

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Background

The existence of democracy in Indonesia and Egypt has been anticipated for quite some time for both countries. Both Indonesia and Egypt have undergone several regime changes after they had been colonized to distinguish which one would be the most befitting governance system in their respective countries. There is a wide-spread adherence to democracy as a form of government. Since the development of the concept happened, many countries have defined and practiced democracy after necessary modifications based on respective national interests and political culture.

In 1945, Indonesia successfully expelled the Dutch colonials from their land and declared their independence from the Dutch. Even though the Dutch didn't fully acknowledged Indonesia's independence and later left Indonesia in 1949, the era of independence had become the starting point of Indonesia's freedom and the road to democracy, and the people of Indonesia declared themselves as a republic. Before the era of colonialism, Indonesia was consisted of big Hindu and Buddhist Kingdoms with vast trade routes, especially in Malacca. The major Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms in that era were Sriwijaya and Majapahit, which covered almost entire of Indonesia. The Islamic traders come to Indonesia in later years, spreading faith and religion which later become widely practiced in Indonesia and made it a country with the largest number of Muslim citizens in future years. Islamic kingdoms also arisen in Indonesia with Samudera Pasai being the first. The kingdoms were still in strong and conducive conditions until the first

western people of Portuguese set sail in Indonesian ports in the mission of trading spices. European people soon dominated and conquered the spice trades in Indonesia. Not long after the Portuguese, the Dutch came to Indonesia with VOC which later began the total control over trades and territories. The Dutch control over Indonesia was shaken when Indonesia declared Independence in 1945, and then they later left Indonesia in 1949.

From the transfer of sovereignty in December 1949 until the big Reformation in 1998, Indonesia had gone through several democratic practices and developments for both successful and unsuccessful attempts. Sukarno was the first president of the country. The first democracy practices that were developed by Sukarno were "Parliamentary Democracy" and later "Guided Democracy" as the governance system. The era of Sukarno came to an end after an attempted coup on September 30, 1965. In 1966, Suharto came to power. He introduced "Pancasila Democracy" which was based on Indonesian state ideology and its political culture, the Pancasila. Since its introduction, Pancasila Democracy has been the system of government for the last 27 years.

Indonesia has been struggling with democracy for decades. It has experienced three types of democracy, all of which failed. The first failed attempt was the Parliamentary Democracy (1949-1957) which then led to the transition from Parliamentary Democracy to Guided Democracy (1957-1959), in which President Sukarno established the so-called Zaken or Functional Cabinet, a business cabinet which consisted of members of political parties, economists and the military. Second, there was another attempt that was "Guided Democracy" under President Sukarno (1959-1965).

The third failed attempt was the "Guided Democracy" under President

Suharto from March 1966 to May 1998<sup>1</sup>. In those time spans for roughly three decades, Suharto gained vast power and had a great support from the military forces because Suharto himself had been a general before his rise of power to become a president. In the New Order era with Suharto's leadership, Indonesia showed so many potentials and risen to be one of the most promising newly formed republican democratic states. He had led Indonesia to an unsurpassed economic success story that in less than a generation lifted the Indonesian economy significantly to an aspiring newly industrializing economy<sup>2</sup> earning Suharto the moniker of "Father of Development".

However, the success story of Indonesia was tainted by a strong, centralized, and military-dominated government. The Indonesian armed forces had a special right to move into all parts of Indonesia to destroy people's knowledge of politics. Furthermore, the existence of KKN (Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism) became one of the major issues that trigger the downfall of Suharto. The political parties were not allowed to mobilize the rural masses, for political stability reason. Moreover, they had seats in parliament without electoral processes. In addition, the Indonesian military was also taking part in economic life and business known as military business. As Suharto's popularity declined, observers increasingly saw Suharto himself as the heart of the problems. The Asian financial crisis hit its peak at 1998, and Indonesia seemed to be the country worst hit<sup>3</sup>. Social tensions and unrest escalated and finally exploded in large scale violent riots across the country urged a political reform. Eventually on May 21, 1998 President Suharto resigned and put an end to Indonesian Authoritarian regime.

