

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Background

Back in 2010, a momentum in Tunisia led to a region phenomenon called as Arab Spring; a series of democratic revolution faced by Arabic countries as in the Middle East. Along with the success of Tunisia in overthrowing its non democratic regimes, Egypt began to start its revolution in January 2011 with the purpose of overthrowing the regime of Husni Mubarak which had been in power for almost thirty years (Salem, 2013).

Husni Mubarak himself was elevated into presidency in 1981, following the assassination of Egypt's previous president Anwar Sadat that done by the Islamist militants at the military parade in Cairo (Knell, 2013). For his entire period in office, he kept the country under emergency law, gave the state sweeping powers of arrest and curbing basic freedoms. (Naggar, 2010)

There are four main phases of Egypt's democratic revolution as it began from the Tahrir revolution that occurred in January until February 2011, and then followed by the military rule in March 2011 until January 2012. In February 2012 until August 2012, Egypt faced an unclear transition, which finally could be solved by Reassertion of Presidential Dominance in August 2012. (Sofer, 2013)

The first phase began on January 25<sup>th</sup> when Egyptian celebrated a national holiday as the commemoration of the Egyptian police forces. This day was the beginning of what people called as “*The day of Anger*” or “*The day of Rage*” whereas thousands of people were marching in downtown Cairo heading to the office of the ruling National Democratic Party, the office of the foreign ministry, and also to the State’s television. In the same day, protests also broke out in other cities as in the Mediterranean city of Alexandria, The Nile Delta cities of Mansura and Tahta, and also The Southern city of Aswan and Assiot. (Al-Jazeera, 2011)

This protest continued for several days, and got even bigger with the break out of the protests in Suez, Ismailia, Northern Sinai area of Sheikh Zoweid, and Nile Delta Town of Toukh, North Cairo. Later on, Mohammad El Baradei; a former head of UN Nuclear Watchdog, joined the mass protesters in Cairo and lead the actions by giving motivational speech. (Al-Jazeera, 2011)

On the middle of the night, between January 28<sup>th</sup> and January 29<sup>th</sup> 2011, Husni Mubarak announced his dismissal of the cabinet. However, he still refused to step down from the office. Thus, his announcement did not and could not dissolve the mass protesters who stayed overnight in Tahrir Square or in English means as *Liberation Square*; even though there were many of them being arrested. They kept demanding President Husni Mubarak to step down from the office until finally on February 11<sup>th</sup> 2011, Vice President Omar Suleiman announced that President Husni Mubarak would step down

from his office and handed the power to the military or army forces. The mass protesters then left the Tahrir Square on February 14<sup>th</sup> after they made sure that the announcement was not only a deception. (Al-Jazeera, 2011)

There were at least a thousand people death and seven thousands more having injured all over the country since the revolution day firstly started. (IRIN, 2013)

Following the event, the second phase began when The Supreme Council of Army Forces (SCAF) exercised executive authority directly and via an interim cabinet. Mubarak's former prime minister, Ahmed Shafik, was tapped to lead the cabinet. (Childress, 2013)

After the shifting of power from Mubarak to SCAF, Egypt faced an unclear transition under the ruling of SCAF. The SCAF oversaw a March 2011 referendum that approved amendments to Egypt's constitution, and also issued new laws on the formation of political parties and the conduct of parliamentary elections. The amended constitution laid out a transitional framework in which the elected People's Assembly and Shura Council, in conjunction with the SCAF, were to select members for a 100-person Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution subject to a referendum. Legislative elections then held in late 2011 and early 2012 granted significant majorities to Islamist political parties, including the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice party. (Sharp, 2012)

Later on, The Muslim Brotherhood then took power in Egypt through a series of popular elections. On June 30th 2012, with the support of the Muslim Brotherhood, Mohammad Morsi, the leader of the Freedom and Justice Party, and the first democratically elected president of Egypt came into power with 51.7% voice and declared Egypt as a democratic country. Mohammad Morsi then became Egypt's fifth president and the first from outside the military. It was marked as the end of the four phase political revolution of Egypt (Weaver, 2012).

Mohammad Morsi as the new elected president then tried to re-structure the governmental position and construct democratic regimes to be implemented into the Egypt's constitution. Few policy had been issued by Mohammad Morsi in order to support the construction and consolidation of the democratic regimes. However, the policy issued by Mohammad Morsi had ceate a controversial respond that led to his removal by the military on June 2013.

## **B. Research Question**

Why did the transition to democracy under the regime of Mohammad Morsi fall?

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

### **1. Theories of Transition to Democracy Samuel P. Huntington**

To understand the issue and to answer the research question, the theoretical framework is necessary. The theoretical framework consists of

theories and concepts that are used as tools to analyze the issue. This final thesis is trying to analyze the phenomenon by using the “*Democratic Transitions*” theories carried out by Samuel P. Huntington.

