

CHAPTER II

THE ARAB SPRING: CHRONOLOGY, ACTORS AND IMPLICATION

This chapter will elaborate and describe Arab Spring- the outbreak of the Arab Spring which occurred in Tunisia, the general cause of the phenomena, and actors involved within the uprising. Yet, this chapter will more emphasize the uprising happened in Egypt by elaborating its prior condition of revolution which also shows the cause, the revolution chronology, as well as its post-revolution condition- covering the economic, social and political aspect.

A. Outbreak of Arab Spring and Egypt Revolution

There is no global consensus on how to mention the revolutionary movements which happened in the Middle East in 2011. Many of West countries would prefer to call it “The Arab Spring”, while people of Arab countries would prefer to call it “Arab Awakening” (Rogan, 2011). Despite on how people call the movement, this revolution movement has become the important point of Arab countries, which shows rejection towards the autocratic system of government and the demand to transform the government system into democratic rules.

The Arab Spring revolutions were massive political uprising, which considered highly involve citizen in many countries, people were taking to the streets against their own regime in power. These demonstrations were mainly constituted

because of decades of people grievances by high unemployment, raise of food price, corruptions, and lack of basic freedom of people such as freedom of speech and political freedom (Jamoul, 2012). Moreover, the region was full of youth amounted 300 million people, or around two-thirds of its population are on around age of 30 years old. Those 25 percent of youthful people were unemployed as well as frustrated and driven by aspirations for greater personal freedom (Murphy, 2012). It eventually led to a democratization process and free democratic elections through intense unrest in many places within the region, resulted thousands of deaths and injuries as the government use police and security forces against the demonstrators.

In the first beginning, this Arab Spring actually began in Tunisia which also known as Jasmine Revolution. It was started in Tunisian city of SidiBouزيد on the late 2010. A 26-year-old Mohammed Bouazizi was asked by the police to hand over his cart because he did not have vending license. The inspector used the common routine, which means that Bouazizi probably have connection with influential person or else he needs to prepare some money as bribe which amounts more than to make vending license. He was very desperate and marched in front of the local government building and did self-immolating publicly by set himself on fire. His action became the symbol of injustice and economic hardship during Tunisian under Ben Ali Regime (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2014).

Within few days there were many demonstrations everywhere in the town and also in other town in Tunisia as a solidarity action calling for President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and his regime to step down. During the demonstrations, hundreds

protesters were killed by security forces and this also become the reason why the protest turned into larger in scale, reached the capital city of Tunis and spread to neighboring countries. In the middle of international criticisms and accusations of the use of military force, Ben Ali did some effort to stabilize the condition by dismissed the minister of interior, Rafik Belhaj Kacem. He vowed to establish an investigation and declared that he will not take another year as president of Tunisia after his term ended in 2014, promised to reduce food prices and loosen internet restrictions, as well as to create as much as 300,000 jobs for the people. Yet, those actions still not satisfied people demand and the clash continued, resulted more people died during demonstration. Finally Ben Ali stepped down as president, left the country to Saudi Arabia to seek refuge in the mid of January 2011.

This instability in social and also political aspect, culminated into conflict was spread and inspired similar movements in many other countries such as Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Somalia, Egypt, Sudan and Yemen.

At the beginning 2011, protests and unrests occurred in almost all Arab country, except Qatar and United Arab Emirates which guaranteed their people through their oil income (Rosiny, 2012). Saudi Arabia responded the uprising by adopted policy amounted billion packages financial support, such as unemployment compensation, new housing developments and salary increases. The government in the other hand also did serious and firm action to any public dissent by arrested some writers and political activists who being too critical toward the government (Murphy, 2012).

The protesters mainly were youth, but then later also including children, adults, elderly, women, men, Christian, and also Moslems. While as the tools in the beginning they used online social media such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube for several years as their platform of dissent and organized demonstration. Al-Jazeera English said that Tunisian activists were considered as the most outspoken message of support being posted on Twitter for Bouazizi (Ryan, 2011).

The characteristic and the nature of this conflict which was very unique that the protests expand all over the region, and did not present any particular ideology such as socialist, liberal or Islamist made it become one-of-a-kind phenomena which considered essential in the history of world conflict. The conflict only directed to Arab countries ultimate concern to overthrow or reform the authoritarian system out of the rule.