---

<sup>1</sup> Bhakti N, (2000), *"The transition to Democracy in Indonesia: Some Outstanding Problems"*

Both Egypt and Indonesia have experienced colonialism. Indonesia was colonized by Dutch for three and a half centuries. Those 350 years of colonial times surely affected Indonesia in many ways, cultural, political, and so on; while Egypt was a part of British colony since 1882 when it was defeated during the war between Egypt and British at the battle of Tel-El Kebir<sup>4</sup>. Before the colonial age, however, Egypt already had a long history of ancient civilization since 3150 BC that spans over three millennia as series of dynasties<sup>5</sup>. The civilization mostly centered and concentrated in the Nile river coast which divided into Upper and Lower Egypt. In these ancient times, Egypt civilization was very prosperous and successful. It was the home of many achievements and innovations. One of the most well-known ancient relics of Egypt is the pyramid of Giza and the great sphinx of Giza. The Egypt ancient civilization divided into three timelines; the old kingdom, middle kingdom, and the new kingdom with several intermediate periods<sup>6</sup>. The famous Egyptian rulers, the Pharaohs are living in this ancient civilization time which in the new kingdom is famous for many well-known Pharaohs.

After the Pharaoh period fell, Egypt fell into the Persians and Roman Empire, and become involved with European cultures and trades. The Muslim Arabs brought Sunni Islam into Egypt after they defeat the Byzantines, which makes Egyptians blend in to the newly brought faith and religions. After undertaking quite a lot of wars and invasion, British ruled Egypt from 1882 with several regime changes until 1914, in which

---

<sup>4</sup>*Modern History of the Arab Countries*. Vladimir Borisovich Lutsky. 1969. <http://www.marxists.org/subject/arab-world/lutsky/ch17.htm/> Retrieved 26 September 2012.

<sup>5</sup>Egyptian Chronology. 2000. University College London.

<sup>6</sup>Egyptian Chronology. 2000. University College London. Retrieved 26 September 2012.

Egyptians opposed British to extend their controls<sup>7</sup>. On March 1919 Egypt staged their first revolution, resulting the British government to issue a declaration of Independence on February 1922. Later in 1952, Egypt holds another revolution to overthrow the King, abolish the constitutional monarchy, ends the British influence, and establishes a republic. Egyptian republic was declared in 1953 with General Muhammad Naguib as the first president, but later replaced by Gamal Abdel Nasser<sup>8</sup>. Three years later, Gamal Abdel Nasser died and succeeded by Anwar Sadat in 1970. However, Anwar Sadat was assassinated in Cairo at 1981 and the leadership went to Hosni Mubarak, who was an air force commander during the October 1973 war.

Under Mubarak, Egypt experienced the longest reigning period of presidency in the twentieth century. One of Mubarak acts early in his presidency is to release the politicians that sent to jail by the former president, Anwar Sadat. Mubarak also mend Egypt's ties with other Arab countries and distance himself from Israel while maintaining Egypt's close ties with the United States<sup>9</sup>. Most of Arab countries had restored their diplomatic relationship with Egypt in 1987. While in 1989, Egypt was readmitted to the Arab League and moved back the headquarters to Cairo once again<sup>10</sup>. Even though Mubarak was a brilliant general in Egyptian air force that had a good reputation with high regard of national security, compared to his three predecessors; Muhammad Naguib, Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat, he has quite lower political popularity and lesser

---

<sup>7</sup>Selma Botman.*Egypt from Independence to Revolution, 1919-1952*. Syracuse University Press, 1991. Google

books.[http://www.google.co.id/books?id=eEWtrwJnIIUC&dq=Egypt+1952+revolution&lr=&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](http://www.google.co.id/books?id=eEWtrwJnIIUC&dq=Egypt+1952+revolution&lr=&source=gbs_navlinks_s). retrieved on 26 September 2012

<sup>8</sup> ibid

<sup>9</sup>History, Egypt under Mubarak.Countries

Quest [http://www.countriesquest.com/africa/egypt/history/egypt\\_under\\_mubarak.htm/](http://www.countriesquest.com/africa/egypt/history/egypt_under_mubarak.htm/) Retrieved 26

experience in dealing with politics<sup>11</sup>. Not far from Suharto's way of leading, the authoritarian regime in Egypt live by distributing some material benefits and using repressive actions whenever necessary, things that has been considered as "universal law" by researchers<sup>12</sup>. Problems in Egypt during Mubarak's reign were, as stated by Soliman; failing economic development, the endurance of political authoritarianism, social inequality, and the rising conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims; that actually proven not far different from Indonesia's. Under that "state of emergency", the government has the right to imprison individuals for any period of time, and for virtually no reason, thus keeping them in prisons without trials for any period. The government claimed that opposition groups like the Muslim Brotherhood could come into power in Egypt if the current government did not forgo parliamentary elections, confiscate the group's main financiers' possessions, and detain group figureheads, actions which are virtually impossible without emergency law and judicial-system independence prevention.

