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Governance Practice Between Monarchies and Republics:
A Case Study of the Political Reform in the United Arab Emirates and the Republic of Tunisia
from 1990 to 2021

By Zaid Alkdidi

Claremont Graduate University

2022

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Approval of the Dissertation Committee

This dissertation has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Zaid Alkdidi as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for meriting the degree of Ph.D.

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Abstract

Governance Practice Between Monarchies and Republics:
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By
Zaid Alkdidi

Claremont Graduate University: 2022

Political Reform is one of the indicators of the governance process, which can be correctly used to build the state and to support its role at all political, economic, and social levels to achieve good governance. From this, it can be said that political reform is positively linked to governance. Thanks to political reform, governance became an essential method that is applied in public policies within states that attempt to achieve by consolidating participation, democracy, and development.

Practically, this study seeks to analyze and determine which of the two regimes, Monarchy or Republic is the most effective and successful to achieve the results of the political reform process. Accordingly, the researcher conducts a comparative study of two different political systems, one is monarchial represents in the “United Arab Emirates” and the second is republican which represents in the “Republic of Tunisia”. This is carried out through using one indicator of “Governance” process, which is the process of “Political Reform” in both States, is studied within a specified period from 1990 to 2021. To achieve that objective, the researcher used a combination of three approaches to answer the main question of the study, which is the analytical method, the comparative method, and the case study method.

To find which of the two regimes “the monarchy or the republic” is more effective to achieve the results of the political reform process, the researcher divides his study to the following axes:

The political system in the UAE and Tunisia during (1990 – 2021).

Motives for political reform in the UAE and Tunisia.

Challenges of political reform in the UAE and Tunisia.

Evaluating the experience of political reform in the two countries and its effectiveness. In this research, the comparative method has been used in addition to the analytical method and case study method.

Dedication

To my lovely wife, Areej, who supports me all the time,

&

My wonderful kids, Dalia, Naif, Siba, Ghina, and Khaled,

&

In loving memory of my Mum who passed away on the first year of my PHD journey and
Dad who passed away on the third year of my PHD journey,

&

My sisters and brothers.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Governance is a concept that was widely used at the beginning of the nineties of the last century because of the regional and global challenges that the world witnessed. These regional and global developments in recent years have contributed to strengthening and consolidating governance. The world has witnessed during the past period difficult financial crises, such as the financial crisis in eastern countries. Asia in 1997, the mortgage crisis in 2007 and the current European debt crisis, as these crises led to the collapse of the economic structures of most of the world's economies, as well as the Arab Spring uprising, which added great importance to the issue of governance. (Wei, 2000)

What distinguishes governance from others is that it seeks to create a politically, economically, and socially stable society, achieving political and economic development, given that governance has a number of determinants of growth and development in any political system, among which is the political reform process. (Moore, 2013)

In fact, the concept of political reform is linked to the challenges facing the political system. As well, the issue of political reform has become an essential part of the policies and orientations of states and organizations that have become associated with important issues such as democracy, peace, war, and human rights. Political reform also contributed to the emergence of other concepts that approach development and political change, which have the ability to adapt to the changes and developments taking place in political systems. (Bangura and Nakamura 1999) Although political reform is an urgent necessity in order to rearrange the internal structure of the state to face all future changes and developments facing political systems, the issue still raises controversy between the various parties involved in the reform

process, whether they are leaders, thinkers, or the masses, as its goals and motives are shrouded in mystery. This led most of the countries, especially the rentier ones, to fail to achieve political reform despite it being an urgent and important need, especially in political systems that suffer from internal problems and instability.(Bates, 2005) Therefore, most political systems have sought to pay attention to the structure of political systems and the social, political and cultural structures as a first step for political reform, in order to define the form of government, its legal functions, and its constitutional powers, and thus enhance the role of democracy.

The issue of governance and political reform has assumed increasing importance. The use of governance has become widespread and has become an essential part of the policies and orientations of countries and international organizations, as a methodology for achieving societal development in developing and developed countries alike, to achieve the aspirations of citizens in them to provide and sustain comprehensive development. However, the matter has become more urgent in developing countries in order to achieve a civilizational shift and rise to the level of active nations. (Przeworski & Limongi, 1993) As a result of political reform, governance has become a major role and a basic methodology in public policies, which most countries seek to achieve through participation, democracy, and development to redraw the roles for each of them and achieve inclusive societal development. The relationship between governance and reform emerged because of the expansion of the size of societies, which led to the isolation of the government from the citizens. Therefore, the ruling authorities sought to put an end to the isolation of societies through drawing up a general policy for political reform to bring about a change in the relationship between rulers and the ruled, and the result is an effectiveness of governance in regulating the relationship between rulers and the ruled. (Yousef, 2004)

Most of the countries of the world today are seeking to achieve governance through a trend towards a new approach, which is decentralization in state administration in order to achieve good governance and achieve governance, which can only be achieved through a set of political reforms and openness to the outside world and employing technical means in a manner the correct. Governance means all political, economic, social, and even technical practices, considering a society that today has become an information society based on the technological and technological revolution that the world has witnessed because of the accelerated leaps in the information revolution. To achieve good governance, several reforms are required at the entire state level. Therefore, governance is linked to political reform. (Durac & Cavatorta, 2015)

No country can achieve governance without undertaking several measures of political reform. This is the focus of the study we are dealing with, as it is a comparative study of the political reform process in two countries, one of which is a monarchy, the United Arab Emirates, which presented a successful model for good governance, and the other is a republic, which is the Republic of Tunisia that is still in the process of carrying out political reforms in order to reach the form of good governance.

The comparison between a monarchical model and a republican model in this study is of great importance as it is one of the new and modern topics, as it does not provide an explanation of the concept of (governance and political reform) only, but rather employs these concepts correctly to build the state and strengthen its role at all political, economic, and social levels. All in order to achieve good and good governance.

1.2 Problem Statement

Good governance is a set of concepts that has gradually developed to reach standards adopted by political leaders and administrative cadres committed to developing community

resources and improving the quality of life for citizens. The values of integrity, participation, transparency, and accountability are among the most crucial features of good governance through which it seeks to strengthen the rule of law and achieve justice and equality within society. (Harrison, 2004). Good governance ensures that political, economic, and social priorities are set based on broad consensus in society. Good governance enables the interests of the poorest groups to be considered in the decision-making process regarding the equitable distribution of society's resources.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has defined governance as “the exercise of political and economic administrative powers to manage the state affairs at all levels through mechanisms, processes and institutions that allow individuals and groups to achieve their interests, exercise their legal rights, fulfill their obligations and accept mediation to resolve their differences.” (UNDP, 1997) According to this definition, governance is based on three pillars, one of which is the political pillar which includes decision-making processes related to the formulation and formation of policies, the economic pillar which includes decision-making processes that affect the country's economic activities and its relations with other economies, and finally the administrative pillar which includes the system for implementing these policies. (Sen, 2016)

Hence, the different dimensions of good governance are clearly highlighted as it has a political dimension related to the nature of political authority, the legitimacy of its representation and the exercise of its work under the rule of law and respect for the principles of democracy and human rights. Good governance also has a social dimension related to the nature and structure of civil society, its vitality, its independence from the state, and its practice of the role entrusted to it in the comprehensive development movement. In addition, good governance has a technical

dimension related to the administration's work, its competencies, its effectiveness, the techniques of issuing the appropriate decision, the strategic vision, and ensuring the right of future generations. (Bangura and Nakamura, 1999)

All political systems existed throughout history are always undergoing a process of change or reform for all or some of its institutions and policies. Accordingly, the concept of governance has been linked to the concept of political reform on the basis that the latter includes a set of rules that regulate the political sphere. Hence, good governance was found as a sophisticated method in managing and formulating basic rules within which the state works in coordination with other essential actors within society, such as civil society, to contain the needs of society and the private sector to frame the economy and rotate it towards development, and it can only be achieved through translation through reforming constitutions, laws, and administrative organizations. Governance participates with political reform in fighting the manifestations of corruption in governance. (Campbell, 2001) Whenever these qualities are present, political reform enters as a means, and governance as a method for correcting defects in governance is the absence of the legal framework or the non-application of the law, lack of transparency of information, failure to separate the public interest from the private interest, especially between public and private money, insufficient confidence of citizens in the laws, the presence of priorities that conflict with development, in addition to the misuse of resources. (Yousef, 2004)

In the current study, the research problem lies in the fact that the topic of governance and political reform is a relatively modern concept in political science studies, because of the developments and changes that the world has witnessed, which drew attention to governance and political reform. What the current research adds is a study of governance and political reform in

the context of a comparison between a monarchy represented in the United Arab Emirates and a republican system represented by the Republic of Tunisia during the period between 1990 and 2021, in order to derive which system is most effective to achieve the expected results of political reform.

1.3 Research Question and Goals

The key objective of this study is to explore which of the two regimes, Monarchy or Republic is the most effective and successful to achieve the results of the political reform process. Accordingly, the researcher conducts a comparative study of two different political systems, one is monarchial represents in the “United Arab Emirates” and the second is republican which represents in the “Republic of Tunisia”. This is carried out through using one indicator of “Governance” process, which is the process of “Political Reform” in both States, is studied within a specified period from 1990 to 2021.

The issue of governance is considered one of the modern and new topics, as it coincides with the developments and changes in the international system that result from technical and technological developments. This study sheds light on the concept of political reform as one of the indicators of the governance process, which can be used in a correct way to build the state and enhance its role at all political, economic and social levels in order to achieve good governance. That is, the relationship between governance and political reform is positive, meaning that because of political reform, governance has become a major role and a basic approach in public policies that most countries seek to achieve through participation, democracy and development to redraw the roles for each of them and achieve comprehensive societal development.

From the key objective, the researcher defines several related objectives, as follows:

- Defining the concept of Governance, in terms of defining the concept, its principles, objectives, types, standards and indicators.
- Identifying the concept and Political reform, in terms of defining the concept, its entrances, and its steps.
- Explaining the positive relationship between Governance and Political Reform.
- Exploring the nature of the political systems in the UAE and Tunisia to compare and contextualize the definition of good governance in both countries. (Tunisia is dealt with in the period before and after the outbreak of the protests of December 17, 2010)
- Understanding the motives for Political Reform in the UAE and Tunisia, that is, internal and external motives.
- Determining the axes of Political Reform in the UAE and Tunisia in terms of the roles of some institutions such as the military, political parties and civil society, and the role of political elites.
- Studying the obstacles and challenges facing the Political Reform process in the UAE and Tunisia.

Thus, the key question of this study can be posed, as follows:

“Does the type of government system, whether monarchial or republican, affect the success of the political reform process necessary to lay the foundations for good governance?”

The dissertation aims to answer the following questions:

Q1: Does achieving political reform differ according to the nature of the political regime?

Q2: What is the nature of the political system in the UAE and Tunisia?

Q3: What are the internal and external motives for Political Reform in the UAE and Tunisia?

Q4: What are the axes of Political Reform in the UAE and Tunisia?

Q5: What are the obstacles and challenges facing the Political Reform process in the UAE and Tunisia?

The remainder of the dissertation is organized as follows. In Chapter Two, the “Literature Review” for the topic is presented, as it covers two sections which are related and existing research in addition to a theoretical framework of the concepts of Government systems, Political Reform, and Governance. In Chapter Three: “Methodology Plan”, it focuses on the research approach, data acquisition, tools, and techniques. In chapter Four: “Discussion of the Case Study: the UAE and Tunisia”, it studies the nature of the political system, the motives for Political Reform, the axes of Political Reform, the obstacles and challenges facing the Political Reform process in the UAE and Tunisia. In Chapter Five: “Conclusion”, it will include the results of the study, limitations, and future work.

2. Literature Review

The Concepts of the Study

(Government Systems, Political Reform and Governance)

2.1 Introduction

In the last decade, the field of political science witnessed a noticeable increase in interest in democracy and political reform. Accordingly, the need to adjust concepts and terminology related to the subject of political transformations that regimes in the Arab region are witnessing increased. An important aspect of the different and contrasted views on these issues is mainly due to the confusion caused by the lack of cognitive control of many of the basic concepts that are usually used synonymously.

This section aims to review the literature on three concepts which are “Government systems, Political Reform and Governance”:

2.2. Government Systems

In the beginning, the regimes are divided in terms of form into a monarchial and a republican regime, in terms of the image of democracy into dictatorial regimes and democratic regimes (direct democracy, semi-direct democracy, and representative democracy), and in terms of organizing the relationship between the three authorities into: the presidential system, the parliamentary system, the assembly system, and the mixed system. What concerns us in this study is the division of government systems in terms of form (Monarchy and Republic).

This division depends on how the head of state assumes the reins of government. If the path to power is election, the system of government in the state is considered a republican system, and if the path is inheritance, it is considered a monarchy system. The constitution defines the basic conditions that should be met by the person who assumes the task of

governance and the method that should be followed to assume this position. If the individual who rules is the king, then the constitution specifies the conditions that should be met by a person in order to be king, and in this case, it includes a system for the mandate of the covenant or succession. And if the individual who governs is the president, the constitution determines the conditions that must be met by a person to take this position and the method for his nomination and election. It is not limited to that but extends to clarifying and defining how he exercises the function of governance.

2.2.1 Monarchy

Monarchy is a political system based upon the undivided sovereignty or rule of a single person. The term applies to states in which supreme authority is vested in the monarch, an individual ruler who functions as the head of state and who achieves his or her position through heredity. Most monarchies allow only male succession, usually from father to son. (Whidden, 2013)

The power of the king's ruling authority varies in terms of the type of ownership. There is a symbolic monarchy represented by the republican monarchy, a restricted monarchy represented by the constitutional monarchy, and a tyrannical monarchy represented by the absolute monarchy, which is the type that combines executive, legislative, and judicial powers. (Churchill, 1976) In most cases, monarchy is hereditary, but some types of kingdoms choose their king on election and declare their ownership themselves. Although the aristocratic government (the government of the gentry) is not inherently related to the monarchy, it is a group of people who choose from among them a king to take over the reins of power, and the nobles occupy other constitutional institutions (such as the courts), which brings the monarchy to elements of oligarchic governments. (Bogdanor, 1995)

The monarchical government can have a specific political entity, whether as a federal monarchy or as a central kingdom through personal alliances between kings and some of them, or as a kingdom subject to a greater power than an empire, and the powers and laws of the royal government are announced and recognized through several aspects, such as the badges obtained the king, and the monarchical titles he wins. For example, kings can hold titles such as king, queen, emperor, khan, caliph, tsar, or sultan. These titles can be linked to geographical regions such as the Emperor of Japan, or to peoples such as the King of the Belgians. (Whidden, 2013)

The main alternative to the monarchical government in the modern era is the republic, although there are violations of the basic principles of republican rule, or the presidents pass the rule among themselves with a hereditary character, and the heads of republican governments are called the president, or any other title according to his choice. (Bogdanor, 1995)

Monarchy was the most common form of government in the world until the twentieth century, when forty-five countries in the world were under monarchy, including sixteen countries in the Alliance of British Peoples, under the constitutional rule of Queen Elizabeth II. (Guillen, 2018) Most modern monarchies are constitutional governments, in which the king retains his legal and honorary role, and exercises political power to a limited extent, or may not exercise it at all by virtue of the popular constitution, but in some countries such as Brunei, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Eswatini and Thailand, the king has political influence A large one that transcends all other state institutions, through popular traditions and the succession of the king, or through constitutional mandate. Historically, royal governments preceded some political systems such as nation states and even regional states and unions. It is not necessary for the existence of nationalism and the constitution under the monarchy, due to the presence of power in the hands of one individual (the king), linking the various political institutions and legitimacy

of the kingdom to himself, as if the authorities were united in picture of one person. (Bogdanor, 1995)

The monarchical government may take several forms: (Guillen, 2018)

1. A tyrannical monarchy: in which the king is not bound by any existing law, does not recognize submission to any authority, and does not give weight to liberties.
2. Absolute ownership: in which the king adheres to the existing laws, even if he can amend or cancel them, and he gathers all the elements of power in his hand, in which no one shares with him, and there is no one to ask him about exercising this power, he is the absolute master, and he is not asked about what he does before anybody.
3. Constitutional monarchy: where the supreme head of the state in this case is a king who takes over the rule through heredity, but the people here are the owner of the authority, and he alone has sovereignty, and the king does not have sovereignty, not even any part of it, and he does not exercise any actual authority, but it is concentrated the actual power is in the hands of the body elected by the people, the owner of the original sultan. It is noted that the parliamentary political system is the original field for the application of the constitutional monarchy system.

2.2.1.1 Why have Monarchies Survived? Monarchy is easy to understand; the republic is not. Walter Bagehot saw this as the most important advantage of the monarchical form of the state. (Lipset, 1959) In addition, proponents of the monarchy attribute to it many other advantages, the most important of which are:

1. Monarchy achieves a kind of stability and stability, which avoids the country's violent political and economic vibrations that could afflict the country in republican regimes when the date of the elections to choose the head of state approaches.

2. Placing the High King above the parties and above the rest of the state authorities, especially above the parliament and the government, enables him to play the role of arbiter between all these competing bodies and authorities, and reconcile them in order to achieve the public interest.
3. The king's personality plays an important role - if it is valid - in the scope of international relations, and it can earn his country more respect and interests thanks to the friendships he establishes with the kings and heads of other countries.
4. Monarchy can create cohesion and unity in some countries whose people consist of heterogeneous and heterogeneous elements.
5. The ease of transferring the king to the crown prince upon the death of the king relieves the country of the evils of the political vacuum and the terrible conflict that is witnessed in the transitional periods of rule that prevail in some other regimes.

2.2.2 Republican Regime

Like the apostle Paul, Republican Government has been "made all things to all men." The concept is indeed a spacious one, and many ideas can comfortably nestle under its big tent. Surprisingly, however, few modern scholars seem even aware of the central meaning of Republican Government--of the main pole that keeps the big top up, as it were. (Blondel, 1968)

Republic, form of government in which a state is ruled by representatives of the citizen body. Modern republics are founded on the idea that sovereignty rests with the people, though who is included and excluded from the category of the people has varied across history. Because citizens do not govern the state themselves but through representatives, republics may be distinguished from direct democracy, though modern representative democracies are by and

large republics. The term republic may also be applied to any form of government in which the head of state is not a hereditary monarch. (Sartori, 1976)

The republican system of government is the closest to the general democratic system, which has its origins in Latin or Greek government. It means the system or method of governance that is based on the principle of the sovereignty of the people of one state and their participation in choosing their ruler, whose functions are determined through the constitution. The people of the republic have the right to participate in all areas of political, economic, social, and international life, as rulers cannot take decisions without referring to the opinion of their people through elections, voting and expressing opinions. A referendum is held for all groups of the people on important issues and affairs, so that the result of the vote is binding on the president to implement it from the date of announcing the results of the referendum. The people's satisfaction with the performance of the ruler is required to ensure his continuation in the rule of the republic. It also specifies the period or duration of the rule for the ruler, such as four years for a single ruler. It is required that he hold the nationality of the republic he governs, and he does not hold any other nationality.

