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Bachelor Thesis

How Does the EU Promote Democracy in Egypt?

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A European Strategy put to the test

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Acronyms

AA	Association Agreement
ALF	Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures
CSO	Civil society organisation
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSP	Country Strategy Paper
DGAP	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik
EC	European Community
EU	European Union
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
ENPI	European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument
EIB	European Investment Bank
FES	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
HDR	Human Development Report
IGO	Intergovernmental organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KAS	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
MB	Muslim Brotherhood
MEDA	Mésures d'accompagnement financiers et techniques
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MPC	Mediterranean Partner Country
NDP	National Democratic Party (of Egypt)
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NIP	National Indicative Programme
NLI	Neoliberal Institutionalism
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PNA	Palestinian National Authority
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
TACIS	Technical Aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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“Liberal democracy is a plant that grows only slowly under favourable conditions; it needs to be cultivated carefully by those who aim to live under it rather than by who wish it for them”
(Etzioni, 2007: 3)

1. Introduction

The discourse in international relations after World War II has proven democracy to be the most desirable political system in a country since – based on Immanuel Kant’s Democratic Peace Theory – democracies are unlikely to go to war with each other, instead resolving conflicts peacefully (Jünemann, 2009: 152). When describing the international system, we find that the existence of only democracies is far from being established.

In a country like Egypt where people struggle with an authoritarian state, fundamentalist tendencies, poverty, unemployment and a constant growing population, which is the largest in the Arab world, there has been some scientific discussion about the compatibility of this country with democracy or at least with democratic structures.

The advanced globalisation in the last years and the European Integration Process is in fact far from bringing Francis Fukuyama’s proclaimed “End of History” about, but it has eradicated the once perceived distance of problems and conflicts in other countries. Problems and conflicts in neighbouring countries like illegal immigration, organised crime, trafficking of narcotics/drugs or people and terrorism, which are inter alia emerging in the Middle East and North African (MENA) region, now involve all members of the European Union or respective neighbours.

In order to counter these phenomena, the European Union has been and still is trying to fulfil its own entitlement as a civilian power and has set democracy promotion on top of its agenda in the Mediterranean region. With regard to the European integration process and the capability of the EU to foster peaceful coexistence and good inter-state relationships, similar positive effects are hoped for in the southern shore of the Mediterranean.

The Arab Republic of Egypt is still the main Arab partner of Europe in the crucial Arab-Israeli Peace Process (although Saudi Arabia is recently emerging as a new powerful Arabian player); at the same time, Egypt’s Al-Azhar University is the most important institution of Sunni Islam, highly respected by other Arab states.

While there has been a lot of European media coverage and scientific discussion about Turkey and its compatibility towards a EU membership, less attention is paid to the EU’s commitment in the Mediterranean region and the long existing partnerships including other states with Islam as the state religion.

The incorporation of the debate about democracy, rule of law and human rights into Egyptian politics and society, the latter albeit with less visibility, is one of the major successes of the EU-Egypt partnership.

1.1. Methodology

The subject of democracy promotion scientifically falls in the area of international relations. There are many ways to view the political international system; one perspective is the Rational Choice Theory. The promotion of democracy in “un-”democratic neighbouring countries is the result of a utility maximizing actor – the EU – who tries to safeguard its democratic interests in an anarchical system where a hegemonic actor with the power to secure bi-polar structures does not exist anymore.

This thesis is structurally based on Eberhard Sandschneider’s (Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider, *1955, Director of the Otto-Wolff Research Institute of the “Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik” (DGAP), and teaches Politics at Otto-Suhr-Institute for Political Science, Free University Berlin) theory of external democracy promotion. He assumes that there are external influences on transformation processes in countries, which contribute not only to the development but also to the actual outcome.

Success of such processes depends on the stage of transformation in a country receiving assistance and the actual interests of the supporting country, an interconnectedness, which leads Sandschneider to the creating the “Hexagon of Democracy Promotion”. This theory outlines the reciprocal dependence of: direct and indirect international environments, motives/interest, strategies and instruments of donor actors, diversity of actors engaged, stage of transformation of a target country and receivers of assistance (Sandschneider, 2003: 10).

This thesis is comprised of four major parts, beginning with an overview of the definitions of democracy and the concept of its promotion. In order to give an insight about the hitherto findings I will present the state of the art of research on in this subject especially with regards to the Arab Republic of Egypt.

I will then explain what conceptually underlies this Hexagon of Democracy Promotion then transfer it to the European Union’s agenda promoting democratic structures in Egypt.

Special emphasis will be on the EU’s different strategies as an external actor, which are available and determine success either fostering democratic structures, assisting in achieving democracy in Egypt, or contributing to the retention of the status quo, whether intentionally or unintentionally.

To conclude this thesis I will sum up the findings regarding the EU activities and regarding the applicability of Sandschneider’s methodological approach on my analysis. Finally I will give an outlook about possible future developments of democracy promotion as a subject and a brief estimation about the success of democratic reforms in Egypt in the near future.

1.2. Democracy and democracy promotion

Regarding the intensely discussed term of “democracy” I want to move forward from the original meaning of it “dêmos” (Greek: people) and “kratos” (Greek: power), to Robert Dahl’s views and understanding of it:

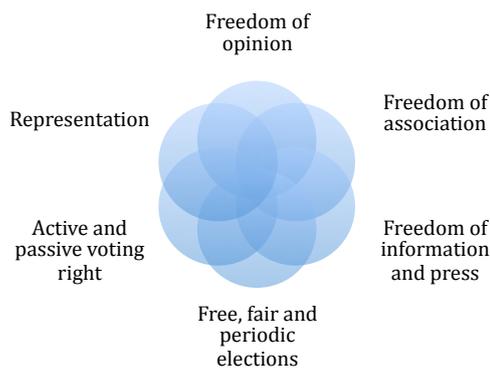
The first transformation of non-democratic city states in Greece occurred during the first half of the 5th century B.C. into democracies with the assembly as the central institution where each citizen could participate. In the 15th century A.D. this idea was transferred on a larger scale – the nation state – when the principle of representation has been established and autonomy became subordinate units of the nation state (Dahl, 1994: 25).

Having arrived in the late 20th century Dahl lists up five criteria for democracy and the democratic process as ideal standards, which would lead to a perfect democracy, something that is far from being reached (Dahl, 1989: 108). Those standards are:

Effective participation, voting equality at the decisive stage, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda and inclusiveness (Dahl, 1989: 109).

Since these criteria and ideal standards are far from being reached and in order to make a differentiation of the institutional complex of modern democracy that is different from assembly democracy he, has coined the term “Polyarchy” meaning “many rule” (Dahl, 1994: 26).

Image 1: Characteristics of Polyarchy



Source: Own illustration (see Dahl, R. A. (1971). “*Polyarchy: participation and opposition*”)

A general one-fits-all approach towards achieving a desired state of democracy in a country does not exist. Hence there have to be country-specific, tailor-made strategies towards the democratisation, a process that can and is influenced mostly by external actors like countries, unions etc. but necessarily depends on the target country’s own agenda and willingness to introduce democratic structures. Although there is a clear normative reasoning behind democracy promotion, the advantages of belonging to the system of international relations where democracies outweigh the disadvantages when refraining from a democratisation agenda. Because democracies contribute to the domestically stability,

positively affect income generation and associated wealth and are likely to resolve external conflicts peacefully, as the Democratic Peace Theory secured (Jünemann, 2009: 152).

Democracy promotion

The promotion of democracy can be defined as: „[...] die Summe aller Versuche externer Akteure [...], die drauf abzielen, in einem angebbaren Zielland Grundmuster politischer Entscheidungsfindung und Ordnung dahingehend zu verändern, daß (sic!) sie mindestens den Minimalkriterien demokratischer Ordnungen entsprechen“ (Sandschneider, 2003: 3), minimum criteria, which are to be understood in the sense of the characteristics of Polyarchy by Robert Dahl (see Image 1).

External actors are “alle individuellen oder kollektiven Akteure, die auf Demokratisierungsprozesse in einem Zielland von einem außerhalb dieses Ziellandes gelegenen Entscheidungszentrum direkt oder indirekt mit Mitteln ihrer Wahl Einfluss zu nehmen versuchen, unbesehen der genauen Wirkung des Einflusses” (Sandschneider, 2003: 3).

2. State of the art of research

2.1. Democracy promotion

Most of the scientific literature on democracy promotion is publicised by actors, which are promoting it. Generally the research interest in democracy promotion is still unbroken after having witnessed a certain kind of boom period during 2002 and 2005 especially due to numerous publications of policy papers and discussion papers by think tanks and research institutes. Thus it is difficult to separate scientific from non-scientific publications, because often researchers work for donor organisations or political “*Stiftungen*” which are involved in democracy promotion (Seebold, 2006: 15). Seebold (2006) describes that there are certain bonds between democracy promotion and developmental aid, especially visible through theoretic reflection about failures of developmental aid, which are often linked to political reasons such as undemocratic states. These thoughts create of course a high research activity thus a solid number of publications.

The subject of international democracy promotion in connection with the knowledge obtained through research on transformation processes is generally characterized as poorly understood (Sandschneider, 2003: 5), although there has been a lot of research activity and discussion in the American literature.

The scientific discourse includes a majority of sceptical views about whether states should be involved in the promotion of democracy or not. The debate can be divided in three main parts: *Internal-external dimension*: When it comes to the consideration which factors are decisive regarding the subject, there is consensus that domestic factors and interest are crucial. This explains the view of researchers that there is little to be done by an external

actor (Schraeder, 2003: 23) especially in a field where domestic sovereignty is very high and external pressure not necessarily welcomed.

It was Laurence Whitehead who most profoundly rejected the assumption that external actors can only exert little influence on a political system because of the vagueness of democracy as compatible in other non-democratic countries. Whitehead describes the idea of democracy as a political contagion, which has spread extensively and unintentionally within a geographical region through spill over effects (Schraeder, 2003: 24).

Normative debate: Schraeder (2003) furthermore stresses that promoting democracy is in fact a normative process, which has to be viewed from the background that the developments of the international system into a world with dissolved boundaries let to cooperation as a necessary instrument. Thus policy-makers perceive this strategy as a normative good, which should be pursued and this perception is warmly welcomed by the emergence of Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs), Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), Quasi-Governmental Organisations, Think Tanks etc.

Producing policy relevant conceptual approaches: Sandschneider (2003) refers to the missing practically oriented approach of social sciences. Instead discussion about various definitions of democracy and how democracy promotion should be best conducted are omnipresent, but the task of linking theory and practice receives less attention (Sandschneider, 2003: 6).

The most important scientists who extensively tried to analyse theoretical basics of this concept and thus give guidance for donor organisations are Larry Diamond and Laurence Whitehead.

Diamond focused in his 1995 case study on new emerging democracies in Eastern Europe and the influence of democracy promotion there. Whitehead focused on Latin America and Eastern Europe as well, explaining that the biggest part of democratic states developed in the early 1990s was connected to external influences and due to democratic developments in neighbouring states, containing a sort of contagion effect (Seebold, 2006: 18).

