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## 0. Abstract

The events in Tunisia was an inspiration but especially the killing of Khaled Said by the hand of police officers in Alexandria made the young Egyptians so angry that they had to do something (We Are All Khaled Said 2011). After a few days it was not only young educated people who participated in the protest but people from all social backgrounds. The message was clear; they wanted President Hosni Mubarak to step down and they wanted a more open, safe and not least democratic and fair country.

The Arab counties had a remarkable history of keeping control of their populations and they have been resistance from pressure for change both domestically and internationally for half at century. The fact that the people of Egypt where able to mobilize themselves to this extent, and shake the foundations of their countries, were an impressive feat of strength. It showed that all levels of the society were interested and engaged in a change.

It is interesting what made this people go to the streets. The whole thing started within the social media, and it is far from the whole population who has access to the internet in 2010 only 30 million was internet users (World DataBank 2010) The population of Egypt suddenly went from being this oppressed people to become mass mobilized. How can such inhomogeneous group become mobilized, the way they did?

Egypt became nominal independent in 1922 but was still under dominant control of the British troops who remained. The first Egyptian president was General Muhammad Neguib as a result of the 1952 revolution against the Egyptian King Farouk in 1952. The Egyptian people changed the future of their country and they chose a leader who made sure that global the society knew about Egypt, they also chose a leader that understood how important it was to meet the needs of the people. Could the revolution of 1952 had planted the germ that slowly but steady developed the Egyptian people into mobilizing against Mubarak and his authoritarian leadership?

Problem statement:

### **Can the 2011 uprising in Egypt be explained by modernization theory?**

Analysis strategy: The problem statement is centered on the concept of modernization theory which is the theoretical fundament of the thesis. I understand modernization as a process of development that is used to explain developing countries transitions towards democratization using Samuel P. Huntington's approach to modernization theory which is presented and applied further on. Huntington has through empirical data created a framework for understanding and detecting the development the developing countries. short Huntington defines modernization as a multifaceted process which makes changes in all areas of human thought and activity.

Modernization changes patterns of life and is used as indicators to measure the development. These aspects both include the rise of living standards but also the how the mindset and opinions of the people are changed. These indicators make it possible to measure whether Egypt has been going through a process of modernization.

Conclusion: When it comes to demographic change the indicators does not quite agree, there have been an significant increase in the life expectancy but there have not been much of an increase in occupation neither the urbanization seemed increased but as detected in the economic section of the analysis it turns out that people are less poor in urban areas; this might lead to an increase in the urbanization in the longer run. Within the indicators of change in the mindset they are more convincing towards a positive status of the occurrence of modernization in Egypt; there was both an increase in literacy, mass communication and education, this tells that there is a level of intellectually modernization however it is possible that the generation that is affected by this is too young on the burst to old enough to have had anything to do with 2011 uprising. Of the indicators that tells something about the political development in the form of mobilization as stated about all three, literacy, education, increased communications, has increased. Huntington uses instability to explain how it can be detected that a society are on its way to over through their leader; within this perspectives the rapid growing numbers of children enrolled in primary school supports this thesis.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Starting point

February 11, 2011, the uprising in Egypt caused President Mubarak to step down. The protest started January 25, referred to as the day of rage, when young educated Egyptians, via the social media, mobilized a protest against the regime. During the 18 days the uprising lasted more and more people came to the streets and in the end more than a million people participated in the protest. The uprising ended up being a mass protest against the authoritarian regime. It started with a couple of thousand young people, from the same social background, protesting for a Egypt where the human rights was respected (Timeline, Aljazeera 2011). The events in Tunisia was an inspiration but especially the killing of Khaled Said by the hand of police officers in Alexandria made the young Egyptians so angry that they had to do something (We Are All Khaled Said 2011). After a few days it was not only young educated people who participated in the protest but people from all social backgrounds. Many people had experienced inflation (Noueihed and Warren, 2012:25) more police violence and their frustrations had grown. The message was clear; they wanted President Hosni Mubarak to step down and they wanted a more open, safe and not least democratic and fair country (Timeline, Aljazeera 2011).

On January 25 2011 I was just returned to Cairo after a one week Nile cruise with my father who visited me. I was living in Egypt at the time and worked with community development for a small NGO, EpiscoCare (EpiscoCare, web 2013). We heard the forecast of the protest but we were not that concerned because in my 4 months in Egypt there have already been different protests but they never seemed to evolve. However I followed the news closely, but it sadly seemed that the police did everything they could to stop it and they used power and violence against the non-violent protest (Arrow 2011). Then on Friday January 28 things changed! The number of protesters had drastically increased; one of the reasons for this was that some of the religious leaders had encouraged people to support the protests for a better Egypt in the Muslim Friday Prayer. This resulted in a significant mobilization against the police that were not able to keep the protesters down. The police was kicked out and some of the police men took of their uniforms and participated in the protest. Then the military were send in. They

allowed the protest and seemed to support the non violent protest. All the protesters were thankful for this change and they now feel hope. They wanted Mubarak to step down! For me and my other foreign friends we also recognized the serious situation it now was and we were cheering on the protesters. It was amazing to experience Egypt as a united country where everyone accepted each other, despite religion or class, and they all had the same goal; a better Egypt!

Lin Noueihed and Alex Warren wrote in “The Battle for the Arab Spring” (2012:12) that no one of the Arab countries made it on the 2011 list of top risk countries. The list was made by Eurasia Group, a multinational consulting firm that identifies possible instability for their clients. Some possible threats at the Iran Nuclear weapons was on the list but the chance for domestic change was not detected. Despite that the number of protests had increased since 2010. The Arab countries had a remarkable history of keeping control of their populations and they have been resistance from pressure for change both domestically and internationally for half a century. Both the Arab cold-war and the waves of democratization had not brought domestic changes to the regimes yet (Hinnebusch 2006). The fact that the people of Egypt were able to mobilize themselves to this extent, and shake the foundations of their countries, were an impressive feat of strength. It showed that all levels of the society were interested and engaged in a change.

### **1.1.1 Observation**

The streets of Cairo is packed with cars! There are cars everywhere; some of them are parked, also in places where you are not allowed to park cars; like the sidewalk, thus most of them tries to move, as fast as possible all across the city, but often it goes very very slow, however each driver puts his own hurry first and tries to pass the other cars and this results in a zigzag pattern of moving, honking cars, often with drivers hanging of the windows yelling at the other drivers for not driving fast enough or for cutting the queue. A great number of these cars are taxies! In Cairo you can get a taxi in all corners of the city and at all hours and as a western woman you do not even have to try very hard to get a hold on one, they will slow down right next to you and hunk the horn until you either step into the car or you dismiss them.

The people who drive a taxi in Egypt often do not own it themselves but drives for private hire vehicle operators. They are people with very little or no education and they often have a family they have to provide for, so they struggle to put food on the table, especially since the inflation on food prices, the last couple of years (Al-Zohairy 2008).

During my stay in Egypt I made an observation of the taxi drivers; when you ride a taxi in Egypt the radio or CD-/tape player is always playing and sometimes quite loud. Before the uprising you would always, with very few exceptions, be entertained with Arabic music or readings from the Koran during your ride. If the music or the reading was bothering you; you might have to be very persistent before the driver would turn it down. During the uprising and also after February 11, where Mubarak stepped down, you would instead hear the news or political discussions coming from the speakers when you entered the taxi and the taxi drivers was also keen on explaining the situation for you and discussing the future of Egypt. For me the taxi drivers became a symbol on how all Egyptians was a part of the uprising and change that was happening. All the taxi-drivers I met after Mubarak stepped down was so proud of being a part of the new Egypt they all hoped would evolve after Mubarak. Therefore they also felt a different responsibility towards their country than they use to. This observation leads me to reflect on what made the Egyptians mobilize a mass protest against the regime at that exact time. It was clear to me that for many Egyptians the frustrations had been building up for a while.