There are several forms of the republican system: (Linz, 1990)

1. **The first type is the presidential republican system**, which is the system in which the president of the republic assumes all the functions of the executive authority, such as the United States of America.
2. **The second type is the parliamentary republican system**, which is the system in which the President of the Republic assumes the functions of the executive authority through a ministry responsible from the legislative authority represented by Parliament, the

National Assembly, and the National Assembly, and examples of which are the system of government in Italy.

The President of the Republic is elected by direct or indirect vote or vote, through a body or group of delegates, or through both methods simultaneously. The President of the Republic is also elected by the legislative body represented by the Local Council of the Nation, the National Assembly, as well as Parliament. It is possible to combine both the National Assembly and Parliament to choose the President of the Republic. The presidency of the republic can consist of one president, which is the most widespread and common form of government at the present time, at a time when the presidency can be collective or made up of several people, an example of which is the federal system of government.

2.3 Political Reform

2.3.1 The Epistemological Implications of Political Reform

First, the term political reform was developed in Western academic circles following the end of the Cold War, in conjunction with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the revolutions of Eastern Europe, that is, in the context of the transition from authoritarian political systems to political systems that apply institutional forms of liberal democracy. (Blanchard et al, 1991)

The Encyclopedia of Politics defines reform as "a change or development that is not radical in the form of governance or social relations, without prejudice to them. Contrary to the revolution, reform is only an improvement in the existing political and social system without compromising its foundations. Reform on this basis is a process carried out within the existing system, in accordance with its mechanisms and without prejudice to its foundations, to avoid the explosion of the situation; It is more like the proactive step of authoritarian regimes in order to

avoid a revolution that could lead to radical changes in the structure of the system of government. (Munck, 1994)

Since the beginning of the 1990s, however, there has been a slight change in the contents of the term political reform. "Gerardo L. Munck" has argued that reform can be defined as "a change in patterns and behaviors that exist radically or gradually, within a specified period, on a human group." Reform may be gradual and may be radical, as well as not only in terms of structures and institutions, but also in terms of patterns and behavior. (Gerardo; Huntington; Mainwaring and Przeworski, 1994)

As for "Samuel Huntington," the reform refers to changing traditional values and patterns of behavior, disseminating communication and education, extending loyalty beyond family, village, and tribe to reach the nation, secularizing public life, rationalizing structures in power, and strengthening functionally specialized organizations, replacing measures of favoritism with measures of efficiency, and supporting a more equitable distribution of symbolic and symbolic resources. (Huntington, 1968)

Reform here seems to have many dimensions, including the value system of society and the structure of institutions of governance, over and above patterns of behavior and power relations. This gives a clear impression of the fact that the intended reform process is the one through which part of Eastern European States have been transformed into Western democratic-style political systems, and the attendant multifaceted change that has led to experiments and models that emulate Western liberal patterns. (Mainwaring; O'Donnell & Valenzuela, 1992)

Turning to literature on the political reform in the Arab region, the fact that the concept of reform is widely reflected in the official discourse, in particular the American discourse on the region, after the events of 11 September 2001, has given the subject great importance in the

academic sphere. This precipitated an attempt to formulate a definition of the term, either by drawing on Western reviews of the subject matter or by evoking the intellectual connotations of heritage texts, or by seeking a compromise combination that would preserve the basic contents of the Western view and give a view that is unique to the Arab region.

“Ail al-Din Hilāl”, Egyptian political professor, argued in his book “Democracy in Egypt: problems and prospects” that political reform as a theoretical concept in the science of politics can be defined in the historical sense as any measure that supports political legitimacy, develops the institutional framework, and promotes political stability in a society. Thus, what some Arab academics advocated in the second half of the nineteenth century could be described as political reform, but they add that political reform is now taking place in another context, the post-cold-war context. The concept has referred to a kind of transition from political to other systems based on political foundations that reflect on: Constitution and law, equal citizenship, free and fair periodic elections, multiparty and political freedom, protection of public freedoms and independence of the judiciary. (Hilāl, 1983)

Political reform can also be defined as "a process of radical modification and development in the form of governance and social relations within a State within the framework of the existing system and by the means it provides and based on the concept of gradient." In other words, to develop the efficiency and effectiveness of the political system in its surrounding environment internally, regionally, and internationally. Reform is a comprehensive, realistic, transparent, progressive, and content-oriented movement within the system. (Przeworski, 1991)

Moreover, some Arab academics use the concept of political reform to describe the changes that have occurred or are expected to occur in Arab countries. Any improvement in political conditions such as granting freedom of expression or association to citizens is

considered a reform. These academics believe that the occurrence of democratic development in the Arab countries is not as important as the occurrence of political reform (Healey, Ketley, and Robinson, 1992)

However, some Arab scholars like (Ahmed Menesy, Abdul Ghaffar Rashad, Magdy Hammad and others) focus on the need to regulate the concept of political reform and to give it a clear content that takes it away from selective political recruitment or rhetoric aimed at circumventing the pressing demands of the reform process. The latter was a complex and difficult process. It involved understanding and addressing a wide range of challenges and reform could not be achieved by simply changing laws and regulations. The benefits of reform will not be realized without a strong and sustained commitment on the part of the leadership or without giving people their freedom to agree. Arguably, the twin pillars of governance reform are an efficient State and an influential civil society. The reform agenda should therefore include reforming the core of governance through a representation system, legislation, rule of law, participation, and activating the voice of the people through strengthening local government, developing civil society and independent media. (Blondel, 1968)

In the same vein, the multiple factors leading to political reform, whether the political leadership's awareness of the importance of this course which is the motivation, or the immediate cause is the erosion of the authoritarian system, or the consensus of different political elites on reform steps is the driver of reform, do not preclude formulating an overarching definition of reform. Thus, political reform means that the political system is undergoing large-scale changes that address the structure of the authoritarian system, so that democratization appears to be one aspect of overall reform. (Herbst, 1989)

If we recognize that there is no single recipe for political reform, each situation has an ideological character linked to the nature and social, political, and cultural composition of each society. There are general features of institutions, roles, structures, behaviors, interactions, and values that can produce a "democratic state." The most important reform feature that should be provided in any reform project is that the political system possesses mechanisms of continuous self-development, enabling it to increase efficiency and absorb political forces, achieving the desired stability, while noting the balance between the demand for continuous change to pursue changes and the goal of stability. Second, the reform is closely linked to the promotion of a democratic political culture that will achieve the difficult formula of strengthening trust between citizens and the system, on the one hand, and the right of citizens to criticize power and participate in correcting its orientation. The third feature is that there is an intermediate phase between the two regimes, where entering the transition phase means going through a process of gradual dismantling of the authoritarian system and leading to the consolidation of democratic governance through democratic mechanisms. (Chabal, 1986)

It is important to emphasize that political reform is not an open-ended path. O'donnell argues that political reform means a process of change in the political institutional structures, their functions, working methods, objectives and thinking, through the legal instruments provided by the political system, with a view to increasing the effectiveness and capacity of the political system to deal with new and constantly evolving changes and problems. (O'Donnell, 1993)

The assertion that political reform is a process of change from within the system and the mechanism of governing poses a fundamental problem for the Arab regimes regarding the deep inertia and stagnation of these regimes. This makes reform from within the system very difficult.

The fear of losing some material and symbolic gains may lead beneficiaries and stakeholders to resist the reform course. Moreover, most of those systems do not have reliable mechanisms and means, not to mention the fact that some States already lack institutions of customary governance. (Blondel,1968).

To reduce opposition or resistance to the demands of reform that may emerge from the ruling elites, some are trying to streamline the concept of reform and to see it as "the necessary and necessary development of any political system to increase its capacity, effectiveness and efficiency in dealing with the changes and developments that are constantly facing it. Thus, most political systems are equal in principle but differ on the extent to which they need to develop. Some require comprehensive and holistic development, some need development in means and mechanisms and a third in working methods. Arab systems are of the kind that require holistic and comprehensive development in the sense that they include institutions, functions, working methods and legal frameworks." (O'Donnell, 1992)

Political reform can be defined as the sum of processes at the level of the political system aimed at gradually amending laws and legislation, institutions and structures, frameworks and mechanisms, performance and behavior, and the prevailing political culture, in order to keep pace with changes in the internal and external environment and respond to the challenges facing the system. This is taking place in a direction that ensures greater political participation of citizens, the effectiveness and efficiency of State institutions, with emphasis on the protection of fundamental freedoms and rights. Political reform is a multidimensional and cyclical course, which means all political systems without exception. However, the need for it may be more urgent in some States than in others. In regulations that base their legislation on the principle of flexibility, it is less controversial and occurs periodically. In States with closed systems, reform

is difficult to take place and resistance is increasingly intense. The system's delay in responding to reform needs is also the immediate cause of the worsening political situation towards the crisis. (Di Palma,1990)

Political reform in the researcher's perception is a process that is targeted and end-bound but not subject to the same patterns and formats and should not be typical of imposing ready-made political models and patterns, but rather a course aimed at enabling each political system to have the mechanisms and means to accommodate a greater degree of participation and be able to respond to multiple demands and commitments.

2.3.2 The Reform Process in Political Reality

2.3.2.1 Circumstances in which the Reform Process Occurs. The reform process does not take place in a vacuum and does not start out just because of the desire for change. An appropriate environment or objective conditions should be available that push towards reform, to avoid the negative effects of stagnation and stagnation resulting from the status quo. In order to review these circumstances and how the reform process occurs, and the size or degree of reform required, it is necessary to refer to the following facts:

1. Reform is usually carried out in the context of crisis. The starting point is the crisis that represents a danger or a challenge to the existing system. Therefore, it is necessary to address this crisis by taking decisive decisions and carrying out radical reforms. The crisis may be an external threat to the state's security, stability, or entity. The external danger is what prompted the Ottoman leaders to carry out military reforms, to defend the sovereignty and security of the empire in the face of external threats and ambitions of European countries. The crisis may be the result of internal factors such as: deteriorating economic conditions, political instability, loss of legitimacy in the regime, or these

factors combined, so that reform is the rational response to facing these difficult circumstances. In this context, the policy of reform, or reconstruction, adopted by the former leader of the Soviet Union, Gorbachev, in the transition towards a market economy and ending the one-party rule, can be considered an example of adopting reform to face the bad economic and political conditions in a system. The crisis is a decisive historical moment that cannot be reconciled or fabricated or slowed down to advance and prosper and to avoid the difficulties and dangers resulting from not seizing that moment and exploiting it. (Haggard and Kaufman 1992)

2. The reform advocates usually base their reform calls on an intellectual or ideological doctrine, which helps them to justify and defend reformist ideas. Accordingly, reformist discourse based on a creed or ideology is characterized by a clear vision and strength of argument upon initiative, participation, or even discussion. Secularism, democracy, rationality, and citizenship are all ideologies that reform leaders can rely on in defending or justifying their reform orientations and convincing the masses of their necessity. However, it is not necessary for all reformist calls to be the product of political beliefs. Rather, some reform leaders may adopt reformist ideas that contradict their political beliefs. For example, former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher adopted a reform economic program that sold the public sector to the private sector despite Thatcher's affiliation to the Conservative movement. (Bresser-Pereira, Maravall, and Przeworski, 1994)
3. The reform that conducted through the initiative of the leader and those around him, "the ruling elite", should push towards broadening the base of political participation, and creating elements and groups that benefit from the reform process for it to be successful

and continuity, i.e., creating a front for reform. The base of participation in the reform process expanded the legitimacy of the reforms increased. Reform that is carried out for the sake of people's liberties and interests, and for the sake of their future, will undoubtedly push them to adhere to it and protect it from what they are trying to obstruct or offend. Therefore, reform should lead to social mobility and the creation of a community will. In other words, it keeps pace with reform initiatives from the top, "Reform from Below". Otherwise, the reforms remain partial and ineffective and easy to reverse, due to the absence of the masses that can defend and adhere to these reforms. For example, the transitions towards democracy in most Arab countries did not contribute to the creation of effective democratic institutions, such as: a free press, strong parliaments, or effective parties and unions and other civil society institutions. The result was a weakness in these institutions, and a decline in the democratic process in most from an Arab country. (Diamond, 2008)

2.3.2.2 Required Reform Volume. If the conditions of the crisis, ideology, and popular participation are among the requirements of the reform process, the question now is what is the volume of the required reform? Is it a partial or complete reform? Is it a quick and sudden fix, or is it gradual, slow and in stages? Is it a peaceful reformist or violent?

Historically, reform was carried out by violence or revolution. By force, Cromwell managed to strip King Charles I of his powers and give them to Parliament, thus inaugurating the first building blocks of democracy, turning Parliament from an institution supporting the monarchy to a constraining institution. The French Revolution that broke out in 1789 AD and crushed the institutions and individuals who benefited from the rule of oppression and injustice, and brought ideas of freedom and human rights, was not a peaceful change. Finally, the

American Revolution in 1776 AD, which brought the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill of Rights, which became a source of inspiration for many peoples in the struggle for freedom and independence, also used violence. In the twentieth century, the violent revolution was the shortest path towards reform and change, and the creation of a new reality in many countries of the world, such as: Russia 1917 AD, Turkey 1922 AD, China 1949 AD, Egypt 1952 AD, Iraq 1958 AD, Cuba 1959 AD, Algeria 1962 AD, Libya 1969 AD, and finally, many Eastern European countries at the end of the last century. In short, the Great Reforms require great revolutions that overthrow the existing system and build a new one on its ruins. The revolution is the highest degree of reform, the largest in size, and the most profound impact. The change in the hierarchy of power is usually accompanied by major social, economic, and cultural changes, and a complete transformation of thinking, patterns of behavior, values, symbols, institutions and policies, and others. (Healey & Robinson, 1992)

However, the revolution does not necessarily lead to a better reality. Sometimes quick and sudden changes result in negative results, such as civil war, political instability, deteriorating economic conditions, or all these combined results, such as: what happened in Sudan after the 1989 Salvation Revolution, or Iran after the 1979 revolution. To avoid such consequences, many politicians and thinkers have seen that slow, gradual changes that are implemented in stages, with limited, balanced steps, and studied in a transitional and phased manner, are the required reforms. Because it leads to the desired results, without jeopardizing security and stability.

Most of the literature on development and modernization was unanimously agreed that development in the economic, social, and political fields go hand in hand and reinforce each other. Progress in the economic field, for example, is accompanied by progress in the political field. However, a number of political development thinkers, led by the American political

scientist Samuel Huntington saw those sudden rapid changes, rather than leading to democracy and stability, could lead to chaos and violence. Rapid political modernization leads to an increase in the aspirations of individuals and their expectations for a better life before political institutions can perform this task, which leads to the frustration of these individuals, and consequently their resort to violence and revolution against the political system. Consequently, Huntington saw the necessity of gradual political change and the establishment of strong political institutions capable of managing the process of political change, such as: civil society institutions, bureaucracy, security agencies.... etc. For example, the sudden shift towards democracy in Algeria led to a civil war. Thus, the reform that burns the stages may not be successful, so it is not recommended to stress reform and change at any cost. (Remmer, 1990)

2.3.2.3 Obstacles to Reform. The word reform symbolizes the hopes and dreams of millions to live in safety and peace, and the desire to achieve a political, economic, and social reality close to the reality of developed countries. Consequently, what reformist ideas preach makes some believe that those who reject reform are a minority in society. With the increasing deterioration of the situation and the rise of voices calling for reform, he believes that the road to reform is walking easily; Because the obstacles that stand in the way of reform can be overcome and bypassed, especially since reform has become a popular demand and need. However, the truth of the matter is not the case. (Lijphart, 1992) Just as reform has supporters and advocates, it has enemies and opponents, although they are few, but they have the means of influence and the reasons for power that make them able to stop the reform process. The bourgeoisie classes, political elites, and other influential people must resist any reforms or changes that affect their conditions and gains. These ruling elites, no matter how much they pay lip service to the interests of the poor and the simple, they only seek to protect and increase their gains. Therefore, it is

unlikely that it will voluntarily abandon these gains, which means that the reform may be the product of a societal conflict between opposing political forces. This conflict may sometimes take the form of violence. (Remmer, 1990) (Lijphart,1992) In all cases, the reform leaders must follow a certain strategy in dealing with these groups:

1. Those who are championing reform may resort to dialogue with these groups and convince them of the necessity of not opposing the reformist trends. Reform leaders may have to offer compensation to these groups to buy their approval. Historically, the sultans of the Ottoman Empire relied on the support and support of the Sheikh of Islam and the clergy in endorsing and blessing reform steps or procedures, by offering gifts and privileges to this influential group in the state at that time.
2. The reform leaders may turn to the masses of the people and mobilize the national public opinion to adopt and adhere to reform. In other words, they are working to create a popular reformist current in the face of the elitist or factional conservative current that opposes reform. In the early eighties, the Solidarity movement in Poland succeeded in mobilizing an army of workers, trade unionists, and intellectuals, who called for reform and change. Accordingly, the ruling communist regime was unable to stand in the way and restrain it. Less than ten years later, the movement won 99% of the votes of the Polish people in the first free and democratic elections held in that communist regime, and the movement's leader "Lech Walesa" became the first elected prime minister in Poland's modern political history.
3. Finally, reform leaders may resort to imposing reform by force, and this depends on firm leadership, the existence of a stable political system, and an effective military and security apparatus that is loyal to the political system. (Grofman, 1993)

Whether the reform leaders adopt the method of persuasion, or impose reform by force, it must be acknowledged that the obstacles to reform are many and manifold, even if they differ from one society to another, but the most prominent obstacles that can limit the impetus of the reform movement, especially in the societies of the world, can be summarized. The third, which suffers from multiple crises that impede reform, as follows:

2.3.2.3.1 Political Factors. There are many political factors that constitute an obstacle to reform, including the weak political will of the ruling class. Reform requires a political will that has a sincere desire and a firm ability to work hard and bring about important political changes, regardless of the consequences that these changes may have, such as a change in power, exclusion of former officials, or holding them accountable. Many authoritarian regimes contain calls for reform or reform initiatives and empty them of their content. It adopts policies that preserve the status quo, while at the same time making promises to the masses of change, reform, and a prosperous future. (Chabal, 1986) Thus, there are no desired results from such reform. For example: prior to 2010, many Arab leaders were reluctant to undertake real reforms; Because such reforms reduce their powers and authorities, and even reveal their reality, especially if we know that most of these regimes preside over a record of failure and non-achievement that make them lose legitimacy. What helped the authoritarian regimes to persist in the current situation and delay change and reform was the weakness or absence of the political opposition, its division and its lack of serious political projects or solutions and alternatives to confront the various crises. (Harvey and Lewis, 1990)