Egypt Revolution Chronology

Although many people used to not believe that Egypt will experienced revolution whatsoever because of the famousness of its regime strong power to keep the citizen abide to the ruler, Egyptians finally did. Began on 25th of January 2011 and lasted for eighteen days, people of Egypt demanded the termination of the regime with their whole hearted effort.

In the first beginning of the revolution, it was primarily composed by educated youth who utilized the information technology revolution which during that time- and until now- become new alternative media to gather and spread news and

information, not only for people around us but also to the world. These educated youth used social media network such as Facebook, Twitter, blogs, and also YouTube to mobilized and arranged plan for fundamental change in the ground of Egypt land. They were astoundingly used the most recent ways to spread and to provide information to the citizen about their situation which not supposed to be happened, economic hardships, injustice, abuses in human rights, and many others. The statistic on social media activity related to the revolution show enormous numbers. During the uprising or between January 10 and February 10, there were 93 million tweets related to the revolution within Egypt and also in the other part of the world. While at the same time, there were about 2,313 pages and events on Facebook related to the revolution, which in total involving 34 million participants, 9,815 people and 461,000 posts (Ghietas, 2011). These actions attracted and burnt youth desire toward the necessity to change Egypt fundamentally. It was estimated about 216 groups formed, some of the groups are the April 6 movement and the Egyptian Society for Change, and others, together with minor groups they decided to gather on January 25th to start major protest movement. They started with the demand that President Mubarak not allowed to participate in the next election, dissolved the Parliament and Shura Council, changed the government of Ahmad Nazif and demand for limit interference of security apparatus in Egyptian political lives (Aly, 2012). Police respond by using tear gas, water cannon and batons to disperse protesters and demonstrators which considered cruel because the demonstrations actually started with peace condition.

After the Moslem Brothers joined the protesters, they started to strengthen the revolution that transformed the youth protest into powerful revolution. However, January 28th or called as the “Friday of Anger” was the day when the protest confronted severely with the police forces. People were started marching after Friday prayers responded brutally by the police, the police used tear gases, water cannons, rubber bullets and live ammunitions resulted hundred protesters died and thousands injured, while more than thousand were arrested. Experiencing these painful actions from the government, the protesters reacted also in severe action, many police stations were attacked and burned prisons were broken and prisoners escaped. During that time army intervened and took over the responsibility for the country (Amnesty International, 2011).

As the day goes, protest happened in worse situation which used to involved only by youth, opposition movements and opposition parties, later million of protesters comes from wide- range background such as government workers, public and private sector employees also involved with their particular demands for higher salaries and changing of administration. President Mubarak then dismissed the government, but still refused to step down and addressed that the Moslem Brotherhoods have intention to take over the power over him. However, his speech failed to dismiss thousand people whom gathered in Tahrir Square, even after the troops fought the people resulted dozen of demonstrator died.

Later on, the President let the army take over as the police could not maintain security any longer. At the same day army tanks and armored vehicles were