### **1.1.2 Why did the Egyptians go to the streets?**

Egypt is the biggest country in the Middle East (80 millions)10 percent of the population is Christians, The main part is muslim(CIA Worldfact 2013), 20 percent of the population lives under the poverty line, 40 percent is illiterate(World DataBank 2010). It is interesting what made this people go to the streets. The whole thing started within the social media, and it is far from the whole population who has access to the internet, in 2010 30 million was internet users (World DataBank 2010). This means that they use the internet frequently, it could be from home or from an internet café. Because so few had access to the internet, and so many people lived under the poverty line, one can assume that it was only a part of the protesters, which used the social media, to

protest. To use social media, one must also be able to express oneself; this is difficult for non educated and otherwise less resourceful people. From this you might conclude that there were different groups within the protests.

All these people; Christians, different aspects of the Muslim religion, people with different social backgrounds shared the same hope for the outcome of this uprising, they wanted a revolution! They come from very different backgrounds and they live very different lives. They share the fate of being raised in a society that bears the mark of being governed by an authoritarian regime, with few civil rights, no political participation and no democratic rights as freedom of speech. The only democratic right they had, during the rule of President Mubarak, was to vote in corrupt elections that was always won by the National Democratic Party (NDP). The population of Egypt suddenly went from being this oppressed people to become mass mobilized. How can such inhomogeneous group become mobilized, the way they did?

The use of social media indicates that some of the protesters were resourceful. But as shown a lot of them lived under the poverty line, I therefore assume that a lot of them also had a small amount of resources. Could it be that the uprising occurred because poor people was desperate, because of underdevelopment? Or because more and more people was educated and therefore saw the possibilities in democracy; thus the uprising was an expression of development process.

At first sight it seems like the Egyptian people was transformed over night. However if you look into the history of Egypt you find that the uprising in 2011 was not the first time that the Egyptian people have stood up against leaders they did not find worthy.

### **1.1.3 A short overview of the political history**

In 1882 the British gained control of the Egyptian government with the defeat of the Egyptian army, after which they occupied the country (Daly 1998). Officially Egypt remained under Turkish rule until the declaration of Egypt being a British protectorate in 1914. However Egypt became nominal independent in 1922 but was still under dominant control of the British troops who remained. The first Egyptian president was General Muhammad Neguib as a result of the 1952 revolution against the Egyptian King Farouk in 1952. In the paper “The National Characters of the Egyptian

Revolution” (1967) Baha Abu-Laban describes the different aspects of the Egyptian Revolution of 1952. Back then the revolution was a result of many years of discontent with the feudalistic rule of the country and the British influence. The goal was to find Egypt's own nationality; or in other words to become an independent country. There had been political forces working towards an overthrowing of powers for decades and in 1942 the secret society of Free Officers was established under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser. July 23 1952 they had the chance and a coup d'état was committed. The leaders formulated these principles or goals to work from during the revolution (1) destruction of imperialism; (2) ending of feudalism; (3) ending monopoly and the domination of capital over the government; (4) establishment of social justice; (5) building of a powerful national army; and (6) establishment of a sound democratic system. Even though the post revolution-government was working towards implementing all the above principles the effort was greatest when it came to accomplish the political rather than the social issues. This was expressed in the intense work with; getting an agreement with Britain, the future of Sudan, the change to an republican form of government, the destruction of the Moslem Brotherhood movement because it was a treat to the government, making Egypt the leader of the Arab world and a policy of “positive neutrality”. This meant that reforming the political structures was giving precedence over basic revolutionary change in the society. This shows that the main goal for the leaders of the revolution was to define Egypt as an independent country (1967:181).

After a few years Gamal Abdel Nasser replaced Neguib and an era of military dictatorships with a one party state began, known as Republic of Egypt. Nasser carried out a very active foreign policy with the introduction to the Arab nationalism with the idea of regional union, pan-Arabism, he also nationalized the Suez-canal so that Egypt could be independent of foreign investments. By doing that he also send a strong signal to all the countries that had strong interest in oil export that was depended on the Suez-canal, especially France and Brittan was marked by this as they where the main shareholders of the canal. This was also the start of a more public dispute between the Arab countries and Israel, as Israel was immediate cut off from using the Suez Canal. When Nasser suddenly past away in 1970 he was succeeded by Vice-President, Anwar Sadat who carried on the one party state but had a different public approach than his



predecessor. In 1981 Sadat was assassinated by military officers; Hosni Mubarak became the president (Daly 1998). In 2011 Mubarak stepped down when there occurred a mass uprising as a result of long term dissatisfaction with the regime (Aljezeera, Timeline2011). As described in the theoretical part, Hinnebusch (2006) explains that until now the region had been persistence in resistance the latest wave of democratization because there had been no need for westernization. This is consistent with the political history of Egypt. Because of the strong and charismatic leadership of the presidents Nasser and Sadat the population did not question the governance. Generally the people felt taken care of. Hinnebusch argues that the authoritarian regimes are able to adapt to new conditions and therefore Egypt also went through some of the aspects of modernization, but without the aspect of democratization. Hinnebusch also explains why the Middle Eastern countries ended up as authoritarian states; after the forced fragmentation of the Arab world, the states was left weak and with no identity. Because of that the ruling groups of the region prioritized to strengthen the integrity of countries over democratization. In Egypt this also applies; Nasser was eager to strengthen identity, unity and authenticity and the state building took its form as authoritarian this was also congruent with the general pan-Arabism style.

However the uprising in 2011 had a different starting point than the revolution of 1952. Back then it was the Egyptians against the British and the people more or less had the same lot in life and they had a common enemy who was from outside their own country. The goal was to get away from the monarchical history and create a strong Egypt that could be the leading country of the region. Even though it was domestically change that followed the uprising, also with a very social aspect, the revolutionaries also had a strong international goal; they wanted the Egyptians to become global noticed. Modern Egypt, since Napoleon in 1798 has been a tyrannical state; The renegade Ottoman officer Mohammed Ali made it into a sultanate in 1805 and this was extended by his heirs into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century with British domination Until the strong native charismatic leaders; Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak kept their people frozen for more than half a century. The academic Khaled Famy is impressed with the Egyptian people; he finds it remarkable that after so many years of suppression they managed, without violence, to take back their country (1. Lydon 2012).

In 1952 the Egyptian people changed the future of their country and they chose a leader who made sure that global the society knew about Egypt, they also chose a leader that understood how important it was to meet the needs of the people. Could the revolution of 1952 had planted the germ that slowly but steady developed the Egyptian people into mobilizing against Mubarak and his authoritarian leadership? The term development is linked to Modernization theory, which is the theory used to explain modernization or simply development in countries that have not yet been industrialized or on their way to be it (Huntington 1965). This perspective gives renaissance to the hypothesis of Modernization Theory which was one of the major explanatory theories in social science in the late 1950s and 60s. Since the 1970s there have been developed critical perspectives, as World System Theory with under theories as Dependency Theory. The central claim of modernization is that industrialization, with specific processes is linked with of sociopolitical change that can apply widely (Inglehart 1997) The past two decades the theory have met criticism and it have been suggested that there was a need for a new leading development theory that could, among other things, explain the resistance to democracy from the middle eastern regimes (Hinnebusch 2006). The uprising in Egypt might indicate that modernization theory still has a leading role in explaining development processes in developing countries.

## **1.2 Main problem**

Both educated privileged people with internet access and the ability to use the social media and poor non educated people as the taxi drivers participated in the uprising. It was the young educated class who took the initiative but it was all the uneducated poor people who made it into a mass protest. For many years there had not been any protest of significance. Then it occurred in a manner that, for some observers, seemed to be out of the blue. The strength of the protests and the fact that the demands of the people can be ranked alongside democratic values indicates that there could have been a yearlong underlying process going on within the people and society of Egypt. This makes me want to investigate if the uprising is an outcome of a development process.

### **1.2.1 Problem statement:**

**Can the 2011 uprising in Egypt be explained by modernization theory?**

The problem statement is constructed from the hypothesis that modernization theory can help explain the background of the uprising in Egypt 2011. Despite the outcome of the analysis it will be clear whether an underlying democratization process is the cause or not. Even if it turns out that modernization theory does not have the expected explanatory force it will still give us answers on the basis of the principles of the exclusion method and it will be possible to search elsewhere for answers.

### **1.3 Operationalization**

In order to answer the problem statement my understanding of its elements is clarified. The modernization theory is presented and leads to research question. The research strategy is outlined and explains how the level of modernization will be measured and analyzed. At last the flow of argument will lead to the analysis.

