

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### **A. Background**

Arab region has experienced instability in both aspects of political and also social, culminated into conflicts. These uprisings of Arab started from Tunisia in the late of 2010, and within a few months it spread to the other Arab countries including Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Somalia, Sudan, as well as Yemen, and spread to other countries such as Bahrain, and Egypt in the early of 2011. These uprising became the important point of Arab regions democratic transition.

The uprisings started by huge mass demonstration towards government demanding for revolution due to dissatisfaction of people with the government and its dictatorship. It turned out that the reason behind the demonstrations was a self-immolating of a vegetable seller in front of local government building who was humiliated and desperate due to his cart confiscation and the requirement to prepare some money as bribe to one of governmental officers (Rosiny, 2012). The demonstrations were the form of solidarity actions and developed into large-scale conflict as the government tends to react by using its military force. The protest was getting bigger with participants coming from many different background, mostly youth, while also including children, adults, elderly, women and men, Moslems, as well as Christians, with extensively demand including material improvements in the provision of food, housing and energy; improved services and better employment

opportunities; and reforms of the political system to democracy, separation of powers and reliable institutions (Rosiny, 2012). The conflict was growing into bigger scale conflict which deprived many lives of the people who were engage with these actions, undermine the overall condition of the state order in many sectors of the economy such as damage to the country's infrastructure, as well as the decline and worsening domestic production.

Many efforts from the government in order to avoid the autocratic rulers to fall have been done. They adapt to the situations, try to stabilize their rule by partially meeting the demonstrators' demand and replace some unpopular ministers or the entire government, or by promising constitutional reforms. They also tried to give subsidies to the price of main food and energy source, rapidly created new jobs, and promised wage increases. However, it only met some of the peoples' demand, while their main demand on other rights is still unmentioned by the government, such as equality in front of law without any privileges for elites, and democratic participation opportunity for all. The Islamic Revolution in 1978-1979 in Iran or Cedar Revolution 2005 in Lebanon is cited as the role model for these uprisings (Rosiny, 2012).

Furthermore, the Arab spring has become one-of-a kind and historical event where border-transcending nature of its protests based on the solidarity value among all Arab people who face the same situations. The uprising also spread and brought up the idea of democracy in Arab region which was very famous for its stable authoritarian form of government systems. The authorities were demanded to respect

the rights of citizens to live in dignity without humiliation and oppression by the security forces and public authorities, equality in access to resources and opportunities, equality in front of law without any privileges for the elites, and the equal right to participate in any opportunities leads towards prosperity, progress, education and democratic participation for all.

The uprising itself attracted the attention of the global media, received strong attention from various international agents: government, experts and academics, as well as international non-governmental organizations, and advocated them for highly concern the reformation of authoritarian systems of rule.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as international agents are now recognized as third key sector actors which are engaged in many areas, development, human rights, humanitarian action, environment, and efforts to institutionalize popular political participation (Shigetomi, 2002). Many NGOs play active roles in wide-range aspect such as democracy building, conflict resolution, human rights work, cultural preservation, environmental activism, policy analysis, research and information provision (Lewis, 2009). The NGO term was introduced in 1950 by United Nations, while it rose and increased its number significantly in 1980s and 1990s. Today the UN describes an NGO as:

“any non-profit, voluntary citizens’ group which is organized on a local, national or international level. Task-oriented and driven by people with a common interest, NGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring citizens’ concerns to Governments, monitor policies and encourage political participation at the community

level. They provide analysis and expertise, serve as early warning mechanisms and help monitor and implement international agreements. Some are organized around specific issues, such as human rights, the environment or health” (Doh, 2009).

Furthermore, their roles mainly constitute into three, they are as implementer, catalyst, and partner (Lewis, 2007).

NGOs activity in providing social services somehow affects political participation in developing countries. The U.S. Ambassador Mark Palmer asserted that, “NGOs have assisted a massive expansion in freedom” (O'Dell, 2012). Likewise, the data surveyed by Jennifer N. Brass and Mark O'Dell in Kenya, they found that there are significant positive relationships between direct contact of the people and NGOs towards political behavior. People who have contact with NGOs are more likely to raise issues with government officials and to participate in protests than the other who are not in contact with NGOs. The increased political participations therefore as the result of NGOs emphasize on “participatory development” and their focus on empowerment (O'Dell, 2012).

