

CHAPTER III

THE CONTRIBUTION OF FORD FOUNDATION IN EGYPT DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

This chapter will elaborate and analyze the active roles of Ford Foundation as one of many NGOs exist in the ground of Egypt in influencing and fostering democratic transition process through replacement model of Huntington theory.

A. The Hegemony of Military in Egypt Political Structure

Egypt political system has been described as authoritarian or more precisely military-dominated regime since long time ago under Gamal Abdel Nasser. Government under Nasser relied heavily on his fellow military office in running the country business and bureaucracy while at the same time protected the regime and participated in governing. Later on during Anwar Sadat presidency military still used it as a base of power. Though they were no longer participate directly in government, but military power still put high pressure on people (Aftandilian, 2011).

Furthermore, prior the time of revolution people of Egypt under Mubarak presidency experienced growing level of poverty and inequality, unemployment, corruption, police brutality as well as lack of civil and political rights. Yet, it could not be conveyed properly due to various barriers that arose from the government regulation itself. President Mubarak ruled in authoritarian manner with overwhelming

presidential power backed by strong military and security body. Mubarak had to rely on the military to put down major domestic crisis such as at the 1986 riots (Aftandilian, 2011). Government through its Emergency Law was giving power to the police and security forces to arrest and detain, to suspend constitutional rights, to allow exceptional and military courts for any opposition political activity and demonstrations. Over the time, government through its security forces had been violated human rights of the people (Amnesty International, 2011). Many people suffered from government arbitrary decision based on emergency law, then arrest people who act against government.

However, military under Mubarak also expanded their influence to economic activities through National Service Products Organization (NSPO), the Ministry of Military Production (MOMP) and the Arab Organization for Industrialization. These military bodies were doing its business in profitable non-military manufacturing and services by producing wide variety of goods which basically needed by people in daily life. It covers steel, chemicals, kitchen stove, mineral water, butane gas cylinders, and also foodstuff. They also owned large number of gas stations, hotels, supermarkets, transportations, and others. Moreover, economic sector also highly militarized particularly the state-owned oil sector. Many natural gas, oil companies, and commercial transportation ran by retired military officer. (Abul-Magd, 2013).

Furthermore, at government level military also owned its place within state bureaucracy, public sector, military enterprises. Large number of retired army

generals and colonels were appointed to high-ranking position in many places and received their pension from military while at the same time they also received high salaries from government. In the year 2011 itself, 18 out of 27 provincial governors were retired army generals. Indeed, other officers may also served as governors' staff chiefs, head of districts in Cairo, etc.

Some people accused that these privilege was given to be able smooth out the Mubarak plan in making his son, Gamal Mubarak as his successor (Abul-Magd, 2013).

We can see that military position in Egypt society life was strong to the extent direct influence in fulfilling basic need of people and also direct influence in market. This strong relationship between military and government under Mubarak was actually a relationship that mutually beneficial and mutually reinforce each other. Alignments of strong military force which also could maintain social and political stability was something that must be kept by the President. On the other hand, with those alignments, military in some economic aspects which already mentioned above would not be disturbed.

Seeing the circumstances in Egypt, it shows that civil society and opposition somehow in weak condition. Moreover, with the existence of Emergency Law, it had clearly affected civil society and limited their activities. Arrests, detainment, unfair trial, and prohibition strikes, demonstrations and public meeting as well as censoring newspaper in the name of national security had been calling Ford

Foundation as international NGO to take action for Egypt future democratic state through fundamental change.

B. Ford Foundation Effort in Modernizing Egyptian Through Fundamental Changes

According to Samuel P. Huntington in his book entitle *Comparative Politics* (1971), he argues that the main difference between modern and traditional society which most scholars and theorist agreed upon, lies at the greater control of modern people has over their natural and social environment. This ability to control is based on their knowledge on science and technology. Meanwhile, Dankwart A. Rostow stresses out that the modernization involves a “rapidly widening control over nature through closer cooperation among men” (Huntington, *The Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics*, 1971). From the point above, the differences between modern and traditional people lies on their attitude toward their environment and control it by utilizing their power in many aspects.

In many cases happened in some countries, these modernization phenomena brought social and political changes in people’s belief and motivations. Moreover, it is also reshaping the role of religion, gender roles and sexual norms which leads to growing mass demands for democratic institution and a more just government (Inglehart, 2012). These changes are the condition where democracy is likely to emerge.