As quoted by Hamdy A. Hassan from Galal Amin (A well-known Egyptian intellectual), it is possible to identify the most prominent features of the Mubarak regime as a stepping stone to understand the status of Egyptian society during that time. Galal Amin provided a clear analysis of President Mubarak's case<sup>13</sup>. He focused on four perspectives: First is theory of the soft states where nobody respects laws. The privileged

---

<sup>11</sup>SamerSoliman (2011). *The Autumn of Dictatorship: Fiscal Crisis and Political Change in Egypt under Mubarak*. Stanford University press. Google books. [http://www.google.co.id/books?id=pk9qbhRjxoC&dq=Egypt+under+Mubarak&lr=&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](http://www.google.co.id/books?id=pk9qbhRjxoC&dq=Egypt+under+Mubarak&lr=&source=gbs_navlinks_s). retrieved 26 September 2012

<sup>12</sup> ibid

<sup>13</sup>Hamdy A. Hassan. 2011. *Civil Society in Egypt under the Mubarak Regime*. Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences Volume 2, No. 2.2 Quarter II 2011. <http://onlineresearchjournals.com/aaiojss/art/61.pdf/> Retrieved 26 September 2012.

people have money and power to protect themselves when they break the law, and the unprivileged protectors of laws are obliged to receive bribes to turn a blind eye on breaching the law. In such a state, licenses and permits are for sale. Thus, corruption prevails everywhere<sup>14</sup>. Second is the nature of ruling elites, where the elite which surround Mubarak differ from that which surrounds Nasser. The third perspective is poor distribution of wealth, which the poor class constitutes the majority of Egypt population. And last is the corruption from politics to culture<sup>15</sup>.

Grievances of Egyptian demonstrators for the regime of Mubarak peaked at 2011, when Mubarak was at his almost thirtieth year's reign of presidency. Despite struggling with economic challenges in the past years, the uprising in Egypt is considered to be more in line within political issues. Repressive act by police, lack of freedom of speech, corruption, rigged elections, and more than a few of other issues caused the Egyptian citizen to feel unstable. The uprising was further triggered by the overthrow and exile of Tunisian president Ben Ali which caused the phenomenon of "Arab Spring" and further triggered Middle Eastern countries to undergo regime change and also the Egyptians urged to cause the downfall of Mubarak. Feeling discontent toward the government, Egyptian citizens gathered in Tahrir Square to do demonstration. After a long 18 days of upheaval, President Hosni Mubarak resigned from his position on 11 February 2011.

The phenomenal event of Egypt's rise to democracy bears a striking resemblance to Indonesia in the new order era. Though several of the U.S observers have reflecting this phenomenon to the analogy of Iran and the Shah in 1979 as mass protests sweep

---

<sup>14</sup> ibid

<sup>15</sup> ibid

through Cairo and Hosni Mubarak teeters<sup>16</sup>, as what Robin Bush quoted from Thomas Carothers, Indonesia and Suharto in the late 1990s is a different analogy that provides more useful grist for our unsettled analytic mill concerning Egypt<sup>17</sup>. This discourse of Egypt and Indonesia's democratization process is proven to be quite, if not very, similar toward each other up to the point that Indonesia could be Egypt's model of new democracy<sup>18</sup>. Discussion between the resemblances and differences of both countries were many, with several observers also pointed out the flaws Indonesia had made in a decade after reformation and in the recent years; nonetheless, they were the similarities and dissimilarities which made Egypt and Indonesia interesting topics in comparative politics. They were led by anti-Western leaders in the 50s and 60s. And after that they were military-dominated dictatorships with warm relations with the US, particularly during the cold war<sup>19</sup>. In another piece, according to Joshua Kurlantzick despite that fearful yet moderately successful phenomenon in Indonesia 13 years ago – which have resurfaced now in Egypt – Indonesia turned out to be “one of the democratic success stories of the past decade”. He argued that Indonesia has multiple free and fair elections, constitutional and institutional reform, a vibrant civil society, and a free media, which makes the democratization somewhat successful<sup>20</sup>. However this success story only lasts

<sup>16</sup>Thomas Carothers. 2011. *Egypt and Indonesia*. NEW REPUBLIC.  
<http://www.tnr.com/article/world/82650/egypt-and-indonesia> Retrieved 27 September 2012.