Ford Foundation is one of many NGOs facing the uprisings happened in Arab which is called as Arab Spring. It supports the Arabian people in order to get their right of having a peaceful and democratic life. It is one of world's private foundations which based in United States and headquartered in New York. Ford Foundation has been ranked as the world's second largest U.S. grant making foundation based on their assets which was audited by the Foundation Center database in 2015 (Foundation Center, 2015). Furthermore, it is an independent, non-

profit, as well as non-governmental organization which becomes one of the largest and influential foundations in the world with its global- oriented mission and interest in wide range aspects. In addition, this foundation has been highly linked with democracy building and also expansion of democratic values because it generally works by bringing the idea of democratic values. It is believed that each person should have the opportunity to reach his or her potential, contribute in society and have voice in the decisions which affect his or her (Ford Foundation, 2014).

Ford Foundation served some particular areas such as United States, Africa, Latin America, Middle East and Asia by building their regional or country headquarters which seemed to be their main concerned countries for more focused and well- managed mission as well as to engage closer to the civil society. Indeed, their mission in the concerned countries was mainly related to the democracy and its values.

Middle East is one of their main concerned regions. Therefore, they opened a regional office in Beirut and a country office in Cairo. These establishments of regional and country office have signaled Ford Foundation concern on the socio-political condition within the country. In addition, they have been on the ground of Middle East and North Africa for more than 50 years ago and continue to do their efforts to improve people's lives and support for solution to endure problems related to the humankind. Moreover, its amount of support through grant making for Egypt in more than last ten years has been growing. (Ford Foundation, 2009). It is clear that Ford Foundation highly concerns with the politic and democracy condition of people in

Egypt. Therefore, they have put more efforts to bring changes by encouraging people to engage in any activities and decisions which affect their lives.

These efforts done by Ford Foundation have been important influence for civil society and people of Egypt in wide range aspect, especially in socio- political aspect. It mainly influenced Egyptian youth and people generally by their project related to democracy through education pathways. These pathways are conducted in research, meetings, workshops, education institution building, policy analysis, etc.

Indeed, Ford Foundation is one of the oldest international NGO existed in Egypt until now which focuses on democracy building to aim the improvement of people's live. Therefore, considering of the mentioned facts, the author attempts to analyze further on International Non- Governmental Organizations, particularly the Ford Foundation influence in Egypt democratic transition.

## **B. Research Question:**

How does Ford Foundation as international NGOs influence the Democratic Transitions in Egypt?

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

### **1. Democratic Transition Theory**

In the past two decades the world has witnessed remarkable development toward democracy, Swhich referred as “the Third Wave” of democratization by Samuel P. Huntington. During that time many countries were in political, economic

and social transformations and many of them succeed to pass the democratic transition.

The concept of democracy and democratization become the most essential to be addressed when we talk about democratic transition. As a form of government, democracy is highly related to the sources of authority for government, purposes served by government, and procedures in constituting the government (Huntington, 1992). Furthermore, according to Robert Dahl, democracy necessarily involves contestation and participation, and the decision makers are selected and chosen through fair, honest, and periodic selections in which the candidates freely compete for votes. However, to define democracy in terms of elections seems to be too minimum. Some people have idealistic means in defining “true democracy” such as effective citizen in policy control, responsible government, honest and openness in politics, informed and rational deliberation, equal participation and power, and other civic virtues (Huntington, 1992). Meanwhile, the democratization is merely the process of a country to transform into democratic country from nondemocratic system or what so called authoritarian regimes with its one-party systems, totalitarian systems, dictatorships, or military regimes based systems.

Many people also want to figure out the causes of democratization in many countries. However, the causes of democratization differ substantially from one place and another as well as from one time to another. Even so, there are some causes which considerably significant in the movement toward democratization, and they are the economic development, industrialization, urbanization, the emergence of

bourgeoisie and middle class, development of working class and organization, and decrease of economic inequality (Huntington, 1992). Economic development increases the levels of education in the society, while the industrialization atmosphere leads to more deserving, complex and interrelated economic issues which authoritarian regimes will find difficult to control. Likewise it will also expand the existence of middle class such as professionals, teachers and others.

Furthermore, Huntington (1992) proposes the process on how democratic transition or what so called as democratization to be implied in most recent countries. There are three proposed processes. They are the Transformation Model, Replacement Model, and Transplacement Model (Huntington, 1992).

### ***Transformation Model***

Transformation model occurs when elites in power introduce the idea of democracy and have a great role in ending the regime to later bring it towards democracy. It requires stronger government than the opposition, and mostly occurs in well-established military regimes which have control over oppositions and had been successful in economic aspect. This type of reformation usually starts through the emergence of reformers consisting of a group of leaders or potential leaders within the authoritarian regime who believe it is necessary and right to have democratic political system.