2.2. Arab Republic of Egypt

Democracy promotion and democracy assistance in Egypt have a long history. Currently the biggest supporters in this area are the USA via USAID, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the European Commission (EC). Strategic approaches roughly focus on trying to influence mindsets and support reforms mainly within the governmental structures or concentrate on building capacities outside of the political establishment (Kausch, 2010: 3).

Research on democracy promotion in Egypt and in the Arab world in general increased especially after the terrorist attacks of September 11 in the US. However there are still few papers that focus on external actors in Egypt, while there is some noteworthy research on

the circumstances in Egypt. Carothers and Ottaway, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a private, non-profit organization dedicated to advancing cooperation between nations, promoting active international engagement by the United States and dedicated to achieving practical results, are active in the analysing developments of democracy in Egypt from the light of US American external democracy promotion. They and some other researchers mostly refer to Egypt's civil society as a partner, assessing that civil society organisations (CSOs) that receive support cannot initiate or achieve regime change (Sebold, 2006: 27).

Thomas Demmelhuber (Professor for Politics and contemporary history of the Near East University Erlangen-Nuremberg) has researched Egyptian politics, its reform agenda, development and democratisation since 2004 and illustrates the European Union's agenda towards assisting the political, economic, and socio-cultural development. His explanations why the EU fails in supporting Egyptian reforms are not to be doubted and while he focuses mainly on internal processes he always takes the external role of the EU into consideration.

3. The Hexagon of Democracy promotion

The theoretical approach to be used, as an explanation of how to think of international relations and world politics, is based on the theory of interdependence developed by Keohane and Nye. It is broadly defined as "situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or among actors in different countries" (Keohane/Nye, 2000: 271)

Driven by the assumptions of the inadequacy of realism, where the focus lies only on high politics (diplomacy and security policy) Keohane and Nye developed the term "complex interdependence", which is used here. It comprises that the relationship between states and societies and processes of political, economic, social and cultural quality is characterised by deep interdependence (Keohane/Nye, 2000: 271). The dominant role of the nation-states (as perceived in a realist view) has shifted towards individuals and groups in the area of non-governmental actors. Multiple channels connecting societies exist and the decrease of the use of military force as a means of power and negotiation, favouring economic forms of interdependence, changed cooperation between states and stabilises the international system (Keohane, Nye, 2000: 21).

The theory of interdependence is rooted in the assumptions of Neoliberal Institutionalism, where cooperation takes place when "the policies actually followed by one government are regarded by its partners as facilitating realizations of their own objectives, as a result of a process of policy coordination." (Keohane, 1984: 51-52).

Thus we can link this observation and the concepts of Neoliberal Institutionalism (NLI) to transformation studies, because the NLI makes cooperation possible; cooperation is certainly necessary for transformation processes when a state pursues a certain development and an

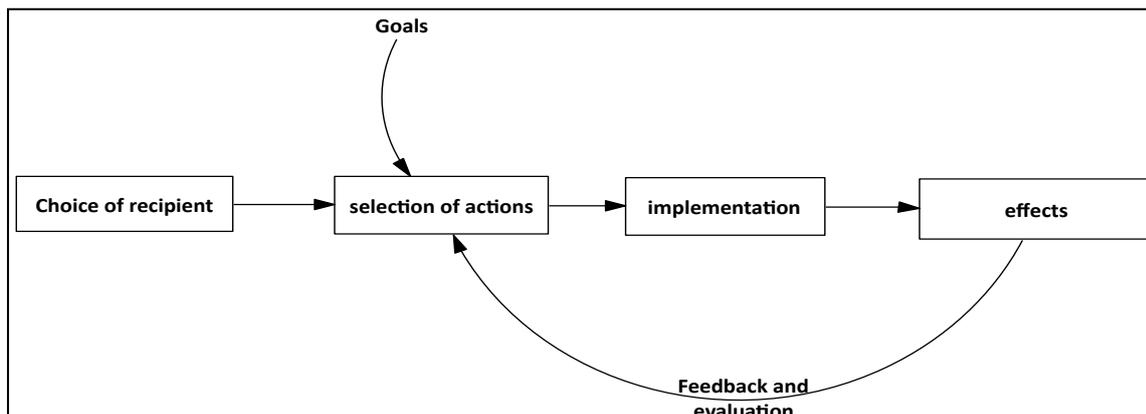
external actor has an interest to guiding this state into a certain desired direction. From a realist perspective cooperation would lead to a global power shift regardless of whether on the level of high or low politics (economic, financial and cultural policies) and furthermore interdependence would lead to war.

Referring back to transformation processes of countries, the third wave of democratisation – as coined by Samuel Huntington – showed that influences with regard to foreign affairs on such process exist and are important regarding the outcomes (Sandschneider, 2003: 2). We can then speak of a process that is not only target-oriented but that fosters the transformation itself.

Cases that showed involvement of the European Community as an external actor were Portugal after the Carnation Revolution in 1974, Spain with the end of dictatorship of Francisco Franco and Greece in the 70s/80s. This led to their accession to the European Community of the latter in 1981 and 1986 Spain and Portugal became members (Huntington, 1991: 14). The upcoming questions about the types of influence can be answered by Sandschneider (2003), who distinguishes between **a)** external influences that aim at creating a positive and stimulating environment for democratisation and **b)** influences, which ought to directly impact a certain democratisation process.

With regards to the definition of an international regime: a set of governing arrangements that affect relationships of interdependence and the latter affected by networks of rules, norms and procedures that regularize behaviour and control its effects (Keohane/Nye, 2000: 17), we can come to the question: how does such a global or regional regime – democratic in nature – deal with nondemocratic states? This highlights that the researcher has to manoeuvre between the poles of the concurrence of internal and external actors (Sandschneider, 2003: 7) and leads to the conceptual question: why does an external actor decide to promote democracy and how?

The below simple image helps theoretically in understanding the problem areas of external democracy promotion and shows the process of setting an agenda towards democracy promotion together with the partner country:



Source: own illustration (see: Sandschneider, 2003: 8)

If an external actor decides to promote democracy in a nondemocratic country he has to recognize it first as a partner, in correlation to its own motives. There will never be a decision by an external actor towards democratisation that this only driven by altruistic reasons and neglects any interests. If a recipient is found and the agenda is compatible with internal/domestic reforms there will be a selection of appropriate actions and measures, aiming at certain goals. Those actions are then implemented and desired effects come into being or not or only partial. Thus feedback and evaluation of the external actor and the internal actor helps to – if necessary – adjust the selection of actions or – in the worst case – lead to a withdrawal of the agenda, something that is unlikely to happen, if once both parties agreed to the promotion of democratic structures.

There are two types of influence, which continue the earlier train of thought of distinguishing between **a)** external influences that aim at creating a positive environment that facilitates democratisation and **b)** influences, which ought to directly impact a certain democratisation process.

It depends mainly *first* on the capability, what actually can be done, and *second* the preferences of all involved actors, meaning the values, interests and goals. Both are necessary to foster the transformation from a current stage to a targeted stage. Thus we can distinguish between facts, what actors *can do*, and preferences, what actors *want to do* (Sandschneider, 2003: 9) The difficulty of influencing facts due to possible evasion strategies of a target country, to deviate from agreements, is the reason why Sandschneider (2003) demands that external actions have to focus on influencing preferences.

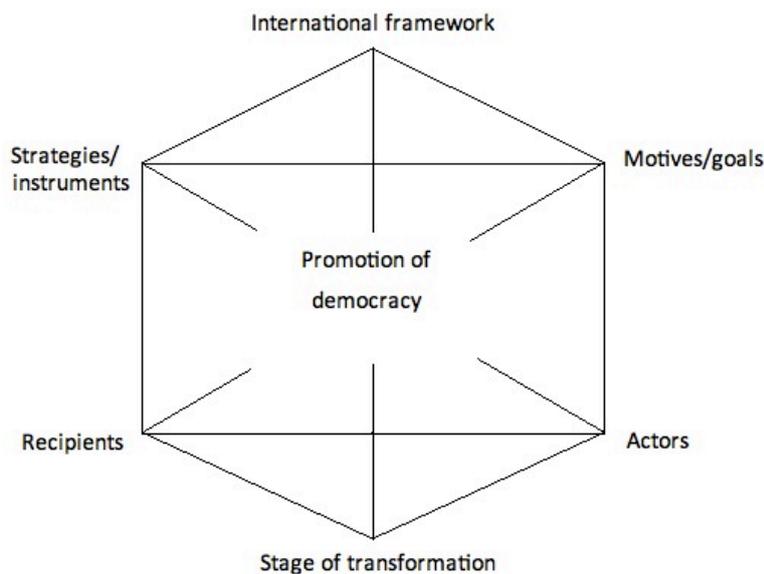
The central problem with analysing the role of external forces when trying to influence democratisation processes is the fact that the concept of democracy promotion is normatively occupied and an object of research, which is hard to narrow down regarding actors, strategies and instruments because of highly interdependent policies making assessment and evaluation difficult (Sandschneider, 2003: 4).

The final overview of factors of influence before stepping further to the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion, in foresight of the following case study about EU external democracy promotion in Egypt, are adopted from Sandschneider (2003), who names four types:

1. Intendierte aktive Einflüsse auf Fakten (Wirtschaftshilfe, Verfassungsberatung)
2. Intendierte aktive Einflüsse auf Präferenzen (Elitenauswahl, Verhandlungen, Verträge)
3. Unintendierte aktive Einflüsse auf Fakten (z.T. Sanktionen, Wirtschafts-Sicherheitsinteressen vs. Demokratisierungsinteressen)
4. Unintendierte passive Einflüsse auf Präferenzen (Modellcharakter, Snowballing)

Based on these types he developed the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion.

Hexagon of Democracy Promotion



(Source: Schaubild3: "Sechseck der Demokratieförderung", Sandschneider, 2003: 10)

These six factors of influence on the edges of the hexagon are interlinked and have an impact on the subject in the centre. Whenever this construct is applied questions arise, which Sandschneider (2003) narrowed down to a very simple one that expresses exactly what should be taken into consideration whenever applying this construct:

"Who supports whom at which time, why and how?"

In the following I will give a short overview about each component of the Hexagon:

Regarding the component "**international framework**" we have to distinguish between direct and indirect patterns of influence. Indirect patterns are those measures, which set general frameworks for special processes such as democratisation. An example is the European Union's decision to make the accession criteria a precondition for every state with the intention to become part of the EU. This is to be considered as a change of the climate in international relations, which gained fortification by the loss of information monopoly of authoritarian systems through worldwide increasing information density. Advantages of democracy and the disadvantages of the own systems have been revealed, which lead to decisions of striking the new paths of democratisation, oriented on role models of successful transformation into democracies, preferably in neighbouring countries, something that Samuel Huntington called "Snowballing" (Sandschneider, 2003: 12), and has been an important aspect for Whitehead as well, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

Direct influences on the other side comprise concrete support measures, which are aimed at building up a functioning democratic system and its institutional basics as well as economic measures helping out of an economic crisis and the installation of civil society structures (Sandschneider, 2003: 14).