Samuel P. Huntington employed the notion of democratization to refer to the process of transition from authoritarian rule to multiparty constitutional democracy. However, the process and the dynamics of the democratization progress in the 20’s century is different compared to the previous waves as the first wave and the third wave.

To understand the causal of the democratic transitions, Samuel P. Huntington in his book titled “*the Third Wave*” had explain such factors that lead to the democratization wave in the modern era as;

- 1) The deepening legitimacy problems of authoritarian governments unable to cope with military defeat and economic failure;
- 2) The burgeoning economies of many countries, which have raised living standards, levels of education, and urbanization, while also raising civic expectations and the ability to express them;
- 3) The changes in religious institutions which have made them more prone to oppose governmental authoritarianism than defend the status quo;
- 4) The push to promote human rights and democracy by external actors such as non-governmental organizations and the European Community; and

- 5) The “snowballing” or demonstration effects, enhanced by new international communications, of democratization in other countries.

While in order to categorize the process of the Democratic transitions, Huntington examines the processes by which the transitions from nondemocratic to democratic regimes took system. He distinguishes four general types of transitions:

- 1) Transformations (as in Spain, India, Hungary, and Brazil) where the elites in power took the lead in bringing about democracy;
- 2) Replacements (as in East Germany, Portugal, Romania, and Argentina) where opposition groups took the lead in bringing about democracy;
- 3) Transplacements (as in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bolivia, and Nicaragua) where democratization occurred from joint action by government and opposition groups; and
- 4) Interventions (as in Grenada and Panama) where democratic institutions were imposed by an outside power.

Overall, according to Samuel P. Huntington in his book “*The Third Wave*” democratization in a simple way requires three conditions as 1) the fall of the authoritarian regimes, 2) the constructions of the democratic regimes, 3) the ongoing political (democratic) consolidation. When the democratic regime had been well constructed and the consolidation process

had been reached to success, then the democratization process is finished.  
(Huntington, 1991)

In defining the democratic country itself, Samuel P. Huntington stated a democratic country is a country with the political system as:

“To the extent that its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote<sup>1</sup>.”

This definition also implies that citizens enjoy the civil liberties (ie speech, assembly, etc) needed to facilitate this electoral process.

While in describing what democracy is not, Huntington stated that;

“We all know that military coups, censorship, rigged election, coercion and harassment of the opposition, jailing of political opponents, and prohibition of political meetings are incompatible with democracy<sup>2</sup>”

In the case of Egypt, the democratization process should as well passed those three main conditions in order to complete the transformation process. In the early of 2011, Egypt had gone through and passed the first process which marked by the fall of the authoritarian regimes of President Hosni Mubarak who had been in power for thirty years. The fall of the authoritarian regimes had lead Egypt to the second stage where Egypt need to create the new democratic system to rule its country.

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<sup>1</sup> Huntington, S. P. (1992). The Third Wave. In *Democracy in The Late Twentieth Century* (p. 7). Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid; page 8

A year after the fall of Husni Mubarak, Egypt under the SCAF held an election to elect the new president of Egypt that eventually elevated Mohammad Morsi into the presidential chair. Mohammad Morsi then promised to construct and build a new democracy system of Egypt. This event is marked as the installment of the democratic regime in Egypt. However, to avoid the reverse of democracy, the democratic consolidation is needed. The democracy consolidation may run hand in hand with the democracy construction.

## **2. Theory of Democratic Consolidation by Larry Diamond**

During the process to create a stable democratic country, the democratic consolidation is needed in order to avoid the reverse of the democracy, the democracy erosion, and the downfall of the democracy in order to maintain the democracy system in a country and establish a democratic system that can be accepted by the society.

Consolidation can be defined as the process of uniting or the unification of two or more actors by dissolution of existing ones and creation of a single new cooperation.

According to Larry Diamond "*Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*" that is also quoted in the Huntington's book "*The Third Wave*" there are four approaches in running the consolidation process 1) elite consolidation, 2) institutional consolidation, 3) political culture consolidation, and 4) civil society consolidation (Diamonds, 1999).



The elite consolidation is an approach that focuses on the individual interaction between the politicians and state officials. The individual within the government is required to have the same ideology, perspectives, visions and missions in order to create the consensus that can be accepted by the people (Diamonds, 1999).

While in the institutional consolidation according to Larry Diamonds, there are three main targets to approach as the state executive institutions (the presidency, the government system, the bureaucracy and the military), representative institutions (parliament, political parties and elections); and the judiciary and the legal system (Diamonds, 1999).

The term 'political culture' refers to historically-based, widely-shared beliefs, feelings, and values about the nature of political systems, which can serve as a link between citizens and government (Percy, 2015). It means that the political culture consolidation is an approach that focus on the democratic political culture such as tolerance, egalitarian, compromising, accommodating, and equality as well as voice and press freedom.

