

THE IMPACT OF ARAB SPRING ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL FREEDOMS IN THE CASES OF ALGERIA AND LEBANON

Taha Kassem, Farah Ahmed Ezzat Aburaya² & Youssef Hossam Shahin³

¹*Professor, Arab Academy for Science, Technology, and Maritime Transport, Egypt*

^{2,3}*Research Scholar, Arab Academy for Science, Technology, and Maritime Transport, Egypt*

ABSTRACT

The general theme of this paper is to study the deterioration of civil and political freedoms in Algeria and Lebanon. The specific topic of this paper is to understand the effect of the Arab Spring on civil and political freedoms. This paper proposes that the Arab Spring has affected civil and political freedoms in Algeria and Lebanon on both the short run and the long run which was proven throughout the research.

KEYWORDS: *Arab Spring, Middle-East, Algeria, Lebanon, Civil Freedom, Political Freedom, Democratization Theory*

Article History

Received: 28 Jun 2021 | Revised: 30 Jun 2021 | Accepted: 30 Jun 2021

INTRODUCTION

The study is about the negative impact of the Arab spring as a regional phenomenon on civil and political freedoms in Algeria and Lebanon. The study aims at identifying milestones of deterioration in civil and political freedoms in each country respectively with providing a comparative study of Algeria and Lebanon. The Arab spring was theorized to erupt due to different reasons such as economic difficulties and seclusion of societal groups. However, The Arab spring was about top to bottom changes in each country respectively aiming at defeating corrupt institutions. The study is being made to understand that although the Arab spring did not happen in all the countries of the Middle East in the same way and intensity, it affected all the countries of which are Algeria and Lebanon.

The study will be carried out in the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and the Lebanese Republic which belong to the Middle East region. These countries were selected because they belong to different sub regions. Lebanon belongs to the Levant region in the Asian branch of the Middle East and Algeria belonging to the Maghreb countries located in northern Africa.

The data required for this research could be found online in journal articles and book chapters. The reports used in this research would be provided by international organizations and indexes such as Freedom House Index. The study would cover main events that followed the year 2000 in each country respectively. Because of the fact that the Arab spring began in the beginning of the year 2011 in Tunisia then Egypt, and that many events that occurred between the year 2000 and 2010 are important in assessing the situation in each case. The data required for this research would be divided as historical, political, societal, economic, and cultural for The People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and The Lebanese Republic.

Country 1: The People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

The Algerian system has allowed forming tightly controlled institutions. Even though elections have become routine, they are marked by irregularities; these elections are neither completely fair nor do they constitute a challenge to the country's leadership. Meanwhile, the regime has allowed opposition groups and civil society organizations a certain amount of space for contestation. All most all opposing groups remain too weak to strongly challenge the government's policies and actions. This approach enabled the regime to weather the unrest that swept across the MENA region. While a series of protests and self-immolations took place throughout Algeria between 2010 and 2012, no full-on Arab Spring occurred (Anon., 2020).

Country 2: The Lebanese Republic

The Lebanese political system is classified as a sectarian political system. The 1843 split of Mount Lebanon (pre-independence) into Maronite and Druze districts laid the grounds for the contemporary confessional system. In 1943, the National Pact Agreement further institutionalized a confessional representation system, stipulating the following roles, which are still in place today: A Christian Maronite as President, a Muslim Sunni as Prime Minister, a Muslim Shia as speaker of Parliament, and a 6:5 Christian to Muslim ratio of parliamentary representatives. Lebanon suffered a prolonged and bloody civil war from 1975 to 1990 that was sectarian in nature. It pitted Christians against Muslims and divided the country along sectarian lines in a manner that ultimately instilled a system of religious conflict and discrimination. At the same time, the civil war paved the way for a power-sharing agreement under a new constitution following the Ta'if Accord, which specified a 1:1 Christian-Muslim ratio of parliamentary representation (128 total MPs, 64 Christian, 64 Muslim). The agreement also reinforced the distribution of government-administrative posts along sectarian lines, ostensibly taking into account merit-based qualifications. Sectarian tensions persist in the country, and grassroots efforts to reform or replace the system including demonstrations during the Arab Spring in 2011 have provoked conservative and defensive criticism of the sectarian elites.

Research Significance

The study is significant because of the fact that it helps in developing ideas of political and civil freedoms in the MENA region that has suffered from authoritarianism and dictatorship in various forms. This study also helps in setting agendas for changes in the MENA region by highlighting the relationship that exists between the people and the government, and that political and civil freedoms enhance the relationship between the people and the state and ensure stability and continuity of the state.

Hypotheses

H1: The Arab spring affected political freedoms negatively

H2: The Arab spring affected civil freedoms negatively.

Research Structure

This paper consists of four parts. The first part includes the introduction of the topic. The first part contains information about the cases in general, research significance, the timeframe that the paper is going to focus on, and the hypothesis. Part two includes the literature review which consists of related articles to the topic. It is divided into three divisions. The first focuses on the terminologies and defining the variables which are political freedom, civil freedom, and Arab spring. The

second part focuses on articles that discuss the topic of the Arab spring in different cases such as Egypt. The third part focuses on articles that discuss same topic and same cases which are Lebanon and Algeria. Part three includes research methodology. Which includes the classification of this research with providing justification for each point? The research model that identifies the relationship between the variables, and the democratization theory which is going to be applied in the next part. Part four includes the research question and its answer. Lastly, the application of democratization theory and conclusion of findings.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There are three objectives to this part. The first is to decide on the most appropriate definitions of my variables and the most applicable. The second is to see how the Arab spring affected other states in terms of political and civil freedoms. Lastly, is to assess and evaluate the current literature on Algeria and Lebanon in terms of papers published on political and civil freedom that link the decline to the Arab Spring.