The trinity of political measures, economic and those aimed at a country's civil society are the main important direct factors. Economic measures include "Bereitstellung von Beratungskapazitäten und Strukturhilfen bei Privatisierungsproblemen, beim Umbau des Finanzsystems und dem Aufbau neuer Unternehmen" as well as "direkte Unterstützung durch Nahrungsmittel- und Finanzhilfen, die Einräumung von Erleichterungen bei der Erfüllung von Schuldendiensten und nicht zuletzt die indirekte Unterstützung durch Abbau von Handels- und Zollhemmnissen" (Sandschneider, 2003: 14).

Political measures mean: "Beratung beim Aufbau institutioneller Grundlagen eines demokratischen Systems (Wahlsystem, Verfassung, Parteiorganisationen, technische und organisatorische Hilfe beim Aufbau demokratischer Verwaltungsstrukturen), [...] Förderung transnationaler Netzwerke [...], und der Einbindung von Transformationsländern in internationalen Organisationen zur Stärkung demokratischer Prinzipien" (Sandschneider, 2003: 14).

Civil society can be seen as one of a society's pillars: the state, the private sector and the social space – civil society. It is defined as a space where voluntary collective actions are carried out around shared interests, purposes and values. Civil society is to be seen as the foundation on which social capital can be built (HDR Egypt, 2008).

Robert Putnam who has picked up the term "social capital" from the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in the 1990s states, that if a region has a well-functioning economic system and a high level of political integration, these are the results of the region's successful accumulation of social capital (Siisiäinen, 2000). As Sandschneider (2003) correctly cites Diamond when he states that precondition for successful democracy promotion is the governmental support of civil society organisations (CSOs) engaged in democracy promotion is essential to develop, expand and protect a functioning civil society (Sandschneider, 2003: 15).

With regards to information policy the support of democratic structures is executed through the installation of monitoring services and research facilities in order to pursue the goal of creating and establishing an awareness of democracy, which secures a long-term democratic stability (Sandschneider, 2003: 14).

With regards to the component "**motives and goals**" promotion of democracy shall: enhance peaceful interstate behaviour thus contributing to peacekeeping, create and stabilise political systems that can be permanently and politically cooperated with and shall create and sustain market economic structures. Thus make those countries reliable, permanent economic partners (Sandschneider, 2003: 15). We have to further differentiate between motives of external actors and those of transformation countries.

Recourse to the advantages of democracies in the introduction of this thesis, external actors pursue democracy promotion because of reasons that coincide with each other:

First, they spread and secure their political-moral values on the basis of minimal criteria of democracy as earlier defined through Dahl's Polyarchy (see Image 1). Second, democracies are most likely to be threatened by systems that are not democratic, so as to perceive need for action especially with regards to direct neighbouring states. That shows the importance of the regional aspect and possible spillovers of a democratic development. Third, democratic systems have the greater capability in being a peaceful actor in the international system, while dictatorships or authoritarian regimes are more likely rely on use of force. Forth, democratic systems are to be viewed as the more capable in resolving conflicts of any kind than any other type of system (Sandschneider, 2003: 14).

The perspective of transformation countries can be analysed from the cultural-historical perspective or from the modernisation theoretical-systematic view. The former views democracy as a Western-European transatlantic phenomenon, thus hard to transfer on countries from a different cultural circle. The theoretical-systematic view links the emergence of democracies deeply to the success of earlier economic modernisation (Sandschneider, 2003: 21).

Thus Sandschneider (2003) differentiates between democracy by imposition and democracy promotion while favouring the latter with the formula: "Externe Unterstützung von Transformationsprozessen müßte (sic!) demnach im Falle vorangegangenen Modernisierungserfolges Demokratieförderung im engeren politischen Sinne sein und im Fall ausgebliebener ökonomischer Modernisierung wirtschaftliche Entwicklungsförderung sein" (Sandschneider, 2003: 21).

Regarding the component "**external actors**" we can distinguish between international and multilateral organisations (UN, OECD, IMF, World Bank, EU, OSCE), nation states and civil society organisations (CSOs).

International, multilateral and regional organisations can be characterised by their focus on practical approaches towards democratisation through economic modernisation with a strong accent on political conditionality.

Nation states, as they are utility maximizing actors with regards to choice of partner country and means, have similar characteristics besides they have to struggle especially with overlapping of own interests (Sandschneider, 2003: 24).

While there are many different approaches in defining civil society, Sandschneider mainly refers to "non-governmental" foundations, such as the German *Stiftungen* affiliated with the political parties (FES, KAS, etc.) or the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), an American foundation. The specific advantage of those foundations lies especially in their longstanding expertise in the subjects of democracy promotion, human rights and development. Thus they play an important role, when the external actors have reached their

limits due to regarding involvement of foreign governments as interference in domestic affairs (Sandschneider, 2003: 27).

Regarding **stages of transformation** of a country there has been accordance among researchers on transformations in dividing such processes in three phases: liberalization, transition and consolidation phase. Soon the question arises at which stage external support should be exerted that aims at promoting democracy or democratic structures (Sandschneider, 2003: 29). External support from Sandschneider's perspective is important in each of these three phases, although there might be different means and strategies of support.

During the phase of liberalization authoritarian countries are mainly endangered because of the dissolution of political stability, which is parallel a precondition for the introduction of a transformation process. At this point external support should act as a promoter of further liberalisation and democratisation and at the same time absorb negative effects such as the domestically loss of influence and legitimisation of opposition groups due to receiving external support (Sandschneider, 2003: 30).

The far most difficult problem as Sandschneider (2003) refers to Newberg/Carothers (1996) is the choice of recipients, something that already anticipates the next point of the Hexagon of Democracy: it is majorly difficult for external actors to recognise potential partners in the spectrum of established and oppositional elites and shows the dilemma of official foreign policy in intending to change the authoritarian system and fostering governmental support of democracy oriented NGOs related to the opposition (Sandschneider, 2003: 30).

The major task of external support during the second stage, the transition phase, is the protection of the chosen democratic path that can be endangered by possible setbacks like economic decline, national and/or ethnic conflicts, institutional underdevelopment or interstate conflicts.

While the phases of liberalisation and transition have been easy to capture historically, the stage of consolidation is not. As Sandschneider (2003) puts forth "der Beginn der Konsolidierung eines neuen demokratischen Systems wird üblicherweise mit dem Abschluß (sic!) der Verfassungsgebung und der Durchführung erster demokratischer Wahlen (founding elections) angesetzt", but consolidation is in many cases a permanent and continual process.

External supportive actions during this stage are efforts aimed at securing the survival of the new democratic system, securing institutionally procedural basics, increasing the efficiency of a country's political and economical output, achieving pluralistically democratic norms and values (Sandschneider, 2003: 33).

As mentioned above, one of the most central problems that must be resolved when exercising influence on a transformation process is the choice of cooperative

recipients/partners (Sandschneider, 2003: 34), since cooperation is essential, otherwise the mission is doomed to failure.

Estimating potential **recipients'** position of power and their political orientation is a difficult task actors who are engaged in external democracy promotion have to deal with (Sandschneider, 2003: 34). Hence the search for partners is an infinite process, since the group of partners can grow, reduce its size or new unexpected recipients are willing to cooperate on the path of democratisation.

The process of finding the right partners should bear in mind the comprehensible assumptions of Nuscheler, that have been adopted by Sandschneider (2003), which assume that processes like democratisation need a state capable of acting and competent elite of leaders, intelligent political and economical leading groups, creation of human capital and the development of groups which work together on the mission (Sandschneider, 2003: 35).

Strategies and instruments of democracy promotion have to be viewed from the range of interest and the type of external actor that underlie them. Responsible for this connection are geopolitical, economical and security political interests of external actors and targeted countries on the one side and the different objectives of democratisation processes on the other side.

In order to systemise strategies and instruments that affect transformations, one has to be aware of the fact that active influences have reactive consequences, something that is essential to cooperation. This makes it a priority to try calculating and estimating undesired evasion strategies of target countries after having initiated a democratisation process or supported democratic reforms as an external actor.

Further differentiation has to be done regarding the level of influence depending on the type of partner: economical, political or societal actors and depending on the involvement of political decision makers, institutions or the whole society (Sandschneider, 2003: 37).

In order to prevent unintended side effects, which could be problematic regarding the democratisation agenda, it is necessary to pay high attention to historic-cultural country-specific backgrounds. Thus generalisations of strategies are not an option.

Historically there has been a change in measures from sanctions over negative to positive conditionality (Sandschneider, 2003: 38). While sanctions are clear in their meaning, political conditionality in the light of transformation processes means that e.g. domestic reforms that are desired by the supporting external actor, are rewarded with a step forward with regards to the agenda, concretely a deeper economic cooperation, meaning more assistance. While the latter describes positive conditionality, negative conditionality means a halt or cutback of assistance, due to actions that are contrary to an agenda's goals.

4. The European Union's external democracy promotion in Egypt

The previous part of the thesis provided the structural background of the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion. This concept is now transferred to the case of the European Union's agenda promoting democracy as an external actor in the Arab Republic of Egypt, motivated by Sandschneider, who certifies the compatibility of analysing a case study with the analytical framework of the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion (Sandschneider, 2003: 11)

I will analyse each of the six factors in the light of the EU's democratisation agenda in Egypt and assess the compatibility of the theoretical construct with each component, regarding this case.

4.1. International Framework

The commitment of the European Union (EU) in the field of external democracy promotion is majorly based on the agreement to an international norm stating that the promotion of democracy is a necessary and accepted component of a state's behaviour in the international system, a consent that has been embodied in the activities of the United Nations (UN) (Schraeder, 2003: 30). This concept is deeply connected with the simultaneous promotion of Human Rights and the EU uses tools and instruments of traditional diplomacy and foreign policy, such as declarations, demarches, resolutions and interventions within the UN framework to carry out this agenda (European Commission 2007 c).

4.1.1. Indirect influences

Indirect influences aim at changing the settings in favour of a positive climate in international relations. In this case it started with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the EU and Egypt in 1966 after first bilateral trade agreements with Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon between 1957 and 1972 (Masala, 2000: 6).

After the accession of the Southern European countries Greece (1981), Spain and Portugal (1986) the EU had to handle the aspirations of post-communist Eastern European states after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the early 90s finally sealed with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

Negotiations with ten Eastern European countries and their accession perspective brought forth the feeling of Southern European countries sharing a shore with their Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) counterparts, of being exposed to problems like illegal migration, organised crime, trafficking of narcotics/drugs or people and Islamist terrorism in these neighbouring countries, which are perceived to endanger security and stability in Europe (Masala, 2000: 4). Cooperation with those Mediterranean Partner Countries (MPCs) could alleviate the fears and on the other side economic benefits and the perspective of a free trade area when cooperating with the European Union attracted Egypt.