However, those development which comes along in many aspects cannot be separated from the actors involve on it. Organization and numerous kinds of groups such as NGO, which has special association with civil society then recognize it as a part of them. To the extent, the number of NGO in one country has become an indicator of civic structures within the country. It is considered to be an important factor in transforming individual into citizen. It is argued that by joining such voluntary organization, people indirectly practice essential democratic values (Benda, 2007).

NGO already existed in Egypt since long time ago during the time of President Nasser. Yet, their existence experienced many hardship and obstacles which resourced from government rules and laws. However, NGO amount in Egypt grow into bigger amount since President Mubarak adopting economic liberalization reform.

However, the fact that most civil society organization and local NGO in Egypt were working dependently with foreign funding, led by the United States and European Union as the forerunners of democracy promotion. Many of these funding were also as one of approaches to liberalize and democratize its authoritarian regimes. However, their effort by using this approach is considered as subtle way that may not directly affect people of Egypt, but more likely to be long-term approach to get their interest to be realized. They use funding to local NGO and civil society in order to accelerate their effort which then manifested through actions in wide-range of daily life. Most of them were using educating method, both in formal and informal ways to

spread the idea modernization and basic rights which at the same time lead to the basic value of democracy.

Therefore, many civil society organization and NGOs are acquiring education route to transfer and deliver the common ideas of basic human rights and global values. They are working together both in formal and informal educational sector.

These NGO activities were mainly concerned on the education assistance in school at remote area, especially in Upper Egypt which experienced more backwardness than the other area in Egypt. As stated by Baradei (2004) the number of non-profit organization working in education field had increased reach out 1310 and represented more than 8% of NGO total numbers (Amen, 2008). Furthermore, these cooperation activities with the NGO as reported by Ministry of Education (2006) also covered the involvement of NGO in school Board of Trustees. Their cooperation started with 1212 educational project with 619 NGO to served approximately 19,000 students in public school, amounted \$17 million during 1999 until 2005 (Amen, 2008).

However, NGO and civil society also worked as an important actor to linked basic education, non-formal education and literacy toward specific development. NGO continued to be the important forefront actor of innovation in development field. Their efforts in educating people were not only through formal sector but also in informal sector. Its character which is flexible, not only in their approaches but also their ability to intervene in development of problems has become

one of its advantages to present technical development content and skill (Kahler, 2000).

As asserted on its official website (2013):

“Ford Foundation is highly welcome the democracy movement and its potential to transform the country. It is mainly support Egypt for civil society groups working to advance democratic and accountable government, fundamental human rights, voice participation, and access to higher education, as well as to empower the marginalized people.”

Ford Foundation is one of many international NGO which works together with Egyptian civil society and groups. Each of them worked to develop the government and people inside of it toward a more just and democratic state. Its efforts have focused on addressing key development gaps and identifying opportunities to improve lives. In addition its main goal is to empower the marginalized area to achieve economic, social and cultural rights by supporting citizen groups and promoting government effectiveness, accountability and transparency through grants given from Ford Foundation to the organizations and individual whose initiative is relevant with the Ford Foundation’s goals. It mainly done by increasing people awareness, increasing education level, policy reform, and strengthen institution which support democracy idea through cooperation initiatives with many parties such as leading researchers, academics, activists, civil society organizations and policy makers, to provide information for people to respond properly to the challenges in changing world (Ford Foundation, 2009).

The Ford Foundation has been playing pivotal role in raising the awareness of Egyptian people for the need to live in peaceful condition with the

fulfillment of human rights, and guarantees of social and political life through education. As all of us know, education has become important point in political and social democratization. This process of change cannot be separated from the spread of literacy, communication using written language and media, formation of educated and business elite as the dynamic factor of social, economic, and cultural changes (Gabric, 2011).

Moreover, for countries like Egypt which had weak urban middle-class population, educational institutions and universities were some of the most important factors of social mobility and transformation for the emergence of middle class population, modern social and economic flows. Yet, education in Egypt mostly trained students to be the obedient citizen towards its government. Moreover, bad condition of education sector was conducted by unrestricted practice of violence, broken and overcrowded classrooms in many disadvantaged communities, the lack of respect in the rights of children and teachers, privatized education through generalized and rampant private tutoring, as well as through for-profit education for those who able to pay. In addition, there were large numbers of children in Egypt not only out of school but also ‘out of learning’ (Zaalouk, 2012). These conditions denied the access of people to the quality learning, human right, dignity and equity.