Among the political factors that impede the reform movement are the absence or weakness of constitutional institutions, their loss of legislative, oversight or decision-making powers, the weakness of civil society institutions and their absence of parties, unions, unions,

and associations, the low rate of political participation among the masses, especially women, the absence of popular pressure, the lack of political awareness, the growth of a culture of fear, and the lack of independence of the judiciary. Therefore, reform was subject to the will of the ruler, and those who hold power who resist any measures or reforms can eventually undermine their position, in addition to political instability, extremism, chaos, terrorism, crises, and civil wars. (Healey, Ketley and Robinson, 1992)

2.3.2.3.2 Cultural Factors. Cultural factors play a prominent role in adopting reform and advancing its progress, or vice versa, by stopping and impeding the reform process. The structure of society, its institutions, values, and patterns of behavior have a direct role in influencing reform, negatively or positively. For example, democratic or sectarian societies reject change, have an anti-democratic mindset, and the reform process is arduous and complex. Such societies live in a narrow world, and resist modernization, reform, and change. For example, in many Arab countries, loyalty to the tribe, which is a traditional structure, outweighs loyalty to the state, party, union, or any modern structure or institution. (Unger, 1987)

The authority in many Arab countries, although it claimed its inclination to develop and modernize, has encouraged tribal, sectarian and clan practices. Consequently, it succeeded in preventing the emergence of national or national institutions that could play a role in any political reform process. In other words, the authority succeeded in creating categories, centers of power, political salons, and closed and self-contradictory groups, competing under the authority, and did not seek to create a national society or national civil and political institutions. These societies have customs, values and behaviors that are against reform and modernization. Political reform requires a new culture that emphasizes the values and ideals of dialogue, tolerance, acceptance of others, renunciation of violence and hatred, respect for the rule of law, the peaceful

transfer of power, creating a spirit of citizenship, and belonging to the state, or what can be called democratic or civic culture. These are values that cannot be created in tribal or sectarian societies. (Edwards and Tabellini, 1991)

One of the cultural factors that stand in the way of reform is religion in conservative societies, as the clerics' lack of support and blessing for many reforms and changes lose their legitimacy, and thus are rejected. For example: most Muslim scholars reject calls for birth control or birth control, and bets are placed on the demographic bomb in the conflict between Muslims and their enemies, whether in Palestine, Sudan, Kashmir, or elsewhere. The same applies to the status of women in Arab societies, as there are many laws derived from extremist interpretations of Islamic law that treat women inferiorly, or in another language that renders their rights imperfect. (Unger, 1987)

2.3.2.3.3 Economic Factors. Countries that suffer from economic crises such as weak capabilities and lack of resources, an increase in the volume of external debt, the spread of illiteracy, poverty and unemployment, the aggravation of the gap between the rich and the poor, the high population increase, the disappearance of the middle class, malnutrition, low health, and other economic imbalances that It prevents the interest in reform, especially the political one, whose talk about it becomes like an intellectual luxury. (Edwards and Tabellini, 1991) The overwhelming majority of the community is focused on providing the basic needs of food and housing. It is often rumored in poor countries that freedom must wait for the availability of bread, but the statement that “the bread comes before freedom” may lead to a lack of both bread and freedom, and consequently the spread of hunger, poverty, repression, and persecution. In fact, the deteriorating economic conditions should not be a justification for the absence of reform, justice, and freedom. In a country like India, for example, corruption, poverty, and

inequality in the distribution of wealth did not prevent the establishment of the most popular democracy in the world. (Bardhan, 1984)

2.3.2.4 Institutions of Reform. The reform process needs a set of tools or institutions through which reform is transformed from a mere slogan or popular demand to a tangible reality, whose effects are reflected on everyone, leading to opening blocked political channels, releasing freedoms, and enhancing respect for human rights, and broadening the base of popular participation. Fighting corruption, empowering women, strengthening the freedom of the press and the judiciary, and other noble goals, which are primarily demands or a popular agenda. In most of the world's societies, there are a number of institutions that vary in influence depending on the degree of political, social and economic development of society, which can play a prominent role in supporting and strengthening the reform process. For the purposes of this research, these institutions or tools have been divided into three main groups, depending on the extent to which these tools are adopted or independent of the political system or the state, as some of them are completely subject to the hegemony and influence of the political system. (Harvey, and Lewis, 1990)

Consequently, the role of these institutions is very limited in bringing about political reform from above the authority of the state or without its will and approval. This group consists of a number of informal institutions starting with the family and ending with civil society institutions such as associations, political parties, unions and others. As for the second group of institutions, they are within the scope and sovereignty of the state, and great hopes are placed on these institutions to play an important role in pressuring towards Reform or strengthening the reform process if it begins with the initiative of the authority or the political system, and finally, the third group comes, which is represented by the efforts of international organizations

2.3.2.4.1 Semi-autonomous Institutions. There are many semi-independent institutions that can contribute to achieving reform, and they differ in the extent of their effectiveness and method of work. It begins with the small family or the extended family and ends with civil society institutions. The following is a brief overview of the most prominent of these tools:

2.3.2.4.1.1 Family. The family is the first institution of political rehabilitation that the individual deals with, and through it, values, beliefs, and political ideas within the community are transferred from one generation to another, and thus it performs a political function in addition to its human and social functions. The family can be the key to change and political reform. A child who grows up in a family or a family environment in which decisions are made in a democratic manner and with the participation of all, the future performance of this child is expected to be more inclined towards dialogue and participation, and the exact opposite for a child who grows up in an authoritarian family.

A society that seeks to achieve political reform realizes the importance of establishing internal rules of practice that affirm the values of reform. It makes no sense to demand democracy, children's rights, and women's rights if these rights are violated within the institutions of society, especially the family. (Healey and Robinson, 1992)

One of the most prominent obstacles to political reform in Arab society is the patriarchal authority that has taken root in the family, the extended family, the tribe, and finally, the state or the political system.

2.3.2.4.2 Education Institutions. The literature on human and cultural development and political consensus on the role played by educational institutions, such as schools, institutes, and universities, in the process of political reform. These institutions play an important role in the process of political education, through the knowledge and information they provide about the

various regimes, sources of legitimacy, hopes, and challenges facing the political system...etc. These institutions can also play a role in the political reform process by focusing on the concepts of reform calls and initiatives and the values of their promotion, such as: freedom, justice, openness, equality, citizenship, the importance of participation, human rights, and others. (Joseph, 1983)

In addition, educated people are more aware, and interested in political events and phenomena. Thus, the cultural elite can carry the banner of reform through the dual role that the intellectual plays in being a thinker or a scholar, providing studies and analyzes, producing knowledge, or participating as an activist, a militant, and a political activist through speaking out the truth and criticizing bad conditions. And work to change it for the better.

2.3.2.4.3 Religious Institutions. Religious institutions such as a mosque, a church, a temple, and other places of worship can be an obstacle in the way of reform, by justifying the prevailing conditions and supporting existing individuals and institutions, or they may be a revolutionary driving force for reform and change. Therefore, religion is a double-edged sword, given the important and growing role that religion plays in contemporary life. (Lungu, 1986)

For example, despite the prevailing impression that secularism, in the West, requires a complete separation between church and state, historically, the Church has played an important role in many liberations and political reform movements, to the extent that Christianity became known as a liberation religion or theology. In many Latin American countries in the sixties and seventies of the last century, and in the United States of America in the momentum of the Civil Rights Movement, in the sixties of the last century, and in Poland in the late last century, the church and the clergy were at the head of such movements. Today, Christian Democracy has

become a global political movement with parties, followers, and ideas in most of Western Europe and Latin America. (Lungu, 1986)

In the Islamic world, it is not hidden from anyone the role that the mosque plays in influencing the minds and hearts of its visitors, especially in countries such as: Algeria, Egypt, Turkey, and others. In the absence of civil society institutions, the mosque has become the institution that fills the void, as it is no longer only a place of worship, but has become an important political role in these countries, and a marginal role in other countries.

2.3.2.4.4 Civil Society Institutions. Despite the multiple definitions of the concept of civil society, they all revolve around the voluntary or voluntary participation organized by individuals in the general policy of the state through a group of institutions independent of the state such as parties, unions, unions, associations...etc. of the pressing forces. (Remmer, 1986) The state of civil society is the state of law and institutions, and in the absence of civil society institutions, the alternative is the state of the military, or one party, or tribe, or sect. Regarding the role played by civil society institutions in political reform, there is almost unanimity among political thinkers that there is a correlation and coherence between civil society and democracy. We cannot imagine the establishment of a democratic state in the absence of a civil society, nor can he imagine the establishment of an effective civil society in a non-democratic state. For example, it is not possible to imagine a democratic system in the absence of political parties that are the mainstay of democracy. Rather, hostility to political parties is hidden hostility to democracy.

Political reform requires a civic culture based on the values and principles of dialogue, trust, freedom, tolerance, rejection of violence and hostility, and exclusion of the other. There is

no doubt that such a culture and the consequent behavior cannot be practiced in the absence of civil society institutions. (Flyden, 1983)

We may not exaggerate much if we say that the fate of many reformist experiments may be entirely dependent on the extent to which civil society institutions have the capabilities, and competencies to promote, promote and support the reform process. In other words, civil society institutions are the cornerstone of democracy promotion and political reform. In many Latin American countries, transitions to democracy began with the efforts of civil society organizations. (Remmer, 1986)

In the Arab world in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1990s, such institutions were completely absent, which may help explain the absence of democracy in this part of the world. However, the past two decades witnessed an increasing growth of civil society institutions in the Arab world, and their number, strength and importance increased to the extent that great hopes were attached to such institutions in supporting the path of reform and democratic transformation in many countries of the Arab world, such as: Egypt, Morocco, Jordan, and Kuwait. Lebanon, and others.

The reform process does not take place in a vacuum and does not take place just because of the desire for change. There must be an appropriate environment or objective conditions that push towards reform.

The reform is usually done in the context of crisis. The starting point is the crisis that represents a danger or a challenge to the existing system. Therefore, it is necessary to address this crisis by taking decisive decisions and carrying out radical reforms. (Lyman, 1995)

The crisis may be an external threat to the state's security, stability, or entity, which calls for internal reforms as well. The crisis may be the result of internal factors such as: deteriorating economic conditions, political instability, loss of legitimacy in the regime, or all these factors, so

that reform is the rational response to facing these difficult circumstances. (Putnam, 1993)

Therefore, political reform requires movements and institutions to fight for it, and considering marginalization, absence, or restriction of the freedom and movement of these institutions, corruption, persecution, repression, and other features of political tyranny spread.

2.3.2.4.5 Official Institutions. The process of political reform is a comprehensive process that requires the participation of all popular and official efforts, as the semi-independent tools of the state, such as the family, the university, and the political party, cannot work alone in isolation from the political system, its tools, and devices. Therefore, the role of the official state and its institutions in the reform process is a pivotal role that cannot be ignored. The following is a presentation of the most prominent official institutions that play a role in the field of political reform:

2.3.2.4.5.1 Parliament. The elected assemblies from parliaments, the People's Assembly, advisory councils, and others, play a role in the reform process, by performing their main functions in legislation and oversight. Legislations and laws that emphasize transparency, accountability, protection of individuals, freedoms and property, and the fight against corruption, among others, are the laws that push the reform movement forward. (Dunn, 1986)

As well as the role of Parliament in oversight and accountability is not hidden. Committees of investigation, summons, interrogation, and other oversight mechanisms of the executive authority play a role in achieving justice, redressing injustice, and combating corruption and tyranny. For Parliament to fully fulfill this role, its members must enjoy immunity, independence, and integrity. (Harvey and Lewis, 1990)

For example, the establishment of the first modern Tunisian parliament dates back to the middle of the ninth century, but this institution did not last long. In 1922, a Parliamentary

Council was established, its members consisted of two sections: a Tunisian section and a French section. After independence, the National Constituent Assembly was established, which declared the republican system and promulgated the first constitution of the Tunisian Republic. In 1959, the National Assembly was established, which remained the only council of the legislative authority. After the Tunisian uprising, the House of Representatives and the House of Councilors were dissolved, and in October 2011 the National Constituent Assembly was installed, which carried out legislative tasks for a period of 3 years and drafted the new constitution for the country. The House of Councilors was dissolved, and the House of People's Representatives became the representative of the Tunisian Parliament for a period of 5 years. (Mighri and Poulin, 2020)

During the years following the uprising, the Tunisian parliament played an important role in facilitating the political reform process that Tunisia witnessed by exercising its functions of oversight and accountability.

2.3.2.4.5.2 Judiciary. There is no doubt that competition, and conflict are a characteristic of human beings. Therefore, these disputes must be resolved by peaceful means, and this is where the role of the judiciary comes in. Regarding political reform, the role of the judiciary emerges by applying the law fairly to all, without favoritism or discrimination. (Linz, 1990) Equality before the law is a feature of a civilized human society, and the absence of justice and equality in dealing with citizens makes them feel distress and deprivation, which leads to feelings of frustration and anger that leads to violence, by resorting to individual retribution sometimes. (Magalhães, Guarnieri and Yorgos, 2006)

The lack of integrity of the judiciary and its independence from the executive authority in most Arab countries has led to the violation of many rights and freedoms of citizens. We may not

be exaggerating too much if we say that the executive authority and its various agencies' usurpation of the judiciary, whether by intimidation with punishment or by enticement with reward, has made many countries of the Arab world resemble a large prison. Exceptional courts, emergency laws, state security courts and other institutions that lack guarantees of the right to a fair trial prevail in these countries. In conclusion, the slogan "Judiciary First" can be raised, as it is unlikely to bring about reform in the absence of an impartial, just, and independent judiciary.

2.3.2.4.5.3 Media. Various media, such as radio, television, newspapers, magazines, and others, play an important role in today's world. The tremendous technological progress led to a revolution in the world of media that produced what we might call the globalization of culture and news. The role of the media in political reform is therefore indispensable. This role is manifested through the various media outlets educating individuals and consolidating their belief in reformist trends and ideas, through the development of integrated political and media programs that contribute to influencing the thought and behavior of society, and through research and studies, conducting public opinion polls and publishing them to know the people's trends and tendencies. (Waisbord, 2010)

In fact, the role of the media depends on the credibility and independence of these media. Thus, it can be said that political reform needs a free press and an independent media. In the systems in which the media is under state control, the media is employed to serve, defend, and justify its policies, and rarely criticizes these policies, and therefore political reform is unlikely in such systems. (Hadenius, 1992)

2.3.2.4.6 External Tools

2.3.2.4.6.1 The Role of International Organizations. Perhaps one of the most prominent manifestations of changes in the present era in the field of international relations is the increase

in the number of international organizations, both governmental and non-governmental, and the growing roles that these organizations play in influencing policies and the course of events in the world. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are at the forefront of international organizations in achieving political reform. For example, a World Bank report in the early nineties of the last century confirmed that good governance based on the principles of transparency, participation, rule of law, and other democratic values is the main requirement for economic development in Africa. (Mosley, Harrigan, and Toye, 1991)

In this regard, many rich European countries have begun to link the economic aid they provide to the poor countries in Asia and Africa with the extent to which these countries respond in carrying out political reforms. For example, the New Partnership for Africa's Development, which emphasized political reform, freedom and political pluralism, and empowering women. (Killick, 1992)

2.3.2.4.6.2 The Role of Technology. Technology plays an important role in the progress of mankind and the satisfaction of basic human needs. The information revolution and development in the media and communication are the product of technological progress, and there is no doubt that the use of modern technological means such as: modern communication systems, such as fax, mobile, Internet, and others, plays an important role in the process of political reform. (McLuhan, 1952)

Political reform requires administrative, cultural, and educational reforms that are difficult to implement without the use of modern technologies. The educated person trained in the use of modern technology in the various departments and institutions of the state is best able to increase the effectiveness of these institutions and reduce the role of the bureaucracy in them.

In sum, the knowledge society is best placed to achieve political reform, development, and progress for a better future for all. (Perkins and Palme, 2012)

2.4 Governance

The wave of change at the end of the last century carried the commitment of many countries to the rules of governance that imposed themselves and took for themselves a place and dimensions that went beyond the borders of the homeland to international institutions and organizations. The reform and change campaigns forced the leaders of the countries to include changes in governance considering strengthening the paths of democratic construction and the establishment of rational systems of governance.

Good governance is a set of concepts that have gradually developed to reach standards adopted by political leaders and administrative cadres committed to developing community resources and improving the quality of life for citizens. The values of integrity, participation, transparency, and accountability are among the most important features of good governance, through which it seeks to strengthen the rule of law and achieve justice and equality in society. Good governance ensures that political, economic, and social priorities are set based on broad consensus in society. Good governance ensures that the voices of the poorest are heard in the decision-making process regarding the equitable distribution of society's resources.

2.4.1 Definition of Governance

Many international organizations have taken the initiative to use the contents of governance widely, as a mechanism for sustaining development, by taking care of achieving and sustaining human resource development and taking care of social development in general, and economic, political, and administrative development in government and societal sectors. The World Bank defines good governance as: “the manner in which governance is exercised in the

conduct and management of a country's economy and economic resources." This definition limits governance to the economic aspect only. (Behrens, 2004)

The concept of governance is based on the following pillars: (UN, 2015)

1. **The political pillar:** includes the decision-making processes related to the formulation and formation of policies.
2. **The economic pillar:** includes the decision-making processes that affect the economic activities of the state and its relations with other economies.
3. **The administrative pillar:** includes the system for implementing these policies. It is also seen as a case that reflects the progress and development of the administration as well, from a traditional administration to one that responds to the requirements of citizens and uses the appropriate mechanisms and processes to achieve the desired goals of the projects with transparency and responsibility before the citizens.

After the main pillars on which this concept is based (political, economic, and administrative pillars) have been clarified, we say that this concept is characterized by development in management and response to citizens' requirements within the framework of participation, transparency, accountability, effectiveness, justice and strengthening the spirit of law.

Through these definitions, the different dimensions of good governance are clearly visible. Governance has a political dimension, related to the nature of political authority and the legitimacy of its representation and practice of its work under the rule of law and respect for the principles of democracy and human rights. (Agnew, 1993) It has a social dimension, related to the nature and structure of civil society, its vitality, its independence from the state, and its

exercise of the role entrusted to it in the comprehensive development movement. (Bang and Anders, 2009)

It also has a technical dimension related to the work of the administration, its competencies and effectiveness, the techniques of issuing the appropriate decision, the strategic vision and ensuring the right of subsequent generations.