#### **1.3.1 Concepts of the problem statement**

##### ***1.3.1.1 Uprising***

Many, especially Egyptians, refer to the events in Egypt early 2011 as the Revolution of 25 January. It can be discussed if this really was a revolution because even though a lot happened, there has not yet been a complete shift of regimes. It is the role of the military that keeps the old regime alive; the military have not given up their control over the country even though there have been democratic elections, the military refuses to be dominated by the government (H. 2013). Therefore the events are referred to as the uprising, of 2011 in Egypt, in the introduction and problem statement and is referred to as that further on.

##### ***1.3.1.2 Modernization***

The problem statement is centered on the concept of modernization theory which is the theoretical fundament of the thesis. I understand modernization as a process of development that is used to explain developing countries' transitions towards democratization. Modernization is often linked to the industrialization which is not necessarily the case in Egypt. However this perspective will not be investigated in this project. It is Samuel P. Huntington's approach to modernization theory which is presented and applied further on.

### ***1.3.1.3 Timeframe***

The problem statement suggests that Egypt has been undergoing a modernization process. In order to find a specific timeframe to measure if this is the case; the time of the revolution in 1952 is chosen as the starting point because of its significance to the history of Egypt and the possibility that it is the events in 1952 that lead to the uprising in 2011. The applied data is therefore chosen from the years 1952 to 2011 and this will be the core of the analysis.

### ***1.3.2 Modernization theory***

As already stated the theory that will be tested in its explanatory force on the 2011 uprising in Egypt is Modernization theory. In the following chapter Samuel P. Huntington's claim on modernization is laid out and provides the analytical frame needed to investigate and measure the level of modernization in Egypt.

#### ***1.3.2.1 Huntington and modernization theory***

Samuel P. Huntington's approach to modernization theory is, together with Karl Deutsch's work, considered the underlying work for later modernization theory (Hinnebusch 2006). The work is from "Political Order in Changing Societies" (1968). Huntington's approach considers, in contradiction to the classical modernization theory, the aspects of the developing countries. Whereas the classical approach is mainly based on the western experience; Huntington has through empirical data created a framework for understanding and detecting the development of the developing countries. This framework is now applied to Egypt. Huntington applies his thesis on empirical examples from Africa, Asia and Latin America but the theory lacks the aspect of the Middle East and also the contemporary context so the theory gets up to date.

In the following Samuel P. Huntington's (1968) perspectives on modernization is presented. In the analysis his claim is investigated further on. In order to keep the focus on Egypt the elements of Huntington's modernization is linked to the overview already presented on the uprising and the background. Huntington's indicators for modernization are used to choose the empirical data that measures the level of development.

In the book, *Political Order in Changing in Societies* (1968), Samuel P. Huntington explains how modernization can lead to development. Along the way Huntington names indicators on modernization; these are summarized in the end of the chapter.

In short Huntington defines modernization as a multifaceted process which makes changes in all areas of human thought and activity. In elaborated form this means that with modernization follows; urbanization, industrialization, secularization, democratization, education, media exposure. All of these elements are connected with each other and can be used to establish if it is development that caused the uprising in Egypt. Marc Lynch (2012) explains, how something has changed in the mindset of the young people the past decade because they had been able to get information from international independent media.

### ***1.3.2.2 The psychological and intellectual aspect of modernization***

During the uprising the people called for a change; they wanted democratization, freedom of speech and generally they demanded their human rights (Aljezeera, Timeline 2011) Huntington describes how the people mentally change as a part of the modernization process; their values change and they have new demands for their society. This fits the case of Egypt because the people had lived in an authoritarian society for many years and there had not been a mass protest against the regime since 1952 that lead to the rise of power of Gamal Abdel Nasser. Back then the people asked for independence from the British (Abu-Laban 1967). This desire for change is, according to Huntington, a part of being a modern human being. The modern person accepts changes and finds it desirable. However the traditional human being believes in the society to be stable and continuous and do not believe that that the people has the capability to change or control the society. To make a person modern minded the family and close relations needs to also identify and acknowledge these changes. In the longer run it has to spread out to parts of the more impersonal groupings of one's life; as work, class, parts of the society and in the end the whole nation. The uprising in Egypt could be interpreted as a large part of the society strives towards change; all the people that participated wanted Mubarak to step down and they also felt that it was in their own hands to change the system. This indicates that a part of the society has a modern mindset.

Intellectually modernization effects peoples knowledge; this manifest itself throughout society trough increased literacy, mass communications, and education.

### *1.3.2.3 Modernization indicated in the demographic*

Modernization changes patterns of life; increase in health and life expectancy, increased occupation, mobility and especially the urbanization. These factors are used as indicators to measure the level of development in Egypt.

### *1.3.2.4 Political development*

The uprising showed a desire for change and especially for political development. Huntington groups the political-aspects of modernization into two. The first one is mobilization which is the process where old social, economic and psychological commitments ends and this leads to new patterns of socialization and behavior. This means that it changes; the attitudes, values and expectations of people and makes them familiar with the modern world in contrast with the traditional world. This mobilization is a consequence of literacy, education, increased communications, mass media exposure, and urbanization. These factors are more difficult to measure than the demographic ones because they are a part of the individual mindset and might be expressed in very different ways and in different tempos. However the uprising did express a change in the expectations of the political system. The second group within the political-aspect is the economic development which means the growth in the total economic activity. This can be measured in different levels of society; per capita gross national product, level of industrialization, and level of individual welfare measured by indices as life expectancy, caloric intake, supply of hospitals and doctors. This is analyzed further on. To sum up the social mobilization involves change in the hope and expectations of individuals groups and the society as a whole; economic development involves change in the capabilities of the people.

Huntington explains how modernization impact on politics is varied and can be difficult to measure. He presents three different (Huntington 1968: 35) aspects where it can be detected how modernization influent the political systems.

- Political modernization involves the rationalization of authority. This means a shift from a large number of traditional, religious, familial, and ethic

political authorities to a single secular, national political authority. This implies also a change in values because in this new system the government seems to be more a product of man rather than of nature or of God. This also includes that a well-ordered society must have a determinate human source of final authority. The society has to have a set of norms that makes the people obey the positive laws of the political system over other obligations. In order to keep sovereignty in the international society there will be a process of national integration and with this follows the legitimated power of national lawmaking institutions.

- Political institutions are developed. There happens a differentiation of new political functions and new structures occur in order to perform those functions. Subordinated organs are formed to take care of tasks that use to be a part of the government as; legal institutions, the military, the administration and the scientific area. This will cause a shift in how to gain power and office from ascription to achievement.

- Political modernization also means an increase in participation in political issues by social groups throughout the society. Broadened participation can go two ways, either it make it easier for the government to gain control of the people, as in totalitarian states, or it may make the people gain control over the government, as in more democratic societies. In modern states the population becomes directly involved in and affected by governmental affairs.

These three factors; Rationalized authority, separated sectors in the political system and mass participation is what differentiate traditional political systems from modern ones. In Egypt these factors are more relevant after the uprising because they can show if a modern political system is being buildup. However the factor of mass mobilization can indeed be connected to Egypt; the Egyptians pressured, and still do, the government in a way that forces things to change even though the public control with the government is not in the extent that the people wishes for yet (Lynch 2012).

#### ***1.3.2.5 Modernization and instability***

When looking at Egypt it is also relevant to look at the connection between modernization and violence/instability. Huntington views stability as the opposite as violence. The Poverty and Modernization Thesis is used to explain the relationship between modernization and violence. The thesis states that, even though it is complex,

more modern societies are in general more stable and suffer less domestic violence than less modern societies. The levels of social mobilization and the level of economic development are directly associated with the political stability. Especially the level of literacy seems connected to stability. When it comes to revolutions and conflicts Huntington sees a direct link to the level of education. In general modernity goes with stability. The poverty thesis concludes that economic and social backwardness is responsible for instability and therefore that modernization is the path to stability. Huntington does not exclude modernization in a country where there is backwardness and instability; on the contrary he states that it is the efforts to achieve modernity that is the cause of the political disorder and instability. The indicator of whether the poor countries are undergoing a modernization process is if they appear unstable. If the countries do seem unstable it is not because of poverty; but because they are trying to become rich. According to Huntington a traditional society would be ignorant, poor and stable. This aspect is interesting in connection to Egypt because Egypt is a country that has been poor and considered stable for the past couple of decades and then suddenly became unstable (Noueihed and Warren 2012) Huntington goes further and states that you can say that modern countries always are stable and that modernizing countries always are unstable. In addition the degree of modernization is also directly linked to the degree of instability.