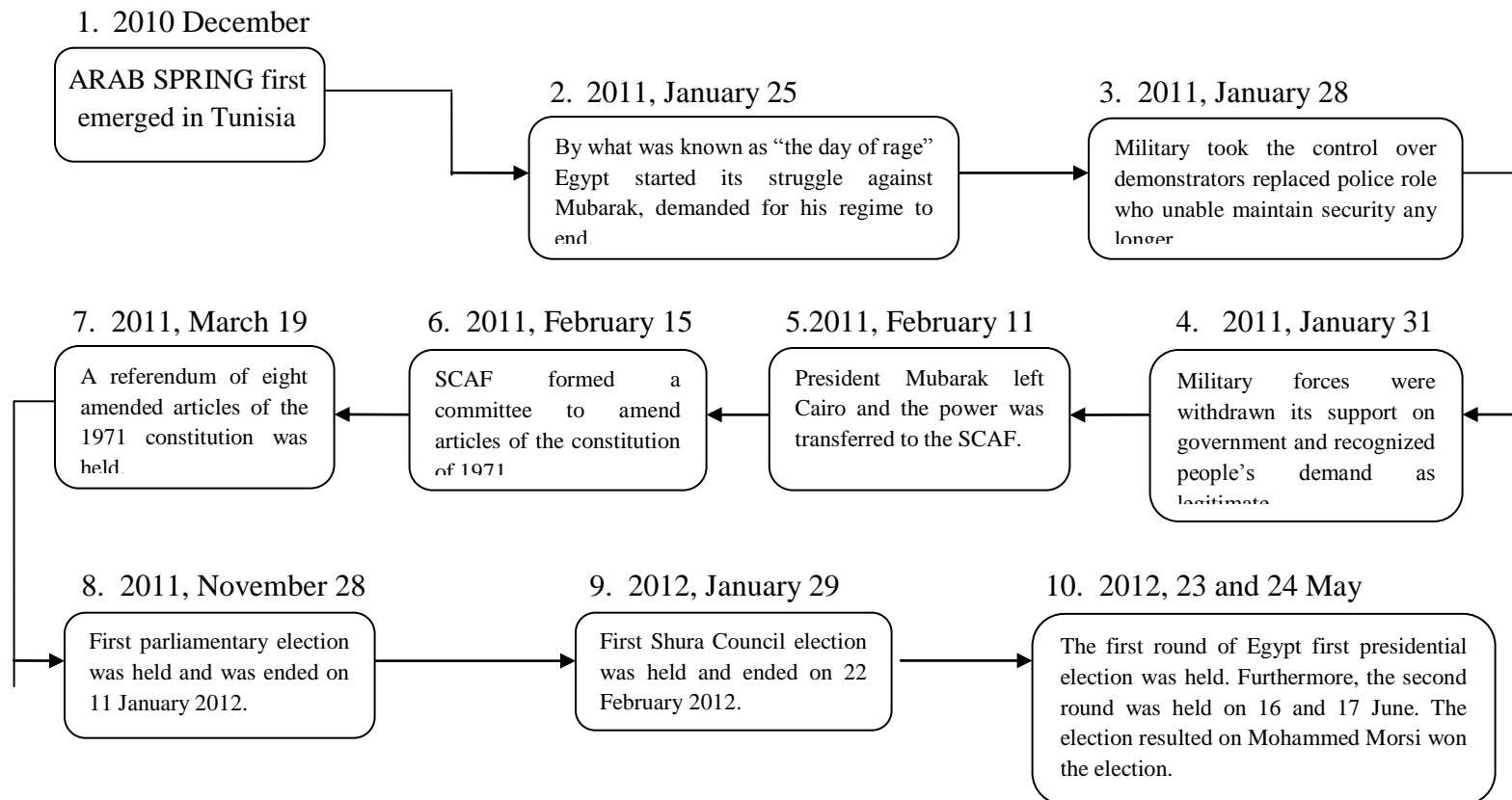
placed in to protect public institutions while F-16 fighter planes flew all around the country in order to make revolutionaries went home. However, there was no sign that the protesters would go home before the President go down from his Presidency. Furthermore as the protesters kept on camping in Tahrir Square day and night, there was escalating pressure on the army to take firmer action toward the protesters. A decision taken publicly in the name of General Command of the Armed Forces and the Minister of Defense, without any consultation with the President who was actually the Supreme Leader of the Armed Forces, to supported the legitimate demands of the people of Egypt and approved “peaceful” demonstrations to express their demands. The army was then in charge to protect the demonstrators and will not use any force against them (Aly, 2012).

Even until the day of the “March of a Million”, when President Mubarak announced that he will not run for another year after his term ended and promised constitutional and economic reforms, protests still happened everywhere all over the country. In Cairo, estimated 2 million protesters stayed in Tahrir Square. Confrontation continue in the following day in Tahrir Square when alleged pro-Mubarak supporters armed with sticks, knives and other weapons by rode horses and camels attacked the protesters, 20 were killed, hundreds disappeared and many allegedly tortured in detention. The protest kept going and millions of protesters stayed on camp in Tharir Square for days, on February 5th President’s son, Gamal Mubarak announced his resignation and in the two following days the government announced 15 percents rise in salaries and pensions. However, those government