2.4.2 Characteristics of Governance

Standards of good governance vary between different entities and their interests. If we look at the criteria, we will find that they are based on what the World Bank and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) use to stimulate economic growth and freedom of trade. The World Bank's study on "good governance" in the Middle East and North Africa was based on two main criteria: (EROPA, 2000)

1. Inclusion. includes: the rule of law, equal treatment, participation, and ensuring equal opportunities to benefit from the services provided by the state.
2. Accountability, includes representation, competitiveness, transparency, and accountability

As for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a study in its name focused on four criteria:

1. The rule of law.
2. Public sector management.
3. Control of corruption.
4. Reducing military expenditures.

While the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) has identified nine criteria that are more comprehensive and diverse than the criteria set by the World Bank, and these criteria are: (UNDP,1997)

1. **Participation:** It is the right of everyone to participate in decision-making, either directly or through intermediary legitimate institutions that represent their interests. Participation focuses on freedom of assembly, freedom of expression, and the availability of capacities for constructive participation.
2. **Transparent:** which focuses on the freedom of information flow so that the processes, institutions, and information are within the reach of those concerned with them, and the available information is sufficient to understand and follow up the processes in the institutions.
3. **Equity:** so that opportunities are available to all kinds and genders, to improve their conditions, just as the poor and the less fortunate are targeted to provide welfare for all.
4. **Accountability:** Decision makers in the public and private sectors and civil society organizations are responsible to the public and specific relevant departments, as well as to those who are concerned and have an interest in these institutions.
5. **The rule of law** means that the law is a reference for all and guarantees its sovereignty over all without exception. This means that laws and regulations are just and implemented impartially, especially those related to human rights and ensuring a high level of security and public safety in society.
6. **Efficiency:** Good utilization of human, financial, material, and natural resources by institutions to meet specific needs.

7. **Orientation Consensus:** Governance mediates various interests to reach a broad consensus on what is best for the collective interest, and on policies and procedures, wherever possible.
8. **Responsiveness:** Organizations should seek and direct operations to serve all stakeholders.
9. **Strategic vision:** It is defined by the concept of development in partnership between state institutions and the private sector through long-term plans to develop community work on the one hand, and its members on the other hand, and work on human development. To achieve positive results in drawing up plans, internal and external variables must be considered, risks should be studied, and solutions should be tried.

2.4.3 The Main Actors of Good Governance

Governance includes the following actors:

2.4.3.1 The State and its Institutions (Centralized and Decentralized). The state is considered a major actor and a major party in the embodiment of governance, by defining and formulating public policies in the country by setting the system of legislation laws and determining the methods of their implementation. By possessing this legitimate means, the state can set regulatory frameworks that allow for open popular participation, respect for human rights, guarantee freedom of the media, respect for labor standards, protection, and fairness of women, as well as setting rational standards in the field of learning, work, vocational training, housing, and the environment, distributing resources fairly. (Blatter, 2003)

The state and its institutions are the only ones capable of achieving major balances in the economic and social fields in society. The local authorities should also work on involving citizens through official committees and periodic meetings, and through the influence of the

public concerned with development projects in committees of follow-up, supervision, and control of these projects. The location of the local administration and its proximity to the citizen, and the latter's contact with it, requires it to open ways for citizens' participation in the development process, decision-making and the exercise of popular control. (Rosenau and Czempiel, 1992)

2.4.3.2 Civil Society. Civil society consists of non-governmental organizations and institutions, professional and labor unions, cultural and cooperative associations, political parties that are not represented in state institutions, associations for equality between women and men, charitable institutions, etc. Civil society acts as a spokesperson for democracy, as it is the main challenger to the authority of the state that Reduces deviation from good management system practice. It also acts as a regulator in the political arena. This civil society, with its various structures, would frame the public opinion of citizens to consider issues related to the public interest, such as the issues of protecting the low-income classes, defending the marginalized in society, organizing liberal professions, fighting poverty, etc. It also plays the role of an observer on the official bodies within the framework of the latter's making of public policies. (Legaspi, 2005)

2.4.3.3 The Private Sector. Due to the increasing growth in the size of the private sector in the state in which the application of good governance is required, the private sector has become a mechanism or an effective tool in embodying this type of governance, in that it plays its significant role as a partner of the public administration (the state). This is in accordance with the social responsibility that falls on his shoulders, and that the state belongs to him. It can provide the necessary expertise, money, and knowledge in development processes in partnership with official state agencies or civil society organizations in various fields. (Cariño, 2002)

2.4.4 Levels of Governance

Plumpton and Graham talked about three areas in which governance can be linked:

2.4.4.1 Governance in Global Space. Where governance in the global sphere deals with issues outside the domain of a single government administration. In the United Nations definition of global governance in its report entitled “Our neighborhood global,” it is the way we conduct global affairs, how they relate to our relationships, and the way they make decisions that affect the common future. (Rosenau, 1992)

2.4.4.2 Governance in National Space. This type of governance exists within a single society and is sometimes understood as a private right, which can contain several levels: national, loyalty, and municipal. Although the government is still the main actor, it does not bear the burden of governance alone, as it has changed its role, from the role of the administrative authority to a leadership role in a multi-centered governance environment, as well as from a bureaucratic work method to a participatory method, and from giving orders and supervision to accountability for results, from relying on internal capabilities to relying on competitiveness and innovation. (Pierre and Peters, 2000)

2.4.4.3 Corporate Governance. This type of governance is found in joint-stock and non-contributing institutions, which are usually accountable to boards of directors. Much of the literature calls this type of corporate governance, and it is considered one of the basic elements in improving economic efficiency. Corporate governance includes a set of relations between the company's executive management, its board of directors, its shareholders and other concerned parties and stakeholders in different ways. The corporate governance method should also provide appropriate incentives for the board of directors and the executive management of the company

to pursue goals that are consistent with the interest of the company and its shareholders. (Rhodes, 2000)

To sum up, the concept of governance has been linked to the concept of system reform, in the sense that the latter includes a set of rules regulating the political sphere. Hence, good governance has been found as an elegant method in managing and formulating the basic rules within which the state operates in coordination with other fundamental actors within society such as civil society to contain the needs of society and the private sector to frame the economy and rotate it towards development. and administrative organizations. Human societies have developed many plans and strategies of different orientations, to limit the corruption of religious rule to values as a means of mobilizing the individual morally based on the moral conscience inherent in integrity.

We find that secular societies restricted individuals to deterrent laws and intensified control and accountability procedures, i.e., a method of intimidation to encourage people to obtain rights. Governance and political reform are involved in combating corruption in governance. Wherever these qualities are available, political reform enters as a means, and governance as a method for fixing deficiencies in governance is represented in the following:(1) Absence of a legal framework or non-application of the law; (2) Lack of transparency of information; (3) Failure to separate the public interest from the private interest, especially between public and private money; (4) Low confidence of citizens in the laws; (5) The existence of priorities that conflict with development, in addition to the misuse of resources.

Hence, we conclude that governance reform requires strengthening governance as a method of good governance and should be distributed across the levels of the political system:

1. The structural level: It requires a balance in the distribution of political and economic power in society and the organization of the general rules that it determines.
2. The political level: It requires the existence of a system that enjoys political legitimacy through the adoption of a democratic style of government based on political pluralism and the separation of powers to ensure the greatest degree of transparency, accountability, and effectiveness. This is demonstrated by the method of oversight granted to Parliament over government actions, and its accountability and interrogation to ensure its effectiveness.
3. The administrative level: It requires rational administrative governance, based on bringing the citizen closer to the administration, and its enjoyment of efficiency and transparency, and is subject to accountability at its various levels.

To sum up, the different historical experiences between the Western intellectual system and the Arab system gave two different contents to the concept of reform, which was reflected in the meanings and idiomatic connotations. While reform in the Western reference expresses a future dimension by reshaping reality in a better way and engineering it better without being restricted to its origin, reform in its meaning contained in traditional Arab literature refers to returning things to their good origin before corruption occurred. The reform thus refers to a "past" direction that assumes that the optimal state is the previous state or the original state.

The complexity and confusion associated with different experiences and references increases with the intervention of factors related to the interest dimension and the selective employment of concepts in the field of political science. Everyone agrees on the need to carry out serious and deep political reforms in the structure of the existing Arab regimes, without there being any agreement on the real meaning and the expected ceiling for these reforms. The ruling

elites mean by reform any modifications they make to the structure of the existing system without compromising its essence and without that leading to a profound transformation at the level of rules and balances. As for the opposition, it views reform as a deep path that begins with changing the rules of the political game and ends with changing the ruling elites.

On the other hand, the influential forces in the international environment view reform as a path that may help the arrival of new elites that serve their interests or extend the life of the existing regimes in case of fear of the arrival of new leaders that may threaten their influence and interests.

Political reform, like other political tracks, whose outputs and ends depend on the goals and objectives of the forces that undertake it or supervise its embodiment, and then on the ability of those forces to impose their reformist logic to its end. At every stage, the reform project is subjected to pressures from supporters and opponents. Hence, it is subject to the risks of modification and diversion. Authoritarian political regimes have gained long experience in employing "democratic slogans" in other than their real contexts. It also possesses great capabilities in circumventing public demands from its actual aims and objectives. If those regimes are taking the initiative and controlling the pace and pace of reform, fears are growing that new opportunities will be lost to embody real political reform.

3. Methodology Plan

3.1 Research Approach

In this dissertation, the researcher addressed the problem of “which of the two regimes, Monarchy or Republic is the most effective and successful to achieve the desired results of the political reform process?”

In order to answer the research question, the researcher used a combination of three approaches in order to answer the main question of the study, which is the analytical method, the comparative method and the case study method.

As for the analytical approach, it is an organized method that works on dismantling the subject of the study into simple and primary elements, then a process of criticism and evaluation of information and data, and in the end comes the stage of synthesis or conclusion and coming up with clear concepts, which the researcher uses in generalization by setting certain foundations and rules, or in the special treatment of solving application problem.

When applied to the study, the study of the political reform process in the light of the monarchy and republican systems calls for analyzing the results and information collected to be a basis for understanding the study problem in a logical way, analyzing, and interpreting it to reach conclusions that contribute to understanding the present situation and planning.

In order to understand the process of political reform and to determine which of the two systems, the monarchy or the republic, is more effective in the success of this process, this study requires an understanding and analysis of the concept of political reform as a process of development and radical change in the form of governance or social relations within the state and within the framework of the existing political system, as well as an understanding of Its motives, causes and requirements, in addition to distinguishing it from some terms such as political

development, political modernization, democracy and others. Here, the analytical method is the best approach that serves this part.

As for the case study approach, the case study approach is one of the most widely used and widespread in studies related to the social sciences and humanities. This is due to the fact that the case study is an important issue that is a comprehensive and accurate description and analysis of the political phenomenon under study, which is the process of political reform in the monarchy and republican systems.

When applied to the study, the use of the case study approach helps to show the form and method of building institutions and state structures, whether in the monarchy or the constitutional system, by embodying the principles of democracy that are the basis for the correct reform process.

3.2 Type of the Study

This study is considered a qualitative study commensurate with the combination of the two approaches that will be used in this study, especially since the qualitative research depends mainly on the analytical generalization. It is generally one of the types of research that is used in order to obtain an in-depth understanding and a comprehensive description of the social phenomenon.

This approach is based on the accurate use of qualitative information and depends on interview, observation, and case study techniques in collecting and processing information, as the origin of qualitative research understands, that is, understanding the meanings of the act and social interactions and diving into the subjectivity of the phenomenon under study. The credibility of the results of this research is determined by comparing them with the results of previous studies that focused on the same topic.

Applying it to this study, this study relies on the analytical method and the case study method to study which of the monarchy or republican systems is most effective and appropriate to achieve positive results for the political reform process by applying to the two countries of the United Arab Emirates as a case study of the monarchy, and Tunisia as a case study of the republican system.

3.2.1 Case Study as a Main Approach in this Study

(Seawright and Gerring, 2008) argued that random sampling is not typically a viable approach when the total number of cases to be chosen is small. Hence attention to purposive modes of sampling is needed. Yet, while the existing qualitative literature on case selection offers a wide range of suggestions for case selection, most techniques discussed require in-depth familiarity of each case. Seven case selection procedures are considered, each of which facilitates a different strategy for within-case analysis. The case selection procedures considered focus on typical, diverse, extreme, deviant, influential, most similar, and most different cases. For each case selection procedure, quantitative approaches are discussed that meet the goals of the approach, while still requiring information that can reasonably be gathered for a large number of cases.

A “case study” can be defined as "the intensive analysis of a single unit or a small number of cases to understand a larger class of similar cases. (Amenta, 1991) Thus, Case-study approach needs a sample of one or several cases, each of which is a single, spatially delimited phenomenon observed either at a given point in time or over some period. (Levy, 2008)

Within the context of a particular study, the definition of a case is determined by the theoretical interests that motivate the study, for cases exemplify the principal unit of concern in that study.

In the study that we are conducting, it was intended to find out which of the two monarchy or republican systems is the best and most appropriate for the process of political reform, and accordingly two case studies were selected, namely, the Emirates and Tunisia in order to compare them to other cases or to other countries that follow the same monarchy and republican systems, especially since the general features of each The system is one and that differs in the conditions of its consolidation within the state.

It's worth noting that case selection inevitably hinges upon the population of an inference. It is only by reference to this larger set of cases that one can begin to think about which cases might be most appropriate for in-depth analysis. Thus, researchers must specify the set of cases which the research question or a specific proposition might apply to.

3.2.2 The Reasons to Choose Tunisia and UAE as Cases Studies

The concept of reform is one of the controversial and debated social science concepts. Choosing two case studies, one for a monarchy and the other for a republican system, will enrich scientific research in this field, as it is one of the first studies that examines the efficacy of any of these systems for implementing political reform.

This study came to focus on the political reform processes in the countries of the United Arab Emirates and Tunisia, by identifying the reality of the political reform process there, studying its stages, and the factors that affected this reform, on the one hand, and identifying the obstacles and challenges facing the entire process.

And choosing the UAE as a case study, came because this country has followed the path of transformations at the level of political reform, political participation, and the issue of democracy in general. This came due to a number of facts and internal and external pressures, which focused on the need to bring about important shifts on the policy priorities of the existing

regime. The trend was towards paying attention to human rights and opening the way for political pluralism. (Davidson, 2009)

It is well known that the United Arab Emirates has a special status that differs from the rest of the Arab Gulf states, as its system of government is federation. There is the federal government, which has a specific role, and there are local governments, which have a role within the borders of their emirates. The federal government has the first say in most matters of law and governance, and its responsibility in the first place relates to foreign relations and the defense of the homeland. The issue of reform today in the United Arab Emirates is no longer an option from a set of options that can be taken or left. Rather, it has become an important necessity internally before it becomes external for the political system to enhance its legitimacy, as it is an important member of the Gulf and Arab regional system. In view of the great economic and financial resources it possesses, the state has become an active role in the capabilities and conditions of the Middle East region, which are very important in international politics. (O'Sullivan, 2008)

As for choosing Tunisia, the political system in Tunisia emerging after 2011 is considered a political base for the political reform process after two eras that did not achieve the Tunisian people the desired reform projects aimed at changing life systems and achieving the greatest degree of freedom and effective and constructive political participation. (Cristina, 2011)

The reason for choosing the Tunisian case is that it represents a deep reform experience, in addition to being the first country that witnessed the Arab Spring uprising aimed at carrying out political reforms in the structure of its political system. It is worth noting that, the process of political reform always requires a commitment to implementing the constitution and the law and creating pluralistic electoral institutions, national security institutions, civil society, and a free media, although the relative presence and effectiveness of the regimes that preceded the

democratic transition in the Tunisian state varied, but after the Tunisian social movement it found It has a smooth atmosphere for its implementation and application. (Cristina, 2011)

The study contributes scientifically to deepening the understanding about the concepts of political reform such as democracy, participation, political pluralism, and human rights, in order to give a strong impetus to these concepts to achieve political stability for the case study countries. In practice, the study also provides an opportunity for those interested in and followers of Arab and Gulf affairs to learn about how to move traditional societies to modern societies through the process of political reform.

It is worth noting that this study seeks to analyze the data of the studied situation through the tools of political analysis, especially deduction and analytical extrapolation of the reality of the political reform process and its future in the United Arab Emirates and Tunisia, and to arrive at a series of interpretations and possibilities that will produce this future according to the current reality data.

The current study is distinguished from its previous studies, which dealt with political reform in the United Arab Emirates and Tunisia, as it deals with a “very recent” stage of political reform in the two countries. The United Arab Emirates and Tunisia have undertaken many political reforms and passed many laws that are in response to the demands for political reform in the country.

Hence, the current study, after addressing the development of the political reform process in the United Arab Emirates and Tunisia since 1990, seeks to keep pace with the latest developments in this process in recent years, evaluate the reform procedures and laws that have been adopted, and show the extent to which they respond to the demands of the political forces in

the two countries. In addition to addressing the reform laws that must be approved to develop the political reform process in the two countries. Hence, it is a new addition to previous studies.

3.2.3 Good Governance with Interrelated Reforms

This concept refers to the idea of political modernization, building democracy, regulated change in the level of political, institutional and cultural development, developing the constitutional organization of state authorities, realizing the idea of accountability and focusing on popular participation at all levels, public mobilization, the independence of managing state agencies, guaranteeing the rights and public freedoms of citizens and enabling them to obtain their rights and enjoy their freedoms. guaranteed to them by the constitution and the law.

The submission of the forces of society and the centers of power in state institutions to the law and the constitution, in order to create a legal system that guarantees freedoms, preserves rights, preserves gains, and regulates the process of competition and conflict.

During the period of political turmoil "after the Gulf War of 1990" in which the region experienced a series of developments, the UAE witnessed a series of developments at the regional and international levels, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the unipolar domination of the world and the spread of the wave of terrorism and its repercussions, especially after the events of September 11th. 2001, the coercive occupation of Iraq, the American initiative in the Greater Middle East project, and the unsafe connotations it bears, all of which posed a political challenge to the United Arab Emirates, which began to face a number of issues, including the lack of activating the role of women politically, and issues of political, financial and administrative corruption, and even economic, and the loss of political participation after the Emirati citizen became relatively outside the political process, especially in the decision-making process, and the absence of a code of public rights and freedoms, especially

freedom of opinion and expression. All these serious challenges stood in the way of attempts to reform and build good governance in the United Arab Emirates, which needs to be addressed and calls for a comprehensive reform process to overcome these obstacles and facilitate the way for the application of the principles of good governance to launch an integrated development process at the political, social, and economic levels.

The reform process was associated with the following concepts:

1. That any real change necessarily means a transition from one situation to a completely different situation, and therefore limited or formal changes or the so-called reformist vacuum.
2. To achieve any real reform, the reform process must be comprehensive, continuous, and sustainable.
3. The requirements of real and continuous political reform necessitate being guided by a set of standards and controls, some of which are related to the values that will face the transitional period and the methodology of the transitional period, such as its strategies, political objectives, priorities, and programs, and some of which relate to its duration and implementation mechanisms.