### ***Replacement Model***

Replacement model considers the reformers within the regime are somewhat weak. An authoritarian system exists because the government is politically stronger than the opposition. Then, it is replaced when the government becomes weaker than the opposition. The opposition gains strength but at the same time the government loses its strength until the government is overthrown. Within this model, there are three phases. They are the struggle to produce the fall, the fall, and the struggle after the fall. The regime usually has the backing of broad coalition of groups, but with its character they are not aware of erosion of support for the regime. The disappointment of the society then appears when some triggering events which show the weakness of the regime show up.

However, students are the universal opposition. They oppose the regime existing in the society, but not directly bring the regimes down. While the military is the ultimate support of regime, the regime will fall if the military withdraws its support, carries out coup or refuses to use force against the opposition. To such great extent, the military disaffection is essential to bring the regime down. If military disaffection is widespread, then the opposition needs to widespread its effort to reach the middle class, bourgeoisie, and or religious groups. The popular image of democratic transition is that the governments is brought down by the power of people through mass mobilization demanding the change of regime such as mass demonstrations, protests, and strikes. After the fall, the authoritarian leader who is overthrown through the replacement usually endures worse fate, meeting punishment

from the people or being imprisoned and it produces moment of public euphoria in the country. The opposition has to admit that before the fall of the regime, the members of the opposition are united by the desire to bring the government down, while after the fall they will be divided into some groups which struggle for the distribution of power.

### ***Transplacement Model***

Transplacement model involves both government and opposition actions. The position of the regime and the opposition are in balance condition and both of them are willing to negotiate for the change in regime. Successful transition into democracy through transplacement, will make the dominant groups in both regime and opposition realize that they cannot determine the future of the political system against the mutual agreement of most people. In the beginning, both believe that they will bring the other parties down, but Transplacement model will occur when the beliefs of both changes: The opposition believes that they are not strong enough to overthrow the regime and the government also realizes that the opposition is strong enough to create such repression.

Furthermore, usually there are some steps involved in the process, first the government is engaged in some liberalization leads to lose power and authority. Second, the opposition takes these opportunities to expand its support and intensify its activity in hope to fallen the government. Third, the government acts forcefully to limit the political power of the opposition. Fourth, the government and the opposition standoff and consider the need to negotiate. In this type of democratic transition, the

opposition needs to strengthen its power to be credible negotiation partner for government, and also there is a need for mutual acknowledgement, that the government is worthy partner in change, while in the other side the opposition also a legitimate representative of the society.

## **2. Modernization Theory**

Modernization Theory is an approach which mainly links the relationship between democracy and development. This theory would more likely examine how modernization processes relate to democratization and democratic consolidation. It is considered inevitable as the country experiences modernization processes in wide-range aspect such as psychology, economic, as well as political aspect.

Seymour Martin Lipset and Samuel P. Huntington are two most notable scholar and also authors in this approach which argue that modernization causes positive effect on the level of democracy of a country. It defines the global system into centers which are represented by modernity and peripheries with its traditional backwardness, which Everett Hagen defines as the existence of uncontrollable forces which restricts and dominates the life of people, so that they fear the world and become uncreative (Peet, 1999, pp. 79), whereas the centers reflect the future of peripheries. While Huntington contrasts the modernity into modern and traditional, in which traditional people are characterized as passive and biddable, who only continue their life in nature and society without considering their capacity to change or to control. On the opposite, the modern people believe in both possibility and

desirability of change, and have confidence in their ability to control change as their effort to achieve their purposes. Huntington also added, that the modern society has high level of knowledge about their surrounding and society which in terms of literacy, mass communications, and education. While in other aspect, they have better health, longer life expectancy, and higher rates of occupational and geographical mobility (Huntington, 1971).

Lipset argues that the more a country or region to be more-to-do, the more possibility of those area to experience and sustain democracy. He pointed out some indicators of a country that trigger democracy, such as wealth, industrialization, urbanization, and education, which later on were also indicated by some other factors (Lipset, 1959). In addition, according to S. N. Eisenstadt, modernization theory explains the differences of societies position in many indicators of modernity or development- which more likely reflect the characteristics of industrial society, such as in economic aspect shown by economic specialization and employment of various roles, as well as growth of markets. While in social aspects, it is shown by the existence of urbanization, mobility, flexibility, and the spread of education. Whereas, in political aspect, it means the spreading of democracy and the weakening of traditional elites. Meanwhile in cultural aspect, it is shown by the growing of differentiation of various cultures and value systems, such as secularism and the emergence of intellectuals (Peet, 1999).