This part is going to be composed of three sections. The first section is going to be discussing civil freedom, political freedom, and the Arab spring. The first section is going to define each variable through different perspectives, then discuss each definition and its applicability on the topic and the cases, then a comparison is going to be held in order to reach the last step in which I am going to decide on three articles through which the research is going to be focused on that correspond to each variable respectively.

The second part is going to include articles about the same topic which is the effect of the Arab spring on political and civil freedom but different cases. The first step is to identify the argument of each paper, then discuss the major points and how they support the main argument. An independent part is going to compare between each paper's arguments, and lastly state the benefits of each article individually.

The third part is going to discuss articles about the same topic and cases. In this part, the first thing is comparing between the arguments of the authors after stating them in the authors words, then discuss the major components of each paper. An independent part dedicated to discussing similarities and differences between the three articles, and between the three articles and my paper. Lastly, a part dedicated to state the research gap and research contribution would be the last thing to discuss in this module.

Section 1:

Civil Freedom: articles cited in this part:

Argument:

Civil freedom is a concept that is triggered by everyday lives of every human being and the main question asked by all people is if they are truly free to do whatever they want because they do not know or feel the difference between human rights and civil rights. So, they assume that they are the same. Many theorists argued about the main concepts of civil, freedom, its definition, and how to comprehend it. However, in 1987, Gerwirth argues that the distinction between human rights and civil rights stems from the distinction between a citizen and a human (Gewirth, 1987). On the other hand, Makale in 2017 argues that the concept of rights and freedoms is an international matter due to globalization and communication between the people that made civil rights and freedoms become an international aim set by international treaties that require minimum standards to be met and help in resolving conflicts that affect these sets of rights. He also

reinforced the idea of the interdependence between the civil and political freedoms and the social and economic rights (Makale, 2017) that contradicts Gawith's perspective. Lastly, Spector argues that the understanding of freedom comes from combining the two main schools of thought that divide freedom. The first being positive/negative freedom, and the second is civil/natural freedom. The main argument of Spector is that the contemporary debate on freedom lacks a perspicuous account of the various conceptions of freedom, mainly because it leaves aside the classic contrast between natural liberty and civil liberty (Spector, 2010).

Definition:

In Gerwith's article civil freedoms are based on moral foundations of society unlike other freedoms that are organized by law. Civil freedoms are what it means to be a human agent in such a society because they are only bestowed by the government to the citizens. Civil rights and freedoms are distributed equally among citizens, and are based on moral foundations (Gewirth, 1987). In Makale's article, civil rights are defined as follows. Civil rights vary from securing the individuals' spiritual, physical, economic and legal existence (right to life, privacy and dignity, physical integrity; freedom of religion, thought, and opinion; right to recognition as a person before the law and nationality; right to own property) via classical freedom rights (liberty of person, freedom of movement, prohibition of slavery, freedom of expression) to detailed procedural safeguards related to the rule of law and fair trial generally (Makale, 2017). Spector's definition is abstract because it does not set limitations on the human actions. Civil freedom in this paper is defined as having civil liberty which could be defined as having the freedom to do good as well as doing the bad deeds, and collective self-government that stems from democratic autonomy principles (Spector, 2010).

Compare

Differences

The basis on which each author establishes his theory and definition are different as in the moral foundations of civil rights law, Civil freedom is not something that could be standardized as it differs and shape shifts according to what is deemed accepted by a society or a community that is ruled by customs and traditions which is subjective to be something rigid and based on outdated practises. On the other hand, Makale's civil and political rights vs. social and economic rights: a brief overview focuses on civil freedom and liberties as something that is globalized and that international organizations must have a role in insuring that these freedoms and liberties are exploited by all the people in the world. oppositely, Spector's Four conceptions of freedom views on civil freedom and liberties originate from democratic principles as he elaborated the link between having individuals who exercise their civil freedom and the need for their society to adapt to the democratic view of freedom.

Similarities

The similarities between the three perspectives discussing civil freedom is that they link it to political freedom, refer to them as interrelated and depend on each other, put under the same umbrella when talking about philosophical views and theories. Another similarity is that the three articles do mention the term natural freedom which is quite distinct from civil freedom and is presumed by the three authors that it is similar to the term Human Rights in that it is a part of freedoms that no human can be deprived from.

Political Freedom

Define

According to Neumann, the concept of political freedom consists of three constituent elements which are the juridical, the cognitive, and the volitional. The juridical is that the courts do have authority over the political freedoms given to the people. The second element is the cognitive elements which stems from the nature of the society and what freedoms do they exercise. the last element is volitional which is about the supremacy of the law and the accountability of the people to the law that they know and approve (neumann, 1953). Blackstone defined political freedom as the rights that members of a given political community have, the rights that they have, such a list of rights would in effect spell out the boundaries of state authority and the legitimate use of state power. Those boundaries would limit the conditions and situations in which state interference in the affairs of members of a political community is justified by the rules (Laws) and the institutions but by them (blackstone, 1973). According to Hartford a political freedom could be identified when an individual chooses an action that conflicts with an action chosen by another individual, and they cannot voluntarily resolve the conflict. Only one of the actions can take place. If taking one of the actions is a political freedom, then taking the opposing action would violate that freedom. The proper resolution of the conflict protects the action that is a political freedom (hartford, 2011).