<sup>17</sup>Robin Bush. 2011. *Indonesia: An Example for Egypt, or a Democracy in Retreat?* The Asia Foundation.  
<http://asiafoundation.org/in-asia/2011/02/16/indonesia-an-example-for-egypt-or-a-democracy-in-retreat/> Retrieved 27 September 2012.

<sup>18</sup>Yang Razali Kassim. 2011. *Post-Mubarak Egypt: Is Indonesia the Model?* Eurasia Review.  
<http://www.eurasiareview.com/21022011-post-mubarak-egypt-is-indonesia-the-model/> Retrieved 27 September 2012.

<sup>19</sup>Dan Murphy. 2012. *Indonesia and Egypt separated at birth? No, just completely separate.* The CS Monitor. <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Backchannels/2012/0217/Indonesia-and-Egypt-separated-at-birth-No-just-completely-separate> Retrieved 27 September 2012.

<sup>20</sup>Joshua Kurlantzick. 2011. *Is Egypt the Next Indonesia?* Council on Foreign Relations.  
<http://blogs.cfr.org/asia/2011/02/07/is-egypt-the-next-indonesia/> Retrieved 27 September 2012.



long enough until the financial crisis hits Asia. After that Suharto's achievements were over and done, and citizen start growing discontent toward the rising price and highly corrupt government<sup>21</sup>.

Regime change and the essential role of "people power" were the most recognizable resemblance between Egypt 2011 and Indonesia 1998. Both Mubarak and Suharto were generals who became political leaders. Suharto was thrown out after three decades of authoritarian rule, as well as Mubarak. The triggering aspects of why both leaders were overthrown might be different will be explained later. But some underlying factors with similar characteristic were that the weakening and degrading conditions of both countries mostly raised the existence of people power, and internal threats also influenced the democratic transition within Egypt and Indonesia and in this case, the demonstration from citizen and student movements caused the uprising to be more intense. This case was worsened by the repressive action from the armed force in both countries to calm the demonstrators, which only resulted in casualties and further discontent from citizens, students, and international world alike. These revolts lasted quite long, from a week in Indonesia up to 18 days in Egypt.

However, not only the similarities that had been pointed out by scholars, but there were also a number of differences which distinguish the process of democratic transition between Indonesia and Egypt, mainly the triggering and supporting factors. In Indonesia, the Asian financial crises become one of the major trigger factors of democratic transition. The rise of fuel price and huge inflation caused the citizen to protest. While in Egypt one of the main trigger factors was the phenomenon of "Arab Spring" in which a

revolutionary wave of demonstrations occurred in the Arab countries, which further set off Egypt to join in the wave and overtaking the ruler. The transition to democracy in later years received a great deal of media attention, which later stimulated transitions in other countries as happened in the middle east and Northern part of Africa which called as “Arab spring”.

Arguably, one of the reasons why social movements and uprising that caused riots and led to Egypt and Indonesia’s democratization emerged from both countries was because of the authoritarian regime itself that eventually led to state degradation by the countries’ leaders for more than three decades, which triggered the strong-willed societies to reach a better government. Another reason will be explored in the theoretical framework area as a main case of study. Both Indonesia and Egypt has experienced ups and downs in the regime of Suharto and Mubarak. Indonesia had a rapid economic development in the beginning of Suharto’s regime. But after a while, both tended to be misleading their countries into a corrupt and somewhat dictatorial way. One of the main points was that the authoritarian, bureaucratic, and narrow-based regime of Mubarak and Suharto had been the main source of the states’ weakening. The phenomena of a weakening state and a growing civil society further influenced the urge to make a much more strong government by citizens. However because the government did not think in-line with the society, and society’s sudden urge to change then Democratic Transition happens. Even though these democratization processes of Egypt and Indonesia have a quite large age gap; compared to Indonesia, Egypt is still likely an embryo. However, the process itself is what this thesis will try to compare and explain.

## **B. Research Question**

“What are the differences and the similarities of the democratization process between Indonesia and Egypt in ending the authoritarian regime?”

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

In this thesis, two main theories are used. First is the theory of Comparative Politics, and second is the concept of Democratic Transition. These theories and concepts are the best when we try to analyze and describe the case of comparing Egypt and Indonesia's process of democratization and in the end will answer the question.