Responding to such circumstances in Egypt, Ford Foundation did some efforts based on its mission below:

“The Ford Foundation should support activities to strengthen, expand, and improve educational facilities and methods to enable individuals more fully to realize their intellectual, civic, and spiritual potentialities;

to promote greater equality of educational opportunity; and to conserve and increase knowledge and enrich our culture” – The Ford Foundation Committee (H. Rowan Gaither, 1949).

Ford Foundation has granted several grant submissions for civil society focused on Egypt in 2010 as much as nearly 15 million US dollar, with almost 9 million spent to promote education, creativity and free expression. In addition to carry out its mission, it also spent around 5 million to promote democracy, human rights and justice, while the rest are spent on foundation wide action (Ford Foundation, 2010).

Its effort basically by fostering dialogue and debate on some of the most important policy choice in wide-range aspects through grant support given to the civil society group or organization which relevant with the foundation’s goals and initiatives.

1) *Government and Civil Society*

Ford Foundation, on this aspect, generally expanded the issue of democratic and accountable government through some initiatives which were promoting transparent, effective and accountable government. The foundation expanded the space for independent discourse, scholars and civic leaders through dialogue and debate in order to articulate the visions of society.

One of the approaches was on the culture of citizenship within Egyptians by encouraging people to develop ways to engage with government on key issues and the search for solution which was acceptable for all. With foundation support, the

Aga Khan Foundation, as well as the Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere Inc, had built and developed partnership between Egyptian civil society and government to support citizen-led initiatives and joint problem solving at local level. While others, such as the Arab Reform Initiatives have developed research and advocacy, learning and participation of marginalized people around key issues in Egypt's transition process through debates (Ford Foundation, 2010).

Along with the foundation's aid, the American University in Cairo has identified, documented, and disseminated Egyptian practices around participatory urban development in order to provide critical assessment of the management of public institutions. It also included the effort to make state budgets transparent to citizens.

2) *Human Rights*

Founded by the principle that human rights are universal, the Ford Foundation strengthens organizations which protect human rights, promote reforms rule of law and raise public awareness on human rights issues. It calls for a comprehensive approach which aimed to ensure basic rights to freedom, equality, dignity and justice within the country. The Center for Human Rights and Democracy Studies, for example, conducted a meeting to exchange ideas on current human rights challenges within the country and developed common and viable strategies to strengthen the human rights movement. As well as the Stichting Oxfam Novib which was enhanced the capacity and built a network of local community leaders and organizations focusing on achieving economic and social rights.

However, women rights sector also received special attention from the Ford Foundation. The foundation recognized women who were in critical position in Egypt strict environment. Working together, human rights activists shared ideas and developed strategies to protect women and marginalized people fundamental freedom. Such as the Center of Arab Women for Training and Research (CAWTAR) which had made a training and publication to provide information on innovative and new approaches of human rights issues. While the Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Aid had provided legal advice and assisted the poor and marginalized women in Boulaq Dakrou as Cairo poorest neighborhoods to access their economic and social rights (Lindow, 2011).

Likewise, Egypt also receives support from the Foundation in health aspects through Egypt of the Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services, Caritas Egypt and the Association for the Development and Enhancement of Women, as the amount of youth in Egypt is very high and that also need supports to provide information about sexual and reproductive rights, and health issues. (Lindow, 2011).

Furthermore, the foundation also helped to build researches and training capacity of human educators and supported human rights courses and workshops in many universities for professionals, civic leader and youth.

3) *Higher Education*

At the first glance, Egypt, in this aspect, seems unnecessary to be included for such missions. Egypt had already famous for its university in the world. However, Egypt's universities were actually locked into many struggles, started by

the challenge of rapid growth and huge amount of youth population. There were huge demands for higher education. Almost 60 percent of the population was under 30 years old (The World Bank, 2011) and they were frustrated of unemployment and lack of opportunities in getting jobs. Therefore, Egypt, in this aspect, received full support and the most grants from the Ford Foundation.

The foundation had launched some programs of higher education institution within the country. As the dynamic and high-quality education systems were in place, it was expected that people can improve their lives and assist others to pursuit their social equality and justice. Ford Foundation in this field targeted academic quality at national universities, leadership training and knowledge development. It helped the universities to operate in increasing global and market driven economy by providing interactive learning, extracurricular activities and opportunities to relate with various challenges of democratization and civic engagement. The foundation also focused on strengthening and supporting inclusive policy debates about higher education reforms among the scientists (Ford Foundation, 2009).