Compare

The basis on which each author establishes his theory and definition are different as in the moral foundations of civil rights law, Civil freedom is not something that could be standardized as it differs and shape shifts according to what is deemed accepted by a society or a community that is ruled by customs and traditions which is subjective to be something rigid and based on out dated practices. On the other hand, Makale's civil and political rights vs. social and economic rights: a brief overview focuses on civil freedom and liberties as something that is globalized and that international organizations must have a role in insuring that these freedoms and liberties are exploited by all the people in the world. oppositely, Spector's Four conceptions of freedom view on civil freedom and liberties originate from democratic principles as he elaborated the link between having individuals who exercise their civil freedom and the need for their society to adapt to the democratic view of freedom.

Differences

Political freedom differs from civil freedom because it is something that is mainly regulated by law rather than traditions or international organizations (blackstone, 1973). On the other hand, political freedom could also be measured by reporting the relationship between the government and the governed (neumann, 1953) which is something that does not happen in all countries when the political system is built on dictatorship then the people do not have options to act on something. However, political freedom still exists in these countries. Oppositely, political freedom to hartford is an absolute principle and that it is something that must be agreed upon by the whole society rather than a fragment of the society which might be a political party (hartford, 2011).

Similarities

Almost all perspectives on political freedom that are discussed in this paper mention a supervizing agency or an institution that works on delivering the political freedom to people and that there is also a legitimate actor that could strip people from some of their freedoms and rights. Another similarity is that they all discuss the division between positive and negative freedom even when discussing political freedoms of the people they all agree that there is a certain amount of political rights that is negotiable and the other part is not negotiable because it affects their welfare. All articles agreed on the

different applications of political freedoms in each political system and that although it is something that could be defined in the same way all around the world, it means different things in each society and governed by a distinct set of ethical rules that is acceptable by the society.

The Arab Spring

Define

The Arab Spring is a debatable concept because it differs which side is going to be highlighted in order to define it whether it was internal or external factors. The Arab Spring was defined by Idris as the consequence of the breakdown of the social contract that was broken due to external factors of hardening international economic circumstances and the failure of governments to trigger positive social change in their states respectively (Idris, 2016). On the other hand, it was defined as a regional phenomenon that came in reaction to deepening western democracy influence on the Arab world that was perceived by the people as politically superior due to educational superiority (Rosiny & Richter, 2016). Lastly, the Arab Spring was defined as a regional phenomenon that legitimized the existence of political Islam in the political scene as the Islamic parties were seen as prominent actors in the post- Arab spring governments and a new additive to the official governmental material in the region (stepan & linz, 2013).

Compare

Difference

One main difference and a point of argument between different scholars is whether the arab spring was due to democratization or islamization. Scholars see islam as the main reason behind the rebellions of the arab spring because of the ideology that was embraced by the post-arab spring governments in egypt and tunisia that was prioritizing islam and islamic laws over civil laws, and using islam in establishing themselves as the legitimate rulers of these countries (stepan & linz, 2013). On the other hand, other scholars see the arab spring as a result of the ideological polarization between the western world that embraces democracy and the middle east that has corrupt and self interested governments, and due to globalization, the people has felt the darkness that they are living in so they decided to rebel (Rosiny & Richter, 2016).

Similarity

There are many similarities between the three articles. Such as the inclusion of the youth as a factor for demonstrations, that there is no argument in the beginning of the arab spring which is 2011 and that the regimes in the region were adhering to authoritarian tactics and focusing on clientelist view relationship with the people.

Part 2

This part is about articles that are about the Arab Spring but discuss different cases. the following articles are going to be referenced in this paper however, only three of them are going to be explained thoroughly according to the closest three articles to the topic of this article. The underlined articles are the ones' that are going to be prioritized in this part.

Argument

The main argument of Boduszy Ski & Pickard is that the sources of Libya's 2011 revolution are anger and disaffection roused by political repression and economic inequality. The research problem of this article is based on the pre-arab spring context that lacked democracy or any sign of political transition of power between different people as it was dominated by president Qadhafi(Boduszy ski & Pickard, 2013). On the other hand, Brown's argument is that the Arab Spring in Egypt that began promising democracy and respect of the voting box, ended in the armed forces deposing the first democratically

elected president. He argues that the timing of both the parliamentary and presidential elections was the main factor that contributed to the failure of the elected bodies to perform effectively because of the civil upheaval that dominated Egypt at that time although people were recorded to go to election at historical records that the people saw as promising. The argument of the author is that if parliamentary elections were done again in 2013, it would have digested the demonstrations and civil unrest in Egypt (Brown, 2013). Lastly, Alley's argument about Yemen is that although Yemen was one of the first countries to have a peaceful transition of power, national dialogue, and elections for a new president, that did not help in returning Yemen into peace with its past because the people did not accept the solutions and decided that each fraction should pursue its own interest, and the legitimacy of the newly elected president was easily contested by the people who saw the new president Abdu Rabu Mansour Hadi as a figure head for the eternal actors mainly in the Gulf countries that sought to secure the presidency to someone they supported which backfired shortly after many fractions sought to separate themselves from the republic of Yemen (Alley, 2013).