### **1. System Theory by Gabriel Almond**

Comparative politics is the study of politics within political systems. It seeks to describe and explain various features of politics in different countries. Among these features are the type of political regime and the stability of that regime<sup>22</sup>. Within political science, comparative politics is considered one of the major “subfields”. By contrast of the political orders that described by political theorists such as oligarchy, democracy, and tyranny, comparative politics tend to suspend their normative evaluation of the world in favor of describing the political world and explaining why it is the way it is<sup>23</sup>.

According to Gabriel A Almond, there are three concepts in analyzing and comparing the political system that have interaction with the society nationally or internationally. Those three concepts are system, structure, and function<sup>24</sup>.

---

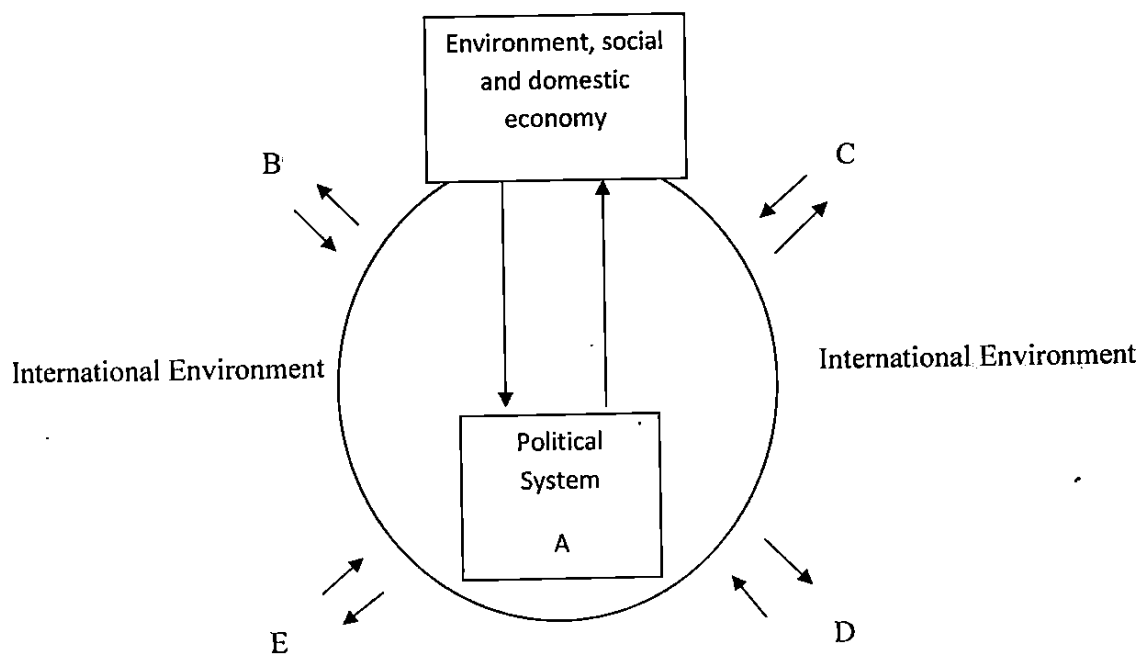
<sup>22</sup> What is Comparative politics? Jeffrey Kopstein and Mark Lichbach. Cambridge University Press 0521843162. Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities, and Institutions in a Changing Global Order – Second Edition. Edited by Jeffrey Kopstein and Mark Lichbach.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid*

<sup>24</sup> Gabriel A Almond (1989), “The Study of Comparative Politic”, p.20

a. System

System can be interpreted as an ecological concept that shows the process of interaction between the specific organ with the political community or the environment. In the interaction, of course there is a relationship of mutual influence in determining a policy, such as the aspirations of the people who voiced political demands, so that it can influence policy-making process. Similarly, a particular organ may also influence the policy-making process, also State or government agencies can do this. The process of interaction above can be shown as follows<sup>25</sup>:



b. Structure

Generally, political system posses the structure, and within this structure, there are several categories such as interest groups, political parties, the executive council, legislature, bureaucracy and so on. However, the structure is

<sup>25</sup> Ibid p.25

not much help in the political system to compare one against one political system to another unless the political structure of the function go hand in hand with the political system itself, or in other words the structure can be arranged as far as its functions effectively and in accordance with the existing political system<sup>26</sup>.

c. Function

We need to figure out how it all works as a whole system, and how political institutions are structured, before we can analyze the function of comparative politics in a meaningful way. The theory possesses three functions of political institutions as has been described by Gabriel Almond are as follows<sup>27</sup>:

- Political socialization is a function to develop and strengthen political attitudes among the population, or to train people to run the roles of political, administrative, and certain judicial.
- Political recruitment is a function of selecting the people for political activities and public office through appearances in the media of communication. It also finds a member organization that is running for certain positions, education, and exams.
- Political communication is the flow of information through the public streets and through the various structures that exist in the political system.