Ford Foundation had expanded its investment in higher education, which previously focused on institution-building such as to establish a career advisory center in Cairo University to provide academic counseling and help graduated students in finding jobs by linking them to labor market. Now, its investment expands by including academic development of scholars and students such as Economic Research Forum to conduct research, case studies, and dissemination on higher

education reforms to improve student learning, and access by marginalized students to increase the quality of higher education, while in the other part also support American Bar Association Fund for Justice and Education to train young professors in Egypt university in new teaching methods and to develop new curricula (Ford Foundation, 2010). In Addition, under the foundation's project, more than 3,000 students in seven Egyptian public universities have received academic development in the form of training in leadership, civic engagement, time engagement, negotiation skills, information technology and critical thinking (Ford Foundation, 2009).

4) *Media, Arts and Culture*

The Ford Foundation in this area work to supports independent artistic community and creates new spaces for free expression, in the effort to build a belief that imagination, creativity and criticism are essential for the development of open and just societies. The grants focused on sustaining innovation and experiment that artists, cultural workers, and media professional are brought to political, social, and civic life. Through the support for the creation of places for artists, cultural workers, intellectuals and activists to exchange experiences and knowledge, it hopefully will strengthen arts education and appreciation and encourage decentralized decision-making and freer access to resources (Ford Foundation, 2009).

Table 3.1: Ford Foundation Partner in Egypt and Their Projects

No.	Institution / NGO / Grantee	Objective	Program Focus	Amount
1.	Aga Khan Foundation (2009)	Builds partnerships between Egyptian civil society organization and government to improve government effectiveness and evaluate it	Democratic and Accountable Government	\$245,000
2.	Arab Reform Initiatives (2010)	Policy research and advocacy, learning and participation of marginalized people in transition process	Democratic and Accountable Government	\$655,000
3.	American University (2010)	For the School of Public Affairs to identify, document and disseminate Egyptian participatory in urban development	Democratic and Accountable Government	\$250,000
4.	Stichting Oxfam Novib (2010)	Enhance capacity and build network on achieving economic and social rights in Egypt	Promoting Transparent, Effective and Accountable Government	\$170,000
	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere Inc. (2011)	Develop social accountability to support citizen-led initiatives and problem solving within Egypt	Promoting Transparent, Effective and Accountable Government	\$400,000
5.	Center for Human Rights and Democracy Studies (2006)	Conduct meeting to exchange idea of human right challenges and develop strategies	Democratic and Accountable Government	\$70,000
6.	Center of Arab Women for Training and Research (2009)	Research, training, technical assistance and information dissemination to build capacity of civil society	Democratic and Accountable Government	\$250,000
7.	Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance (2010)	Provide legal advice and assist the poor and marginalized women	Democratic and Accountable Government	\$200,000
8.	American Bar Association Fund for Justice and Education (2009&2011)	Train young professors in new teaching methods and develop new curricula, as well as workshop on interactive teaching methods	Higher Education and Social Justice	\$450,000
9.	Economic Research Forum	Conduct research, case studies and	Higher Education and	\$250,000

	(2009)	dissemination on higher education reforms to improve quality and access by marginalized students	Social Justice	
10.	Cairo University (2006-2011)	Develop program to increase student skill training, monthly meetings of Higher Education Policy Forum, research, establish career advisory center to provide academic counseling, etc.	Higher Education and Social Justice	In total \$4,040,000
12.	The Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services (2006-2011)	Promote sustainable development and human rights through public awareness, training and dialogue Develop educational resources to advance reproductive health and education including HIV/AIDS for young Egyptians	Higher Education and Social Justice Youth Sexuality, Reproductive Health, and Rights	\$1,720,000 \$320,000
13.	Culture Resource (2009&2010)	Develop arts, culture, and study for arts community spaces and documentary for free expression, creativity, and criticism for development	Supporting Arts Space	In total \$765,000

Source: Ford Foundation "Grants Data Base" 2010

C. Democratization through Replacement Model

Civil society movement in Egypt had played critical and pivotal role in the prior and during the revolution which happened in 2011. In the years leading up to the revolution, civil society movements had started to fill Egypt streets and had succeeded in creating culture of protest which was showed by the beyond-measure rise of movements and organizations numbers. By the end of 2008, there were around 30,000 civil society organizations in Egypt although not all of them were active (Sika, 2012). While, during the revolution day, the number of the demonstrators in the streets had reached approximately 18 million, came from different ideological, socio-economic and education backgrounds (Aly, 2012). Even this development of civil society was inadvertently supported by the regime since the regime embarked on an economic liberalization process in early 1990, the regime had advocated for civil society organization to assist the state in development. These times were the time when civil society starts to grow and develop from 10,000 to almost 20,000 by 2008 (UNDP, 2008).