decisions were not met people demand which was shifting to the immediate step down of President Mubarak. The number of protesters in Tahrir Square continued to grow as another “March of Million” was organized and along with it, general strikes also happened everywhere across the country. On February 10th, President Mubarak addressed to the nation, but he did not resign as what people wanted, resulted people in Tahrir Square burned to anger and called on the army to join in the protests. People then decided to march toward the Oroba Presidential Palace in Heliopolis. Marshal Tantawy, the Minister of Defense then informed there was a possible bloody confrontation between the demonstration and the supporter of President Mubarak, and advised him and family to leave for Sharm el-Sheikh. Finally, on February 11th at 6pm Vice-President Suleiman announced that President Hosni Mubarak has resigned and handed power to the army, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, led by Field Marshal Mohamed Hussein Tantawy (Amnesty International, 2011).

Figure 2.1

THE CHRONOLOGY OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION IN EGYPT



B. Socio- Political Impact of Arab Spring in Egypt Revolution

The uprising happened in Arab region also influenced many other country, one of them was Egypt. Only after two days since Tunisia succeed to topple down their long ruling authoritarian, demonstrations happened in the street of Egypt. Millions of Egypt people gathered on the streets to protest firstly on January 25 which was also the national holiday Police Day, they were calling for an end of corruption, injustice, poor economic conditions, immediate end of 30 years old President Hosni Mubarak regime.

The protest itself started out peacefully and began to intense as the police and the supporters of the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) repressed and violated the demonstrators by brutal actions which raised the anger of the demonstrators. In the first beginning of the uprising, mass demonstrations covered Cairo, Alexandria and other cities, and the occupation of Cairo's central Tahrir (liberation) Square (Cornel University Library). Even though these actions of the protesters received brutal respond from the military, they still continued their struggle fought back in street battles ignored any danger thread.

The use of technology also characterized the Egyptian Revolution. Electronic social media, internet and the effect of globalizations were clearly playing important part in this phenomenon. The use of Facebook, Twitter, blogs and YouTube became the media of revolutionist to spread the information and also as the media for discussion which exchanged within Egypt, also between Egypt and the outside world.

What also should be noted as the uniqueness of this revolution was in the demographic aspect. Egypt whose populations reached out around 83 million of people, 18 millions of them flooded the street and square without considering either their political or social background (Aly, 2012). There was no unified leadership which leads the revolution, no clear ideology. They were naturally unified by their desire to seek social justice, better internal economic condition, and also their political condition. This revolution took at least 840 people life and 6,467 others were injured and thousands other were detained, while many of them tortured (Amnesty International, 2011).

1) Prior Condition within The Country

To discuss about what actually the reason behind people outrage of depression which turn out to be huge demonstrations, there is a need to see some aspect of economic, social and politic.

Economic Aspect

On economic aspect there was a surprisingly fact founded that actually Egypt economic sector was performing better condition before the uprisings happened. The figure 2.1 shows that Egypt GDP was growing from around 5 percents in early of 2000 into 7 percents in 2006 and 2008. Yet, those developments on economic sectors were not experienced by the whole people of Egypt proven by the wider gap between rich and the poor. Only some of regime's social levels were experiencing these improvements (Bakr, 2012). It was worsen by the fact that

unemployment reached 9.7 percents, most of them were young people graduated from university, and the level of corruption which rated to be number 80 all over the world (Transparency International, 2010).