---

<sup>26</sup> Ibid p.28

<sup>27</sup> Ibid p.30

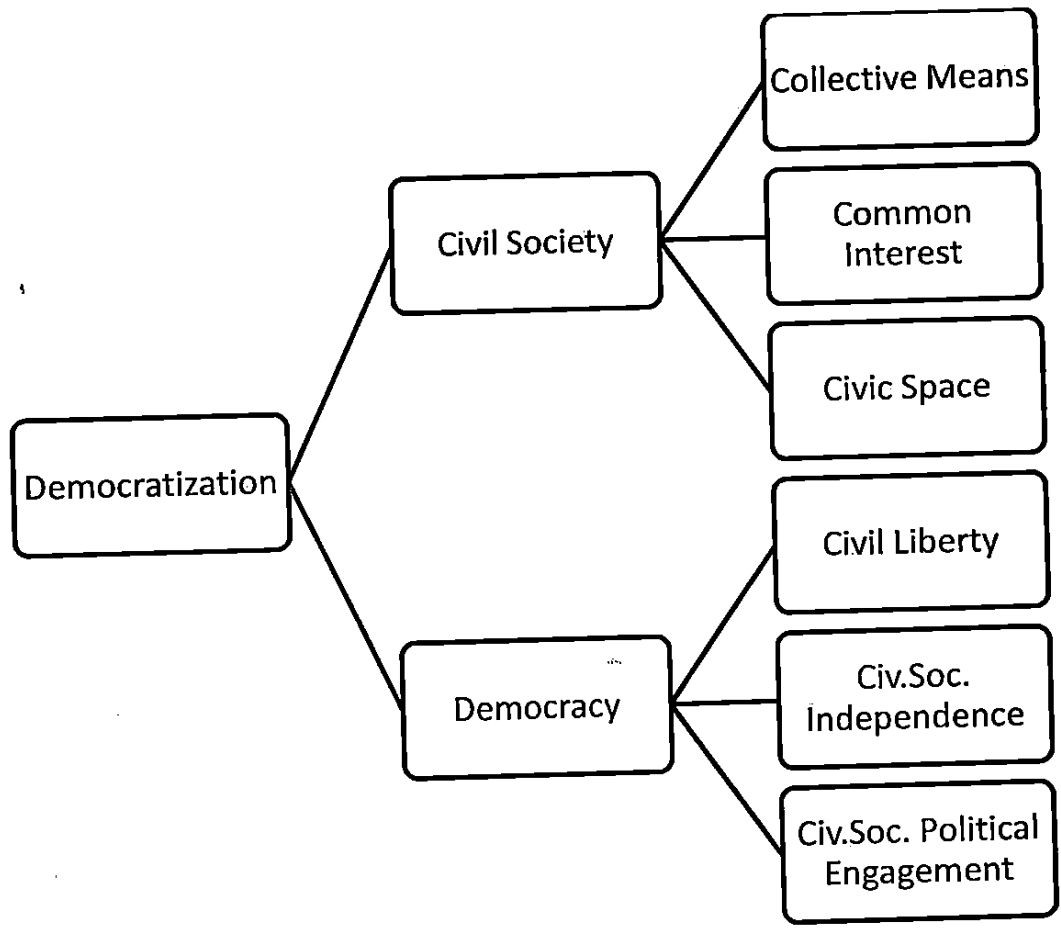
These three functions above are not directly involved in the creation and implementation of state agency policy, but the role is very important in how to work within the political system.

## **2. Democratic Transition/ Democratization**

In this discussion, we will try to analyze the subject of the emergence of democratic transition with the theory that projected by Larry Diamond; which further supported by Almond and Verba concerning the growth of a strong, civil society with political attitude and awareness that mainly create the foundation of a democratization. According to Diamond, civil society is “the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, and autonomous from the state, and bound by legal order or set of shared rules”<sup>28</sup>. It involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their passions, interest and ideas to exchange information to achieve collective goals, to make demands on the state, to improve the structure and functioning of the state<sup>29</sup>; hence it is distinct from "society" in general that only acts through shared interactions and does not need to be formed to have a collective means.