4.1.1.1. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership

As a consequence the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the then 15 EU member states and 14 Mediterranean partner countries (MPCs) launched the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) in 1995 at the Barcelona Conference, in order to manage bilateral and regional relations (http://www.eeas.europa.eu/euromed/barcelona_en.htm). The goals are nothing less than:

- The establishment of a common area of peace and stability underpinned by sustainable development, rule of law, democracy and human rights
- The gradual establishment of a free-trade area aimed at promoting shared economic opportunity through sustainable and balanced socio-economic development
- The promotion of understanding and intercultural dialogue between cultures, religions and people, and facilitating exchanges between civil society and ordinary citizens, particularly women and young people.

Since the accession of Cyprus and Malta to the EU in 2004 the cooperation covers 35 countries, the EU of 25 and the 10 Mediterranean partners (http://eeas.europa.eu/egypt/euro-mediterranean_partnership/index_en.htm).

The EMP is composed of three pillars: **political & security partnership, economic & financial partnership** and **partnership in social, cultural and Human affairs** (Demmelhuber, 2009: 74-78).

After the re-launch in July 2008 as “The Union for the Mediterranean” the partnership now includes EU 27 and 16 partners including Egypt, of course, and aimed at revitalising the partnership.

4.1.1.2. The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP)

Driven by the motives of preventing developments in the geographic neighbourhood of the European Union that negatively effect its security or prosperity and the intent to enlarge its influence in these areas (Marchetti, 2006: 4), the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) was created in 2004 immediately after the EU 25 enlargement.

The mainly bilateral policy’s objective is “avoiding the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and our neighbours and instead strengthening the prosperity, stability and security of all” (http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy_en.htm) and being surrounded by a “ring of friends”. The EU has thus created a new “semi-periphery”¹ that changed the settings for a potential accession of states.

Partner countries of the ENP are offered a privileged relationship, building upon a mutual commitment to common values (democracy and human rights, rule of law, good governance,

¹ Cf. for a discussion of the term “semi-periphery” and its explanation including the finality of European integration see: Andreas Marchetti, “The European Neighbourhood Policy: Foreign Policy at the EU’s periphery” in ZEI Discussion Paper, C158, Bonn 2006.

market economy principles and sustainable development) (http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/policy_en.htm). In the centre of this policy are special country reports as a preface to action plans where the current agenda of EU-Egypt relations are spelled out and the Association Agreement of 2004, which legally bind EU and Egypt.

As Sandschneider (2003) explains that the component “international framework” contains indirect and direct influences, the EU-Egypt Action Plan and the Association Agreement are here both treated as direct influences, although influences in general are in fact interlinked and overlap. These interlinkages are characteristic for the theoretical model of the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion and contain continual problems in applying it to this case study.

4.1.1.3. Global Settings

Besides European framework there have been global indirect influences that produced a change in the climate of international relations. The Arab-Israeli Peace Process took successful steps during the conference of Madrid 1991 and with the Oslo Accords in 1993. This led to a détente of Arab-Israeli relations and while the EMP’s mission never was the enforcement of the peace process, it benefited especially in the run-up to the Barcelona Declaration from the positive climate and the hopeful development of the peace process.

The terrorist attacks of September 11 in 2001 and their aftermath enlarged the perceived gap between the EU and the Mediterranean Partner Countries (MPCs) in terms of socio-economic advancement and the asymmetrical relationships, with the EU as an institutional, political and socio-economical integrated part and the weak regional integration of the MPCs (Harder, 2005: 17). The gap in the perception of this constellation is strengthened and a certain phobia of the Northern Mediterranean countries, which shelter important Muslim minorities, exist (Driss, 2003: 56)

The war in Iraq in 2003 split the EU into two factions with the corresponding reaction of especially Arab partner countries either condemning an involvement (e.g. of the UK) or welcoming the absence (e.g. of France and Germany). The war and the terrorist attacks in 2004 in Madrid and 2005 in London with an assumable Islamist background, while delinquents have not been solved, required to re-install new confidence in Southern Mediterranean countries, not only towards governments but, equally important, towards the peoples of those countries (Laschet, 2004: 37), as well as to resolve resentments in EU countries towards especially Arab peoples.

4.1.2. Direct influences

As direct influences on the other side comprise concrete support measures, which are aimed at building up a functioning democratic system and its institutional basics as well as economic measures helping out of an economic crisis and during the consolidation phase the

installation of civil society structures, I will focus on two official documents that govern bilateral relations between the EU and Egypt.

4.1.2.1. EU-Egypt Association Agreement

The EU-Egypt Association Agreement entered into force in July 2004 and is the legal basis for the relations between the European Union and Egypt in the framework of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP). The agreement contains free trade arrangements for industrial goods, concessionary arrangements for trade in agricultural products, and opens up the prospect for greater liberalisation of trade in services, and farm goods. It replaces the earlier Co-operation Agreement of 1977. The incorporation of the UN principles – especially observance of human rights, democratic principles and economic freedom – have a great importance, as this part is set in the preamble of the agreement (European Commission 2004a).

Regular political dialogue at ministerial and senior official levels, and at parliamentary level through contacts between the European Parliament and the Parliament of Egypt are the major level where cooperation is practically performed. Emphasis is placed on peace, security and regional co-operation and on the need to contribute to the stability and prosperity of the Mediterranean region, to promote understanding and tolerance. Furthermore the agreement includes provisions on freedom of establishment and liberalisation of services, free movement of capital, competition rules, the strengthening of economic co-operation on the widest possible basis and the co-operation on social matters, supplemented by cultural co-operation (European Commission 2004a).

This wide catalogue reflects the three-pillar structure of the EMP.

4.1.2.2. EU-Egypt Action Plan

The EU-Egypt Action Plan is in fact an additive to EU-Egypt relations in the sense that its implementation will help to fulfil the provisions and aims set in the Association Agreement (AA) and the then established Barcelona Declaration. With the Action Plan both signatories express their commitment to deepen political, economic and social relations developed under the EMP and the AA and is a result of the European enlargement and the need to cope with changed political, economic and geographical settings in the EU and the Egyptian track of pursuing intensified integration in the global economy through deeper relations with one of its most important partners – the EU (European Commission, 2007a). Objectives of this Action Plan are joint ownership, common interest, reciprocal commitments, differentiation, shared values, and implementation of national plans and reform programmes, while the goal is in particular to establish an area of peace and stability including the prevention and settlement of conflicts in the region and to reinvigorate regional and sub-regional cooperation (European Commission 2007a).

The attributes of such direct influences on democratisation processes as set by Sandschneider (2003) are: economic supportive measures, political support, improvement of information policy and assistance in establishing a functioning civil society. Those points are reflected in the “Priorities for Action” in the Action Plan, just to name a few points that represent the above attributes: “improving macroeconomic governance [...], proceed in reforming the tax system”, “enhance political dialogue and cooperation”, “enhance the effectiveness of institutions entrusted with strengthening democracy and the rule of law”, “promote cooperation in the area of science and technology” and “strengthen links and co-operation in “people-to-people” contacts in youth and sports, culture and audiovisual areas and civil society” (European Commission 2007a).

From the Egyptian side the implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) through the Action Plan was seen as a proof of long lasting ties between the European Union and Egypt as well as another starting point for a long-term cooperation. Gamal Bayoumi, former chief negotiator on the Egyptian side of the partnership, foreshadowed on the other side the limits of the Action Plan and the EU insofar as he characterises the EU as a “political dwarf” but an “economical giant” that never managed to impose its political will on any partner state (“A closer neighbourhood”, 2007). This gives an early indication about the position of the Egyptian government towards subjects like democratisation, which will be focused on later in this thesis.

Assessing the compatibility of the factor of the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion “international framework” with the case study Egypt, the separation of indirect and direct influences on transformation process is not easy to follow strictly. But Sandschneider (2003) in any case never stresses the necessity of doing so, on the contrary pointing to the assumption that processes are simultaneously influenced, directly and indirectly.

4.2. Motives and goals

Motives behind the European Union’s agenda to promote democracy in the framework of the EMP and the ENP match the three reasons why an external actor follows this path as put forth by Sandschneider and explained in part three of this thesis (enhance peaceful interstate behaviour, thus contributing to peacekeeping; create and stabilise political systems that can be permanently and politically cooperated with; and create and sustain market economic structures, thus make those countries reliable, permanent economic partners).

The European Union has fixed the normative goal of democratisation in all of the three pillars of the EMP (Jünemann/APuZ, 2005:7). But as Jünemann (2005) correctly refers to the EU’s intention to establish a Mediterranean region that should develop into a regional security community, which is characterized that war as a means of contention is ruled out (Jünemann, Schörnig 2002: 6), this shows an overlap of interests.

Masala's (2000) review on the EMP, its history, structures and process, conforms to the points that Sandschneider highlighted as determinant for democracy promotion. Former trade agreements and the establishment of the EMP provided the EU with the institutional framework enabling them to promote and secure its political and moral values in other non-democratic states, thus reducing the likelihood of threats to occur that endanger the liberal democratic system. If democracy promotion is actively followed, the sudden transformation into a democracy is of course unlikely to happen, since it is a complex process, but the debate about advantages of democracy is clearly initiated.

The concept of the EU as a civilian power cannot be doubted and has to be respected by every partner that cooperates. As scholars agree with Czempiel who states that there is a correlation between the type of governmental system and its affinity to practice of violence: "Diktatorial/autoritär verfasste Herrschaftssysteme bevorzugen die Gewaltanwendung im internationalen System, sind jedenfalls dazu disponiert. Demokratisch verfaßte (sic!) Herrschaftssysteme lehnen sie ab, akzeptieren sie nur im Verteidigungsfall." (Sandschneider, 2003: 18).

Furthermore are democratic systems perceived of being more capable of resolving challenging conflicts like trafficking of narcotics, proliferation or environmental pollution. But as Sandschneider already remarked that this ability can be highly doubted because of a lack of provable examples with democracies acting in that ideal manner. Amartya Sen concludes as well when stating, "no substantial famine has occurred in a country with a democratic form of government and a relatively free press." (Sandschneider, 2003: 19).

Nevertheless there is certain coherence between the motives named by Sandschneider and the actual motives of the EU with regards to the agenda in Egypt. Peaceful relations between the EU and Egypt exist for a long time, durable and reliable cooperation is sustained – although the system of Egypt is far from being as democratic as the European Union's – and finally Egypt is a reliable and permanent economic partner of the EU and the development of a market economy has been initiated. Thus the Arab Republic of Egypt does neither threatens European security nor endangers peace in general and the observable facts match the reasons as described by Sandschneider why an external actor promotes democracy in a non-democratic country.