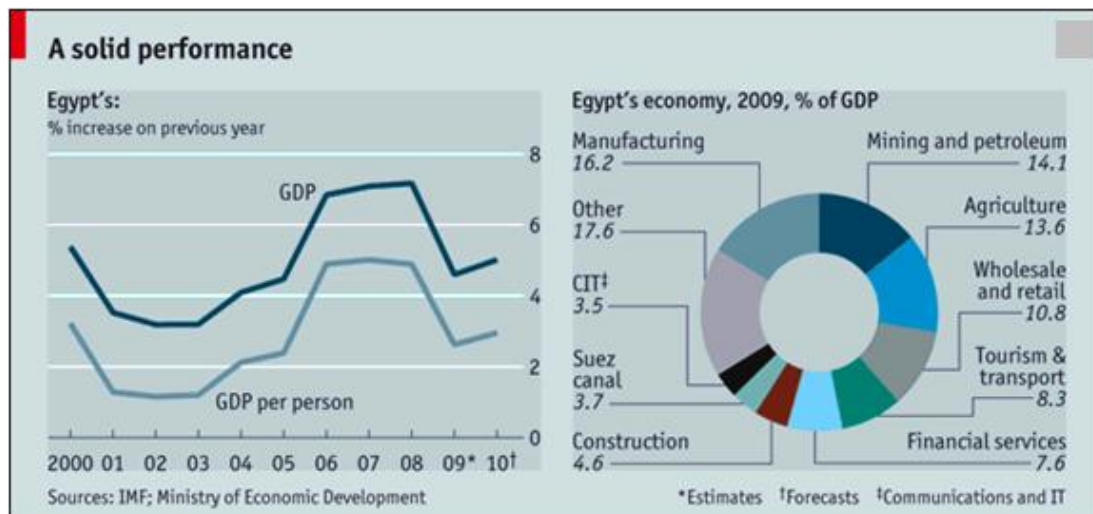


Figure 2.2: Egypt Economic Aspects before the Uprisings (The Economist, 2010)

Political Aspect

Before the uprisings happened in Egypt, political condition within the country seemed to be critical with the fact that President Hosni Mubarak was in command for 30 years, while during that time there was raising aspirations and the people also enduring hardship under Mubarak regime. Moreover, huge amendment of the constitution in 2005 which serve the hereditary rule, one man rule and centralized administration to suit the November 2011 presidential election to succeeded President Mubarak son had abused Egyptians human rights. Those abuses were caught by the public because of the spread of globalization and the idea which came along with it such as democratic ideas. The human right abuse also manifested in government

confrontation with demonstrations, such as the response toward Emad el Kabir and Khaled Said. Both of them were punished by the police into death, and Khaled Said was tortured which later fueled the revolution. Reacting to the government action, youth adopted defense action on the internet.

Moreover in regional, African level Egypt has lost its power. On regional level, the Arab World was no longer dominated by Egypt soft and hard powers tools, its media or development leaders. Egypt regional power has been taken by other powers such as Al Jazeera, the power of oil money, and religious movement (Bakr, 2012). While in African level, Egypt had no role whatsoever because arrogant and uncooperative role of the country towards the other African country.

Social Aspect

Social Condition of Egypt before the uprisings also something that needs to be concerned with. Egypt was characterized by its huge and rapid population growth reached out 83 million people. Egypt also characterized by its young population as claimed by The UNDP Human Development Report 2010 that 23.5 percents of Egypt population constituted by the age category of 18-29 years old. Moreover according to the Egyptian Government statistics in 2007, 28 percents of the population was in the age group 15-29 years old. While according to the data, Egypt was constituted by 90 percents of Sunni Moslem, 9 percents were Coptic Christian,

and they were divided into some ethnic and racial groups such as Nubians, Sinai Bedouins and the Bedouin tribes (CIA, 2014).

With those characteristics of population, added by high joblessness growth of university graduates with an inadequate level of quality education, there were wide spread of hopeless youth within the country. Two thirds of Egyptians were under 30 and they need job for them to continue their life, while the government reported to not provided it well. However, it also worsen by another social discontent between racial, ethnic and religious minorities, who felt alienated and not integrated with Egypt identity, they felt their demands and aspirations are neglected by the government (Bakr, 2012).

2) Post-Revolution Condition

The departure of President Mubarak from Cairo marked the victory of people of Egypt and the new era for Egyptian revolution. For the people of Egypt this revolution surely more than just mass demonstration movement to force government to change its policies, but it showed the power of millions of people to change the head of regime, but to change the country foundation which was the constitution. After the process of revolution, the people of Egypt have to struggle for other negotiations, bargaining among political groups, parties and coalition as the impact of social and economic changes during the revolution era (Aly, 2012).