State and Civil Society are related in some ways, but their individual existences are not to be confused. J.W. Garner gives a very comprehensive definition of the state. He holds the view that the state as a concept of political science and public law, is a community of persons, more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent, or nearly so, of external control and possessing an organized

government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience." It can be summed up as "the state is a collection of human beings occupying a definite territory under an organized government and is subject to no outside control." The main elements would be population, territory, government, and sovereignty<sup>30</sup>.



According to Maulin Joshi, Society is defined as "a collection of individuals held together by certain enduring relationship in pursuit of common ends." The State, on the other hand, is defined as "a particular portion of society politically organized for the

<sup>30</sup>J.W Garner. Complete information on the meaning and elements of state. Written by barat Kumar. <http://www.preservearticles.com/201102224114/complete-information-on-the-meaning-and-elements-of-state.html/> Retrieved 14 March 2013.

protection and promotion of its common interests". Thus, the state is a part of society; The State is necessarily a political organization but society is not<sup>31</sup>. Both state and society consist of group of individuals that interact within a realm of territory. However, a state is politically organized and have the authority to govern. While civil society is an intermediary phenomenon, standing between the private sphere and the state. Thus, it could act as a tool to somehow control the state and develop democratic ideals to the society. Civil society does not seek to win control over or take up the position within the state; it does not seek to govern the polity as a whole.

Diamond further suggests that civil society encompasses a vast array of organizations, both formal and informal. These include the economic sector such as productive and commercial associations and networks. Also included is the cultural area, which deals on the subject of religious, ethnic, communal, and other institutions and associations that defend collective rights, values, faiths, beliefs, and symbols. Third is the Informational and educational zone, devoted to the production and dissemination (whether for profit or not) of public knowledge, ideas, news, and information. Interest groups, which seek to advance or defend the common functional or material interests of their members; for example, trade unions, associations of veterans and pensioners, and professional groups. Developmental organizations pool individual resources and talents to improve the infrastructure, institutions, and quality of life of the community. Issue-oriented movements; for example, for environmental protection, land reform, consumer protection, and the rights of women, ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, the disabled,

---

<sup>31</sup>Maulin Joshi. What is the difference between State and Society?. Preserve Articles.



and other victims of discrimination and abuse. And the Civic groups seek (in nonpartisan fashion) to improve the political system and make it more democratic (for example, working for human rights, voter education and mobilization, election monitoring, and exposure and reform of corrupt practices)<sup>32</sup>.

In addition, civil society encompasses "the ideological marketplace", the flow of information and ideas, including those which evaluate and critique the state. This includes a broad field of cultural and intellectual activity such as universities, think tanks, publishing houses, theaters, film makers, and artistic performances and networks; not only independent mass media. These voluntary and autonomous organized realms, which include a student movements, civil society organizations within vast array of sectors, mass media, and groups which seek to improve the political system, are considered as civil society<sup>33</sup>.

Civil society advances democracy in two generic ways: by helping to generate a transition from authoritarian rule to (at least) electoral democracy and by deepening and consolidating democracy once it is established. A vibrant civil society serves the development, deepening and consolidation of democracy in many ways. As quoted by Diamond from Huntington, The first and most basic democratic function of civil society is to provide "the basis for the limitation of state power, hence for the control of the state by society"<sup>34</sup>. It is mainly used to criticize and mobilize. Other democracy-building functions of civil society is to supplement the role of political parties, to educate and introduce young adults to democracy and stimulate their active participations, structure

---

<sup>32</sup>Op-Cit, Diamond.

multiple channels of interest, recruit and train new political leaders, support successful economic reform, develop a technique of conflict resolution, and also empowering citizens in the collective pursuit and defense of their interests and values. And also, many civic organizations, institutes, and foundations have explicit democracy-building purposes.

In many new democracies emerging out of long periods of totalitarian, highly repressive, or abusive rule, there is a deeper problem, stemming from the orientation of civil society as movements of resistance to the state or disengagement from its authority. As what Diamond quoted from Geremek, "this revives the original eighteenth century conception of civil society as in opposition to the state", much like the case in Indonesia and Egypt in which a strong civil society became the main opposition.