Indeed, what in line with the modernization which occurs in the society is political modernization or what so called political development by the scientist,

which is also dynamic and become concerning aspect. This development of politic is involving moving toward the increasing equality among people in relation with political system, increasing capacity of political system to its environment, and increasing differentiation of institutions and structures within political system (Pye, 1966). People become more equal, capable, and have different view of the political system in their environment as this phenomena of modernization happens. Through modernization which highly links to the industrialization, urbanization, commercialization, literacy expansion, and occupational mobility, people are socially implicated into political change (Huntington, 1971).

However, the rise of more modern nation-states and nationalist movements in recent era, which one of awareness comes from education expansion cannot be separated as the cause of changes on people mindset about politics. Later the integration of ideas about nation and nationhood indeed has been linked to many factors, and one of them is the creation, via a mass education system of common framework of understanding related to ideas, and meaning practices in order to enhance the emergence of modernization (Held, 2002). Education, schooling system and high-education institutions, however, have been pointed as crucial role in the process of social economic modernization and socio political democratization. Those institutions and systems are proven to be accelerated by the formation of educated people and encouraged their modernization efforts (Gabric, 2011). In this case liberal democracy idea which is also supported by superpower countries such as United States has become important framework. For within the framework, the nation-state,

its boundaries, and its political activities directly linked with its citizen, characterized by political participation through election, added by some other modern concept of responsibility, justice, authority, and privacy which is assumed to enable people to participate in social life or civil society (Popova, 2011).

#### **D. Hypothesis**

Based on the problem and the framework explained above, hypothesis are drawn as follows:

First, Ford Foundation as part of international NGOs succeeds in fostering as well as in influencing the democratic transition in Egypt through replacement by modernizing Egyptian.

Secondly, the Ford Foundation also had helped in institutionalizing democratic value in Egypt as the result of modernizing Egyptian through fundamental changes in wide- range aspects, particularly in dynamics of political participation.

#### **E. Purpose of Writing**

Every academic paper has its own purpose of writing, the author has some purposes to achieve by writing this paper, and they are:

1. This paper is intended as a means to apply theories which writer already got from the course, as well as to make deeper understanding of the course the writer got in the class.

2. This paper is written in order to explain and also to understand more the role of International Non-Governmental Organization and its influence to democratic transition especially in the case of Egypt during the Arab Spring.

#### **F. Scope of Research**

In order to avoid disintegration of research result, there is a need for limitation in writing an academic writing. Here, the writer limits the scope of her writing started prior the revolution era, during the revolution emerged in Egypt until the post- overthrow of President Hosni Mubarak from his presidency in 2011.

#### **G. Research Method**

Research method is an important part of academic writing which cannot be separated in order to make good understanding. This research is written with descriptive and qualitative method. Descriptive research is one of the methods of research by examining a group of people's status, by describing the phenomena, objects, people, system or condition in order to make a clear, systematic as well as accurate result. Furthermore, this research uses secondary data which is done by examining some literatures and collecting some data through e-books, archives, reports, article in periodical, magazines, internet, websites and also course material.

In analyzing the data the writer first of all organizes by reading and by examining the existing data to create research questions and make a hypothesis. As the type of the research is descriptive research, the technique used in analyzing the

data is by qualitative method which means analyzing data without using numbers, but more likely to use perspective, understanding and also opinions. After assessing and interpreting the existing data, the resulting analysis is then closed with a conclusion in accordance with the research question.

## **H. System of Writing**

**Chapter I:** This academic writing will be consisting of 5 (five) chapters. In the first chapter, it will deliver the preface of the thesis which consists of some sub-topics such as, background of the problems, research question, theoretical frameworks which will be used as the base of analysis, purposes of writing, its scope of research, method of research and also the thesis system of writing.

**Chapter II:** In the second chapter, it will elaborate and describe the actual condition happen in the Arab Spring by exploring the phenomena in many aspects.

**Chapter III:** In this part, the paper will discuss more about Ford Foundation effort as one of International Non-Governmental Organization to foster democratic transition in Egypt through replacement model by modernizing the people.

**Chapter IV:** In this chapter, the writer will elaborate and explore Ford Foundation effort which then led toward the institutionalization of democratic value in Egypt as the result of fundamental changes prior and during the revolution.

**Chapter V:** Finally in this chapter the writer draws a conclusion from the discussion in the previous chapters and also comes up with the answer related to the research question she proposed.