Benefit

Boduszky ski & Pickard benefits me because it helps me in understanding that the Arab Spring began calling for similar demands but adapted differently in each state and it highlights the situation in Libya that was different from each countries. The article also helps in understanding the pre-arab spring government that predominated Libya which is Qadhafi's government that ruled over for years without any signs of democratization or peaceful transition as the islamist militias saw Libya as an opportunity for their extension in their oil rich country (Boduszy ski & Pickard, 2013). Brown's article about the failure of transition in Egypt benefited me in realizing the difficulties that faced the political actors of the time and how the circumstances were worsening for the Egyptian people as they almost lost hope in their government and used demonstrations against their newly elected parliament and president (Brown, 2013). Alley's article about Yemen benefited me with mentioning how the Yemeni people were divided and had different agendas for their political future as they were not able to agree on the political system of post-arab spring Yemen that they used force, and militias to inforce their ideas (Alley, 2013).

Part 3

Argument

Sardar's argument is that the elections in 2017 were the one of the signs that the Algerian people want a change which was witnessed in the low voter turnout followed by protests (sardar, 2018). Volpi in his article argues that the authoritarian resilience witnessed in Algeria survived due to control over security apparatus, redistributive patronage, and fake democratizing initiatives (Volpi, 2013). On the other hand, Hamadouche argues that the Algerian regime is not only subject to new regional pressure, but has been experiencing for years the demands of a population that, over the course of twenty years, has tasted the freedom arising from the political opening up of 1989, suffered the tragedies of terrorism and counter-terrorism of the 1990s and accumulated political-economic frustrations that the return to peace has paradoxically exacerbated (Hamadouche, 2013). pearl argues that Arab Publics have shown discontent about their government's corruption, autocracy, and lack of accountability towards political leaders that was maintained by the ability of these leaders to manipulate electoral process. It also speaks of the political system in Lebanon after the Arab Spring, how it is corrupt and that the sectarian system has been providing stalemates for political change (pearl, 2013).

Benefit

This article benefits my research by providing insights about the Algerian political environment since the elections held in May 2017. This article also adds a constitutional dimension that has hugely contributed to maintain the political situation with major amendments (sardar, 2018). Volpi focuses on the authoritarian resilience that existed in Algeria which led to the control of president boutaflika all these years. This article also speaks of how the Arab Spring could not threaten the authoritarian rule in Algeria because of the limitations of revolutionary models of regime change of the Arab Spring. Hamadouche benefits my paper by speaking about how Algeria is under both internal and external pressure. Let us consider the former before going on to discuss the impact of the Arab revolts on the increased pressure on Algeria (Hamadouche, 2013). Pearl's paper benefits my research by talking about the public discontent in Lebanon and the fact that external events such as Syrian civil war or refugee crisis does have an effect on Lebanese politics

Similarities

All the articles discussed in this part talk about how the Arab spring affected this specific country which either Algeria or Lebanon. The similarity is that both pearl and serder discuss the case of Algeria.

Differences

The difference between these papers is that they do not talk about the same period as each paper has its own timeline and main events different from the other. Pearl focuses on immigration and how the Lebanese society reacts to it. Volpi focuses on internal affairs in Algeria and that the system of government is protecting itself. On the other hand, sardar focuses on parliamentary elections in Algeria and how it affects politics of Algerian government because of the fact that when the voter turnover is low, then government losses the ability to have an effect on the people.

My Perspective Vs Other Papers

My perspective is that the Arab spring has affected the civil and political freedoms negatively which is something that is not that easy to prove because of the fact that the two countries are mostly different and that they do not have similarities which is something that distinguished my perspective over other papers. This paper is going to prove the relationship between the Arab spring and civil and political freedoms by two ways; the first is by assessing the decline in the sub-variable of each freedom and the fact that democratization theory applied in this paper works on determining whether this country is going to be democratizing in the future. Which was not done by other papers? None of the papers cover included in this part covers a long time as I'm going to in order to be able to assess either the decline or prosperity of a freedom.

Research Gap and Contribution

The existing literature does not cover the deterioration in political and civil freedoms in Algeria and Lebanon. the contribution therefore, is the assessment of the political and civil freedoms in the post-Arab spring Lebanon and Algeria. This paper is going to apply the democratization theory the Algeria and Lebanon which is something that was not applied to Algeria. From this part, this paper has been able to decide on the relative articles existing that discuss related topics to its own and analyze the existing definitions of the variables. This part has also added many articles that could be used in future research or used in other parts in this paper as published content that is hardly bias towards one party over the other.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

this part is going to talk about the type of research that this paper adheres to, the variables which are civil freedom, political freedom, and the Arab Spring, the research model which explains the relationship between the variables which is that the Arab spring is the independent variable that affects political and civil freedoms which are the dependent variables, and lastly the theory applied which is democratization theory.

This paper is going to adapt to the Deductive Reasoning Method by applying the democratization theory to try to realize how this theory analyzes the huge waves of change that are named the Arab Spring, then we are going to observe the data available from both cases in Algeria and Lebanon to confirm or discourage the relationship between the variables, the applicability and the legitimacy of the democratization theory as a whole.