In their work, Almond and Verba discussed the historical origins of the civic culture and the functions of that culture in the process of social change. They compared the values and political attitudes in five countries. The major point of Almond and Verba's comparative study was to address the role of subjective values and attitudes of national populations in the stability of democratic regimes. They stressed that democracies are maintained by active citizens' participations in civic affairs, has high level information of public affairs, and a civic responsibility<sup>35</sup>. They argued that there are certain preconditions and characteristics of democratic culture which continue the path to the transition to democracy. It could be noted that the roots of the state and society relations was derived from two phenomenon. First is the definition of a state, which is a

---

<sup>35</sup> "The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations" edited by Gabriel A. Almond, Sidney Verba

body, consisting of group of people who have the authority and power to control the country. Second is the existence of society, which unlike the state; does not neither authority nor the power to control the country.

In further note, they found that in a country which considered as democratic exists a certain value of political culture, which is civic culture<sup>36</sup>. From this finding, they wrapped up that democracy does not only need a good economic growth, but it also needs civic cultures that exist within the society. Almond and Verba also defined political culture as an attitude towards a political system and political actor. These orientations include knowledge and/or belief, affection, and evaluation toward political system in general. Variation in these orientations influences the political participation and the stability of democracy. Strong civil society tends to be very critical and active in its involvement toward political activity and news; they indulge themselves and participate in politics. This "rise" of strong civil society gives power to the emergence of democracy in Egypt and Indonesia, the more active the society in politics the more they aware about the consequences from the policies that might influence their daily lives<sup>37</sup>. This leads to the driving force of democratization in both countries, indicated by several factors such as the existence of NGOs and mass demonstration, more prominent and analytical media coverage, and then worsened by the economic crises in Indonesia and the Arab Spring phenomenon in Egypt. Now the answer to how democratic transition happened in Indonesia and Egypt in relevance with this theory is because a strong civil society with civic culture has developed a political awareness in which they refused the existence of authoritarian regime. And the regime itself further deteriorates with government's

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid

<sup>37</sup> Ibid

incapability to solve economic crises, also the stimulation caused by neighboring countries to raise a more democratic regime.

Concept is an essential element of a research, and theoretical problems accumulated from the facts as the subject of research are actually brief definition of facts from the phenomenon. From the framework description above, we can briefly define the concept of Democratization process as follows:

1. Democratization in general terminology is a set of movement to change the current ruling regime into democracy.
2. Democratization happened in Egypt and Indonesia because of the existence of a strong civil society with a civic culture which was aware of their countries' appalling political conditions. Because of their involvement and awareness, this society wanted to change and strive into a better way of ruling which then led into the rejection of authoritarian regime and enacted democracy.

#### **D. Hypothesis**

By looking at the temporary references and theoretical framework, the hypothesis that I can draw for now from the research question of “What are the differences and the similarities of the democratization process between Indonesia and Egypt in ending the authoritarian regime?” are:

1. The similarity between Indonesia and Egypt in democratization process is that the authoritarian regime in both countries was because of the existence of a strong civil society that triggers mass-level liberty aspirations and demonstration in their respective cases. Both Indonesia and Egypt have growing and developing civil

societies that strive for a better way of ruling. A large scale uprising exploded in both countries and caused a social unrest among citizens which was caused by the rejection from the society.

2. The difference between Indonesia and Egypt in their democratization process is the triggering aspects of why democratic transition arises within both countries. Egypt was going through its transition in 2011 with the international influence of other countries moves (namely, Tunisia and Libya); this phenomenon, known as the Arab Spring inclined Egypt to conduct democratization within its body. While in Indonesia it was the financial crises of 1997 that challenged Suharto's legitimacy as a president and his failure to avert the crisis caused Indonesians to overthrow him.

#### **E. Method of Research**

This undergraduate thesis is using descriptive method which describes and explains the problems based on data and information. Data collections are collected through library research that is related to content analyses and expertise concept that are published in the articles, textbooks, journals, and other resources.

#### **F. Scope of Discussion**

This research is limited within the 1997-1998 Crisis and Reformation of Indonesia. While in Egypt, it is limited within January-February 2011 in order to make the analysis easier.

## **G. Organization of Chapters**

This thesis will consist of five chapters as follows:

- Chapter I: Examines the problem background, research question, theoretical framework and hypothesis, method of research, data analyses and system of writings.
- Chapter II: Explains the system, structure, and function of Indonesia and Egypt's politics.
- Chapter III: Explains democratization process which happened in Egypt and Indonesia on their respective times.
- Chapter IV: Analyzes and compares the similarity and difference in Indonesia and Egypt's democratization process.
- Chapter V: Draws conclusions from the first chapter until the last one.