Reform requires the use of transparency mechanisms, whereby all citizens must have a role in the decision-making process, either directly or through legitimate mediator institutions that represent their interests, and this participation is based on freedom of expression and opinion and depends on the development of capacities for constructive participation.

We reviewed many studies related to the status of political reform in the Arab Gulf states, and then we found many analytical and comparative studies related to the topic under study, namely: A study (Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2004) entitled "Corruption and Good

Governance in the Arab Countries": This symposium was organized by the Center for Arab Unity Studies under the title (Corruption and Good Governance) in Beirut, in which 61 researchers from Arab countries participated. Algeria, Tunisia, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Morocco).

Objectives achieved from the study and common points:

1. Continuity of dialogue and intellectual debate on the application of accountability and transparency, by clarifying the places of defects and defects and addressing them in the spirit of group and responsibility towards Arab interests and wealth.
2. The importance of the citizen's role in the reform process and participation in fighting corruption and protecting public interests.

Achieved results:

1. Recognizing the importance of combating and resisting corruption, holding the corrupt and corrupt accountable, and emphasizing the importance of good governance, its care and protection for public interests.
2. The role of follow-up and oversight, and the right to access information and use available resources, must be empowered in order to detect corruption, reform the situation, and enhance democracy and popular participation.

We believe that this study came to show and clarify the places of imbalance caused by corruption, as it was concerned with issues of resistance to and combating corruption, as well as the issue of accountability and transparency, and it touched on the issue of reform, but in its general framework, although it conducted field studies for three countries of the Arab Gulf only, namely the UAE, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia But it did not adequately cover the issue of political reform, as it closed this important aspect of the comprehensive reform process, and this was clarified by the researcher in this study, as it dealt with the role of political reform in the regimes

of the Arab Gulf states and its impact on the progress of the comprehensive development process.

3.3 Why is Tunisia Still Facing Major Internal Problems in 2021-2022?

3.3.1 Economic Problems

The internal problems that exist so far are related to the economic situation in Tunisia. Official estimates indicate that the Tunisian economy will shrink by 8.8% in 2021 because of the total and partial closures that were imposed on economic activities during the past year, especially the sectors that contribute a large amount of GDP, on top of which is the sector Tourism and trade, which resulted in a significant increase in unemployment rates to reach 4.18% by the end of the year.

A relative improvement of economic activity in Tunisia is expected over the next two years, but this will depend on the growth paths of the main trading partners, which are still weak, especially in the European Union countries. A limited rise in investment levels of public debt that will impose restrictions on fiscal policy during the coming period, especially considering the objectives of the economic reform program that Tunisia is committed to with the International Monetary Fund. Based on the above, the Tunisian economy is expected to grow by 4% this year and about 3% next year.

It is expected that the rise in global prices for basic materials and energy and the slow recovery of the national economy as a result of the relative weakness of external demand, especially that coming from the euro area, and the unprecedented repercussions of the pandemic on the tourism sector, and the failure to restore the production pattern of extractive materials to reinforce pressures on the balances of public finances and the balance of payments , which would maintain inflationary risks despite the economic slowdown, which would raise the degree of

caution in monetary policy to contribute to maintaining price stability. For the coming years, the development of the dinar exchange rate remains linked to the change in the liquidity situation in the local exchange market, and the extent to which the current balance deficit continues to improve, in addition to the development of the euro exchange rate against the US dollar on the global market.

Tax and non-tax revenues recorded a decline of 5.10% and 5.7%, respectively, during the year 2021 compared to their levels recorded in 2020 because of the resulting repercussions. Thus, the state's general budget deficit increased to 4.13% of GDP, which represents an increase of 4.10 percentage points compared to the deficit estimated in the original Finance Law.

The medium-term budget framework for the period (2020-2022) is based on the following:

- Achieving an increase in the level of local revenues by 9.8% through the growth of tax revenues by 8.9%.
- Increasing the percentage of the contribution of self-resources in financing the budget to about 79% in 2022 compared to 5.76% in 2019.
- Reducing the budget deficit to 2% in 2022, compared to 5.3% in 2019.
- Achieving a positive primary deficit starting in 2020.

All these indicators increase the turmoil of the current internal situation in Tunisia, and the lack of economic efficiency makes the matter worse.

3.4 The United Arab Emirates

3.4.1 The Economic Situation

The economic situation is completely different with the presence of oil and its large revenue, characterized by a weak population base and a very small agricultural sector, with almost absolute dependence on oil rents.

It can be said that since the early seventies, and because of the abundance of the oil revolution, the ruling families in the GCC countries were able to impose the conditions of an implicit social contract between them and their subjects that require that the citizens receive good material benefits in return for their political loyalty to these families or at least their acceptance of the political truce with them.

These hypothetical contractual terms were based on a basic rule that is the existence and continuity of rentier states dependent on huge oil revenues, but the sharp decline in these revenues since the mid-eighties, and the government's need to adopt economic policies to confront the accumulation of debts and the mounting deficit in budgets led to a breach of the terms of that contract. The emergence of demands for political and democratic participation was a natural matter in that case, as there was no longer any justification for voluntary submission.

It tended to adopt economic reform programs in varying degrees and in different forms, which are based, along with other elements on specialization, and the imposition of some fees on goods and services that were provided free of charge or almost free, in addition to the tendency of governments to reduce the burden of employment.... etc.

In this situation, the ruling regimes found no escape from taking some steps on the path of political reform to provide a kind of political compensation to citizens as a result of continuing economic troubles on the one hand, and to take this as an entry point to contain the forces and

elements wishing to participate in political life on the other hand, as well as responding to some Global developments.

With the existence of such internal, economic, social, and political conditions, the government in the UAE had no choice but to interact with them, as it was no longer acceptable for the matter to escalate these demands and turn them into political unrest or unrest that threatens the legitimacy of the government, and because of these considerations, the measures taken by the authority varied. The ruling in the United Arab Emirates was represented in the adoption of a permanent constitution in the Emirates and moving forward with the holding of the elections for the Emirates National Council.

Efforts for economic and social transformation and plans to reduce the fiscal deficit in the budgets of Middle Eastern countries have given priority without neglecting the process of democratic reform and existing governance systems, encouraging action to build conscious societies and non-governmental institutions, and intensifying cooperation with popular organizations dedicated to economic reform and supporting public freedoms. It provided these organizations, and the people's aid, with the necessary technical assistance to carry out their tasks, especially in the field of responding to the complaints of the communities in the region.

It developed a map of economic reform, which includes the dismantling of the welfare state, which means rationalizing spending, privatization, encouraging foreign investment, opening to markets, and integrating into the global economy through joining the World Trade Organization.

Excessive dependence on oil revenues (and its derivatives) in the formation of the GDP, and this is related to the fact that fluctuations in the growth rates of the GDP were in many cases a function of the fluctuations in the price of oil.

The Gulf oil countries depend on labor services imported from Asia and the "non-oil" Arab countries, which leads to a kind of interdependence between the oil-importing labor-importing countries, on the one hand, and the "non-oil" countries that benefit from workers' remittances, on the other hand.

3.4.2 Resource Mobilization

The issue of increasing the volume of public revenues in most developing countries is a very important issue. It is necessary for governments to focus on means of raising public revenues. There is international evidence that the countries that have achieved a degree of success in economic development, including the UAE, are also those that have managed to achieve high levels of mobilizing public resources.

Improving and strengthening tax administration systems by providing public resources for these activities, reducing, and eliminating exceptions and filling loopholes Diversifying sources of tax revenue instead of relying on a single indirect tax such as value added tax Increasing personal income tax collection from the wealthy and affluent, targeting luxury consumption in raising tax revenue Collection Capital taxes in a more effective manner and without affecting investment.

Taxes on capital and foreign trade (custom duties) are easy to collect, and they are less regressive than indirect taxes that affect the incomes of the poor. As the reliance on "indirect" local taxes of various types in the budgets of developing countries' governments generally increases the levels of income inequality. Therefore, the shift to greater collection of direct taxes on corporate and individual profits must be taken into consideration.

Personal income tax rates in developing countries are usually non-progressive in practice, even when nominal tax rates are so high that they appear to be progressive, the numerous

exceptions and other complications, combined with lax tax administration and collection, make real taxes paid by the wealthier much lower in the Indeed.

3.4.3 Financial Policy in the UAE

Fiscal policy is related to a set of government policies for revenue collection and government spending patterns, and it plays a crucial role in determining the levels of economic activity, as it affects income distribution, and it is noted that the means through which public resources are mobilized, and the extent to which they increase, affect the income of different sectors In society, and on the government's ability to spend publicly, and this directly affects the possibility of economic expansion in the future because of the critical role of public investment, and it is important for any fiscal strategy to be sustainable in the medium term, and this means that it does not lead to a huge accumulation of public debt or lead to a deficit It is cumulative in the state's public budgets, but this is not always required in the short term, as insisting on achieving rigid financial goals in each annual cycle may lead to higher growth opportunities and the possibility of creating job opportunities and employing local resources in an effective manner.

The search for an optimal mix of policies is not only a technocratic practice, but it also reflects the political choices and has social connotations, as the comprehensive policies bear strong distributive results, especially in terms of the distribution of assets and income and the difference in the provision of public goods and services between different groups of the population.

In short, making economic policy, especially macroeconomic policy, is not only related to the total aggregates in the economy, but also to the distribution of income, gains and losses

across classes and different social groups, and this is what the UAE is doing to achieve its economic success.

There is a point worthy of attention that must be taken into consideration, which is the extent of the importance of microeconomic tools in achieving macroeconomic goals. As specific microeconomic interventions can have important effects on the macroeconomic level and on development in general, either positively or negatively. For example, credit decisions may affect the balances among sectors and thus the overall growth path and trends.

The gross domestic product of the United Arab Emirates in 2019 - 164 billion dollars, and oil exports are estimated at 44 billion dollars, or 26.8%.

3.5 The Parties in Tunisia

Although they won the most seats in the recent parliamentary elections, the Tunisian president's decisions to dissolve parliament received great popular support, especially as it came in the wake of a major political and economic crisis that the country has been witnessing in recent months.

The Ennahda movement lost everything because it failed in its basic project, which is to change the pattern of Tunisian society, which does not accept extremist ideology and the thought of the Muslim Brotherhood, and Tunisians who have known many civilizations will not accept political Islam.

Political Islam in Tunisia came through a request from external forces, and everything that is commanded from outside cannot succeed against the will of the people.

There are many political parties in Tunisia that do not have the freedom to make political decisions in the country, which exacerbates the internal situation in the country and affects it.

The roots of the problems in Tunisia can be attributed to economic reasons, parties and elites, administrative corruption, judicial corruption, and there is no shortage of state institutions. State institutions, and political closure.

3.5.1 In the UAE

Here we find the total difference in the Emirates, where we find freedom of expression and opinion, and the preservation of these rights for any Emirati citizen who wants to express his opinion, and as we note the absence or even the absence of popular objection in the United Arab Emirates.

It is known in advance that political parties represent organizational frameworks that include a group of citizens who believe in common political and ideological goals, with the aim of achieving a specific program and access to power.

Through the parties, the people exercise their political role and participate in decision-making. Hence, the political parties were considered a true embodiment of the will of the people and a viable guarantee for the protection of public liberties.

Parties are the link between the ruling authorities and the people, and therefore they are a mirror of public opinion, through which the people achieve their goals and aspirations, and through them also ensure that the ruling authorities are not domineering or deviant. The role of parties is emerging as an effective and influential tool of public opinion in our contemporary world, through their contribution to the development of citizens' political awareness, deepening their awareness of the concepts of democracy, and fueling their enthusiasm to participate in shaping their future.

Through the multiplicity of viewpoints, divergent visions, and heterogeneous solutions to the problems faced by society, the parties play an active role towards enabling the ruling

authorities to issue decisions in accordance with the trends of the people and consistent with their desires.

The importance of the parties lies in creating the opposition, which is considered a safety valve to ensure that the majority does not become extremism, rule or tyranny, provided that the majority respects the opinion of the minority that holds the opposition, and that the opposition respects the opinion of the majority, and does not take the opposition as a goal in itself, but must be considered as a means of participation In political work, in order for the people to achieve their future goals and ambitions.

The aim of the opposition, in the researcher's assessment, is not a clash between it and the majority, or a struggle between them over the seats of government or achieving self-benefits or immediate interests for its members, but rather the real national opposition, which targets the general national interest.

What concerns us here in the field of our study is to emphasize that whatever criticisms or shortcomings may be directed to the political party system, there is no doubt that partisan pluralism is a title for democracy, as it helps to highlight, enrich, and efficacy of political reform in society.

3.6 How Can the UAE Achieve Progress and Success Economically and Politically While Tunisia Suffers from Serious Problems?

The path to the future remains difficult and complex, despite the fact that reforms now occupy a firm place on the political agendas in the United Arab Emirates, and unless reform efforts continue and begin to produce clear results, it must be expected that social, economic and political problems will develop into a comprehensive and stifling crisis, as they seem The situation now, there is an urgent need to accelerate the reform steps and to address some of the objective issues that directly affect the relationship between the state and society.

The future aspiration of the rulers of the Emirates, their insight and knowledge of developments around the world, are all positive points that have led to the country's development and success.

3.7 How the System Affects the Reform Process in the Monarchy of the United Arab Emirates

The fact that the United Arab Emirates followed the path of transformations at the level of political reform, political participation, and the issue of democracy in general, came due to a number of data and internal and external pressures, which focused on the need to make important shifts on the priorities of the policy of the existing regime. human rights and open the way for political pluralism.

It is well known that the United Arab Emirates has a special situation that differs from the rest of the Arab Gulf states, as the system of government in it is federal and federal. There is the federal government, and it has a specific role, and there are local governments that have a role within the borders of their emirates. The federal government has the first say in most matters of law and governance, and its responsibility in the first place relates to foreign relations and the defense of the homeland. The issue of reform today in the United Arab Emirates is no longer an option from a group of options that can be taken or left but has become an important necessity internally before it is external to enhance the political system's legitimacy, as it is an important member of the Gulf and Arab regional system, given the economic and financial resources it possesses. The state has played an active role in the capabilities and conditions of the Middle East region, which are very important in international politics.

The process of political reform is an integrated and interconnected process with many other issues that affect and are affected by it through the interaction between these phenomena in the daily political life of the political system. It is also linked to educational and social reform

and the fight against corruption, and the reason for this is that reform itself needs requirements in order to achieve it, some of which are related to society as a whole, in addition to the fact that any change in the nature of the work of the political system necessarily must bring about a change in society, as it does not. This new situation must be adapted and dealt with as a new political reality with new requirements.

Although there are some specific aspects of reform in the UAE, the process of reform, political development, and democratic transformation in general in the UAE faces many challenges and obstacles, both at the internal level and at the external international level.

3.8 Axes of Reform in the UAE

Undoubtedly, there are a number of basic issues that together constitute an integrated system for the political reform process and basic axes for any desired political reform. These axes are concentrated in political parties and civil society organizations, which are among the most important mechanisms for the functioning of democratic systems, especially as they provide a peaceful means for deliberation. In a second axis, the study deals with the issue of the political role of women in the UAE, and in a third axis, the study deals with the reality of press and media institutions and its impact on political reform in the United Arab Emirates, noting that the researcher has referred to one of the most important axes of political reform in the UAE represented in the supervisory and legislative role of the UAE Legislative Council called the National Council. The researcher showed the shortcomings in this role that negatively affected the process of political reform in the UAE.

Contemporary regimes tendencies vary between adopting a one-party system or embracing the principle of partisan pluralism. Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes often take the one-party system as a democratic confrontation through which they justify their policies. The

ruling authority under this system is also trying to exploit all media outlets, and the press as well, to impose the principles and teachings of the party that may not be violated, opposed, or deviated from. Then the public opinion within this party becomes the official public opinion that expresses the orientations of the party leaders, who often generate the reins of political power in the state.

What in democratic regimes such as Tunisia, which embraces the principle of partisan pluralism, where parties often take different positions on fundamental political, economic, and social issues, which allows public opinion, many opportunities, and many areas, to express its trends, and then the strength of public opinion increases, and its role is growing, and the interaction of its influence.

This was also one of the reasons for the success of the United Arab Emirates, unlike Tunisia, knowing that the system of government is republican, and the system followed in the Emirates is the monarchy.

3.8.1 Civil Society

Civil society organizations in the UAE political map had an important role in the success of the UAE reality. Civil society is essentially a pluralistic society, meaning that it is multi-group, tributary, trends, convictions, and inclinations. He explained that this pluralism, which is the source of vitality, creativity, and morality, necessitates the emergence of institutions and bodies such as parties, unions, labor and professional unions, and cultural and social associations. Hence, civil society cannot be imagined without these societal and civil institutions, which vary in the diversity of groups and groups, and differ from each other in terms of activity. The role, size, depth of affiliation, and degree of solidarity, as well as varying according to the members' level of awareness of their interests and the legitimacy of their demands.

Civil society institutions must enjoy organizational and administrative independence from the state and political authority in general. The state should not interfere in the activities of civil society institutions.

There is no doubt that the independence condition is perhaps one of the most important conditions for the emergence and development of civil society, and the independence of civil society institutions expresses the ability of individuals to organize their affairs, manage their activities, and express their interests and desires away from direct and permanent interference and directness of the state and its institutions. Hence, civil society cannot be established under the subordination of the state's voluntary and civil institutions.

Therefore, civil society and the state are in a permanent state of positive and dynamic interaction. It is important that this interaction not turn into subordination, dissolution, and attachment of civil society to the political community.

Civil society in the Emirates, in the phase before the flow of oil wealth, was limited in capabilities, capabilities and influence as well, and its institutions, if so to speak, were limited to some unstable sports clubs, and private councils, which discussed daily life concerns, in addition to some literary forums, which was closely related to individual work, which floated and disappeared with the demise of individuals, and the possibilities available to it.

However, the most important institution within these forums, councils and clubs is the mosques, which were not just the only existing and continuing religious institution, but were the focus of charitable, voluntary, and cooperative civil work, in the pre-oil era. On the other hand, there was also the "tribe". Which is considered a traditional civil society institution, which used to manage most of its internal affairs in isolation from the existing forms of authority.

Most of these institutions have begun to disintegrate, as a result of the disintegration of the traditional society and the emergence of the modern independent federal state. Oil was able to break the blindness that dominated the society of the Emirates, stir social silence, bring prosperity, and achieve civilized openness to contemporary cultures. These transformations constituted a modern life that, at first sight, seemed completely different from what prevailed before the influx of oil wealth and before the establishment of the modern federal state.

The new middle class has modernized social life in the Emirates, created new methods, opened horizons and fields, and made achievements and gains at all levels. Hence, the emergence and rooting of this class in the UAE society means consolidating the objective foundations required for the advancement and recovery of civil society institutions, which are mainly managed by members of the new middle class. Perhaps one of the most important features of this class is that it is still modern and is still growing, and its life and cultural experiences are modest, in addition to being multiple affiliations and trends, and all of this in turn is also reflected on the society to the accumulation of experiences, clarity of vision, class unity, and intellectual and social maturity.