This research is going to provide descriptive data to better understand the cases of Algeria and Lebanon, and the Arab spring. The analytical tools are going to be used in order to better analyze the fact that although the selected cases were not considered to join the Arab spring meaning that it did not affect these countries directly, however, it changed the countries and their governments’ policies in a surprising way. This research is intended to be an applied research which means that it would be applying existing theories and research models to the cases. The research is going to use qualitative data provided by existing journal articles, newspaper articles, and reports relative to the cases. Lastly, this research is explanatory because of the fact that it explains a well-defined problem which is how the Arab world has been reacting to the waves of modernity by focusing on political and civil freedoms and what were the causes and consequences of the changes that happened in the cases of Algeria and Lebanon. however, the research done takes different updates material, different perspectives, and theories in explaining the research problem that was recorded by other researchers.

Research Model

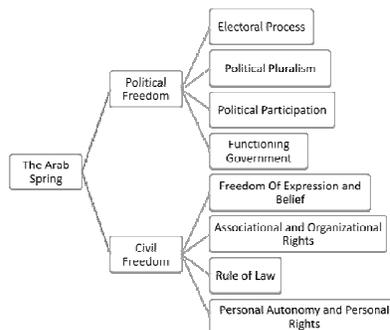


Table 1

Theory: Democratization Theory

This theory focuses on modernization and development that provide democratic stability to the state. In this context, democratization means that people have full access to their civil and political rights that the government must protect and respect because the government is legitimate only if the people have the right to abolish it but choose not to because of their rationality that makes them capable of making political decisions, voting in elections, participate in government, express their mind and belief freely, organize protests and associations, adhere to the law of the state, and have complete control over themselves (Paul, 1997).

ANALYSIS AND APPLICATION

The main objective of this part is to answer the research question about the effect of the Arab Spring on political and civil freedoms in Algeria and Lebanon. This part is also going to discuss and analyze the research model provided from the research methodology part. This part is also going to apply the democratization theory provided in the research methodology part in order to estimate and decide on the answer to the research question. This part is going to be divided into 3 main divisions. The first is going to handle the relevant background information that affects the research problem. The second division is going to discuss and analyze the concepts and the theory of the research. The third division is going to state the findings and conclude the part.

Research Question and Sub Questions

The Principal Research Question of This Paper is as Follows

What is the effect that the Arab Spring had on political and civil freedoms in Algeria and Lebanon?

The sub questions are going to be divided in two questions as in questions for each case, because of the inseparability between civil and political freedoms and the fact that they are affect each other. So, the sub questions are going to be as follows:

What are the effects that the Arab Spring had on political and civil freedoms in the Arab republic of Algeria?

What are the effects that the Arab Spring had on political and civil freedoms in the Lebanese Republic?

To answer the research question. This paper is going to discuss the availability of each sub-variable of the dependent variables; civil freedom and political freedom on the case of Algeria.

Algeria

According to the research model. There is civil freedom when there is freedom of expression and belief in the country. In Algeria, there is no definite freedom of expression because of the government control over media and influence over the owners of media. Although some newspapers are privately owned and some journalists remain aggressive in their coverage of government affairs, most papers rely on government agencies for printing and advertising, encouraging self-censorship. In April 2020, the Algerian Parliament approved a new law criminalizing “fake news” that undermines public order and security, with sentences ranging from one to five years in prison (Anon., 2020). In addition to that, In January 2020, the Algerian authorities shut two Protestant churches. Before 2017, the EPA had maintained its status as a legally recognized organization since 1974 (ibid). So there is little freedom of expression and belief in Algeria. Concerning associational and organizational rights. Legal restrictions on freedom of assembly remain in place, but are inconsistently enforced. The Hirak protests, which began in 2019, have sometimes been tolerated by the government. However, security personnel have resorted to the use of tear gas, water cannons, arbitrary arrests, and excessive force to preempt or disrupt some of the rallies. Beginning in March 2020, all gatherings and demonstrations were banned due to the COVID-19 emergency (Anon., 2019). Organizational rights in Algeria are also so bureaucratic and rigid. The evidence is that in 2019, Kaddour Chouicha, president of the independent higher education workers’ union SESS, was arrested and given a one-year prison sentence for his criticism of the military and support for the protest movement (Anon., 2020). There are little associational and organizational freedoms in Algeria. Rule of law in Algeria is not fulfilled because of the fact that the country is controlled by the military, there is racial discrimination against black African residents, and that the judiciary is not independent since the judges are appointed by the president which makes achieving rule of law very hard since the judiciary are not