The EU only fears certain phenomena in Egypt like illegal migration, trafficking of narcotics, Islamist fundamentalist tendencies, etc. But in fact that does not mean that European motives and goals behind democracy promotion do not fit the systemisation as set by Sandschneider (2003). On the contrary the EU does support and promote democracy in Egypt from the light of these motives, although it overemphasizes some of them, like the stability and security in the EU. More explanations will be provided in part 4.6.

The perspective of a partnering country and its motives to be open for and adopt democracy through domestic reforms according to Sandschneider (2003) majorly depends on how to apply two lines of reasoning: from a cultural-historical perspective democracy by imposition is based on the assumption that this system mode is a specific European-Transatlantic phenomenon and difficult to transfer on countries from a different cultural circle. The modernising-systematic view is more suitable in the case of Egypt and means that democracies could develop as a consequence of successful economic modernisation (Sandschneider, 2003: 21).

The EU has never followed the track of imposing democracy in Egypt as well as in any other country, because it is difficult to communicate.

The debate about the compatibility of democracy and Islam – something that falls in the scope of the cultural-historical line of reasoning – will not be discussed here, due to the focused range of this thesis. Such a discussion deserves more attention and details that are possible to refer to here.

Since the government of Egypt intensely aims at extinguishing all radical Islamic forces that endanger the country's stability, there will be reference to the actors of political Islam in the following parts of this thesis.

Although the line of reasoning as put forth by Sandschneider (2003) to pursue modernisation first which has later democratisation effects as a sort of "spill-overs" might be correct, it does not illustrate adequately why Egypt (or an internal actor in general) should domestically follow the strategy of democratisation.

Restructuring of the political system does always involve a certain kind of instability. When the governmental regime has to be restructured, new political elites can emerge and have to coordinate the agenda together with existing elites and the often deep connections between an economic elite and the government, can erupt. Thus the possible once successful established economic liberalisation has to oppose a temporal instability.

Sandschneider's explanations are of course difficult to transfer to the case of Egypt because the concept of external democracy promotion per definitionem does not explicitly deal with targeted countries, since they are internal actors.

Recourse to the part of international relations and the theory of interdependence when introducing the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion, it is clear that a country whether authoritarian, semi-pluralistic or democratic has to bear in mind that every domestically actions, reforms, etc. have an effect on the international system, on neighbouring countries, involvement in peace processes, global economy etc.

If there are external actors that have an interest in promoting democracy, it is in a country's own interest to try to stabilise a current stage of readjustment, since Sandschneider (2003) also remarked earlier, that "Nationalstaaten suchen die Entstehung und Stabilisierung von

ähnlichen oder gleichen Systemtypen zu fördern in der Erwartung, bessere Kooperationsergebnisse mit gleichartigen politischen Systemen erzielen zu können“ (Sandschneider, 2003: 3).

4.3. Actors

4.3.1. European Union

As Sandschneider (2003) names international, multilateral and regional organisations, nation states and civil society organisations (CSOs) as actors, I will focus on the European Union as a strong influential regional organisation, although the UN, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, etc. are active in the field of democracy promotion and assistance in Egypt as well. That shows the variety of external actors, which are involved with the subject on different levels and thus affirms Sandschneider's declaration that a diversity of supporters helps in avoiding uniform concepts of democracy promotion, instead fostering competition, at the expense of coordination, as he admits (Sandschneider, 2003: 23)

The EU is now composed of 27 member countries and pursues this agenda while aiming at economic foundation of the democratisation process (Sandschneider, 2003: 23).

There is a strong focus on political conditionality that underlies the agenda and that is typical for those actors, but it lacks the necessary use of this tool, as explained in part 4.6.

4.3.2. Nation States

Besides the EU as a regional organisation nation states involved with democracy promotion. Since the EU is not a federal entity that speaks with one voice but is comprised of nation states, which in part follow an own strategy, nation states are egoistic utility-maximising actors based on the motives as referred to in the previous part insofar that they choose the target country, the recipients/partners and the measures to be used (Sandschneider, 2003: 24).

The most active nation states in Egypt are the USA – mainly through USAID - Netherlands, Sweden (SIDA), the UK, Canada (CIDA) and Finland, just to name a few in terms of volume (Kausch, 2010: 3).

4.3.3. Civil Society Organisations (CSOs)

Civil society organisations (CSOs) as purely external actors are defined by being formally independent and organised under private law, but at the same time financially dependent on the government and thus as a mere agent of a state (Sandschneider, 2003: 26).

There are of course more definitions what to think of CSOs, but in the sense as Sandschneider sees them there can be agreement over the fact that they are advantaged whenever it comes to supporting regime-critical actors such as human rights groups, labour unions or opposition parties (Sandschneider, 2003: 27). Since governmental interference in

such subjects is very often viewed with criticism especially from the government, CSOs offer a good way to exert influence on the democratisation process without being too pressuring but still following the agenda of democracy promotion.

One remarkable European institution that falls under the definition of a civil society organisation in a broader view is the Anna Lindh Foundation (ALF) in Alexandria, Egypt. It was founded by the 25 Member States of the European Union and their ten Mediterranean partners as an instrument of the Barcelona Process and with the general objective of developing partnership in social, cultural and human affairs, and, in particular, for developing human resources, promoting understanding between cultures and exchanges between civil societies (<http://www.euromedalex.org/about>). Egypt hosts this foundation, what shows the great regional importance of this country as well as its role in the framework of the EMP.

Sandschneider's approach does not discuss the importance and relevance of local NGOs (which correctly do not fall under the definition of an external, instead they are internal actors), which are often grass-rooted and have an extensive local knowledge. Especially in the case of Egypt there are a large number of NGOs some of them well established with ties to external actors and supporters of their cause and democratisation processes. Through funding and supporting, they transfer in somehow their agenda of democracy promotion on those NGOs/CSOs. Thus they contribute indirectly to the democratisation process through their projects. Sandschneider (2003) underemphasises – in fact does not mention – the importance and the interdependency of internal actors like local CSOs and external actors. Although I agree that, these ties and linkages are not “directly” part of the theoretical construct that underlies the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion, reference to these connections could have been expected, because his exhaustive approach of pointing to different indirect and direct influences, which have been explained in this thesis as well, should have covered this aspect.

4.4. Stage of transformation in Egypt

This fourth factor of the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion as developed by Sandschneider (2003) will be contested insofar that he limits the application of the concept of external democracy promotion on those countries that have already started the transformation cycle and more important have progressed to the consolidation phase, thus ruling out all other third world countries (or developing countries – at this point I will not refer to the complexity of development politics and the variety of debated terms).

Thus he states in accordance to Huntington's “Third wave of democratisation” that: „Erkenntnisgegenstand der vorliegenden Studie ausschließlich die Transformationssysteme der Dritten Welle und nicht potentielle Transformationskandidaten in der Dritten Welt sind“ (Sandschneider, 2003: 4).

He points out that democracy promotion as an external variable can only yield success if there is control over intrastate-restructuring through e.g. an occupying power or if the minimal preconditions for the development of democratic structures exist. Indeed it is difficult to follow the transition paradigm of the three stages opening/liberalisation, transition, consolidation, which characterise the transformation of a state from a dictatorial/authoritarian into a democratic, as utilised by Sandschneider.

Certainly Egypt is not one of the countries to be considered as having passed the third wave of democratisation. Thus it is difficult to classify the current stage of transformation in Egypt following this three-part process of democratisation.

The Arab Republic of Egypt as a country between tradition and modernity has experienced a lot of major reforms in the sectors of economy, politics and society while still suffering from a high poverty rate (21.6 %) and a high unemployment rate (8.9 %) with 90% of the unemployed younger than 30 years (Egypt HDR, 2010). The once initiated economical liberalization under Anwar al-Sadat has been continued by President Mohammed Hosni Mubarak albeit with less speed while the liberalization of the political system is not as advanced.

There are many democratic deficits in Egypt making it impossible to describe in the range of this thesis. Thus I want to focus on the most severe shortcomings, although bearing in mind that this is based on a personal assessment and not claiming to be exhaustive.

Since the assassination of Sadat during the commemoration of the October War with Israel in 1981, the state of emergency has been declared by his successor Mubarak, which enables the government to impose restrictions on the freedoms of assembly and association, move or residence, the power to arrest and detain suspects or those deemed a threat to the government, and the power to search individuals and places without the need to follow the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, just to list a few (<http://www.fidh.org/THE-EMERGENCY-LAW-IN-EGYPT>). In fact it restricts the provisions of the Egyptian Constitution on political and civil liberties and has again been renewed in May 2010 for two years.

Besides emergency law, elections have been taken place in the shadow of fraud, manipulation and suppression of opposition candidates on all levels of government.

Egypt is not an electoral democracy, instead designed to secure solid majorities for the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP). Before and during elections attacks on opposition voters by security forces and pro-government thugs emerge aimed at pure intimidation of them, which leads to low voter turnout (http://www.freedomhouse.org/inc/content/pubs/fiw/inc_country_detail.cfm?year=2010&country=7816&pf). In this year's edition of the annual "Freedom in the World", a survey by the Freedom House, which assesses on a comparatively basis political rights and civil liberties in 193 countries and 15 related territories, Egypt was given the status "not free". The press and

media are dominated by the state and any private publication body is neatly monitored prohibiting any critical voices against the president, the government or Islam. Foreign and Egyptian publications abroad have to deal with government censorship.

(http://www.freedomhouse.org/inc/content/pubs/fiw/inc_country_detail.cfm?year=2010&country=7816&pf).

The government's efforts to counter women's discrimination has taken a successful step through reforms passed in 2009 guaranteeing 64 seats of 514 for women in the People's Assembly (Majlis al-Sha'b), while women's discrimination in general and discrimination of minorities, such as the Coptic Orthodox Christians is prevalent.

The stage of liberalisation according to Sandschneider (2003) includes a breakdown that is characterised by an eruption of political stability as a precondition for a successful initiation of a transformation process. Parallel there is loss of accountability, which leads to the collapse of the ancien régime (Sandschneider, 2003: 29).

In Egypt neither the death of president Gamal abd-Al Nasser in 1970 nor the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat in 1981 has led to the dissolution of power structures, regime structures or initiated a clear transformation process. The governing structures remained intact, while as mentioned before economic liberalisation as one characteristic of transformation processes was initiated under the so called "infatih-policy" (Arabic: open-door policy) during Sadat's presidency. In fact the Egyptian reform process has the only goal of guaranteeing the continuity of the political system.

At this part the transfer of the factor "stage of transformation" of the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion, meaning the development of democratisation during different phases of transformation, on the case of the EU as an external democracy promoter in Egypt, can hardly be done. The three-part process of democratisation containing the stage of liberalisation, transition and consolidation, something that according to Sandschneider became naturalised whenever analysing transformation processes, has evolved following the historical trend of democratisation processes. But to view the case just under historical aspects and draw conclusions based on this analytical pattern would lack reflection of this concept. It could be possible trying to coercively view the historical changes in Egypt after the independence from the UK from this three-part process perspective, but this would not help understanding the country-specific conditions and neither would the EU strategy in promoting democracy according to a certain stage of transformation be comprehensively understood.