When you look at social mobilization in the relation to instability it seems, according to Huntington, that there is a direct link. Again factors as urbanization, literacy, education and media exposure enters the arena; because when these factors are increased in a society it also increases the ambitions and expectations of the population. However if the people's expectations are not being met and they are not able to pursue their ambitions it can lead them to be more involved with politics and they start to demand change. This can, if the political institution is not strong and adaptable, create political instability in the form of uprising and maybe revolutions. It can seem as a paradox that for example the level of education can be directly connected to instability. Huntington refers to research where the proportion of children in primary school and the frequency in revolutions has been measured, and it seems that the faster people get enlightened the more frequent the overthrow of government in countries with authoritarian leadership. This is analyzed with the empirical data further on.



Huntington also sees a link between the educational levels and destabilizing behavior; the higher level of education of the dissatisfied person the more extreme is the behavior. It is less clear how economic growth impacts instability, according to Huntington it can go both ways; it depends on the context. If both social mobilization and economic growth increases at the same time it might lead to a more stable society because the people who are more mobilized also has the opportunities to fulfill the aspirations they have. On the other hand it can also create the breeding ground for a coup against the government if people get too powerful or too dissatisfied. It can also be argued that the society change that is needed to meet aspirations from the mobilized people can be a destabilizing factor in itself. As mentioned above instability can often, according to Huntington be seen as the indicator for domestic change. Inequality is also a factor of instability nevertheless it is difficult to measure because the data on social and economic equality are insufficient.

In short instability can, in transitioning countries, lead to uprisings and revolutions. Huntington makes the observation that revolutions often occurs when a period of stable economy takes a downturn, in the case of Egypt that fits with the inflations in food prices, which lead to increased frustrations.

#### *1.3.2.6 Indicators of modernization*

The indicators from the text above is here summed up, they are grouped thus this structure also applies in analysis

**Demographic change:** Modernization changes patterns of life; increase in health and life expectancy, increased occupation, mobility and especially the urbanization. These factors are used as indicators to measure the level of development in Egypt.

**Change in the mindset:** Intellectually modernization affects the people's knowledge: This can be detected through increased literacy, mass communications, secularization and education.

**Political development in the form of mobilization:** the process where old social, economic and psychological commitments ends and this leads to new patterns of socialization and behavior. This means that it changes; the attitudes, values and expectations of people and makes them familiar with the modern world in contrast with

the traditional world. This mobilization is a consequence of literacy, education, increased communications, mass media exposure, and urbanization.

**Political development in the form of economic development:** This can be measured in different levels of society; per capita gross national product, level of industrialization, and level of individual welfare measured by indices as life expectancy, caloric intake, supply of hospitals and doctors.

**Instability:** Instability indicates that the country is going through a transition phase; this is likely to be a modernization process or even democratization as consequence of the need for change. Unemployment especially indicates instability if there is an increasing level of education. Mobilization and economic development might also be indicators of instability

#### *1.3.2.7 Summary*

Huntington describes how modernization is as a multifaceted process which makes changes in all areas of human thought and activity. In elaborated form this means that with modernization follows; urbanization, industrialization, secularization, democratization, education, media exposure. These elements are connected and dependent on each other. The central claim is that when growth and structural change impacts the livings standards it also changes something mentally in people and makes then strives towards a more modern society and also makes people demand more rights and freedom. If the modernization shall reach all of society it has to be social acceptable to think different about certain things, for example if you suddenly starts to think that your religion is not as important that is used to be you have to feel you that you can talk to friends and family about this and that they feel the same way as you do. This process applies to all aspects of the mentally change. In the longer run this makes you change your value set; this makes the demands in the society different and can develop into a mass pressure on the government. This is shown in the way people mobilize and organize themselves so they are able to fight and work for change in the society. In summery modernization makes change desirable and in that way the process gets self-reinforcing and the claim is that more more parts of the society will be included in the process. In the end the old regime will no longer be able to resist the pressure for change and a structural and institutional change of the government will be needed in order to

need the demands of the people. Huntington's approach to modernization constitutes the analytical frame on how the level of modernization can be measured as the underlying process for the 2011 uprising in Egypt. It will be the groups of indicators that will be used in the analysis strategy to operationalize the problem statement.

### **1.3.3 Analysis strategy**

The modernization theory provides, as explained in the theoretical chapter, the tools needed for analyzing the background of the 2011 uprising in Egypt. These indicators make it possible to measure whether Egypt has been going through a process of modernization. In order to apply the indicators on the empirical data it is needed to transform the problem statement into research questions. The theory presents different aspects of the society where it is possible to detect and measure the level of modernization. These aspects both include the rise of living standards but also the how the mindset and opinions of the people are changed. This will be investigated with the help of research questions.

#### **1.3.3.1 Research questions**

To answer if the 2011 uprising in Egypt can be explained by modernization theory the problem statement is broken up into two research questions based on the theoretical framework provided by Huntington's development indicators. The claim of Huntington is that in order to a modernization process to occur there needs to be changes going on both in the socio economic dynamics of the society in form of increased living standard and also in the mindset of people. To detect if peoples mindset are changing the aim of the investigation is to detect if peoples opinion on democratic values have changed over the years. To detect these changes the change in living standards and the peoples opinion on democratic values are measured.

This leads to two research questions:

- Can there be detected a rise in the peoples living standards in Egypt from 1952 to 2010?
- Can there be detected a change in the peoples opinion on democratic values in Egypt from 1952 to 2010?

### **1.3.4 Empirical data**

The empirical data is chosen from basis of the development indicators presented in the theoretical chapter. The data is applied on the research questions and are therefor parted in two. The indicators makes it possible to measure on the level of modernization. If we as an example look at the indicator “Education” it is, in the context of development, interesting to see if the development in school enrollment has increased because Huntington states that this is a clear sign that the people are changing In addition it is also interesting to look at the gender balance within the education system because this shows if there also is an increase in the equal rights between genders, which also is an indicator of development.

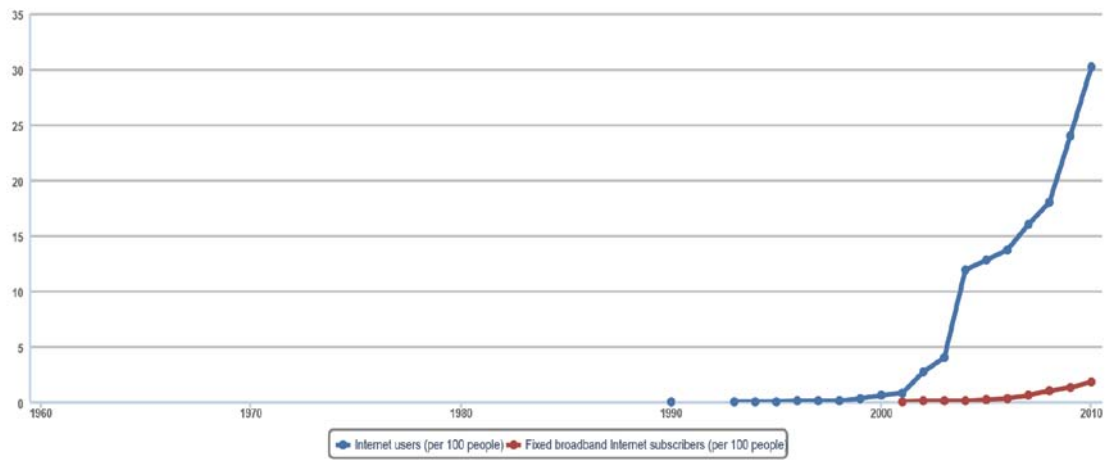
#### ***1.3.4.1 Data from the World DataBank***

The Empirical data is retrieved from the World DataBank (1952-2010), which is a part of the World Bank. The World DataBank is chosen because of its extensive amount of collected data. The data is compiled from official recognized sources. Hence the DataBank is a part of the World Bank the perspective tends to be economical, however in this context the focus is both on economic growth and on human development.