independent. However, the rule of law in Algeria is declining due to government deficit and economic difficulties due to the covid-19 pandemic (ibid). In Algeria, people are relatively free to evoke their personal autonomy and personal rights. Women do not enjoy equal rights in marriage and divorce under the family code, which is based on Islamic law. Among other provisions, women must obtain a male guardian's permission to marry, and the father is the legal guardian of his children (Anon., 2021). Political freedoms in Algeria have been developing since the French colonialism when they were about to become citizens of the French republic and its territorial extension in northern Africa. The electoral process in Algeria is both suspicious and vague to the Algerian people. The president, who is directly elected for up to two five-year terms, remains the dominant figure in the executive branch, though some authority was shifted to the prime minister under constitutional reforms adopted in 2020. Protesters called the election a sham and orchestrated a boycott. Outside observers were not allowed to enter the country to monitor the poll and foreign observers were not present not reporting the election of the current president (ibid). Political pluralism in Algeria which is a country that is dominated by Muslims is a very difficult task since the country has a history of political Islam, extremist parties. so, the government is used to intervene in opposition parties' activities, and ban certain Islamist parties that might be trying to rise to power. Political participation in Algeria is poor since the people started to believe that their votes don't matter because the military will pick the president and the winning parties in the elections. Other competitors to *bouteflika* and *tebboune* get very small number of votes which does not correspond to their actual popularity and that they are given the permission to be elected by the military and the president. In Algeria, political participation got really affected by the Arab Spring and the apparent fraud that exists in the elections (ibid). Algeria does have a functioning government. However, the military is considered to be the real controller of everything in the country. The Arab spring made Algerian military realize that they must adapt to the new regional system that is based on public legitimacy. So, they managed to make a new constitution that seems like a semi-presidential type of government although the role of the military is still critical at keeping the status quo.

Lebanon

To answer the research question. This paper is going to discuss the availability of each sub-variable of the dependent variables; civil freedom and political freedom on the case of Lebanon. The electoral process in Lebanon is fair and transparent. However, it is related to regional stability as the parliamentary and presidential elections were delayed many times due to covid-19 measures, Syrian civil unrest, and internal security concerns about terrorism. The political pluralism in Lebanon is very secured and written in the constitution as the parliament consists of representatives of all sects living on Lebanese territory from Christians to Muslims. The issues that exist in Lebanon came from the corruption that destroyed the country's economy and reliance on international loans rather than taking austerity measures internally which might terminate the clientilism that exists between the candidates and their supporters. In Lebanon, political participation is a main part of their political system that is built on elections. All Lebanese citizens are entitled to vote whether they belonged to any sect or religious minority or group. So, Lebanese government is built on political participation because of the small population and that they see it as a way to acquire public support and legitimacy. In Lebanon, the most recent events made the country without a functioning government because of the economic difficulties and public retribution that would be directed at the current government to take over, fix things fast, to get the country back on its feet after the explosion, and to elect the parliament and president. Lebanon is one of the few countries in the region that accept all religions, and beliefs. However, as any other country, the government tries to suppress the opposing media and journalists which might turn the people against the government. So there is freedom of belief and limited freedom of expression. Hezbollah had many incidents where they use their authority to close newspapers and ban certain people from showing on

the TV. Lebanon is a country that is built on many political parties and diverse communities so they have associational and organizational rights to establish parties, groups, and demonstrate peacefully. Internal conflicts happen between ideologically different parties such as Muslim clergies and LGBT communities that want to embrace their identity but are suppressed by the Muslim communities that see them as sinners as there was a booked event for LGBT community in Lebanon that was spoke against and cancelled for security reasons and fear of terrorism (Anon., 2020). The rule of law in Lebanon does not apply now. The Lebanese judiciary is considered to be not independent because there were many incidents when political leaders manipulated and affected court decisions which have led to high levels of government corruption (ibid).Lebanese Citizens do not enjoy rights to freedom of movement. They also face de facto sectarian boundaries and militia checkpoints in some areas. Which makes personal autonomy and personal rights a difficult thing to achieve by the Lebanese people and a basic thing if they belong to the political sectarian elite that has unlimited access to resources and rights.

Application of Democratization Theory

In Algeria, they have structural pressures and democratizing actors which correspond to the civil republican institutions that work for the Algerian people. The constitution that calls for the government to be based on representation of the people through democratic means. The democratizing actors might not have the trust of the people but it was witnessed that there exist many parties that call for a democratic civil system such as the labor party. There is no socioeconomic development in Algeria as the society is not being able to trust a new set of people who might be considered to be the representatives of the people or the new civil political elite and the fact that Algerian presidents that got appointed won by the support of the military. Algeria is suffering from the covid-19 pandemic as other countries around the world that caused an economic crisis in Algeria as it increased unemployment. The international factor in Algeria is the Arab Spring that is a themed revolution against autocratic rulers and a step closer to democratic systems. There are no soft-liners in Algeria because ministers come from certain families that do not want this privilege to go away. New social groups exist in Algeria today such as the Hirak movement that represents the public opposition against the current system and regime. There is no apparent leadership in Algeria as the president struggles in the defiance of his legitimate electoral victory and that many Algerians see elections as a fraud. The opposition cannot lead the people as the Hirak cannot participate in the elections because they do not have apparent leaders. Public legitimacy exists with the Hirak because they represent public discontent with government institutions.

In Lebanon, there are no structural pressures because the political elites do not want to change the regime. The democratizing actors do not exist because the fault in the sectarian system ended the civil war that the people fear to happen again if they changed the system. There are socioeconomic developments happening in Lebanon as the demonstrators come from different sects who means that the Lebanese people began to identify as Lebanese and not as belonging to sects. The economic crisis exists in Lebanon as the national economy is bankrupt. The international factor exists which is foreign loans that are going to be collected when there is a functioning government in Beirut and the Arab spring which is a series of revolutions that call for democracy and equality. There are no soft-liners in Lebanon because the political elite do not want more democracy that might affect the relation they have with their sects. There are no new social groups that emerged in Lebanon. There is no apparent leadership as the demonstrations are not lead by a defined group of people rather than normal Lebanese people. The public's demands are legitimate and are not being met by the government that cannot operate because of the failed economy.