Hence, civil society in the Emirates is closely linked to the pioneering role of the new middle class. However, the development and growth of this society will depend heavily on the development of the legislative structure in the Emirates because civil society, in its essence, is a society that must be governed by laws, legislation and regulations, not customs. Inherited customs and traditions, and in this context came the emergence of the federal state, through the declaration and implementation of the first constitution in its history on the second of December 1971, which emphasized in its preamble the convergence of the wills of the rulers of the Emirates with its people on the establishment of the federal state and on the provision of a free

and dignified constitutional life. With the people of the Emirates, they have moved towards a democratic, representative government with integrated pillars, in an Arab and Islamic society free from fear and anxiety.

3.8.2 Technological Advances in Communications

Certainly, the Emirati society has become accustomed to a series of other developments in which the ruling elites have little control over their scope and directions. From expansion and convergence, in addition to the impact of the newly emerging educational opportunities, they have transformed the Gulf governments into bodies that respond to the requirements of change, instead of governments that take the initiative to implement them. The openness to the global information network (the Internet) and independent sources of information has also led to the emergence of a growing generation of young people characterized by political awareness and social awareness of the problems facing their societies and the shortcomings that characterize their current conditions. To implement it, we find that what is happening in the Gulf region is a gradual and continuous development of a dynamic transformation process that was launched with the aim of radically changing the way in which both the ruler and the ruled mold their method of interaction with the political, economic, and social levels. From this point of view, we find it wrong to say that the wave of change What is the current outcome of the Iraq war in 2003 and is not part of the comprehensive transformation in the global and social environment that has emerged in recent decades.

In summary, the wide spread of democracy, the expansion of global civil society, and the spread of the information and communications revolution, which is one of the main manifestations of the era of globalization, have collectively formed a new global environment that has repercussions on the internal political conditions in many countries of the world, and

from here, even if these reflections vary in Its nature and degree from one country to another, the Gulf Cooperation Council countries are not isolated from this environment, especially since the citizens of the United Arab Emirates are the most in contact with modern means in the fields of media, communications and information compared to other Arab countries.

However, we do not find much progress on the ground in the Tunisian organizations, and even today they need qualitative leaps, as they have had in the United Arab Emirates.

3.9 In Tunisia, the Situation is Different with the Republican Government

The transition from non-democratic rule to democratic rule presupposes a peaceful transfer of power and activation of political participation. Whenever there is reform in political structures and institutions that helps in achieving local development, the more legitimacy they are in the Tunisian political system, the more this leads to the pursuit of development projects.

The local government system is based on two principles:

1. The principle of democracy: This is because the local administration opens the door to popular participation in the affairs of governance at the local level and pushes it to pay attention to public affairs.

Civil society organizations have a role in the political struggle during colonialism and the authoritarian regimes that came after it, and during the Tunisian uprising, it was able to emerge in the Tunisian arena in defending the rights of citizens and workers, starting with work, fighting unemployment, and putting pressure on the ruling regimes.

2. Tunisian General of Industry and Commerce and the Deanship of Lawyers and the Tunisian League for the Defense of Human Rights. The largest or largest of these professional organizations was able to gather the political parties of the ruling Troika and the opposition, who are the political actors around a single negotiating table.

History of the Tunisian State Civil society organizations have highlighted their ability to formulate a vision in the field of political good, contribute to achieving political stability and mediate in the event of disputes between the political parties, with the importance of the step taken by the Quartet sponsoring dialogue in pushing for political détente in the country and progressing a great way in resolving the government track And turning around to form a team that will oversee the management of the country's affairs in the next stage, but the calculations between the political parties are in an atmosphere of skepticism, distrust and partisan fanaticism. This did not make an agreement on the head of a consensus government, Mahdi Gommaa.

The process of political reform that followed the Tunisian uprising was difficult and gradual measures, starting with the Constituent Assembly that led the Tunisian state through the crises and followed the political steps resulting from the political assassinations that took place under the troika government because of ideological differences between the opposition political parties and those in power.

3.10 Methodology for the United Arab Emirates

3.10.1 Study Methodology

The study will adopt the systems analysis approach through a comprehensive and integrated view of the reform process, showing the relationships and interactions of the components of this process, the impact of each on the other, inventorying the inputs and trying to identify the impact of each one on the outputs, and then continuous follow-up of the process changes by measuring its outputs on its inputs or measuring the number of goals achieved in the light of the outputs.

This study will also adopt the following approaches:

1. The descriptive approach: The process of clarifying the theoretical frameworks for political reform and local development requires us to follow the method of description, especially the motives for political reform and the concepts approaching political reform, collecting and arranging facts from official documents and personal interviews, and then analyzing and interpreting historical incidents in the United Arab Emirates and Tunisia As a basis for understanding contemporary problems in a logical way, analyzing and interpreting them in order to reach conclusions that help in understanding the present situation and planning for the future.
2. Case study approach: This approach shows us the form and method of building institutions and structures of the nascent Tunisian state by embodying the principles of democracy, which are the basis for the proper reform process. In addition to examining the focused case information through the tools of political investigation, specifically allowing and insightful extrapolation of the reality of the process of political change and its future in the UAE and accepting the gradation of understandings and possible outcomes that would achieve this future as evidenced by the current reality.
3. The Comparative Approach: The researcher had to follow the comparative approach because there is a basic comparison between two countries, and the system of government followed in each of the United Arab Emirates and Tunisia. Federally, there is the federal government, which has a specific role, and there are local governments, which have a role within the borders of their emirates.

In Tunisia, the system used is different and it is known that it is an electoral democratic government.

3.11 Definition of Terms

In order to complete the methodology necessary to complete the research process, it is necessary to define the concepts and terms on which this study is based, which are: Political reform is a relatively recent topic, as its use emerged at the beginning of the current century, and it overlaps with a group of concepts such as political development and political modernization, and is associated with third world countries and the development of their political systems.

Reform: Reform is defined linguistically from the origin of the word “salh” and “salah” and “salha” meaning the thing from which corruption has been removed (Al-Jar, 649: 1973) and righteousness is against corruption, and reform is against corruption (Al-Razi, 1983: 367). Reform is also a language: it is reconfiguring or reconfiguring something and assembling it again or improving and repairing the condition.

Reform is the antithesis of corruption, and it is an action that reconciles reform, that is, the removal of corruption between people and harmony between them, and the meaning of reform is that: reform the thing after its corruption after its goodness, and sometimes it is by judgment for him that is good, and it is said, “God reformed him in his offspring.”

Samuel Huntington defined it as “the change of traditional values and behavior patterns, the dissemination of means of communication and education, the expansion of loyalty beyond the family, the village and the tribe to the nation, the rationalization of structures in power, the strengthening of functionally specialized organizations, the replacement of measures of honor and favoritism with measures of efficiency, and the support of a more equitable distribution of resources.”, 1999:121)

The researcher defines political reform as the change that affects the structure of the political community in the United Arab Emirates in terms of development and political participation.

Political Reform: The idea of political change covers different ideas and terms that were before it and used to benefit from them, such as the political transformation of events and political change (Alawi, 2010: 7). Consolidation of the system based on voting, constrained change on the planet The degree of political, institutional and social transformation of events, improvement of the protected association of state specialists, realizing the possibility of accountability and focus on famous cooperation at all levels and public activation, independence of organization of state offices, ensuring public privileges and opportunities for residents, enabling them to Achieving their freedoms and enjoying their opportunities guaranteed to them by the constitution and the law (Kishta and Adwan, 2005)

The specialist observes what one of the authors sees regarding the meaning of political change in terms of: subordinating the powers of society and concentrating power in state institutions to law and the constitution, to setting up a framework of regulation that ensures opportunities, jelly privileges, jelly gains, and directs the course of competition and conflict (1999: 122, Huntington").

It is also known that many researchers defined political reform as a set of practices that aim to modernize the performance of the state in various areas of life, which makes the political system in a dilemma of legitimacy in its various dimensions. However, reform here does not deviate from its role in preserving the ideological and political nature of social forces. The ruling here is to change everything so that it does not change anything.

Political Change: This idea alludes to changing designs and cycles. Political influences on the circulation and exercise of political power. The idea of political change may appear as an adaptation of the political framework to the demands, tensions, and effects of both internal and external natural changes. As the political framework for these gradations must achieve some modification in its pioneering institutional structure, goals, and arrangements. The political framework is influenced by the most common way of responding to such a large number of changes resulting from many variables, including accessible assets (Al-Salahi, 2008: 26).

Political change is the rebuilding of political institutions as much as the dictator's circulation of values within a society, with the aim that the framework can be adapted to real factors in the neighborhood, provinces, and the world.

Political Reform and Political Development: It came in the concept of development in the language in the sense of growth, that is, the increase from growth that grows, any increase or more. It came in the definition of political development according to Lucien Bey as “the increasing ability of the political system to manage public affairs, settle conflicts, meet popular demands and develop capabilities The political system is to strengthen the government’s work, its effectiveness and its rationality, and this is done with continuous efforts for the purpose of making new developments and then adapting to the development and the continuous and increasing mobilization of the various human and material resources and finally by means of a process of spreading core values that can guarantee the building of the political system. Thus, political development is referred to after the process of growth and change. Within political systems or change from one system to another, in the direction of increasing the government’s ability to respond to the demands of the internal and external structure. Therefore, political

development is a more comprehensive concept than reform, as reform represents one of the main tools for achieving comprehensive political development programs.

3.12 Theoretical Framework

In the first place, the hypothetical system the idea of change is one of the questionable and debated ideas of sociology, because it manages one of the important modes during the time of events and progress in human social systems, and its importance was not. It is limited to more than its financial ramifications or groups of friends, as well as circles of culture and thought.

It concluded that the possibility of reform is unique, and its method is wise, but the complexities of the example of relations between political systems, popular groups, and states, as well as the effects of the global aspect on the issues and issues of developing countries. Change approach and techniques selections and sharp turns. Today, the Arab region does not face any test that may well be overlooked or postponed, a test of complete change and great change in different parts of the country moreover, the social systems.

Talk of change began to escalate at a few levels after the occupation conflict in Iraq began and ended on April 9, 2003, and US President George W. Shrubbery's speech on May 9, 2003 at the University of South Carolina was framed, which is a clear indication of the way he was placed at the head of the American organization , for the equation of change arranged by the United States for the Middle East, the points of which have been highlighted point by point by the "Most Noteworthy Middle East Initiative" project, stretching from Mauritania to Afghanistan (His father was born, 2004: 125).

The American organization focused on the goal behind the point of its support for change, which is to help and support progress in the social systems of the Middle East to reduce

the work of extremists, as well as deprive them of the explanations behind the protests and oblige them to use them to develop their capabilities. A well-known base.

The possibility of reform depends on pushing the legislative councils in the region to zero in their energies on development and innovation. Full investment in the free and secure management of their country (US Presidential Commission Report).

The American demands that emphasize the pillar of change have come to achieve more prominent responsibility. The opportunity presents the idea of the difficulties imposed on the reality of the nations of the Middle East, which are on the various projected proposals for change, the most prominent of which are:

1. The Middle East region in general and the Arab countries need to program a long series of political, financial, and social changes, which depend on the possibility of ignoring, neglecting or indifference to the current conditions, however this change is a ring of a unique fixed force that must be dynamic, in any case 100% of the time of the country's solidarity and balance.
2. The area is important to a huge local area where interests intersect and converge to where it has become beside it, the tendency to isolate or dwell within imaginary or real intervals is something "unattainable" and does not depend on the rationale whose conditions and ideas decide the condition of specialized progress. This has led to the emergence of another global culture that challenges or opposes or stands up to it.
3. Interests in the region have gathered to where they have become.
4. With that said, the tendency to disengage or limit real breaks is "unreachable"
5. It is not something of a rationale whose circumstances and ideas decided the case for specialized progress.

6. It has created a global culture that is hard to challenge, reject, or stand up to.
7. The qualities of justice, opportunity and a system based on voting are full of beautiful temptations which cannot be so no one should oppose them on account of their merits because they were ideas “to become a privileged practice”. Individuals live it every day “anywhere and at any time” (Al-Harthy, 2004: 11-12).

The UAE witnessed political turmoil in the market "after the Gulf War in 1990 “that the region experienced progress in progress at the global level, particularly in the later.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the unipolar domination of the world and the spread of the rush of illegal intimidation and its repercussions, especially after the events of September 11, 2001, and the enthusiastic control of Iraq and the rush.

The United States in the Greater Middle East Project and its Dangerous Meanings (Mashaqbeh, 2005: 50) This represents a political test for the United Arab Emirates, which started the confrontation Various issues, including the absence of activating the political function of women, and issues of political and monetary slander and authoritarianism. And indeed, even criticism, and the lack of political cooperation after the Emirati resident is outside the circle. somewhat political, especially in the dynamic cycle, and the lack of a code of public privileges and opportunities,

A special opportunity for evaluation and expression. This large number of real difficulties has disrupted the general flow of change endeavors the assembly of a great administration in the Emirates that should be taken care of from now on.

Make a complete change interaction to overcome these obstacles and work to implement good management standards.

Sending a coordinated improvement process at all political, social, and monetary levels.

He recognized that there are basic criteria for the interaction of change, namely:

1. That any real change necessarily implies a progression from one circumstance to something else entirely, along those lines, restrictive or formal changes or a supposed reformist “emptiness” (Ferjani, 48: 2004).
2. To achieve any real change, the cycle of change must be extensive, non-stop, and manageable.
3. The necessities of real and continuous change towards the assembly require guidelines and controls, some of which are related to the qualities that will face the momentary stage as well as the strategy of the momentary period, such as its techniques, objectives, and political needs. Moreover, its projects, some of which are related to the extent of its tools and implementation. Reform requires the use of components of integrity (Sheikh Daoud, 2003: 67), which must be for all populations Both play a role in the dynamic interaction, be directly or completely

Genuine moderate institutions address their tendencies, and this interest depends on the opportunity for expression Limited evaluation and improvement is based on productive interest.

3.13 Previous Studies of the UAE

The scientist investigated many examinations related to the issue of political change in the United Arab Emirates, and after that the world noticed that there are some who focus on it in that Subject under study including accompanying:

3.13.1 Abdullah (2005) Study (Political Reform: The Case of the United Arab Emirates)

This paper, presented by Dr. Abdul-Khaleq Abdullah and presented by the Gulf Center, conducts research, and reads the possibilities for change based on popularity in the UAE, but despite its importance .It is closely related to the topic of our review; However, it contrasts with

the specialist's focus in that he did not focus on the difficulties and obstacles facing the process of political change in the UAE and did not focus on the fate of this interaction in them. The author of this study explained the implications of his review that there is no political difference in any way.

There has been no initial or official political change during the post-decade, yet all indications confirm the facts that political stagnation is common in the UAE, which has subsided to some extent, progressing, and stalled in the pre-change phase, tragically.

3.13.2 Ibrahim's Review (2007) "The Evolution of the Study of Civil Society in the Gulf Cooperation Council Countries."

Distributed by the Gulf Research Center, author Hussein Tawfik Ibrahim. What's more? The book includes review, investigation, evaluation, main stations, and salient elements in the investigation of the common society in the Gulf Cooperation Council countries. The book is introduced by his observation of the progress of investigation into the common community of nations. The Council has a set of important issues for the exploration plan to continue to focus on the common community in the countries of the Arab World Council. Among the objectives pursued by this study:

1. Clarify and study the function of the common society in the cycles of advancement and change based on voting and political change.
2. Explain the main elements and factors that have influenced and influenced the progress of the common community in nations. The room, the most notable of which is the idea of intersection and influence between what is usual and what exists today.

The specialist agrees that this study gave little perspective to look at observing the progress of society in the common society in the Arab Gulf states, as the advancement of the joint society is an important variable in the interaction of change and the political circumstance

in the Arab Gulf states, however, this study did not take into account the foundations of The common community, which is the basic ratio for the improvement and cooperation of any public during the time spent by events and long-term change. This is what the analyst was able in this review to show that one of the tools of political change is: the independence of the common community organizations.

3.13.3 Khalaf, Lasuyani, (2007) (Constitutional Reform and Political Participation in the Gateway District)

Containing ten sections, this book is an exploration focused on its connection to the ongoing debate about political change in the Persian Gulf region. The book really focuses on improving constitutions. The growing circle of political interest in the Arab Gulf states from the current traditional regimes.

About the duality of dictatorship and majority government. The book expects to explain the variables that influence change.

Political artists in the Gulf, most importantly political artists and institutions that aid change, cross the importance of parliaments as an important variable and driver of progress. It also looks forward to expanding the circle of political interest in the Gulf countries of the Middle East.

The analyst agrees that this study is one of the main investigations that has really focused on changing political change in the Arab Gulf states, in which the applicable tools and devices for political change are explained. However, she did not discuss the protected path of change, showing that this change depends only on her decision framework. Hence, the analyst clarified the important and intricate relationship between protected change and furthermore political change in this review, and to show that sacred change is not simply shared with top management,

but with all that is necessary by the interests and needs of all citizens and in accordance with the overall cycle of progress.

3.13.4 The Alawi Study (2009) (Political Change in the Arab Gulf States Since 1970-2009)

This study contains five sections, and this study has given a unique importance to changing legislative issues in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the State of Kuwait, and this study aims to:

1. Clarifying the idea of demotion and its suggestions.
2. Understand the importance of change and its vital function in dispatching a comprehensive process of improvement in the country to a great management position.
3. Explaining the vision for the process of political change in the Gulf states, supporting public opportunities and basic human freedoms, and changing the public with opportunities and high management.
4. Find out how the regimes in these countries manage the issues associated with political change and find out the degree to which they adhere to standards of good governance and their points of support.
5. Identifying the obstacles and difficulties facing political change there.

This study has reached various decisions, including that the Arab political frameworks as a rule, and the local Gulf states, are preoccupied these days with managing the issues of decadence and change.

What is more than the type of decadence, its causes and thought processes, rather it goes beyond that to reach an investigation into the degree of degeneration.

And what is more than its rings and circles and the strength of its focus and the relationship of its system. The dangerous level of political slander calls for duplicity or dualism

in the political framework. Moreover, each of the Arab Gulf states is run by restricted families and has a prominent political legacy and initiative where it follows itself, and to protect itself, it is restricted to entering the stages of change and advocacy. As for the change that was sent in the Arabian Gulf region, it came from service providers; The first is the huge number of global factors that have reached their ideas and standards to the Gulf society, and the second is that pattern that governed the personalities of many individual men of power who needed to get rid of the internal pressure that would drive. Destabilizing their positions and what they have adopted Others accept that introducing and initiating flows of change will calm unfamiliar pressure.