The data is retrieved from the data collection named World Development Indicators. The data is displayed in the analysis, all the included data is to find in respective Appendix 1. and Appendix 2. It was not possible to find data all the way back to 1952 hence the World dataBank development indicators are only collected from 1960 until now. Despite this data from 1960 is still extensive enough to provide an sufficient picture of how peoples livings standards have changed during the time. Within some of the indicators the data is insufficient; this might be because some of the data is complex to collect in a country like Egypt where not all have a social security number. Therefore it varies how many years there is included in the variables. The findings are used to analyze if it is possible to make a connection between the development in the prior six decades in Egypt and the uprising.

The following eleven graphs are applied to the theoretical indicators:

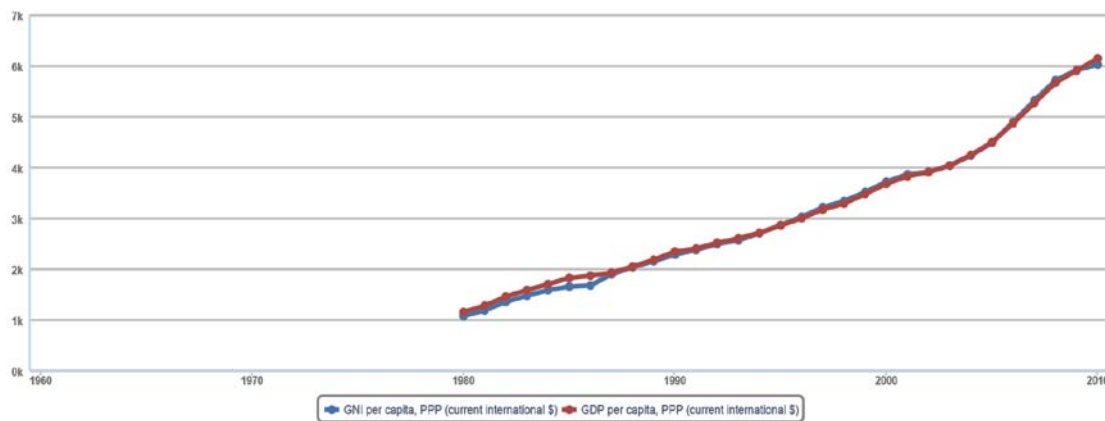
### Internet 1960-2010



Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

The amount of people with access to internet show how many people that are exposed to mass media and mass communication which is a part of the indicators that tells us about how people have change.

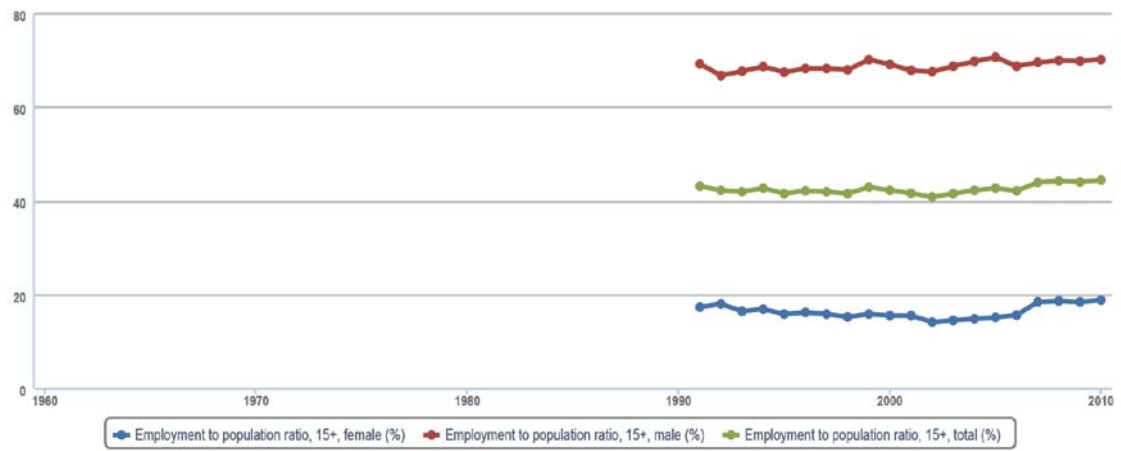
### GNI and GDP per capita, PPP 1960-2010



Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

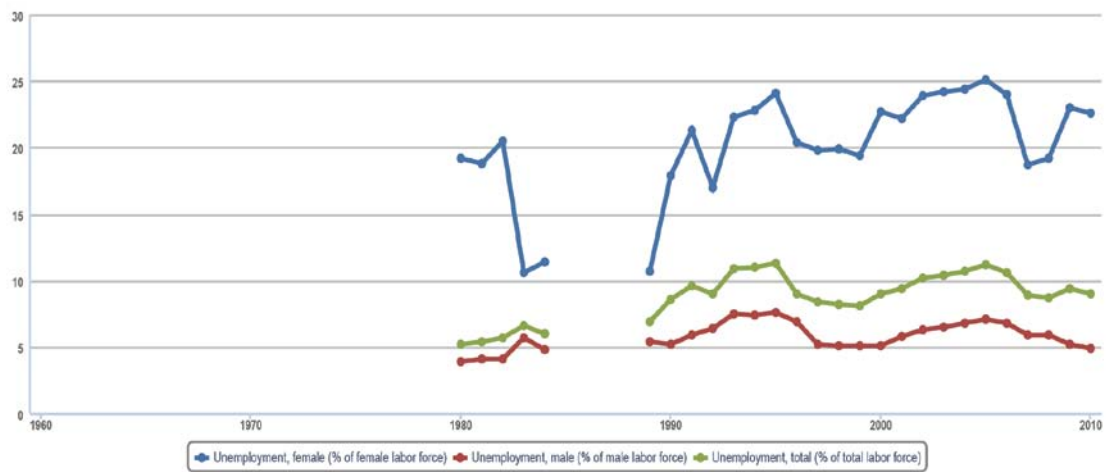
GNI and GDP calculated in PPP tells us about the economic development. This indicates both welfare and industrialization which is a part of both political and economic development

## Employment 1960-2010



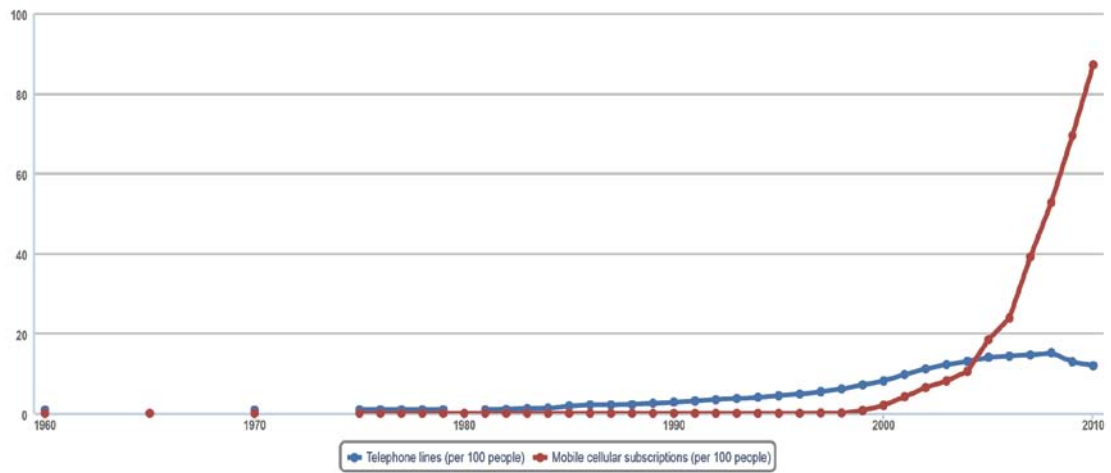
Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