This paper argues that political freedom has been decreasing since the outburst of the Arab Spring in 2011 in each case respectively. In Lebanon, the Arab spring affected it internally as people began to demonstrate government policies and externally as refugees and Syrian spillover began to halt Lebanese election process. Applying the democratization process, this paper argues that the elements for democratization are not fulfilled in Lebanon and Algeria because there is no personal leadership to opposition that could be elected. However, the Arab spring affected each case as an international factor that supports democratization. The research questions were stated and discussed in two different ways, through analyzing components of each freedom and through applying the democratization theory. The Arab Spring has been affecting each case in two different ways which are as an international factor for democratization and as a factor that affected civil and political freedoms which means that the hypothesis of this paper is confirmed.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has been investigating the effects of the Arab spring on civil and political freedoms in Algeria and Lebanon. this paper has been attempting to find its place in the literature about the Arab Spring that speaks of the effects of this regional theme of countries that are mostly left out of the research which are Algeria and Lebanon because of their special history and circumstances.

The two cases of Algeria and Lebanon appear to be entirely different from each other. However, this paper found the similarities which are that both countries suffer from economic crisis, they both developed a distinct socioeconomic system which is based on public legitimacy and the rule of the people. both countries suffer in similar areas such as freedom of expression and belief. The importance of this paper rises from the fact that as the world saw the Arab Spring as a factor for positive change on the short run, it became known that there are minimum advantages of it on the short run and that the expected benefits are going to be fulfilled on the long run.

The limitations faced in this research is that there are no 100% trusted sources as the concepts in question could be interpreted differently from one year to another. The other limitation is that most sources are biased whether they are governed by national governments. So, they depict demonstrations as coups and rebellious groups, and when they are with the demonstration, they tend to depict the governments as groups of isolated billionaires with no sense of responsibility towards their country and people.

REFERENCES

1. Alagha, J., 2008. *THE ISRAELI-HIZBULLAH 34-DAY WAR: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES*. Pluto Journals, 30(2), pp. 1-22.
2. Alagha, J., 2014. *Hezbollah and the Arab Spring*. *Contemporary Review of the Middel East*, 1(2), p. 189–206.
3. Anon., 2004. *PROFILE OF INTERNAL DISPLACEMENT : LEBANON*, Geneva: Norwegian Refugee Council.
4. Anon., 2019. *Algeria protests: Police arrest 108 in Friday clashes*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-47915798> [Accessed 27 june 2021].
5. Anon., 2019. *SUMMARY OF LEBANON ECONOMIC VISION, beirut : consultation and research institute*.
6. Anon., 2020. *Algeria criminalises 'fake news', activists denounce law*. [Online] Available at: <https://middle-east-online.com/en/algeria-criminalises-%E2%80%98fake-news%E2%80%99-activists-denounce-law> [Accessed 27 june 2021].

7. Anon., 2020. *freedom house: lebanon*. [Online] [Accessed 27 june 2021].
8. Anon., 2020. *Industri global union*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.industriall-union.org/global-unions-call-for-urgent-ilo-intervention-in-algeria> [Accessed 27 june 2021].
9. Anon., 2021. *Beirut Explosion, beirut: international medical corps*.
10. Anon., 2021. *freedom house: algeria*. [Online] [Accessed 27 june 2021].
11. Barzegar, K. G., 2014. *Protests, controversy mark elections in Algeria*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2014/04/17/algeria-protests-elections/7814311/> [Accessed 22 june 2021].
12. Bouandel, Y., 2009. *Algeria's Presidential Election of April*. *Mediterranean Politics*, 14(2), p. 247–253.
13. Boubekour, A., 2009. *Islamist Parties in Algeria*. In: *Interpreting Islamic Political Parties*. new york: Springer, pp. 167-189.
14. Grewal, S., 2019. *brookings edu*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/03/27/algerias-army-calls-for-the-presidents-removal/> [Accessed 22 june 2021].
15. Hawkins, D., 2001. *Democratization Theory and Nontransitions: Insights from Cuba*. *Comparative Politics, Ph.D. Programs in Political Science*, 33(4), pp. 441-461.
16. Kurtulus, E. N., 2009. *The Cedar Revolution': Lebanese Independence and the Question of Collective Self-Determination*. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 36(2), pp. 195-214.
17. Marwane, A., 2019. *Washington Institute*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/illegal-migration-algerian-youths-haunting-problem> [Accessed 22 june 2021].
18. Osseiran, N. & Coles, I., 2020. *Beirut Explosion: What Happened in Lebanon and Everything Else We Know*, Beirut: *The Wall Street Journal*.
19. Ouali, a., 2009. *Taiwan News*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/897601> [Accessed 22 June 2021].
20. *Reuters Staff*, 2009. *costs of war and recovery in Lebanon and Israel*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-lebanon-war-cost-idUSL0822571220070709> [Accessed 22 june 2021].
21. *The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2005. *Rafic al-Hariri*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Rafiq-al-Hariri> [Accessed 22 june 2021].
22. Zoubir, Y. H., 2020. *the conversation*. [Online] Available at: <https://theconversation.com/why-after-one-year-protests-continue-to-rock-algeria-133238> [Accessed 22 june 2021].
23. Boduszyski, M. P. & Pickard, D., 2013. *Libya starts from scratch*. *Journal of democracy*, 24(4), pp. 86-96.
24. Sardar, M., 2018. *Parliamentary Elections in algeria 2017*. *Contemporary Review of the Middle East*, 5(1), p. 74–86.
25. Volpi, F., 2013. *Algeria versus the Arab Spring*. *Journal of Democracy*, 24(3), pp. 104-115.