3.13.5 Salman's Study (2008) "Political Reform in Bahraini Society: A Study in the Dynamics of the Political System" (1999-2006)

This study, which was presented by researcher Shaima Abdullah Salman, came primarily concerned with the study of political reform in Bahraini society, and her study was divided into three chapters, during which she dealt with monitoring, analysis, and evaluation the main stations and salient features in the study of political reform in Bahrain. This study examines the most prominent indicators of the state's democracy, reviewing the provisions of the constitution that guarantee citizenship rights and personal freedoms.

3.13.6 Amartya Bligh, (1984), From Prince to King: Royal Succession in the House of Saud in 20th Century, New York University Press, New York.

It was stated in this study that the democratic system is based on one basis, which is the free popular satisfaction with the political system, and this comes when it is given the right to put forward and crystallize its own options and preferences. Then comes the right of politicians and leaders to compete to achieve and accomplish this within an integrative exchange based on the smooth transfer of power in the shadow of civil peace, and this is done under honest, fair, and free electoral systems. And considering the establishment of mutual trust between the political system and the basic elements that make up all citizens, foremost of which are civil society

institutions such as parties, unions, and federations, and the images of democracy that these institutions create in societies.

3.13.7 Thomas Carothers, (1999), Aiding Democracy Aboard: A Learning Curve, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D. C.

In it, it was stated that the character of partisan pluralism and the alternation of power prevent the singling out of a political party with power and influence. However, this opposition must be positive. Once it discovers a government error, it must take the initiative to propose an alternative. This behavior pushes the government, based on the principle of self-preservation, to improve its performance in order to remain popular with the people and consequently be re-elected.

3.14 Previous Studies of Tunisia

Some contributions to the field of political and constitutional reform in the Arab countries and community work in order to advance local development can be discussed, as the dimensions and orientations of those interested in this field of study varied, as there are a number of specialized and diverse references (books, articles, unpublished materials) meaning there are links to the term political reform such as political development and political modernization.

3.14.1 The First Study

It is a study of a group of Arab intellectuals called the Alexandria Document under the title “Political Reform in the Arab Countries,” in which researchers focused on defining the term political reform and some similar concepts and terms such as political development and political modernization, and that political reform is necessary for the advancement of Arab societies. However, the study did not refer to the practical aspect and the mechanisms by which the problematic political reform of the Arab countries is addressed.

3.14.2 The Second Study

The second study is a master's thesis by Abbas Aisha under the title "The Problem of Political and Democratic Development in the Maghreb Countries, the Example of Tunisia, in which the researcher concluded that there were a set of political reforms in the era of Habib Bourguiba, and their frequency increased during the era of Ben Ali, but they did not amount to political freedoms and rights and soon What turned into a political, economic and developmental deterioration is clearly visible.

3.14.3 The Third Study

The third study is a master's thesis by Seif El-Din Achit Hani under the title "The Problematic of Corruption and Political Reform in the Arab Region." The study concluded that achieving political reform and combating corruption can only be by relying on a rational legal system, which establishes this guideline to achieve grassroots development, and thus achieve security and comprehensive development, under the rule of law, equality, and social justice.

3.15 Requirements of the Reforming Success

The process of political reform is an integrated and interconnected process with many other issues that affect and are affected by it through the interaction between these phenomena in the daily political life of the political system. (Dunn, 1986) Political reform is linked to economic reform, because the desired political reform is linked to the open economy and the free market economy with all its mechanisms. It is also linked to educational and social reform and the fight against corruption. The reason for this is that reform itself needs requirements in order to achieve it, some of which are related to society. (Healey, Ketley, and Robinson, 1992) In addition, any change in the nature of the work of the political system must necessarily bring about a change in

society since it is necessary to adapt to this new situation and deal with it as a new political reality with new requirements. (Herbst, 1989)

Undoubtedly, there are a number of basic issues that together constitute an integrated system for the political reform process and basic axes for any desired political reform. These themes are concentrated in political parties and civil society organizations, which are among the most important mechanisms for the functioning of democratic systems, especially as they provide a peaceful means for the peaceful transfer of power and regulate political life in the relationship between them.

In sum, there is a conviction that reforms are necessary and desirable, and there is still a need to put them into certain principles in order to lead to the desired results:

- The reform must be comprehensive and based on achievable goals. It is not enough to announce broad slogans without attaching an effective program to implement them. (Hutchful, 1997)
- An effective reform process cannot be viewed as a cost-free business or the expectation that the implementation of reforms will necessarily be smooth. Sacrifices are required on all sides, and complications on the roads should be expected. However, delaying reforms causes greater costs, and therefore cannot be considered an option. (King and Zeng, 2001)
- What is important is the need for joint action, for by involving large sectors of society, the government will eventually be able to strengthen its legitimacy, as well as strengthen existing policy structures. (Williamson, 1994)
- The gradual introduction of reform measures in the United Arab Emirates and Tunisia will be more successful than imposing them suddenly and radically, as has been proven

by experiences and other reform endeavors. At the same time, gradualism should not be confused with slow motion, or the spread of reform over a long period of time. Rather, a certain degree of momentum must be maintained so that the reform process in general does not fail to advance due to inactivity or loss of interest. (Heilbrunn, 1997)

- There is a need to set priorities for reform, and the most important issues must be dealt with using well-defined criteria and a carefully studied application program, and reform packages must be created. These can look in depth at the economic, political, administrative, and social priorities and initiatives. (Williamson, 1994) And when such a process begins, it can then move to more sensitive items, as the Emirati and Tunisian society will then realize what will be asked of it and will be ready to make the required adjustment.

3.16 Data Acquisition and Tools

The multiplicity of data sources is one of the most important advantages of case study research, as it is a strategy that supports and improves the validity of the data. These sources include, among others, documents, archival records, personal interviews, direct observation, and electronically based sources.

This study depends mainly on the collection of data and information sources from the Arab library, whether in paper or electronic form, which includes books, theses and research papers published in the same specialty, where they are collected and disaggregated.

In more detail, this study relies on two types of sources to collect information

3.16.1 Primary Materials

Here, the researcher will rely on the constitutions of the cases of the study, i.e., the Constitution of the UAE issued in 1971 with its amendments in 2009, as well as the Tunisian

Constitution, whether the Constitution of 1959 with its amendments until 2008 or the Constitution of 2014 approved by the Tunisian National Constituent Assembly on January 26, 2014

3.16.2 Secondary Materials

The researcher has collected a good set of secondary references, and they are categorized among encyclopedias, books, theses, research papers, as well as articles published online from trusted sites.

3.17 Requirements for Successful Repair

1. A statement and analysis of the role of civil society in the processes of development, democratic transformation, and political reform in the Emirates, unlike Tunisia, which still suffers from the separation of its civil society from the state.
2. Clarifying the most important factors and variables that have affected and affect the development of civil society in the UAE, foremost of which is the nature of overlap, influence, and influence between what is traditional and what is modern.
3. The development of general economic performance and the foreign trade sector are the sources of economic development that the UAE has achieved so far. It is known that the main production elements are land, capital, manpower, management, and technology, knowing that the land with its natural resources and capital from oil revenues. Two components are available in the UAE but there is a clear shortage of manpower, skilled and unskilled, and technology.

While the state of Tunisia suffers from serious economic problems, especially after a period of 10 years of war, as we mentioned in our research, and the lack of revenues and natural wealth in it has led to a worsening of its economic situation.

4. Liberalizing economic policies, in a way that limits governments' control over economic activity, abolishing restrictions on banking transactions, liberalizing the financial services that it performs, and removing any restrictions on commercial activities.
5. Providing the necessary funding and support for the work of NGOs.
6. Providing material and technical support for the voter registration process, establishing civic centers to defend public rights, and working to attach these centers to law faculties in universities in the region. The American initiative calls for reforming the applicable legal legislation and setting new laws in line with the desired reforms.
7. Forming groups of jurists, legislative experts, and media advocates of reform, provided that these groups publish annual data on the development of the reform process and the extent of freedom enjoyed by the press of the countries concerned.
8. Fighting corruption and focusing on ensuring transparency in public policies.
9. Encouraging efforts to establish independent press institutions, and training journalists in them on modern technology.
10. Urging the region's governments to allow the work of independent institutions and to avoid imposing restrictions on them or interfering in their affairs.
11. Planned programs that focus on the common interests of the inhabitants of Tunisian society.
12. Supporting and developing self-efforts in Tunisia.
13. Government aid, whether material or human.
14. Achieving integration between the different disciplines working in the field of local development.
15. Any macro framework for equity must have three main objectives:

- Achieving a growth rate that exceeds the rate of population growth 2- Reducing fluctuations in growth rates 3- Orienting growth processes towards a more equitable path for the poor and low-income

In this context, determining how to raise the growth rate is the least problematic. The main obstacles to advancing growth remain contractionary fiscal policies, restrictive monetary policy, and restrictions on the balance of payments in some countries. Restricted fiscal policy can be transformed into an expansionary policy by adopting a public investment program characterized by job-intensity, financed by borrowing, or from a source. The best is to increase development aid. Monetary policy aimed at encouraging growth requires the use of interest rates as a tool for long-term investment rather than for short-term stabilization purposes. Perhaps mitigating the degree of instability in growth processes poses the greatest challenge to the economic policy maker due to the structural characteristics of the countries of the Arab region, especially the dependence of most of them on the volatile prices of oil exports. There is also strong evidence pointing to the instability of growth, especially in the "non-oil" North African countries, where the rate of volatility in growth rates is close to 20%.

The fiscal and monetary policies that were applied within the framework of most of the stabilization and structural adjustment programs that were applied since the nineties of the last century were a factor that exacerbated the deflationary factors that undermine economic and political stability in the Arab countries. The basic elements are reviving demand, increasing supply, and redistributing.

In the absence of bundled programs for huge investments, the equity component in the fiscal policy is represented in the aspect of social spending and progressive taxation. A new pro-

poor distribution of public expenditures could lead to more equity in growth strategies, and public investment would be a prerequisite for a growth strategy for equity.

The argument that public investment in developing countries can crowd out private investment has been previously disproved. As those who promote this argument are those who urge governments to make drastic changes in public policy aimed at encouraging foreign direct investment, and they do not seem very concerned that foreign investment will lead to crowding out domestic private investment. In general, crowding out occurs when the economy is close to the level of full employment. But when untapped resources are available, the economic field remains open to increasing all kinds of spending, whether within the public sector or within the private sector. Perhaps one of the most important policies that lead to the success of equity and justice for growth processes is the so-called “fair sharing of the fruits of growth”, a policy that has been successfully applied in Southeast Asian countries, as expressed by international reports that talked about the “Asian miracle”. This contrasts with the policies that were applied in Latin American countries (before the center-left coalition came to power there).

As is the case in the countries of the Middle East and the Arab region. Since a large part of the fruits of growth is taken up by the affluent groups that occupy the 20% at the top of the income distribution, after the fall of the “precipitation theory of the fruits of growth”, and therefore the social dimension must be present strongly when formulating macro policies for growth and economic stabilization.

3.18 Recommendations

1. The first was to issue a law (legislation) concerned with the issue of organizing the affairs of elections, and not in the form of a decision issued by the executive authority, because the law issued by the legislative authority better reflects the visions and directives of

individuals and is of the highest degree of regulations, regulations, instructions and decisions that come in rank lower than it, and as long as we are dealing with the organization of the election process, it was first, emphasizing its importance, that it be regulated by law and not by decision as is the case now. The details contained in this law and within the limits set by this law.

2. With reference to the text of Article 69 of the Constitution, although this article did not require that the members of the Federal National Council be chosen through elections, it was left to each emirate to determine the method of selecting the citizens who represent it in this Council, and the researcher believes that the Emirati constitutional legislator should have decided In a way that leaves no room for doubt, this issue explicitly authorizes the method of election for members of the National Assembly.
3. The Supreme Council of the Federation was the first to adopt the direct election system, which represents the basic rule for selecting members of Parliament in most countries of the world. It was also more appropriate for all members of the National Council to be elected without exception, without being limited to electing one half and appointing the other half. The researcher does not find a justification for the recent era of the UAE in its adoption of the electoral system, or that it constitutes the first step in a path that will eventually lead to a complete electoral process in which the popular will is embodied, given that it was possible to enter this stage “the election stage” in its familiar and complete form democratically without There is a need for gradualism in this regard, and the researcher does not know what was preventing the election of all members of the council from being a direct election, and for all citizens who meet the election conditions

to participate in choosing their representatives in the council. Nevertheless, the researcher hopes that this step will be a step The first to reach free elections.

4. The researcher calls upon the Emirati legislator to reconsider the obvious fact that the role of the executive authority in the legislative function exceeds that of the Federal National Council, so that the role of the National Council is not limited to the advisory role only in the legislative field, but rather work should be done that this Council participate In the legislative function, there is a real and effective participation in proposing, discussing and approving draft laws, and that the council's opinion is taken into consideration on these issues, given that they are at the core of its work.
5. The researcher believes that there are shortcomings in Resolution No. 4 of 2006 regarding determining the method for selecting the representatives of the Emirates in the Federal National Council from this body, given that appeals related to the electoral process are submitted to this National Elections Committee, and not to the judiciary. The same committee that organizes the electoral process, and the jurisdiction to consider these appeals should have fallen to the judiciary, which has impartiality, integrity, and objectivity, and not to this committee.
6. The need to search for the reasons for the noticeable inaction on the public's participation in public work and the activities of civil society organizations in the UAE through conducting serious dialogues between them and the community, in which there are many opinions and differing visions, leading to public opinion awareness of the importance of its role and deepening communication between it and the community, from For the rationalization of the national decision and the active participation in planning for comprehensive development and political reform.

7. There is a need to pause for a review of the path of the Federal National Council, and this review must also include how to distribute and deepen the fields and institutions of popular participation, in a way that meets the aspirations of the people of the Emirates, who have achieved - since the beginning of the federal process in the early seventies, and still - giant achievements and lofty civilizational transformations. , changed the face of life on this part of the planet, and formulated a new history and a promising future for this region of our Arab world, which also aspires to affirm its civil and political rights and freedoms, at the forefront of which is the natural right to express his views and ideas, and his right to participate in political life, all of which Tributaries that should not be depleted, or their sources dried up, because they are genuine rights that do not accept disruption, limitation or derogation. These main giant achievements included the establishment of the national federation council “FNC”, which was established as per the provisional Constitution adopted by the UAE Government in 1971. In this stage, all its 40 members were appointed by the Rulers of the seven emirates.

The late President Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahyan convened the first session of the FNC on 13 February 1972. The Rulers of each emirate and Cabinet members also attended it. The session marked an important time in the history of the country and the important role expected from the Council. The late Sheikh Zayed encouraged FNC members to speak freely and express the needs of the citizens honestly.

However, it is worth to mention that the principle of 'Shura' or consultation was the common form of governance in the Trucial States previously, or before the formation of UAE. Usually, the head of the tribe consulted his advisors and took their opinion before making a decision.

Later, when the UAE federation was established in 1971, the same principle of democracy and sharing continued as the main pillar of the UAE's Constitution and the federal authorities.

Thus, the formulation of a national federal council, which represent the general will of their people was a great, significant, and giant civilized transformation towards increasing the chance for massive participation and institutionalizing public speaking and political representation. Hence, the amendments that made the half of council members are elected not appointed have contributed to the gradual move towards inclusive democracy in UAE.

In 2006, H. H. Sheikh Khalifa approved the Supreme Council Resolution No. 4 of 2006, which revised the method of selecting the representatives of the emirates in the Federal National Council by combining the process of election and appointment.¹

This was aimed at providing an opportunity for the citizens to elect their representatives to the FNC. The objective of electing members to the FNC is to boost national loyalty and public interest in the national affairs, through contributions of young, educated and enthusiastic population and the role of the women. It reflects the mutual trust between the rulers and the citizens, and the government's intention to maintain social and economic growth hand in hand with its people.

Thus, the Ruler's Court in each of the seven emirates would appoint half of the members while the electoral bodies representing the citizens would elect the other half.

In addition, The UAE highly prioritizes its strategic objectives. The UAE, since its formation, established the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of its formation to regulate labor

¹ Federal National Council Portal, accessed from: <https://u.ae/en/about-the-uae/the-uae-government/the-federal-national-council->

relations and to enable citizens to work in the private sector without exception. The UAE issued a Law No. (8) in order to organize Labor relations and made amendments to them in line with the developments in the labor market. The ministry is responsible for shaping general policy, for ensuring citizen hires in the labor market, supervising its implementation, monitoring and evaluating the process of employing citizens in the private sector, and preparing programs for training and qualifying citizens seeking work.²

8. The necessity of issuing a new law to be an alternative to Federal Law No. “6” of 1974 and its amendments, regarding associations of public interest, to which many observations and criticisms were directed, and which has outlived its lack of compatibility with the requirements of these associations, and its inconsistency with the comprehensive development achieved by the UAE society In all fields, in order to motivate these associations to exercise their voluntary role efficiently, effectively and efficiently, without restrictions, hindrances or obstacles.
9. Unless reform efforts continue in the United Arab Emirates and begin to produce clear results, it must be expected that social, economic, and political problems will develop into a comprehensive and stifling crisis. As the situation appears now, there is an urgent need to expedite the reform steps and address some of the substantive issues that directly affect the relationship between the state and society.
10. An effective reform process cannot be seen as a cost-free business or the expectation that the implementation of reforms will necessarily be smooth. Sacrifices are required from

² UN Women Voluntary Report on UAE, accessed from: https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/CSW/64/National-reviews/UAE_en.pdf

all parties, and complications on the roads must be expected. However, delaying repairs causes greater costs, and therefore cannot be considered an option.

11. Strengthening the role of the state in the deep political understanding of citizens.
12. The great role of the Tunisian president in the political reform process.
13. Amending laws to contribute to the process of political reform and the elimination of political corruption.
14. Free party pluralism that contributes to the political reform process.
15. The prevailing and embarrassing political stagnation in the UAE must end, and the file of political reform must be dealt with serious, urgent, and rapid patriotism. Political stagnation is not an asset, but rather a source of threat to the UAE's overall gains and achievements that are very clear.

3.19 Results

1. First, the reform must be comprehensive and based on achievable goals. It is not enough to announce broad slogans without attaching an effective program to implement them.
2. An effective reform process cannot be viewed as a cost-free business or the expectation that the implementation of reforms will necessarily be smooth. Sacrifices are required on all sides, and complications on the roads should be expected. However, delaying repairs causes greater costs, and therefore cannot be considered an option.
3. What is important is the need for joint action. By involving large sectors of society, the government will eventually be able to strengthen its legitimacy, as well as strengthen existing policy structures. This will also make it possible to isolate forces bent on sabotaging the entire process by placing their individual interests above their community interests.