## Unemployment 1960-2010



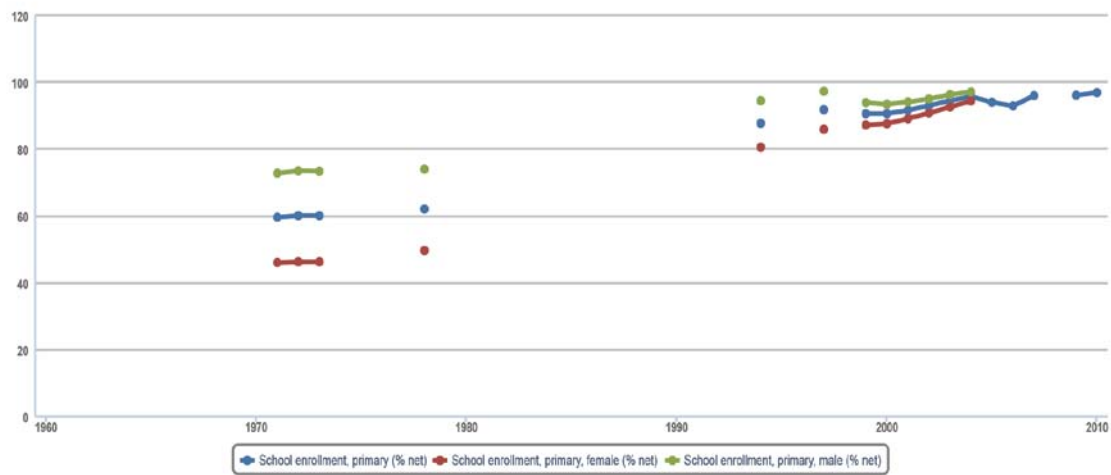
Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

## Telephones 1960-2010



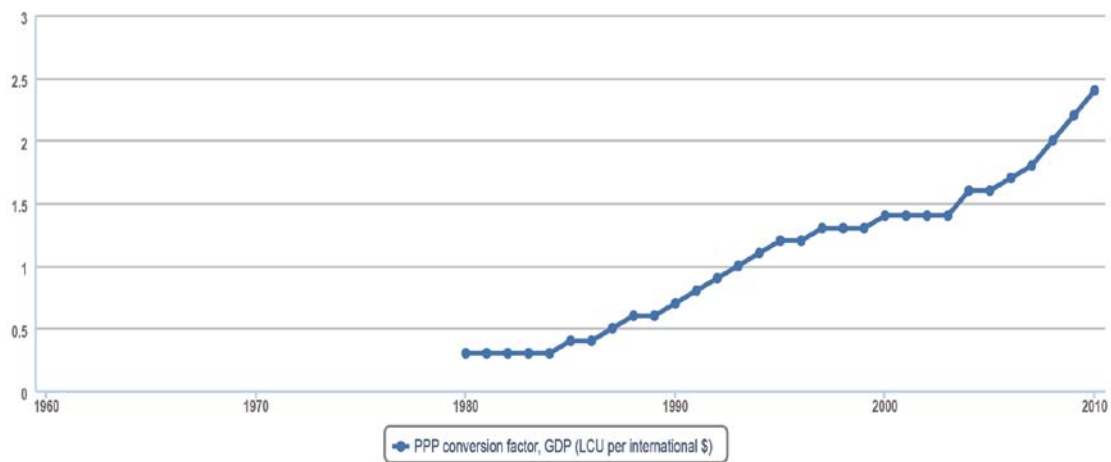
Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

## School enrollment 1960-2010



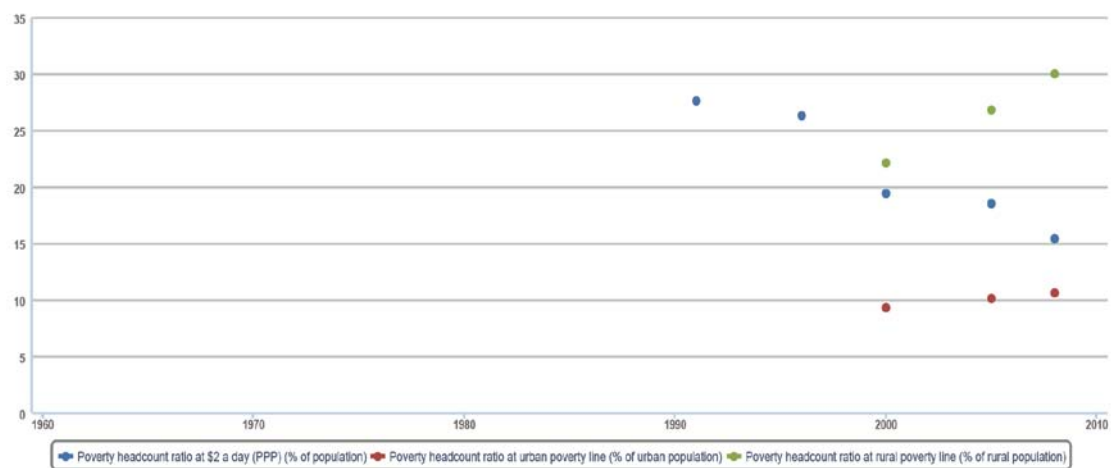
Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

