar and the UAE were almost unaffected; Saudi Arabia and Oman were mildly affected - both countries experienced small-scale local protests and unrest, notably Shia protests in eastern Saudi Arabia, which has important links to Bahrain's Shiite protests; Jordan, Morocco and Kuwait were slightly affected, as both experienced massive protests; Bahrain has suffered the most. Shiites make up 70% of the population in Bahrain. They are the main protesters and their goal is to overthrow the Sunni royal regime, which is clearly different from protesters in other monarchies: people in other countries, despite asking for the building of democracy and improvement of people's livelihoods, do not want to overthrow the royal regime.

Although no Arab monarchical regime was overthrown during the upheavals in the Middle East, these protests also led to top-down political and social reforms. In Saudi Arabia, after small-scale protests were suppressed, the royal regime enacted a number of policies to improve people's lives, as well as financial plans to increase employment. In addition, a number of political reforms were introduced including consultative parliamentary elections, expanding women's rights and improving human rights, Jordan and Morocco, two constitutional monarchies, initially using a cabinet reshuffle and early elections and other means of dealing with the crisis, and later embarked on a number of democratic reforms as well. In particular, in Morocco, the reforms were more extraordinary.

In Jordan, the king promised parliamentary elections under a proportional representation system, and the party that wins the majority of seats in the cabinet will be responsible for forming the cabinet. This has changed the traditional way that the prime minister is directly appointed by the king. Simultaneously strengthening economic reforms and anti-corruption efforts in Morocco, in March 2011, King Mohammed VI announced constitutional revisions, including the adoption of a true parliamentary cabinet system, strengthening the powers of parliament and political parties, appointing a prime minister by the party that wins the election. parliament, and reforms to improve

¹⁴ Syam, "Transformasi Politik di Timur Tengah Pasca Musim Semi Arab: Demokratisasi yang Gagal."

¹⁵ Syam.

Berber rights. In the first election after the constitutional amendment, the “Parti de la Justice et du Développement” (Justice and Development Party) won the election and formed a cabinet. Thus it can be understood that the transition to democracy in Arab countries is more complex when compared to other regions and countries in the world. The process of democratization in Arab countries is more diverse, asynchronous.¹⁶

2. CONCLUSION

Based on the various descriptions above, it can be concluded as follows: The Arab Spring phenomenon is a Western term to refer to conditions in which Arab countries experience a transition where the system of power from the beginning adopted a monarchy system towards a change in the paradigm of a state with a democratic system. The Arab people revolted against oppression spearheaded by the youth which started in Tunisia and then spread following a domino effect to almost all Arab countries with varying intensities and scales. Politically, there have been changes in authoritarian regimes in republican Arab countries, but there have been no changes in authoritarian regimes in monarchical Arab countries. Only Tunisia changed the authoritarian regime without significant resistance and succeeded in turning the country into a democracy without the severe consequences as happened with the change of authoritarian regime through revolution and civil war and supported by foreign military intervention.

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