Economic aspect

Economic sector of Egyptian has been poor since the beginning of revolution in January 2011, showed by the decline of GDP by almost 4 percent and manufacturing decline by 12 percent. The revenue which comes from tourism sector has collapsed as the revolution produce fear within the people resulted in reluctance to travel in Egypt.

While as the result of the revolution process to achieve political change, Egyptian has to face some economic degradation. Egypt GDP in the third quarter of fiscal year 2010-2011 or during January-March 2011 experience sharp reduction in the point 4.2 percent decline compared with 5.4 percent increase registered in the third quarter fiscal year 2009-2010. While the investment and net exports of goods and services declined by respective 26 percent and 3.6 percent in comparison with the third quarter of the previous year. These degradations of reserves reach the amount of \$9 billion during the first half of 2011 (Saif, Challenges of Egypt Economic Transition, 2011).

However, soon after the revolution unfolded, the divergent of interest and demand raises everywhere which generates tension between the state and the people. The SCAF has to face demands of judiciary, and the escalating demands for higher salaries of bureaucracy in many sectors. All the social forces and also related to the actions in the streets brought the economy aspect of Egypt in the very bad condition. Two measure implemented by the transitional government reflect of their reaction towards popular demand. The first is that it allowed allegation of corruption and

exaggerated figures to be published in media without response, resulted on business people reluctance to do economic transaction because their fear of high risk to have business in corrupt economic condition.

Second, the transition government has inflating the budge to fulfill demand of protesters. It offered fixed-term contracts to 450,000 temporary employees while also approved 15 percent public-sector increase. These action in total, increase 25 percent of the state total wage and pension bill. Along with it the government also raised the minimum wage for public employees almost double from their previous wage. Indeed, creating jobs and raising salaries are important and the rights of workers, but these reactions toward such demand considered as unsustainable in the long term. They might end by the increase of state debt either from domestic or foreign sources (Saif, Challenges of Egypt Economic Transition, 2011).

The State under the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF)

According to the Egyptian constitution of 1971, during the time of emergencies the power and responsibilities of President will be extended to some legislative power along with its executive functions. The SCAF then carried out President's responsibilities and also exercised legislative powers. SCAF itself constitutes of twenty senior military officers Headed by Field Marshal Mohamed Husain Tantawy who was the Commander in Chief of the Egyptian Armed Forces and also Minister of Defense and Military Production, while his deputy, Lieutenant General Sami Anan who was the Chief of Staff of the Egyptian Armed Forces, along

with all heads of the Egyptian Armed Forces' field commands and their army branches.

Indeed, President Mubarak's transfer of presidential powers to the SCAF was based on the political assessment of the capabilities of the army to lead the state and the realities of good relations between army and revolutionaries. Although before the revolution end, the practical factor of the revolutionist victory was the shift balance of power between the revolutionist forces and the regime. After January 28th, 2011 there was new sense of legitimacy of SCAF based on both acceptance and trust. People expressed their high regard for the army as national force and their professionalism in doing their basic responsibilities to protect people and country security.

Moreover, the army recognition of people legitimate demand during the revolution followed by the statement that there will be democratic transfer of power towards civilian institutions, strengthen the legitimacy of SCAF. SCAF strong mission towards the formation of democratic system reflected by their declaration on the day Mubarak left the office as follows:

“...Second: The Armed Forces are committed to supporting the legitimate demands of the people and achieving them by following up on the implementation of these procedures in the defined time frames with all accuracy and seriousness and until the peaceful transfer of authority is completed towards the free democratic community that the people aspire to” (Aly, 2012).

And also strengthen by the SCAF declaration in the following day as followed:

“...Fourth: The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces aspires to guaranteeing a peaceful transition of authority within a free and democratic system that allows for the assumption of authority by civilian and elected authority to govern the country and the building of a democratic and free state” (Aly, 2012).

The Revolutionaries

After their victory in revolution against the regime of President Mubarak, the revolutionaries even in the first beginning was initiated by youth only, the fact was it constituted by large number of social and political backgrounds and then divided largely into some groups, they were the youth, the Moslem Brotherhoods, and various nongovernmental organizations and related groups (Aly, 2012).

a. The Youth

The youth who firstly launched the revolution in the beginning, were then lost their leadership and fragmented into large number of coalitions and unions. They were fragmented into about 200 different coalitions (Aly, 2012) because they probably failed to unite under one or several particular parties.

b. The Moslem Brothers

Moslem Brothers prior the time of revolution actually constituted as a part of the traditional political parties who opposed the regime. Now, they presented a distinct voice expressing through “Islamic” parties. They considered the idea of democracy and other Western political ideas such as secularism as something bad.