In the political culture, there are two focus as first, the political culture that takes place between people-society, and second political culture that takes place between people-people and government (Diamonds, 1999).

The last is the civil society consolidation. This consolidation is an approach that is done by the government and political parties in order to

accommodate the participations of politic from the society, and creating the good response from society toward the governmentl (Diamonds, 1999).

Under the leadership of Mohammad Morsi, Egypt experienced a period of transition from Hosni Mubarak's authoritarian rule to democracy. Within the process to achieve the democratic system, Egypt under Mohammad Morsi had been through some consolidation processes which eventually lead to the phenomenon whereas Mohammad Morsi being ousted by the military.

Morsi is Egypt's first civilian president. Ever since the Free Officers Revolution of 1952, Egypt has been ruled by a succession of military leaders, including Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat, and Hosni Mubarak. Consequently, political and economic authority has since rested in the hands of the military. In order to establish and maintain a functional and representational democracy in this period of post-revolution transition, this hierarchy of power must be reversed: civilian leadership must be able to control the intentions and actions of the military.

Thus, this paper is addressed to examine on the executive institutional consolidation by Mohammad Morsi. The institution that will be examine is the military as a institution that hold an important matters in Egyptian politic since its existence in the governmental position from 1952 coup of Egypt by the military.

Beside military, the civil society is the important matter within the country. The power of society can either support or le to the downfall of a

regime. Thus, the civil military consolidation is also being examined in order to answer the research question.

#### **D. Hypothesis**

By the understanding from the background, research question and theoretical framework, the writer try to give hypothesis from the question on Why did the transition to democracy under the regime of Mohammad Morsi fall as:

1. The institutional consolidation process failed because Mohammad Morsi could not approach Egyptian Military, and Supreme Council of Armed Forces as the important institution of Egypt government during the era
2. The new 2012 constitution by Mohammad Morsi led to his failure in running the civil consolidation

#### **E. Range of Research**

This paper is focusing on the era post Husni Mubarak when Mohammad Morsi started running the governmental system until Mohammad Morsi being ousted by the Military. This paper will highlits on the consolidation process by Mohammad Morsi, and strategy on political matters taken by Mohammad Morsi to to control the power of Egyptian military and the civil-society.

## **F. Purposes of Research**

This paper aims at:

1. Examining the democratic transition of Egypt under the regime of President Mohammad Morsi
2. Examining the consolidation process of Mohammad Morsi with the Egyptian Military who had been in the governmental power for six decades
3. Examining the civil society consolidation of Mohammad Morsi
4. Analyzing on what process led to the fall of President Mohammad Morsi's regime

## **G. Data Collecting Method**

In order to achieve the result, this paper seek the information using qualitative methods whereas there are three sources that will be use to collect the data as books, internet, and also discussion with the experts. The book that will be used is the book which related to this issue and provide some background theories of democracy while the writer use the internet to obtain and keep up to date to the latest news about this issue. The last source is by having discussion with the experts about this phenomenon to integrate the argument and the data

## **H. System of Writing**

There are five chapters in this paper. The first chapter is outline of this paper; It contains background, research question, research purpose, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research method, scope of research, and

system of writing. The second chapter explains the history of Morsi Government. The third chapter explains the institutional consolidation. The fourth chapter is analysis on the civil society consolidation, and the last chapter is the conclusion.

## **I. Introduction**

In order to make a general understanding of the issue, the first chapter will address to explain and illustrate the background of the problem in this issue. The issue is started when people do march in downtown of Cairo to express their protests actions toward the government of Husni Mubarak until eventually Mohammad Morsi pointed as the 5<sup>th</sup> president of Egypt. However, in the following year, Mohammad Morsi was ousted, and replaced by Abdel Fattah El-Sisi. Based on the background the paper will try to answer the question on “*Why did the transition to democracy under the regime of Mohammad Morsi fall?*” using two theories brought by Samuel P. Huntington; theory of Democratic Transitions, and Larry Diamond; Theory of Democratic Consolidation.

## **II. Egypt at A Crossroad**

In order to elaborate the issue, the second chapter of this paper will explain Egypt political condition before Mohammad Morsi, examining the transition process from the non democratic country to the democratic country, and analyzing the installation of democratic regime under Mohammad Morsi.

### **III. Analysis: The Institutional Consolidation of Egypt after The Installment of New Democratic Regime**

This chapter is provided to prove the first hypothesis by examining the importance of the military institutions and Mohammad Morsi's strategy to approach and unify his vision with the military of Egypt.

### **IV. Analysis: The Civil-Society Consolidation of Egypt under The Regime of Mohammad Morsi**

This chapter is meant to elaborate the second hypothesis in order to answer the research question by analyzing on the condition of Egypt under Mohammad Morsi and the society demand, and comparing them with the response of Mohammad Morsi.

### **V. Conclusion**

This chapter provides conclusion of all discussions in the previous chapters.