Thomas Carothers², vice president for studies at the renowned Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, breaks up this three-fold transition paradigm when declaring: instead from the nearly 100 countries considered as “transitional”, viewed from the three-part transition paradigm, relatively small number—probably fewer than 20—are clearly on the path of becoming successful, well-functioning democracies or at least have made some democratic progress and still enjoy a positive dynamic of democratisation (Carothers, 2002: 9).

Recourse to the case of Egypt, Langohr (2004) makes a point when she – based on Carothers’ declaration – reminds that the role of Arab liberalisations have to be rethought, because the discussion about the waves of democratisation, a construct that is majorly important for Sandschneider as well, single out the Arab world as unreceptive to democratisation (Langohr, 2004: 181). This line of reasoning would disregard, that several Arab regimes were engaged in serious liberalisation just like Eastern European, African or Asian counterparts during the 1990s. Langohr (2004) further declares, “that their efforts did not lead to meaningful democratization (sic!) does not make the Arab world a democratic outlier” (Langohr, 2004: 181). From the Arab perspective of liberalisation we can state that the rise of advocacy nongovernmental organisations became an important factor regarding opposition to authoritarianism, proliferation of human rights, women’s and environmental groups while opposition parties became marginalised (Langohr, 2004: 182). That accounts for Egypt’s liberalisation as well, a country that has one of the longest histories in the Arab world of formally organised voluntary associational activity. Civil society in Egypt date from the 19th century and it has the longest period of liberalisation (Demmelhuber, 2009: 251). After being suppressed by authoritarian rule in the 1950s and 60s it became active again in the 1970s with the end of single party rule with the creation of few opposition parties, ten years earlier than any other liberalising Arab state (Langohr, 2004: 186). The implementation of an IMF structural adjustment program started in the 80s and state-owned enterprises were partly or entirely privatised, which lead to rise of unemployment rate and depressed living standards (Langohr, 2004: 186).

In order to conclude the factor “stage of transformation” of the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion, the case of Egypt shows how difficult it is to transfer such a theoretical construct on a single case as well as the transition paradigm, which underlies Sandschneider’s line of reasoning, although it is not completely wrong but maybe out-dated. Its application is difficult and shows the necessity of rethinking whenever trying to give practical guidance to external actors involved in democracy promotion.

² Cf. for a detailed analysis of countries in the “Grey Zone” and the classification into “feckless pluralism”-countries and “dominant-power” countries, an approach that fits the case of Egypt much better than the three-part transition paradigm, which underlies Sandschneider’s approach, see: Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm” in *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 13, Number 1, January 2002.

4.5. Recipients

Since there is general agreement over the difficulty in identifying potential partners who are receptive for democracy promotion, the case of Egypt shows similar obstacles, when transferring the theoretical model of Sandschneider on this case. The reason behind this complexity is the goal of influencing potential partners in a process where they exclusively hold the last sovereignty. Thus it is majorly important to share the goal of establishing a successful functioning democratic system (Sandschneider, 2003: 34).

He regards elites, whether political, social or economical in type, as the major partners, while at the same time admitting that the analysis of their actual power and their political attitude is crucial regarding the proceeding. The importance of elites in the process of external democracy promotion is furthermore stressed, because democracies are unlikely to be institutionalised and later stabilised without being rooted in a country's elite, while old power elites could hinder the democratic restructuring (Sandschneider, 2003: 35).

Against the background of the dependency of the factor "recipients/partners" from the transition paradigm, the question of "Who are the recipients of European democracy promotion in Egypt" arises. The EU indeed promotes democracy in Egypt through partnering with elites – mainly those, which are described as "old power elites" by Sandschneider and which – in his original explanation – hinder the process. The analysis of this factor of the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion regarding the case of Egypt is, as expected, difficult, because of the difficult classification of the stage of transformation in Egypt, while the three-part scheme reaches its limits here.

What can be affirmed is the fact that composition of recipients, which are willing to cooperate in the European agenda, can change and regarding the development in Egypt has changed. Nevertheless the EU prefers partnering with those groups, which are loyal to the governing regime and other potential partners are not included.

While Sandschneider (2003) emphasises the importance of external actors of democracy promotion to be flexible in the selection of partners and recipients, according to the latest changes in the transformation process, Demmelhuber (2009) detects a certain lack of variability that characterises the EU's selection, when not including Egyptian religiously motivated civil society actors for example (Demmelhuber, 2009: 278).

The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (MB) is the best-organised oppositional organisation with the strongest socio-political support (Demmelhuber, 2009: 136) and ties to religious-motivated CSOs. Due to ambivalent declarations of the MB on speaking out in favour of a democratic state, it is often accused of having harboured antidemocratic inclinations because of some within its leadership have the conception of Shari'a, the sacred law of Islam, which should be the primary legislation in, a view, many Egyptians consider to be undemocratic (Hamzawy/Brown, 2010: 8).

Sandschneider (2003) states that it is one of the most difficult tasks of external actors to estimate the potential recipients' position of power and their exact political attitude before distributing supportive measures. Transferred to the case of Egypt this is insofar correct, that the EU has not supported or cooperated with those groups in the agenda of democracy promotion that do not have a clear political attitude that favours democracy. The Muslim Brotherhood is perhaps the best example. This does as well explain why the EU refrains from cooperating with religious-motivated CSOs and charity organisations, which are very popular in Egypt (Demmelhuber, 2009: 278), because the EU cannot rely on avowals, which are not totally democratic.

Sandschneider's argument to favour indirect strategies whenever supporting democracy-oriented elites as potential partners can be conceptually affirmed but the case of Egypt shows, that the EU partners with those who have been long established and what Sandschneider calls "alte Machteliten" (Sandschneider, 2003: 35), thus in his perception contributing to the hindrance of democratic process. Regarding this component the theoretical construct helps to illustrate shortcomings of the EU's agenda in Egypt especially visible through the mentioned cooperation with old political elites, although Sandschneider (2003) states that especially those parts, willing to reform and oppositional elites are important partners. But the latter is quasi non-existent in Egypt, explaining partially the EU's behaviour.

4.6. Strategies and Instruments

Sandschneider (2003) assumes basic elements that need to be considered when analysing strategies and instruments of external democracy promotion. First we can distinguish two influences on transformation processes. On the one hand there are differences in strategies depending on geographical positions of a country, its economic relations and security-political interests between the promoter and the target country and on the other hand there are different objectives about democratisation processes (Sandschneider, 2003: 37).

In the case of Egypt and the EU, we definitely can find different interests of the partners as Egypt mainly uses the economic and financial support fostering liberalisation. Egypt has found a reliable partner in its security-political interests, especially regarding the current stage of the Arab-Israeli Peace Process and the EU's ambition to strengthen Egypt's positions in the Arab world, something that has been contested in the last years especially by the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The European Union here should be treated in this case as one actor, although the interests of Mediterranean EU member states may differ from EU states like Germany, the UK or the Benelux countries and the southern Mediterranean countries like Spain, Portugal, Italy in terms of the EMP/ENP as they are on the opposite shore of the MPCs, thus immediately exposed to the earlier mentioned perceived threats like illegal migration and trafficking of narcotics.

Furthermore do the European Union strategies differ from other countries' strategies like the USA, since the EU is not the only partner of Egypt with democracy promotion on its agenda. The difference between the US' and the EU's objectives of democracy promotion is especially the approach these countries follow. Laurence Whitehead, an expert in international aspects of democratisation and the relationships between democratisation and economic liberalisation, notes, "European definitions of 'democracy' seem to give more stress to social and economic participation, whereas Americans give almost exclusive emphasis to the electoral aspect" (Whitehead, 1986: 17). The Obama administration has in the light of the upcoming parliamentary elections in Egypt on November 28, 2010 requested to allow international monitors to ensure legitimate elections showing the importance of the electoral aspect as an indicator of Egypt's democratic process is for the US (Hamzawy/Dunne, Limits of Competition, 2010).

Sandschneider (2003) further systematises three aspects, which can characterise a strategy of promoting democracy in a country and which have been mentioned in part 3 of this thesis. The first aspect, that active attempts to exert influence have reactive consequences, can be found in the strict limitation of EU's actions by the Egyptian government, that views any attempts by the EU pressuring the reform agenda towards greater sustainable democratisation or cutbacks of support due to e.g. human rights violations/infringements of government bodies/executive, restriction of political and civil rights, as interference in domestic affairs, although it is a possible strategy fostered by the conditionality rationale in the framework of the EMP and ENP.

The Foreign Minister of Egypt Ahmed Abul-Gheit shows how Egypt regards the European agenda of democracy promotion especially after the new policy initiative, the ENP:

"Arab states succeeded in convincing the European partner of the Arab vision regarding the issue of reform and the Arab states' rejection of any external attempts to interfere in their domestic affairs. The reform process will take place in Arab states in a way that suits each country's historical, cultural and social context" ("Ten years on", 2005).

One could think that the strategy of the external partner that promotes the concept of democracy is the one who sets the pace, since it offers another country benefits while benefiting itself from the development of the targeted country into a state with a similar political system. In the case of Egypt it seems to be vice versa. In fact Egyptian reactions were very reserved after the EU's decision to set up a "ring of friends" through trying to associate new neighbours, offering them deeper cooperation and upgrading of relationships. Through the ENP the EU has created a new initiative, which caused only little comprehension, because of the ratification of the Association Agreement with Egypt two and a half years earlier under the EMP banner (Demmelhuber, 2007: 10). The positive conditionality rationale included in the ENP made the government of Egypt react in a certain

cautious way, that coincides with the only minor enthusiasm for the political reform agenda set forth by the EU (Demmelhuber, 2007: 14).

While Sandschneider (2003) declares that any strategy of democracy promotion has to take into account desirable but especially undesirable defence responses, one cannot accuse the EU of not considering this when it set up the EMP or the EU-Egypt Action Plan under the ENP. Rather it seems to have definitely underestimated the Egyptian capability of resistance of political liberalisation, although the government of Egypt generally does not reject the EU's agenda.

This leads to the second aspect of Sandschneider (2003), the question about the level of influence and where measures should be directed.

The three-pillar structure of the EMP covers the political and security-political, the economic and financial and the social and cultural partnership and includes both policymakers and institutions. Since it is hard to include a whole population in measures of influence Sandschneider goes beyond the possible, but as the EU's approach in Egypt is to achieve democratisation as a spill over effect of economic liberalisation the line of reasoning can be understood.

The third aspect of the difficulty of unintended side effects of democratisation measures can be easily transferred to the case of Egypt and illustrates the European Union's inability of preventing Egypt's successfully achieved tremendous reforms and privatisation in the economy without its liberalisation and especially without the simultaneous political liberalisation, as reform policies were initiated that did not threaten the status quo (Demmelhuber, 2007: 15). What Sandschneider could have meant when speaking about unintended side effect is the often-debated coherence of democratic reforms that could empower "undemocratic tendencies" thus endangering a country's (or even a region's) stability.