26. Fakhoury, T., 2019. Power-sharing after the Arab Spring? Insights from Lebanon's Political transformation. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 25(1), pp. 9-26.
27. Pearl, W., 2013. Emigration and the resilience of Politics in Lebanon. *The Arab Studies Journal*, 21(1), pp. 191-213.
28. Alagha, J., 2014. Hezbollah and the Arab Spring. *Contemporary Review of the Middle East*, 1(2), p. 189–206.
29. serres, T., 2019. Understanding Algeria's 2019 revolutionary movement. *Crown center for Middle East studies, Issue 129*, pp. 1-10.
30. Kudlenko, A., 2015. From Colour Revolutions to the Arab Spring. *Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, 25(3), pp. 167-179.
31. Alley, A. l., 2013. Yemen changes everything and nothing. *Journal of democracy*, 24(4), pp. 74-85.
32. Battaloglu, C. & Farasin, f., 2017. From Democratization to Securitization: Post-Arab Spring Political Order in the Middle East. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 26(2), pp. 299-319.
33. blackstone, w., 1973. the concept of political freedom. *social theory and practice*, 2(4), pp. 421-438.
34. Brownlee, j., masoud, T. & Reynolds, A., 2013. why the modest Harvest?. *Journal of democracy*, 24(4), pp. 29-44.
35. Brown, N. J., 2013. Egypt's Failed transition. *Journal of democracy*, 24(4), pp. 45-59.
36. Gewirth, a., 1987. moral foundations of civil rights law. *journal of law and religion*, 5(1), pp. 125-147.
37. Hamadouche, L. D.-A., 2013. Algeria in the Face of the Arab Spring. *Mediterranean Politics | Maghreb*, 62(1), pp. 263-274.
38. hartford, r., 2011. a political standard for absolute political freedom. *the journal of ayn rand studies*, 11(1), pp. 45-62.
39. Heydemann, S., 2013. Syria and the future of authoritarianism. *journal of democracy*, 24(4), pp. 59-73.
40. Idris, I., 2016. Analysis of the Arab Spring. *Governance and Social Development Resource*, pp. 1-14.
41. Makale, h., 2017. civil and political rights vs. social and economic rights: a brief overview. *journal of bitlis eren university*, 6(1), pp. 205-214.
42. neumann, F., 1953. the concept of political freedom. *columbia law review*, 53(7), pp. 901-935.
43. Richardson-Little, N., 2015. Human Rights as Myth and History: Between the Revolutions of 1989 and the Arab Spring. *Journal of contemporary central and Eastern Europe*, 23(3), pp. 151-166.
44. Rosiny, S. & Richter, T., 2016. The Arab Spring: Misconceptions. *German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), Volume 4*, pp. 1-12.
45. Spector, H., 2010. Four conceptions of freedom. *Political theory*, Volume 38, pp. 780-808.
46. stepan, a. & linz, j., 2013. Democratization theory and the "arab spring". *Journal of democracy*, 24(2), pp. 15-30.

47. Anon., 2020. *The importance of Literature Review in Research Writing*. [Online] Available at: <https://scientific-publishing.webshop.elsevier.com/researchprocess/importance-literature-review-research-writing/> [Accessed 1 april 2021].
48. Paul G. Lewis (1997) *Theories of democratization and patterns of regime change in Eastern Europe*, *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 13:1, 4-26, DOI: 10.1080/13523279708415329
49. cronin, P., ryan, F. & Coughlan, M., 2008. *Undertaking a literature review: a step-by-step approach*, london: *British Journal of Nursing*.
50. knopf, J. w., 2006. *Doing a literature review*. *Political Science and Politics*, 39(1), pp. 127-132.
51. Volpi, F., 2013. *Algeria versus the Arab Spring*. *Journal of Democracy*, 24(3), pp. 104-115.
52. Alagha, J., 2014. *Hezbollah and the Arab Spring*. *Contemporary Review of the Middle East*, 1(2), p. 189–206.
53. battaloglu, c. & farasin, f., 2017. *From Democratization to Securitization: Post-ArabSpring Political Order in the Middle East*. *Digest of middle east studies*, 26(2), pp. 299-319.
54. blackstone, w., 1973. *The concept of political freedom*. *Social theory and practice*, 2(4), pp. 421-438.
55. Brownlee, J., Masoud, T. & Reynolds, A., 2013. *Why the modest harvest?*. *Journal of Democracy*, 24(4), pp. 29-44.
56. Fakhoury, T., 2019. *Power-sharing after the Arab Spring? Insights from*. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 25(1), pp. 9-26.
57. gewirth, a., 1987. *Moral foundations of civil rights law*. *journal of law and religion*, 5(1), pp. 125-147.