### PPP 1960-2010



Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

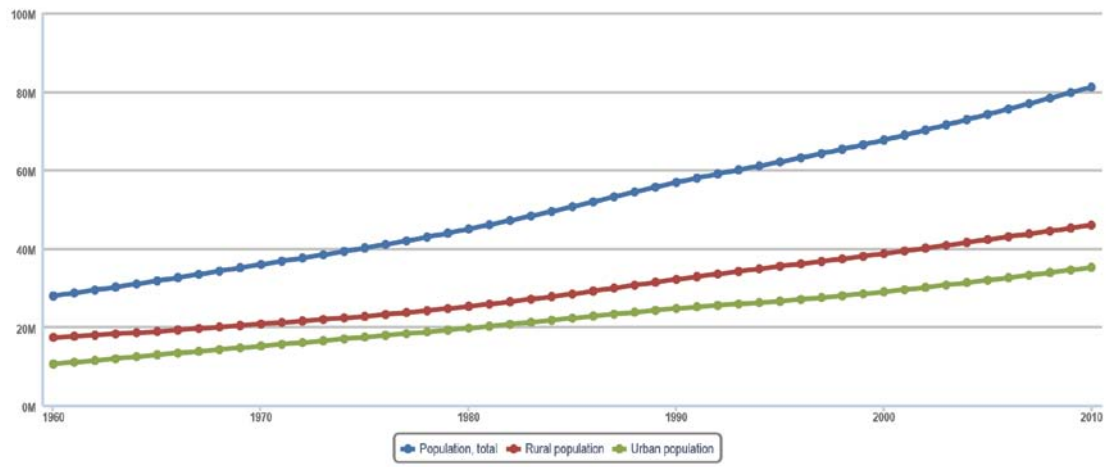
### Poverty headcount 1960-2010



Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

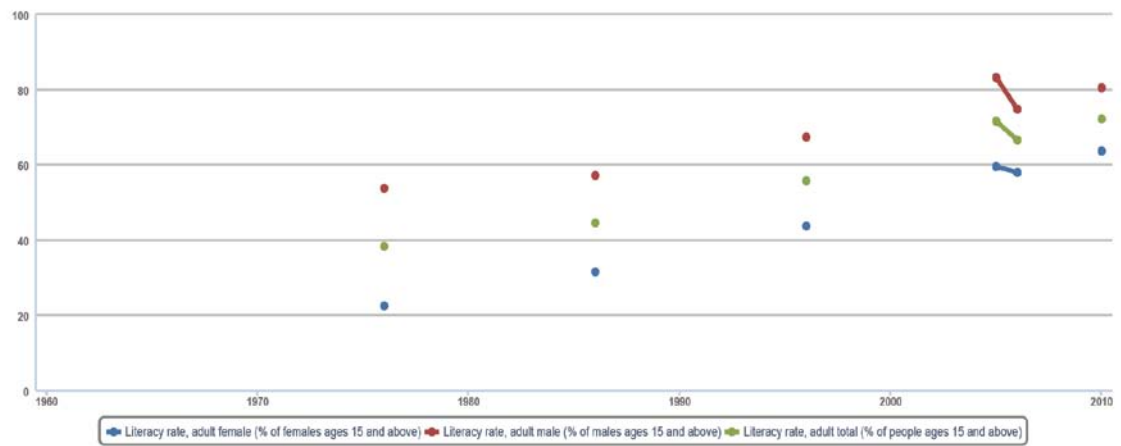


## Population 1960-2010



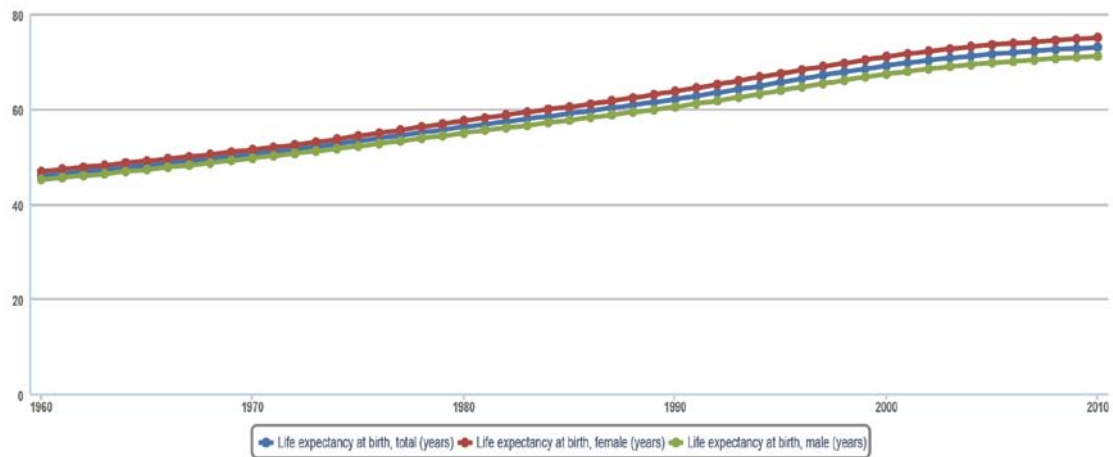
Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

## Literacy 1960-2010



Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

### Life expectancy 1960-2010



Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

All the graphs are elaborated in the analysis one. The variables are sought to cover from 1960 to 2010 but as can be seen it vary significantly if the chosen data have been collected frequently enough to cover all the years. This has also resulted in that some variables have been deselected in the process. I have identified that the chosen variables are able to provide the needed knowledge even though they are not all complete. The horizontal axis represents the chosen years and the vertical axis represents years, percentage and number of people or currency depending on the subject being measured.

#### 1.3.4.2 Opinion of the people

It has been proven very difficult to find opinion polls that goes further back than 2011 uprising. Therefore the provided opinion are limited to Gallup World View 2006-2012. The two questions investigated concerns secularization and the approval of the government.

#### 1.3.5 Flow of argument

The thesis is constructed to find the best explanatory force in order to answer the problem statement. The aim of the analysis strategy is to detect if a modernization process occurs in Egypt and if this have lead to the uprising 2011 in Egypt the following chapters will contain: analysis 1 that investigate if the living standards have been increased this is done by applying the identified indicators to the data, analysis 2 will

investigate if the peoples opinion have changed and that they now strive towards democratization, the findings of the analyses will be discussed and concluded on, In the reflection if will be discussed whether Huntington's approach has the needed explanatory force to explain why the 2011 uprising in Egypt occurred this will be done by applying Hinnebuch perspectives on the Middle Eastern region.

## 2 Analytical part

### 2.1 Analysis 1

This analysis applies the indicators that were identified in the theoretical discussion of Huntington's modernization to establish if there has been an increase in the peoples living standards. In the analysis the data from the World DataBank are applied to the theoretical indicators of modernization. The analysis is based on the graphs that represent the retrieved data. The first of the research questions presented in the analysis strategy is the frame of this analysis;

- Can there be detected a rise in the peoples living standards in Egypt from 1952 to 2010?

To answer the research question the following groups of indicators will be applied on the data:

**Demographic change:** Modernization changes patterns of life; increase in health and life expectancy, increased occupation, mobility and especially the urbanization. These factors are used as indicators to measure the level of development in Egypt.

**Change in the mindset:** Intellectually modernization affects the people's knowledge: This can be detected trough increased literacy, mass communications, secularization and education.

**Political development in the form of mobilization:** the process where old social, economic and psychological commitments ends and this leads to new patterns of socialization and behavior. This means that it changes; the attitudes, values and expectations of people and makes them familiar with the modern world in contrast with

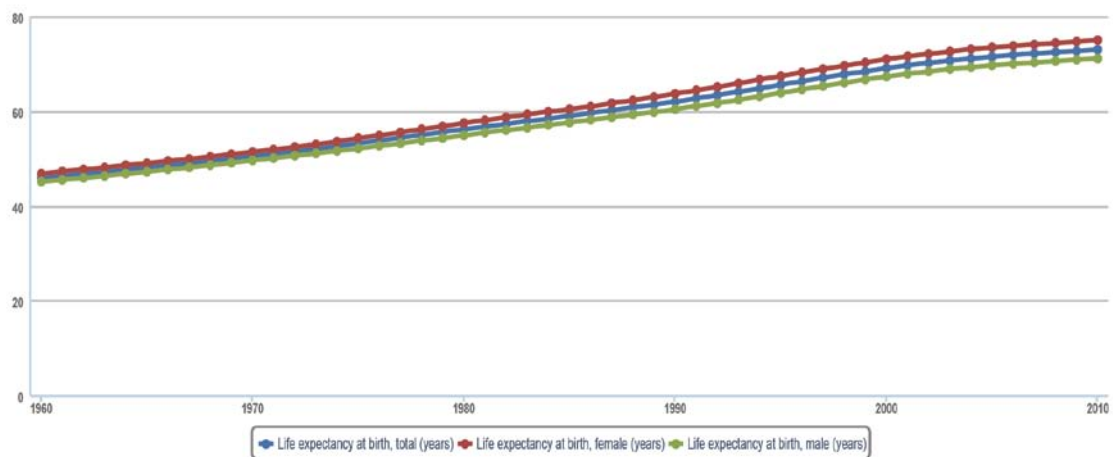
the traditional world. This mobilization is a consequence of literacy, education, increased communications, mass media exposure, and urbanization.

**Political development in the form of economic development:** This can be measured in different levels of society; per capita gross national product, level of industrialization, and level of individual welfare measured by indices as life expectancy, caloric intake, supply of hospitals and doctors.

**Instability:** Instability indicates that the country is going through a transition phase; this is likely to be a modernization process or even democratization as consequence of the need for change. Unemployment especially indicates instability if there is an increasing level of education. Mobilization and economic development might also be indicators of instability