The government also had endorsed the development of civil society organization through some ministries, such as the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of education and the Ministry of Youth. It had created channels for cooperation with NGOs. The cooperation with NGOs through grants, aids, and reliefs were very crucial point of the organization work (Sika, 2012). Indeed, they were succeeded overthrowing Mubarak regime that had been on the ground since 30 years ago.

The people of Egypt before civil society start to build were characterized by its passive and biddable character. They only follow government's decision in almost all aspect which directly affects their live without consider to changing the condition. These characters are highly related with traditional society of Huntington. However, after the more establishment of NGO and civil society organization in Egypt which encourage the involvement of Egyptian in wide- range aspect, people start to aware of their position in political aspect. Many of Egyptian started to convey their aspiration toward government though government still highly restricted people action against government with strict rule.

Civil Society as Opposition to Start Demonstration

The fast- growth of civil society in Egypt could not be separated from globalization and its entities which had become a force, influenced and strengthened social movements, including non-governmental organization and civil society organizations. In the first beginning, the opposition was the one who manifested the action of protest, yet they were not directly acted and placed any direct criticism because of the regime strict regulation. Until 2004, when there was an opposition movement of different political perspectives, they demanded for new constitution and an electoral system, along with their aim to ban Mubarak from another term in office. After this event happened, Egyptian then started to act the same way and to start acted in more act of protest. There were approximately 266 acts of protest in Egypt during 2004, and this phenomenon kept growing reach out 630 protests in 2008 (Aly,

2012). Furthermore, in 2005, demonstration was broken for the first time and President Mubarak was called to resign. During this period, it was proved that people start to have the awareness of freedom protection, struggle against economic problems, poverty and corruption. This phenomenon also prove that they started to be modern society, seen from their character which used to be passive and only followed government decision which then changed with their character of having desire and ability to control changes.

Youth Ignites the Revolution

The youth was one of many important actors in the revolution on 25th January. Its enormous amount, enthusiasm and also their effort in keeping the revolution alive though government was responded by harsh and violate action to make their voice heard. The youth utilized the most recent technology to attract participant to join the revolution through some internet and social media. Indeed, they did not only convince Egyptian to take to the streets but also draw attention of international opinion. In fact, this movement of youth had been already done since 2010, especially on April 6th and also May 4th, although neither of these protests was successful to make changes within government system (Aly, 2012).

The Egyptian Youth were united under the common understanding and collective discontent. The process was built up before the revolution period, which then grew up into collective discontent toward government decision. The youth then ignited the revolution and called for other participant from various background and

class, they were the poor and marginalized people, the upper classes, women, workers, Christians, Copts, Moslems, young and old people, as well as urban and rural residents. They were united without any particular leader who maintains the protests. However, the Egyptian youth movements and their allies such as the civil society organization were able to mobilize 15 million Egyptian all over the country, and grew into much more bigger amount in the January 25th Revolution.

As Huntington proposes in his book entitled *The Third Wave of Democratization* (1992), there are three probable ways on how democratic transition process or what so called as democratization may imply in the most recent phenomena which are Transformation Model, Replacement Model, and Transplacement Model. However, from its transition process toward democracy, the Egypt case in overthrowing the President Mubarak from his presidency was highly linked to the Replacement Model.

The Replacement Model is characterized by the existence of reformers within the regime who are considerably weak. This requirement was highly suitable to the condition of Egypt during the revolution period, in which it could be considered weak because there was no reformer within the regime of Mubarak. The regime was absolutely stronger than the opposition in the beginning of the period. The regime could survive for 30 years due to its strong political power, which also supported by the law which legitimated the regime as well as shaping the society and opposition action in political arena in strict manners. As the result, the opposition and

society could not deliver their voice and considered as the subject of government regulation. These situation happened until the revolution came up, which was ignited by demonstrators who were mainly composed by educated youth. These revolutionary movements, then, joined by the other people coming from all over the country to raise their dissatisfactions toward government policies, then weakened the government position. For 18 days, the demonstrators were camped out at Tahrir Square. During that time, the demonstrators and opposition gained their strength, while at the same time the government lost its legitimacy and strength over the country.