Democratisation processes can indeed only stabilise a country on a long-term while for indeterminate time they affect the opposite. During stages of transformation radical parties can seize power through democratic processes as happened in 2006 in the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) with the success of Hamas or the civil war in Algeria in 1991 (Jünemann, 2009: 164). This is one of the reasons why the EU refrains from supporting organisation like the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), whose political orientation is characterised by many scholars as majorly democratic, but there is no clear manifesto of the organisation. Besides the government of Egypt banned the MB and uses its powers assigned through the state of emergency to move in on them. Therefore the EU refrains from "interfering" in such Egyptian affairs.

The shift from sanctions, over negative conditionality to positive conditionality, as described by Sandschneider, can be found in the case of Egypt with regards of the rationale put forth in

the ENP EU-Egypt Action Plan, as the negative conditionality rationale was transformed into a positive.

Before transferring the range of instruments possible to the case of Egypt, Sandschneider (2003) discusses the worth of catalogues listing general measures to be considered whenever developing strategies of external democracy promotion. He is right in criticising the normative character of those catalogues, which do make sense but lack country-specific backgrounds, cultural-historic aspects, etc. In fact such catalogues lack the necessary degree of differentiation (Sandschneider, 2003: 40). Furthermore the development of European Mediterranean politics with the emergence of country-specific association agreements and action plans show the difficulties in trying to generalise over cases, something that has been as well problematic in the application of the theoretical concept “The Hexagon of Democracy Promotion” on the case in this thesis.

Sandschneider (2003) in the following distinguishes between array of instruments and measures and starts with emergency aid in order to reduce economic shortcomings. He connects those with the breakdown of the old political and economical structures, something that cannot be transferred to the case of Egypt, because there was no event or stage that caused such a breakdown, because the initiated reform process in Egypt has provided for a certain continuity that made emergency aid unnecessary.

The second and third aspect (financial and structural aid, and external legal advice) as he notes can be merged together since the EU’s approach is fostering economic liberalisation that initiates democratisation as some kind of spill over. He speaks of financial and structural aid aimed at the creation of a market economy and counselling services aimed at the institutional set-up of democratic system structure (Sandschneider, 2003: 40). While the former assists in tapping new international financial resources (like the IWF, the World Bank, nation states or private investors) and the incorporation of external guidance in internal decision making processes, the latter lists six concrete aspects: Development of human resources, restructuring and privatisation of state-owned enterprises, support of private enterprises, extension of market-based structures, improvement of infrastructure, especially extension of transportation, information technologies and the energy sector, increase of the efficiency in production and sales in agriculture, improvement of administrative and social system, construction and extension of environmental protection (Sandschneider, 2003: 41).

4.6.1. ENPI/MEDA

The currently most important instrument of the European Union in its cooperation with Mediterranean Partner Countries under the umbrella of the EMP and the ENP is the “European Neighbourhood Partnership Instrument”, short ENPI, which is the financial framework. It merged the former “Mésures d’accompagnement financiers et techniques” (MEDA) and the “Technical Aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States” (TACIS).

The MEDA programme is divided in MEDA I and MEDA II and was especially important for the MPCs while TACIS regulated Eastern European partner countries. MEDA I with a total amount of € 3.42 billion (plus line of credit by EIB with total amount of € 4.8 billion) was the funding program running from 1996-2000 and the main goals were in accordance to those in the Barcelona-Declaration the bilateral support of economic structural adjustment from a centralised often socialist economic system to a market-based economy, reinforcement of socio-economic balance, reinforcement of intra-regional integration and the implementation of the targeted free-trade-area (Demmelhuber, 2009: 72). MEDA II running from 2000-2006 with a total amount of € 5.35 billion (plus line of credit by EIB with total amount of € 7.4 billion) added another variable to the MEDA I's goals: "the improvement of the conditions of the underprivileged" (Journal of European Communities, 2000: 7) and thus stressed the original intention to absorb the socio-economic effects of the economic restructuring (Demmelhuber, 2009: 73).

When analysing the conception of the ENPI and its vision, we can see coherence with the six aspects mentioned above, that Sandschneider describes as essential. The three strategic objectives of ENPI are: supporting democratic transition and promoting human rights; the transition towards the market economy and the promotion of sustainable development; and policies of common interests (antiterrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, conflict resolution, the rule of international law, etc.) (http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/neighbourhood/overview/how-does-enpi-work_en.htm). Total amount of the ENPI is € 11.16 billion while € 8.7 billion are allocated to the Mediterranean Partner Countries. Country Strategy Papers (CSP) are drafted for each country of the ENP under the ENPI and provide a strategic framework for cooperation, including goals, intended strategic response and appropriate priority objectives, while the National Indicative Programme (NIP) presents the EU's response in terms of financial assistance (European Commission 2007 b). When looking at the table in the NIP Egypt 2011-2013 (to be found in the Annex), which gives an overview about budget and phasing of the program³, we can see a clear coherence between the phases and the aspects of assistance under the Legal Advice Scheme as named by Sandschneider. Thus it is possible to transfer this aspect on the actual agenda of the European Union and foreshadows, that the EU promotes democracy in Egypt in a way that is coherent with the analysis of the subject through the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion.

The critique of democratisation strategies as put forth by Sandschneider, that external actors have often ignored the historical perspective, something that happened during the democratisation of post-communist countries, can not really be transferred to the case of

³ Cf. for Table 1 combining the budget for 2007-2010 and 2011-2013 see the Annex. (The EU rephrased some components and/or incorporated them into another category.)

Egypt, because the system is different. The aspects of absorption problems occurring due to helping measures, which sometimes do not correspond the target country's needs has to be rejected in the case of Egypt, because of the coherence of the EU's gradualist approach (Faath/Mattes, 2005: 15) that underlies the conditionality rationale, with the gradualist character of Egyptian reforms. Demmelhuber (2009) characterises correctly the reform process as a "von oben gesteuerter, gradueller Wandlungsprozess bei einer gewollten Systemkontinuität zu verstehen" (Demmelhuber, 2009: 103).

The criticism that is most remarkable of external actors engaged in democracy promotion is from Sandschneider's perspective the lack of coordination between the external actors and the recipients. Transferred to the Egyptian situation recipients are very successful in accommodating supportive measures, because of the EU's restriction to partner with the strictly the same recipient especially with the same ones from the civil society sector, thus broad effects and a stronger external perception are absent (Demmelhuber, 2009: 278).

Nevertheless donor coordination is an essential component of the Egypt National Indicative Programme 2011-2013. A donor coordination matrix showing responsibilities of the European Community (EC) and the EU member states in the specific sector rejects Sandschneider's argument and the Egypt Country Strategy Paper refers explicitly to the different external actor engaged (while it has to be admitted that this reference is just a listing without illustrating real coherences!).

4.6.2. Evaluation Problems

On the other side Sandschneider (2003) correctly refers to the problems of evaluation in connection to external democracy promotion and they can be easily transferred to the case of Egypt. The main reason for problems of evaluation is the limits of being able to set up "if-then"-analysis models when discussing external democracy promotion, because of the number of external factors – some perceptible, some not – on internal transformation process. Thus it is again as the problems with the generalisation of catalogues listing ideal-typical the instruments and strategies showed, the incapability of generalising outcomes to other cases, e.g. other observations of democracy promotion in target countries (Sandschneider, 2003: 42). The analytical strata that underlie these difficulties encounter the ambiguity of democracy promotion, intending "democracy and development" or "democracy and market economy", something that traces us back to Sandschneider's reminder, that the "Hexagon of Democracy Promotion" cannot be transferred on countries that have not passed the third wave of democratisation in the sense of Huntington yet, thus challenging the application of this theoretical concept on the EU promoting democracy in Egypt in this thesis, because Egypt is not one of those countries, instead can be considered as a developing country. Detailed explanation that the opposite is true will be provided in the last part of this thesis.

Recourse to Sandschneider (2003), who states that nevertheless external actors attempt to monitor and evaluate the promotion of democracy, the EU has paid attention to this necessity through mentioning it in Article 67 of the EU-Egypt Association Agreement, intended to regulate monitoring of the “dialogue and cooperation on social matters”, “cooperation for the prevention and control of illegal immigration, and other consular issues” and “co-operation in cultural matters, audio-visual media and information” (EU-Egypt AA, 2004: 49). In the ENP Action Plan and the National Indicative Programme 2011-2013 evaluation of actions and measures refer to specific projects only. The Country Strategy Paper 2007-2013 explicitly refers to the successes of the EU support in coherence with Egyptian reforms in the economic sector, which could be observed through evaluation (CSP, 2007-2013: 17).

Nevertheless the difficulty of evaluation is due to the fact that success criteria are hard to verify, because it is not possible to quantify them, except of just listing projects (Sandschneider, 2003: 43). There are indeed no quantifiable outcomes throughout the cooperation between the EU and Egypt. When applying Sandschneider’s hypothetical non-exhaustive assumptions (Sandschneider, 2003: 44) about the more important aspects of the impact of external influences on the case of Egypt, we can here come to the following conclusions:

It is correct that in early stages of a transformation the international settings especially the international climate has a high relevance, visible through the earlier explained reasons that motivated the set-up of the EMP and the progress of Arab-Israeli reconciliation with the Oslo Accords and the role of Egypt as a major Arab partner and supporter.

It is partly correct that sanctions have an ambivalent impact, because in the case of Egypt EU sanctions in the framework of the EMP and the ENP through the rationales of negative and positive conditionality have never been imposed.

It can highly be doubted that technical, financial and advisory assistance is the main influencing variable that can compensate negative socio-economic effects of a transformation, instead helping to secure institutionalisation processes and foster on a long-term the emergence of elites and a civil society that are characterised by democratic and market economy values. The reason lies in the Egyptian government’s ability to use the EU’s support in order to reinforce the status quo.

And finally, it is partly correct that growing geographical proximity and the passage of time will lead to tendential increase of the impact of national and transnational influences, because on the one hand EU-Egypt cooperation has successfully achieved the initiation of a lasting discourse about democracy and human rights in the debate of Egyptian reform process through the agenda of external democracy promotion. But on the other hand the missing accession aspect sets a clear boundary to deeper European influence in Egypt in coherence of the little political power of the EU, perceived by the government of Egypt.

5. Summary and outlook

This thesis showed mostly the compatibility of Sandschneider's analytical concept – the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion – with the case of the European Union as an external actor in Egypt. Generally all six components of the concept are transferable to the EU's agenda, although some details have been difficult to apply and a few, which could not be transferred to the case. Based on those components I briefly want to refer to those difficulties in the following.