4. The gradual introduction of reform measures in the UAE will be more successful than imposing them suddenly and radically, as has been proven by experiences and other reform endeavors. At the same time, gradualism should not be confused with slow motion, or the spread of reform over a long period of time. Rather, a certain degree of momentum must be maintained so that the reform process in general does not fail to advance because of inactivity or loss of interest. I think that education is considered a significant priority for development in any country specially UAE, because education is the most comprehensive tool that contribute to the enhancement of skills, qualifications, and qualities that lead to progressing and diversifying the economy. Education creates the new generation skills that will enhance job market, and it contributes to the expansion of the culture of starting new entrepreneurship projects and small business that will farther advance economy. The focus on enhancing education is, from my own perspective, is the main key factor that will increase the match between what skills that youth have, and what are required in job markets. Hence, belting new academic institutions will be more important to help educated youth to cope with international skills standards and increase the access to new technical resources will be more effective to bridge the gap between skills needed for the creation of new businesses, and what education provides.
5. Finally, there is a need to set priorities for reform, and the most important issues must be dealt with using well-defined criteria and a carefully studied application program, and reform packages must be created. These can look in depth at the economic, political, administrative, and social priorities and initiatives. Once such a process begins, it can then move to more sensitive items.

The Emirati society will then realize what will be asked of it and will be ready to make the required adaptation.

In the end, it must be understood that there is no detailed plan for implementing and succeeding in the endeavors of political reforms. Instead of referring to democratization in the Middle East or in the Gulf, the emphasis must be placed on individual countries, and thus progress can be made, because what works in one country does not necessarily work in other countries as well. Meanwhile, it is the internal debate that will determine the course and eventual outcome of the UAE's political future.

3.20 Conclusion

Finally, and based on the theoretical framework adopted in the study, it turns out that each of the concepts of political reform and local development still deals with a large degree of ambiguity, which does not allow them to be precisely controlled, nor does it allow to clarify the limits of the relationship between them, and perhaps this explains the multiplicity of explanatory theoretical approaches. And the explanation for each of them and the clarification of the correlation between them.

In the end, the electoral process embodies the popular will, and it is the first time in the history of the UAE that an electoral process is conducted to select half of the members of the Federal National Council.

This study comes as a legal evaluation pause in this regard for the first election process in the UAE in an attempt by the researcher to arbitrate and evaluate it considering the principles and foundations that have become stable and well-established in many countries of the world that have made great strides in the field of democracy and human rights.

Political reforms stem from the premise that they are a legitimate, democratic process that originates from the people, and centralization in taking supreme decisions, but local and regional development stems from the region and its peculiarities and must be dealt with on a democratic basis in which all concerned parties participate locally and regionally in structures elected directly and plurally that guarantee popular participation Directing the conduct of public affairs and consecrating democratic practice and control over management structures at different levels, beginning with a state monitoring body that guarantees the transparency of financial transactions, deals and expenses, up to self-monitoring within the municipal and regional councils. Local development and democracy refer to the tools or system of governance that rules the UAE, and the structure of emirates. It also relates to how the federal system there is contributing to the enhancement of political participation and democracy. It implies that there are some factors that may determine the level of democratization in any country, such as, to what extent the ruling system facilitates the public representation and participation, political parties' formulation, association, or local development. Local development- mostly- implies with the achievement of economic growth and social welfare, according to a development module that is suitable to UAE.

3

Similar to many countries around the world, the UAE Federation keeps certain powers within the scope of the individual emirates, which already had their own governing institutions prior to the establishment of the Federation in 1971.

Under the UAE's Constitution, Rulers of the emirates may give up certain areas of authority to the Federal Government. Moreover, as a result of the country's rapid economic and

³ <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/2399654419857096>

social development, local governments in each emirate may assume or re-assume some functions that had previously been voluntarily assigned to the Federal Government.

Article 122 of the Constitution states that the emirates shall have jurisdiction in all matters not assigned to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federation in accordance with the provisions of Articles 120 and 121.

The local governments of the seven emirates differ in size and mechanisms depending on factors such as population, area and degree of development. In each emirate, there is an executive council which works under the supervision of the Ruler's Court of that emirate, in addition to a number of autonomous agencies with clearly specified powers.⁴

On the other hand, regional development and democracy refers to the concept that measures the level of democratization in many countries in a certain region such as middle east. Here, we use this concept to refer to the huge progress that UAE have been achieve when compared to other countries. As a matter of fact, UAE is considered a pioneering state regarding political reformation, thus being a role model for regional development in the Arab world.⁵

The political parties agreed upon by the active and influential political forces in the Tunisian scene.

What can be said in the end is that local and regional development in Tunisia and the United Arab Emirates can only be achieved by doubling local and central efforts, and it can only be through cooperation between different sectors (mutual dependence) and in a balanced manner, so that the success of the development effort and its social repercussions is measured by taking

⁴ The Official Platform of UAE Government, accessed on: <https://u.ae/en/about-the-uae/the-uae-government/the-local-governments-of-the-seven-emirates>

⁵ What Difference Does Local Governance Make, accessed on: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/2399654419857096>

into account the interest of future generations, and this inevitably passes Through decentralization in management, local and regional democracy, and fair and balanced development between regions and within regions, in conjunction between the democratic political project and the comprehensive development project.

Everyone in the UAE has become convinced of the need to move towards more change in political, economic, and social life, and to allow all citizens freedom of expression and organization, and the rule of transparency and openness in political action, to reach a correct position represented in the establishment of union and judicial systems in the future.

The current rapid developments and changes impose on the UAE to carry out political reforms, as dealing with these developments has become a matter that cannot be left for time to address. These changes also impose the necessity of compatibility with the world and understanding what is going on in it on scientific and practical grounds, which requires a change in the political approach in all countries, and it imposes urgent necessities to reconsider all aspects of political life.

Weakness of government control methods through the economic sector and its low ability to fund service programs and grant financial gains to citizens, will create new forces in the private sector and civil society that lay the foundation for the strength of society in facing its problems and bearing the burdens of providing for its needs, and it is expected that governments will have to in the long run To rely on taxes, which restores society's power over governments as the ones who finance them and provide the reasons for their existence. It is also expected that the manifestations of social maturity will develop through the development of political, intellectual, and social movements and the growth and development of new forces in civil society that help in its maturity and the completion of its structures, all these things will push the government in the

United Arab Emirates is to move forward on its path of reform and political development to meet the demands of the citizens.

Based on the foregoing, the internal motives represented by the increasing problems of the rentier state, the emergence of the issue of political legitimacy, the issue of political participation, technological progress in the field of communications, as well as external motives represented in the events of September 11, 2001, and the regional uprising and events - these motives and factors formed Taken together - a new environment that has repercussions on the internal political situation in the UAE, and has effectively contributed to pushing the process of political reform in the UAE forward.

To achieve economic plans in Tunisia, the political reform accompanying good governance, which is linked to political reforms and economic progress, must be carried out, because the relationship between good governance and growth achieves development and an analysis of the characteristics of good governance and its relationship to economic growth, in the short term, and achieving sustainable economic development in the long run. In the long term, it was found that the application of the principles of good governance to achieve sustainable economic development for the Tunisian society and the restructuring of its institutions., shared in its development and adoption, as part of its success. On the contrary, it will produce only institutions with structures alien to society and unacceptable in its culture.

- Applying the principles and requirements of governance in all institutions in the state of Tunisia, governmental and private.
- Adoption of total quality systems in all institutions of the state of Tunisia, both governmental and private.

- Establishment of specialized oversight bodies for accountability and accountability, with financial and administrative independence, and with legal powers. To encourage initiatives, innovations, and creativity among Arab youth.
- Commitment to disclosure and transparency standards in all institutions in Arab countries, both governmental and private.

The above-mentioned economic weaker showing a large agenda on the next administration to take it, and the explosive macroeconomic development and the structural challenges of transition from public sector reform (starting from state-owned enterprises) to make markets operate better, as well as the social justice agenda that focuses on the development and development of marginalized areas. In the near future, some measures have been provided to the financial stability of financial stability. This process will be undoubtedly difficult for any management. Political, questions such as how to modify the financial policy to achieve sustainability and at the same time take into account social and social status, will require attention to the focus as well as the negotiations between politicians and groups acting in the interests of citizens. The social server is more fun and better than many high rates, which requires debate about accepting some sacrifices in the present for future gains. In this regard, the competitiveness and innovations will remain very important.

The pressure of the election policy is often politically to solve some important tensions facing the economy, even if the solutions are in the last minute. This means that progress is made by the development of the country-led development efforts, may be with the sector and the civil society, and the parties will pay the establishment of a better and state-of-the-art state. As a result, with the surveillance of the structural weakness of the weakness, is more likely to be achieved with the improvement of performance and reactions of democracy. At the bacterial

level, the agenda includes re-thinking of the roles of the democratic system (participating in power between the presidency, parliament, financial money, and the means of implementing local elections.), The level of enabling and involvement of civil society (especially in horizontal accounting systems) and the promotion of the independence of regulatory bodies. These improvements will reduce market fluctuations and political risks, with generating gains coming from the lowest in the absence of industrial policies leading by the state.

The republican regimes have always been an obsession that worried the royalists, considering that most of the hereditary monarchies in the modern era have been undermined by the republicans, and based on this foundation, the republic is considered a monarchy system in theory at least.

Modern literature has made another kind of argument about royal stability, which is that kings are simply better when they rule. This argument has two components. The part claims that monarchies achieve least assured, better outcomes for their citizens than republics are doing economically.

He says that as for the most widespread part, monarchies are more capable of establishing credible and effective political reform in the face of the opposition, and thus to defuse it. While there are intriguing ideas generated from the various branches of the career superiority argument, none of them are at the end to provide a convincing explanation eventually capable of royal stability.

I think that this research will contribute in a scientific way to the Arab arena, especially in light of the fact that it is the first of its kind that discusses the impact of the monarchy and the republic regime on political reform and compares them in two Arab countries. This will open the

way for future studies that will contribute to spreading political thought and supporting the process of political reform in the Arab world and the Middle East.

The UAE represents an exemplary case of peaceful coexistence between apparently dichotomous identities. More than 80% of its population is non-national and includes residents with different religious and cultural beliefs, and that does not include the increasing inflow of tourists. Modernity dominates everything from the architecture of Abu Dhabi and Dubai to the technology that drives the economy. Instead of a clash between the “transient populations,” modernity, and tradition, Emirati identity has developed by accepting these differences. “The most powerful force behind the formation of a national identity in the UAE was the collective experience of modernization,” notes Matthew MacLean, a research fellow for the study of the Arab World at New York University: Abu Dhabi.

The unprecedented well-being brought about by the state-led process of oil-financed modernization in the early 1970s revolutionized the individual, societal, and urban spheres of daily life in the UAE. Through welfare services, massive infrastructure projects, and the distribution of public jobs and residences, the federation became a visible and reliable political entity. The rapid transformation from nomadic life to modernity created a new identity in the imagination of the Emirati population and was the common national myth around which Emiratis defined themselves.

Parallel to the “material modernization” [5] of the country, the UAE also promoted the image of the federation over Bayyah (political allegiance) to a specific emirate. This attempt at nation building faced obstacles, however, and chief among them was tribal affiliation. The newly born state had no particular meaning or appeal to Emiratis, whereas one’s tribe was a tangible and deeply rooted source of belonging that had oriented the collective imagination for centuries.

To overcome this so-called “twin identity” complex, the UAE state anchored its efforts to shape the Emirati national identity on tribal Bedouin heritage. Instead of framing tribal affiliation as a threat to the state identity, the federation hailed local loyalty as a sign of “pure Arabness.” This not only defused potential conflict but became a building block for the country and a major source of strength.

Elaborating on the ideas of anthropologist Arjun Appadurai on the role of the past as a source of knowledge and authority, one can say that the UAE embraced the Bedouin past in its nation-building effort and allowed the emergence of a “heritage-legitimacy-authority nexus.” This strategy achieved a continuum between the tribe, the emirate, and the federation, and granted the national leadership the legitimacy and credentials to have its political authority widely recognized and accepted by citizens. This process did not go unchallenged though. Calls for further centralization intensified divisions between “unequal brothers,” [9] the southern richest emirates vis-à-vis their northern cousins without natural resources. Even through these periods of conflict, however, the tribe-based Emirati national identity held firm.⁶

The first wave of nation building ended in the 1990s. With the acceleration of globalization, the UAE implemented a number of measures to cope with the increasingly competitive environment. The heightened awareness of international pressures has unexpectedly renewed the quest for national belonging. “Globalization has been accompanied by a booming interest in Emirati heritage,” [10] McLean notes. This second wave was driven by state-led and grassroots initiatives that have shown the resiliency of the idea of Emirati identity.

The UAE state is encouraging a shift in the concept of citizenship, which is no longer understood as mere entitlement to state-provided benefits, but as requiring a more active

⁶ <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/19578257.pdf>

engagement by the population. This process has been dubbed by Jones as the “making of citizens 2.0,” and describes “the challenge of building citizens ‘after’ the era of nationalism, when states already have populations who know ‘who’ they are, need to focus less on preparing them to fight on the battlefield, and find themselves having to compete in increasingly competitive global markets. “As the socioeconomic effects of globalization are felt at all levels of society in the UAE, “the social benefit to which citizens have become accustomed may not be sustainable, with citizens’ expectations needing to be scaled back and the social contract renegotiated. “The government is thus promoting a new Emirati national identity, one that embraces globalization as the country moves away from the model of a “cradle-to-grave welfare state.””.

Regarding Tunisia, its popular protests and civic activism persist amid claims that the ‘bloom is off the rose, and ‘uprising is starting to unravel. Today’s protestors in towns like Siliana, which lies 130 km from Tunis, direct their frustrations over failed development initiatives at the democratically elected coalition government of the En-Nahdha party. Protestors are demanding the new government make good on election promises of employment and are calling for development of the marginalized rural interior and peripheral areas of the Tunisian south, both of which suffer from underdevelopment. The task of transforming Tunisia from an authoritarian kleptocracy to a democratic state tests conventional theories of democratization and regime change. There for, it is clear that civil society organizations and associations have been contributed to a great extend to the achievement of political reform in Tunisia and getting rid of the authoritarian government.⁷

As 2020 drew to a close, the depth of the pandemic’s impact on the Tunisian economy became more apparent. Tunisia has experienced a sharper decline in economic growth than most

⁷ <https://www.international-alert.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/Tunisia-Civil-Society-Role-EN-2013.pdf>

of its regional peers, having entered this crisis with slow growth and rising debt levels. GDP growth contracted by 8.8% in 2020. Unemployment increased from 15% prior to the pandemic to 17.8% by the end of the first quarter of 2021. Moreover, it continues to affect women (24.9%) and young people aged 15–24 (40.8%) in particular.

Poverty and vulnerability are expected to grow and invert a trend observed in poverty reduction over the last few years. A series of telephone interviews, conducted by the National Institute of Statistics (INS) and the World Bank, showed evidence of the pandemic modifying their eating habits. Poorer households have reduced the quantities of food they have consumed or started consuming less preferred foods. To cope with rising food prices or make up for jobs losses, households either drew on their savings, accepted outside financial help, or borrowed money from relatives and deferred payment of any outstanding obligations.

In 2020, extreme poverty—measured using the international poverty line of living on US\$1.90 per day—still remained below 1% in Tunisia; however, poverty measured within the US\$3.20 per day bracket was estimated to have increased from 2.9% to 3.7%. Additionally, the percentage of the population described as being “vulnerable” to falling into poverty was expected to have increased as well. Using a threshold of US\$5.50 per person per day, the number of poor and of vulnerable together is expected to have increased from 16.7% to 20.1% of the country’s total population of about 11.7 million (World Bank 2021, 2019).

The current account deficit remained high, at 6.8% of GDP in 2020, but has improved (from 8.5% in 2019), as imports declined at a faster pace than exports. These factors are supporting continued growth in forex reserves, which stood at US\$8.3 billion by January 2021 (equivalent to 158 days of import cover) against US\$7.4 billion at end-2019. During the first months of 2021, the trade deficit contracted by 10%. Exports of goods increased by 23% and

imports rose by 13.7% compared to the same period in 2020. Meanwhile, the balance of services went from a positive balance of 523 million dinars to a negative balance of 177.5 million, a drop of 134%, but remittances increased by 17%, leading to a contraction of 6.8% of the current account balance. Trends in the first months of this year are positive, as higher exports—mainly from industrial production—contribute to lower external financing needs and lessen pressure on reserves. But external risk remains significant.

In contrast, the fiscal deficit has reached 10% of GDP, aggravated by a decline in revenues due to the reduction in economic activity and tax deferral measures, along with the costs of the COVID-19 response program. The wage bill increased to about 17.5% of GDP in 2020, adding to spending pressures and signaling a lack of progress in containing civil service pay. These developments are worsening debt vulnerabilities. Public debt is forecast to rise from 72% of GDP in 2019 to of 87% of GDP in 2020, which is well above the emerging market debt burden benchmark of 70% of GDP.

During the first quarter of 2021, tax revenues increased by 13% (YoY). On the other hand, non-tax revenues (-77%) fell sharply. As a result, total revenues (tax and non-tax) rose by 1.7%. At the same time, expenditures decreased by 2.3% despite the increase in wages (+4.7%), management expenses (+7.9%) and interest on debt (+1.2%). The fall in subsidies and interventions (-13.4%), as well as investment expenditure (-38%), allowed for savings of 475 million dinars (US\$1.73 million).

Overall, the budget deficit decreased by 27.7%, consistent with the objective of reducing the 2021 budget deficit to 6.6% of GDP.

However, The UAE's non-hydrocarbon (non-HC) economy was already weakening prior to the pandemic as it faced persistently weak business sentiment and a prolonged real estate

downturn. Overall GDP contracted by 0.3% in Q1-2020, with non-HC GDP contracting by 1.9% y/y. The purchasing managers' index (PMI) had slipped to 49.1 in February (below 50 indicates negative growth) for the first time since the crisis in 2009. On the other hand, HC GDP increased by 3.3% as OPEC+ cuts ended.

In the wake of COVID-19, authorities aggressively implemented a containment strategy with strict lockdowns, postponed major events such as World Expo2020, imposed social distancing, and large-scale testing.

Growth in 2020 is projected to contract by 6.3% due to the fallout from COVID-19 and lower oil production following the revitalization of the OPEC+ agreement. Over the medium-term, and dependent on the speed of global recovery, growth in the UAE is expected to reach to 2.5% by 2022; supported by the government's mitigation and recovery plans, higher oil prices and production capacity, improved business sentiment and a boost from Dubai Expo2021. The UAE-Israel normalization deal could expand opportunities as it also involves trade/technology cooperation. Modest inflation will return as growth rebounds.⁸

⁸ World Bank Press Release on UAE, accessed on:
<https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/gcc/publication/economic-update-october-2020-uae>

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