Now they are constituted by Salafist who advocated the implementation of strict Sharia law.

c. Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Related Groups

This last but not the least group of opposition was constituted by various Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs), civil society organizations, and many human right groups as well as public personalities. These organizations especially civil society, have grown massively reached over thirty thousand organizations and associations, as the positive result of media, globalization and also fund from international- particularly the Western countries such as American organizations- the Ford Foundation, the National Endowment for Democracy, Human Rights Watch, and Freedom House. They were doing their effort for Egyptian people to live in the peaceful democracy condition by focusing on development in many aspects, which then later shifted the political goals (Aly, 2012).

Most of these NGOs have been play significant active roles working in the country of Egypt to provide services covered many dimensions of poverty and exclusion, and also the aspects of economic, social, as well as politic to a largely poor population as well as its middle class. However their main concerns are:

- Supporting human development including education, health, and also family planning to combat illiteracy as well as poverty.
- Promoting democratic and accountable government by strengthening its civil society, political participation, corruption eradication and improve transparency, and integrated social policy.

- Promoting human rights and women empowerment including the marginalized groups.
- Supports freedom of expression by policies management that ensure equal access to all media platforms, and ensure people
- Promoting economic stability through market economic and job advancement for sustainable and inclusive economic growth.

“By giving our children and youth better opportunities, we will enable them to live within a society where their rights are fully respected and (where they) envision their future with optimism. Any work aimed at promoting these conditions is the most promising social investment any society can make. We see youth and their education and participation as our most significant asset toward development”- Lorena Clare de Rodriguez

NGOs actually have been on the ground of Egypt country since the long time ago but faced hard situation due to government totalitarian control over society during the government of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. There was no society role in the government neither as open political opposition nor as an independent sector. These dramatic conditions happened until 1980 when the government has focused on economic development. During those times, government has made some changes by instituted liberal, market-oriented economic reform along with Egypt better relation with United States. Those changes indirectly allowed the emergence of many NGOs initiated by the society and also from external actor lead to the existence of international NGO (Agati, 2007).

As we know, American NGOs characterized by their nature which always bring the idea of American foreign policy in their main concern and projects in host

country though it said to be independent from their home country which is United States. They are mainly different with many European NGOs which tend to concern with humanitarian projects. Since long time ago, civil society organization has become essential contributors in social progress and their actions lubricate the complex modern societies (Wittes, 2013). Those NGOs have been playing significant role in organize people according their basic common interest and convey the people vision toward people in the government and private sector, educate and provide information to the people and help the participate effectively in governance.

Civil society has become partner in US diplomacy, they have been working together all around the world through humanitarian assistance, basic human development, and the advancement of wide range policy goals including democracy and human rights. In many places, on many issues the government of US is unable to implement its strategic position and policies without the support of NGOs through contracts, grants and mutually beneficial cooperation (Wittes, 2013).

C. Ford Foundation and Civil Society Condition in Egypt

Ford Foundation was firstly established on January 15 January 1936 in Michigan by Edsel Ford who was the president of Ford Motor Company at that time. Furthermore, since the beginning of the establishment of Ford Foundation, its founding charter had stated that resources should be used “for scientific, educational and charitable purposes, all for the public welfare” (Ford Foundation). Based on this charter, the foundation started to make grants to achieve their goal. Yet, later, it was

separated entirely from the Ford Motor Company between 1955 and 1974 (Ford Foundation).

Their world- wide goals until now have been strengthening democratic values in reducing poverty and injustice, promoting international cooperation, and advancing human achievement. Furthermore, they believe that the best way to achieve their goal is to encourage initiatives from the people in order to be able to promote collaboration between nonprofit, government and business sector, as well as to ensure the participation from both men and women from diverse communities and community levels. Therefore, Ford Foundation in realizing their mission, it works in helping civil society mainly by engaging itself to civil society organization and giving grants or loans toward civil society organization whose projects and initiatives are in line with Ford Foundation mission.