5.1. Assessment of EU democracy promotion in Egypt

The reluctance of the European Union to demand a more committed democratic Egyptian reform process is due to the inconsistency of the EU's self-conception being a community of values and a community of security. The normative goal of democratic openness automatically implies a regime change, something that a governing elites of a non-democratic or here authoritarian country would never allow, because it would equate the loss of power or at least a diminishment of power (Demmelhuber, 2009: 282). Thus the EU refrains from interference in domestic affairs of Egypt in order not to endanger the stability of the region with Egypt as one most important geostrategic partner. This goal falsifies Sandschneider's assumption that cooperation between similar systems is improved and explains that there is sometimes (with regards to stability in the MENA region in this case) no need to have two democracies cooperating. Cooperation in certain fields under certain circumstances can proceed well without questioning the overarching goal of the EU to rule out threats of non-democratic states.

It is especially difficult to assess the actual stage of transformation, liberalisation or more generally development in Egypt, hence making it complicated to transfer this component on the case. As part 4 of the thesis showed specific democratic deficits, the Egyptian reform process, which once has been initiated, in the context of the EU's democratisation agenda aims at creating new sources of legitimisation for the protection of the government's power. Moreover the reform process is an essential element of the protection of power. Demmelhuber (2009) is right when he assesses that the government of Egypt allowed in the frame of the reform process more participation in elections, but due to safeguarding a two-third majority for the ruling NDP and the exclusion of opposition groups like the Muslim Brotherhood, these parts of political "reform" gave the illusion of an opening authoritarian system. Instead he correctly explains that this reform process does not indicate a democratic transformation but rather an "astonishingly successful attempt to avoid the latter" (Demmelhuber, 2009: 289). The complex circumstances in Egypt and in a target country in general shows how difficult it is for a researcher and for an external actor to apply the three-part paradigm and to adjust supportive measures to the best possible stage of transformation.

Regarding potential partners and recipients of external democracy in this thesis there is the explanation that it is hard to apply this component to the EU's actions in Egypt due to the difficulty in pressing the Egyptian conditions into the three-part paradigm. Nevertheless it is possible to apply it to the case of Egypt. Sandschneider (2003) is right when he states that partnering with old power elites hinders the transformation process. This is visible in Egypt insofar as old power elites dominate the government, which aim at protection and conservation of their power and the EU's behaviour to refrain from pressuring the partners towards greater democratic opening cooperation. Thus democracy promotion is performed in partnership with those "hindering" recipients, a strategy that is in fact contrary to the European Union's normative agenda (Demmelhuber, 2009: 284).

The exclusion of relevant actors of Egypt's civil society's potential partners in opposition of old power elites affiliated with the government further affirms Sandschneider's argument and reveals that the EU is immediately contributing to the hindrance of the transformation process. Thus the Hexagon can be useful not only in showing how the EU promotes democracy but even in identifying defects of European strategy.

Regarding strategies and instruments this thesis illustrated the coherence of aspects that are necessary when setting up a strategy or choosing instruments with the actual actions of the EU in Egypt. Nevertheless there are characteristics that cannot be explained why the EU for example does not respond in the frame of its agenda promoting democracy to the strikes of the textile industry, in the public sector or disturbances due to increasing food prices (Demmelhuber, 2009: 290). The concept of Sandschneider explicitly refers to the necessity to reconsider possible side effects before exerting influences on a target country, such as technical and financial help in order to remedy negative economic and social impacts of transformation processes (Sandschneider, 2003: 44), something that the EU has not taken into concern when it was necessary. His assumption that the strategy to initiate democratisation through economic modernisation, which can easily be transferred to the EU's agenda in Egypt, can be rejected regarding this case, because the Egyptian economic reform process lack desired spill over effects to the political sphere, since it only aims at maximizing profits for oligarchs (Demmelhuber, 2009: 295).

Although the components of strategies and instruments as put forth by Sandschneider coincide with the actual actions of the EU in Egypt, they lack concretisation as Demmelhuber (2009) correctly assesses. Especially in the Country Strategy Paper and in the National Indicative Programme deficits in the EU-Egyptian agenda are named but concrete measures that enhance the cooperation or remedies for those deficits are missing (Demmelhuber, 2009: 305).

Since this thesis mostly agrees with the theoretical line of reasoning that underlies Sandschneider's development of the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion, the aspect that can

explain the shortcomings of the EU-Egypt relation best, with regards to reasons on the Egyptian side that impede the democratisation process, are the evasion strategies of the government of Egypt.

He correctly admits that influencing facts (what internal actors **can do**) is very limited. But as he then stresses that any external measures have to focus on preferences (what internal actors **intend to do**), those evasion strategies of the Egyptian government show that the partners of the EU are able to pretend agreement with democratisation as a necessary component of reform processes and accept normative preambles in agreements, action plans etc. In fact the government exploits the latitude of those provisions. Egyptian evasion strategies are partially – whether intentionally or unintentionally – enabled by the EU especially with regards to the EU-Egypt Action Plan. Thus there can be agreement over Demmelhuber's argument that the European Union remains vague about the framework of this possible enhanced relationship regarding the offers and incentives laid down in this document. Thus it would depend on the will and capability of Egypt to decide whether to follow those incentives or not (Demmelhuber, 2007: 12). The democratic agenda is not generally rejected but the Egyptian government repeatedly stressed that "Egypt is convinced that a successful and sustainable reform process should stem from the inside [...]", here chief negotiator with the EU Nehad Latif (Demmelhuber, 2009: 288).

Egypt has a creative adaptability and flexibility towards new regional and international frameworks, thus it is capable to distribute EU financial resources over structures affiliated with regime, e.g. institutions, organisations, etc. as a means of legitimising power without enabling democratic reforms as desired by the EU. Thus the statement of Osama Soraya, editor-in-chief of the Al-Ahram newspaper (daily, state-run with largest distribution in Egypt) and an NDP sympathiser in the UK newspaper "The Guardian" is characteristic for the government's reserve regarding democratic reforms that might be a threat to their power: "If necessary, democracy could easily wait another 20 years. We are not in any hurry" ("Egypt elections: Hosni Mubarak awaits his managed landslide", 2010).

Although Sandschneider (2003) explicitly rules out all countries that have not passed the third wave of democratisation yet, it is applicable to the case of Egypt and the European strategy of democracy promotion there (and thus applicable to other MENA countries as well with the EU as an external actor). His study that contains the Hexagon of Democracy Promotion is in fact focused on creating a patterning that helps to give practical guidance towards promoting democracy.

Finally – recourse to the research question "How does the EU promote democracy in Egypt" – we can answer it mostly with Sandschneider's theoretical concept (although there are different concepts, which e.g. focus on different approaches or modes of governance and which are mainly used to assess EU actions in Egypt).

When transferring it to the case of Egypt some details are of course difficult to apply illustrating its partial rigidity (especially regarding the three-part transition paradigm). But in some cases the concept can even explain shortcomings of the EU agenda in Egypt, specifically the missing variety of recipients as partners of the EU, something that Sandschneider regards as essential when promoting democracy as an external actor.

5.2. The future of democracy promotion as a concept

The connection between developmental aid and democracy promotion nowadays is not doubtable while in the scientific discourse until the 1990s there was a separation. Democracy promotion pursued a political goal while developmental aid aimed at socioeconomic goals.

After the cold war, the post-communist success of market economies and the spread of democracies, policy circles in the western states believed that an integrated approach to political and economic development aid is necessary and possible (Carothers, 2010: 12). Having arrived in the 21st century, the idea of including political and economical measures in developmental aid is still valid and strategies that cover a wide range of factors that are essential to a country's development are rightly followed. But with the fusion of democratisation and development some mind-sets survived that underlie a democracy-promotion agenda in the case of the EU in Egypt as an example.

On the one side many developmentalists had the view that a sustained dose of authoritarian rule was necessary to get a poor country on a developmental track, that development had to be substantially achieved first and democracy should wait. On the other side democracy promoters were convinced that any country could become democratic regardless of its socioeconomic level (or ethnic or religious composition, political history, or political culture) if enough citizens are committed to the goal (Carothers, 2010: 14).

That both perspectives have approached during the last decades of external support and the dissolution of the divide between aid programs directed at democracy-building and those focused on social and economic development is remarkable and contributes to a more sophisticated form of developmental aid. Nevertheless, these views still reflect the difficulties in carrying out measures and actions especially with regard to the choice of partners and contain reasons, why there are enough examples for failed democracy promotion. One of those reasons is the transition paradigm, democracy promoters still hold on to.

As the part of this thesis about the stage of transformation in Egypt has shown, each transformation of country is unique, thus applying a three-part generalisation to a single case is difficult. Democracy promotion has been dominated by the interest in the question "How is a democratic transformation going", instead it should focus on the question "What is happening politically", since the former leads to too optimistic assumptions (Carothers, 2002: 18). This case has shown that the core of democracy promotion includes – what Carothers (2002) calls – an "institutional checklist", that is the basis for creating programs containing

judicial reform, parliamentary strengthening, civil society assistance, media work, political party development, civic education, and electoral programs (Carothers, 2002: 19). But this catalogue needs clear and successful transitions, thus making aid in such countries unnecessary. Carothers proposes to adjust democracy promotion towards paying greater attention to political party development including ways that encourage new entrants to the political sphere and foster the connection between parties and civil society organisations, thus assisting in the growth of alternative centres of power. Besides democracy promotion should include efforts in how to reduce the influence of economic power as a major source of legitimisation in many authoritarian countries (Carothers, 2002: 19). As policy makers and researchers often praise the actors of civil society in being able to successfully foster a country's democratic transformation, the case of Egypt shows that this enthusiasm is inappropriate.⁴

He concludes with calling to move on to new frameworks and debates, since the transition paradigm did fit in the past due to the third wave of democratisation, but a "new paradigm" of political change is needed now that fits the current political landscape (Carothers, 2002: 19). Democracy promotion as it is performed in Egypt successfully integrated democracy, rule of law and human right into the political debate. But it seems as if all efforts restrict themselves to this particular part and that authoritarian systems – as in Egypt – use this debate whenever affirming that the government is substantially committed to political reforms, but actions lack behind.

The flexibility of authoritarian systems to react to new frameworks shows that external influence on them is barely successful because formal structures are subordinated to preservative strategies. The preservation of power is the major goal in authoritarian systems and the external support of oppositional or civil society actors and their actions is often encountered with their integration into the authoritarian corporative system, thus enabling it to exert repression and to bureaucratise this sector, which finally leads to a restricted pluralism (Seibold, 2006: 399).

With regards to democracy promotion and its opportunities and prospects, a successful democratic transition depends on the authoritarian government's willingness to cooperate with external actors on the path of democracy, if both parties want to achieve more than just a debate about democracy but concrete actions.

"Stop talking about democracy, if you don't take it seriously" (Saher Hamouda, Deputy Director, Alex-Med Research Center, in an interview with T. Demmelhuber)

⁴ Cf. for an exact assessment of the Egyptian government's capability to keep down effort of CSOs while pointing out to its reform efforts see Irmtraud Seibold "Partner auf dem Weg zur Demokratie? Die internationale Förderung von Demokratie- und Menschenrechtsorganisationen in Ägypten", 2006.

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