Moreover, the military which was the ultimate support for the authoritarian government also withdrawn its support from government and shifted towards the opposition. It is believed that when the military withdraws its support by doing coup or refusing to use force against the opposition, the regime would fall. Indeed, it, also happened to the Egypt case. In the first beginning, the army was the element which supported the government legitimacy, and was placed to take over and to control the demonstrators on January 28, because the police proved not to be able to maintain the situation any longer. Yet, considering the situation at that time, the army conducted a consensus among its elite leader, then on January 31, decided to withdraw its support toward the government and recognized demands of the people were legitimate as well as would not violated protesters. As stated by a SCAF general on Crisis Group interview:

“After the police had “failed” in their mission on 28 January, the military chose to step in and decided not to “fire on our people”. We decided to be on the people’s side and not that of a president who had lost his legitimacy” (International Crisis Group, 2012).

Furthermore, as the President was still demurred to hand over his presidency, the army, then, decided to declare its position through Declaration Number 1 on February 10, 2011 which message as below:

“Based on the responsibility of the Armed Forces, and its commitment to protect the people, and to oversee their interests and security, and with a view to the safety of the nation and the citizenry, and of the achievements and properties of the great people of Egypt, and in affirmation and support for the legitimate demands of the people, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces convened today, 10 February 2011, to consider developments to date, and decided to remain in continuous session to consider what procedures and measures . . . may be taken to protect the nation, and the achievements and aspirations of the great people of Egypt” (Aly, 2012).

From the statement above, the military position was clearly shown that they supported the demonstrators and were willingly to work together with every element of it including the civil society. They were willingly to “oversee” the demands of the people, and at the same time, in charge to protect the revolution process. However, the army also played critical actor as the President Mubarak reminder for possible bloody battle when he refused to step down from its Presidency on the last day of the revolution.

Furthermore, the democratic transition theory particularly the replacement model constitutes three phases during the process. They are the struggle to produce

the fall, the fall, and the struggle after the fall. However, the struggles after the fall phase are also an important point, that it will produce euphoria in the country, while the authoritarian leader will be imprisoned. As delivered by CNN (2011), that tens of thousands Egyptians were emotionally exploded on the street of Cairo right after the announcement of President Mubarak withdrawal from his presidency. They waved Egyptian flags, honked horns and set off fireworks to show off their excitement. Indeed, as the opposite fate was met by President Mubarak, CNN also reported that the Swiss government had directed banks to freeze all assets belonging to President Mubarak and his family. Furthermore, as asserted by VOA, Mubarak was later arrested and tried over the deaths of demonstrators during the 18 days of revolution, and he was sentenced to life in prison (Voice of America, 2012).

Meanwhile, the oppositions which before were united by one desire to bring the government down, after the fall, were assumed to be split into some groups which struggled to get power. It, indeed, also happened in Egypt. After the fall of the Regime of Mubarak, the revolutionists were then splitted into some groups. The revolutionists were fragmented into hundreds number of coalitions, as according to that, by July 2011, there were 180 coalition (Sadek, 2011). This phenomenon reflected the fragmented issue within the youth. Some of them were associated with the religious movements by joining the Freedom and Justice Party which were highly linked with the Moslem Brotherhood and by joining the Nour Party. While, the others attempted to safe guard the aims of revolution by joining non-religious parties or

becoming part of networks to continue engage street politics (Abdalla, 2013). By the fact, the youth was considered to be failed to be generated into one voice as it used to be. They also failed considered to be failed to consolidate the democratization as the fact that after several months after the revolution date, the Egyptian institutions were still in place. The youth ability which was joined by different age groups and inspires by different social classes and ideologies were not clear, yet their direction was also uncertain.

After all, the regime's position within the government was replaced by youth power and passed into the army who believed to be capable to maintain the future of Egypt. This replacement was as the result of mass mobilization of the demonstrators came from all over the country. People believed that the army was capable to bring Egypt to be a more democratic country by arranging the election in the upcoming time. The army and the Egyptian people, indeed, should move to find balance, elected, and legitimate government to make the real reform within government system. Furthermore, these could be achieved by establishing consensus in fundamental principle changes for future political system which has been wanted by the people since long time ago.