Ford Foundation has made grants in 50 states through its ten regional offices worldwide, it has been supporting many programs in more than 50 countries. The foundation has offices in 12 countries, and one of them is in Egypt, particularly in Cairo. It had been established since 1957 and its efforts have been focusing on addressing key development and identifying opportunities to improve lives by sticking to their main beliefs which states that the people have to engage in the matters affecting their lives. They have worked with researchers, academics, activists, and civil society organizations to adapt their projects and programs with what people need. For more than 50 years, they have made more than \$200 million grants toward more than 350 institutions.

From their offices in Middle East and North Africa (MENA) office which are located in Cairo, their grant making are more focus on Egypt because of its central role in regional development. Egypt obviously had strong position in MENA regional because of its strong government and military. Yet, the condition of Egyptian in prior revolution time attracted Ford Foundation because Ford Foundation saw that Egyptian suffered bad condition under the dictatorship government. The regime under Mubarak basically had violated Egyptian human rights. People were living under Emergency Law which highly limited people's participation in many aspects, particularly in politic and arbitrarily in arresting people as well as put them on military trial. Therefore, there was a need for changes within civil society in order to make them live in a better condition under democratic lives which ensure every people's rights. In addition, for more than the last ten years, the amount of Ford Foundation grants which are given from Cairo to the civil society organization has been growing reach to the amount of approximately \$15 million per year (Ford Foundation, 2009).

From this great relationship between Ford Foundation and Egyptian civil society organization as it is seen from the growing amount of its support through grant making, it is clear that Ford Foundation highly concern with the condition of the people in Egypt. Therefore, they have been doing their best effort to bring changes by encouraging activities which help building common understanding and reinforcing people's commitment to society.

However, during the Egypt revolution, whereas the condition in the country was still raging in many regions, the international view on this case was strong. Many countries condemned the government action towards their own people and demand for immediate termination of government actions which was supported by military forces. Ford Foundation saw the conflict happened in Egypt as something which is very important, crucial and urgent as more people became the victim of their-own government decisions and stated their respond to the uprising in their official websites:

“Ford welcomed the democracy movement and its potential to transform the country and the region. While it remains too early to know what the long-term impact of the Arab Spring will be, our work in the region has taken on new vibrancy and urgency.” (Ford Foundation, 2014)

Therefore, Egypt received full support from this international non-governmental organization to transform and to be democratic country.

Furthermore,during the post-revolution time, to be precise, after the overthrow of President Mubarak, Egypt faced a condition toward a more democratic country. It covers some aspects such as economy, politics, and civil society. Indeed, the most significant changes were the aspect of political participation and civil society. Meanwhile, the economic aspect showed backwardness, because political instability directly affected the economic aspect.

However, such fundamental changes and democratic values started to be institutionalized. In post-revolution, SCAF had been chosen by people as the temporal holder of Government authority which was seen to be the most capable

institution to be in charge in controlling the country and bringing Egypt to perform its first free-election. Several amendments of its 1971 Constitution were achieved by the cooperation of SCAF and Parliament in composing new amended constitution. Furthermore, the amendment had provided new opportunity for the formation and development of political parties. It allowed for such political parties to win elections (Hamid, 2014). Following those changes, people participation began to grow wider. More people were engaging themselves in political life because they were no longer restricted under elites' dictatorship regulation. Establishment of political parties was growing significantly since the Mubarak government fall.

Meanwhile on the other side, these Constitution amendments had shifted military role in the government. Before the revolution, it served as the government basic source of power. At the same time, it legitimated government under Mubarak actions and dictatorships. However, in the post- revolution time, SCAF successfully assisted Egypt in conducting elections in order to transfer governmental power to the hands of people.

Furthermore, through the 1971 Constitution amendment, more democratic values were also showed in civil society role within Egypt civilization. Civil society had faced its new phase in political participation. Before the revolution, it was more likely to participate informally. It had relied most people' dissents through demonstration toward government. In the post-revolution, its performance widened and was able to engage in making decision actively.