## Life expectancy

Life expectancy 1960-2010

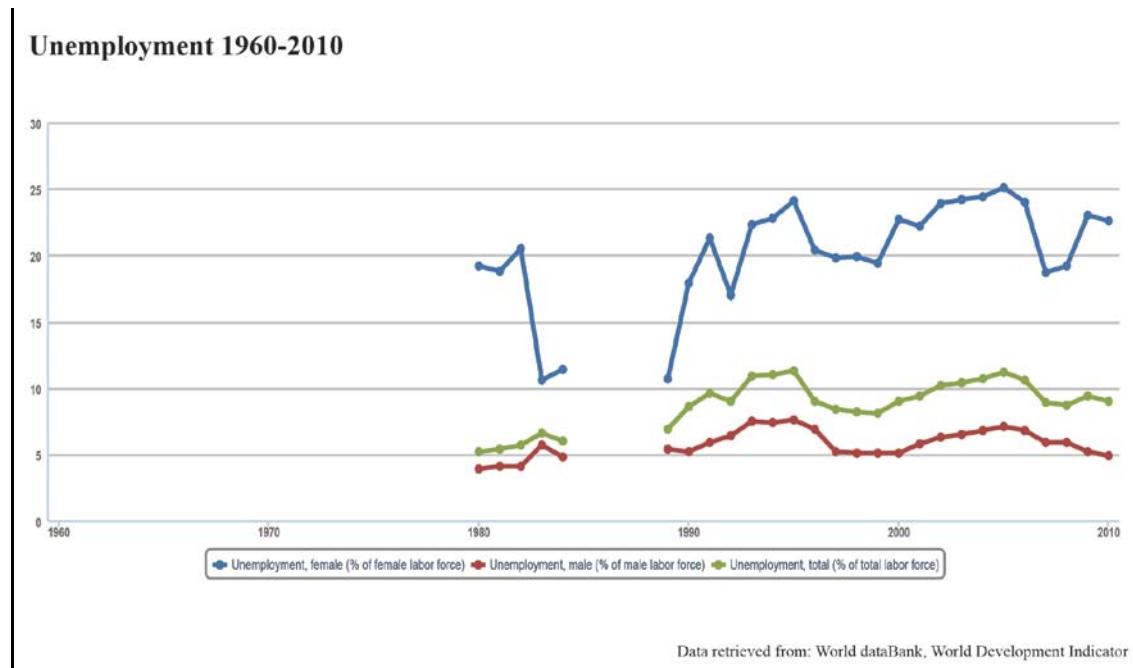


Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

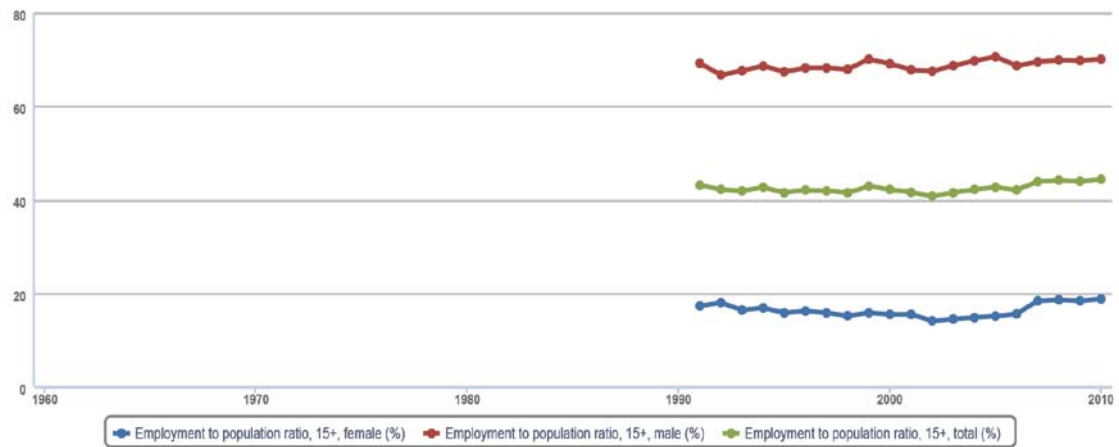
Life expectancy is one of the indicators where the data goes all the way back to 1960. As Huntington explains life expectancy is one of the most obvious indicators on if the living standards have increased. An increase in life expectancy does not in itself tell us anything about the living standards however the assumed reasons for increased life

expectancy does. This tells us that health, nutrition and labour conditions have been increased this can be linked with the development indicator that tells s about political development in the form of economic development. Because even without looking at the economic growth Huntington states that you can identify economic development if the life expectancy is increased. The indicators tells us that a demographic change is happening and have been steadily going on since 1960 and up to the uprising in 2011, this in itself indicates that there can be a modernization process going on. The graph shows that there is an significant increase in the total life expectancy from 48 years in 1960 to 87 years in 2010. It also shows that the female, with 88 years, life expectancy is a little higher than the male, with 86 years, life expectancy.

### Increased occupation



## Employment 1960-2010

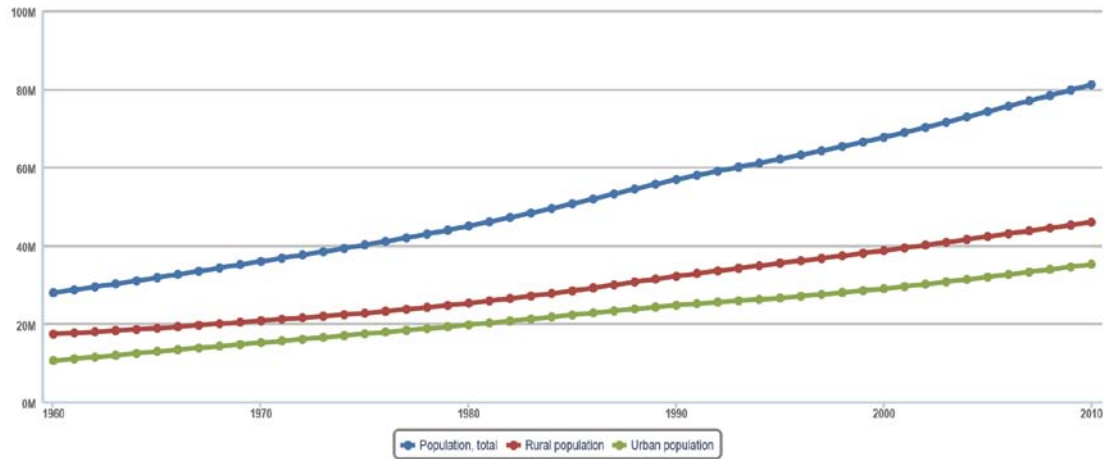


Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

Increased occupation is one of the indicators in the indicator used to show demographic movement. The graphs chosen to show this aspect are one that shows the employment rate and one that shows the unemployment rate. The unemployment graph goes from 1980-2010 with a hole in the 1980'ties. The employment graph only goes from 1990. As the two graphs show there have not been a significant increase in the percentage of employment which have varies a few percent from 1990 to 2010. The total employment rate is on 45 percent in 2010 and the total unemployment rate goes from 5 to 9 percent which is an increase in the unemployment on 4 percent. In these graphs the there is no indication for modernization. Another thing that speaks against this is that in these graphs the equality between men and women are distinct. Especially the graphs about unemployment shows a huge difference between men and women and the difference are not being equalized much during the years. This indicates that this is a traditional society where although the women are counted as a part of the workforce, according to the data, they are not as likely to work as men.

## Urbanization

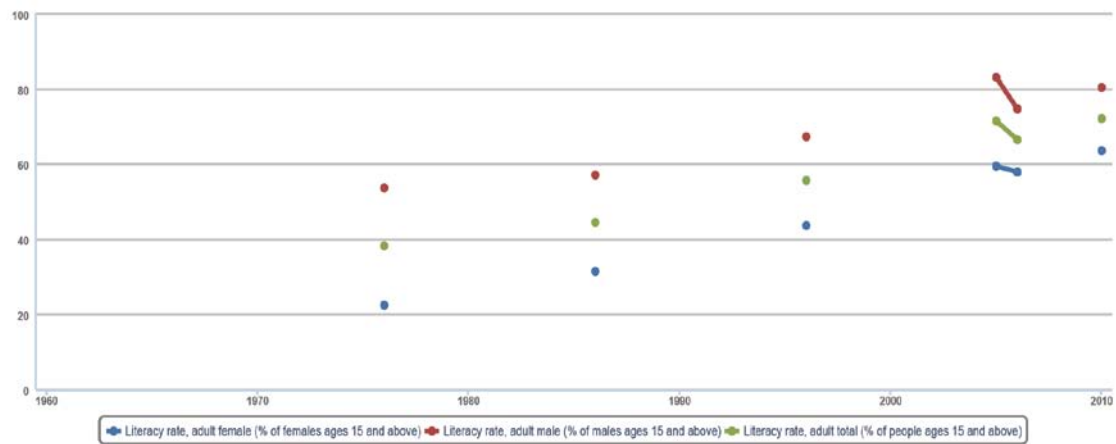
### Population 1960-2010



Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

Huntington names urbanization as one of the most significant consequences of modernization. People moves away from the rural areas and join wish to join labour forces in mayor cities instead. It has not been possible to find data that shows the numbers for how many people who have moved from rural areas to cities. Instead a graph of the population is used. The graph displays the growth in the population from 1960 to 2010. The total population has grown from 30 million to a little more than 80 millions. The graph also holds to variables that show the number of people living in respectively urban and rural areas. Along with the total population both variables shows an increase and they both have the same increase in population numbers from 1960 to 2010. It shows that the main part of the population lives in rural areas and even though there have been an increase in the urbanization there has also been an increase in the number of people living in the country side. This therefore gives no modernization indicator.

## Literacy 1960-2010



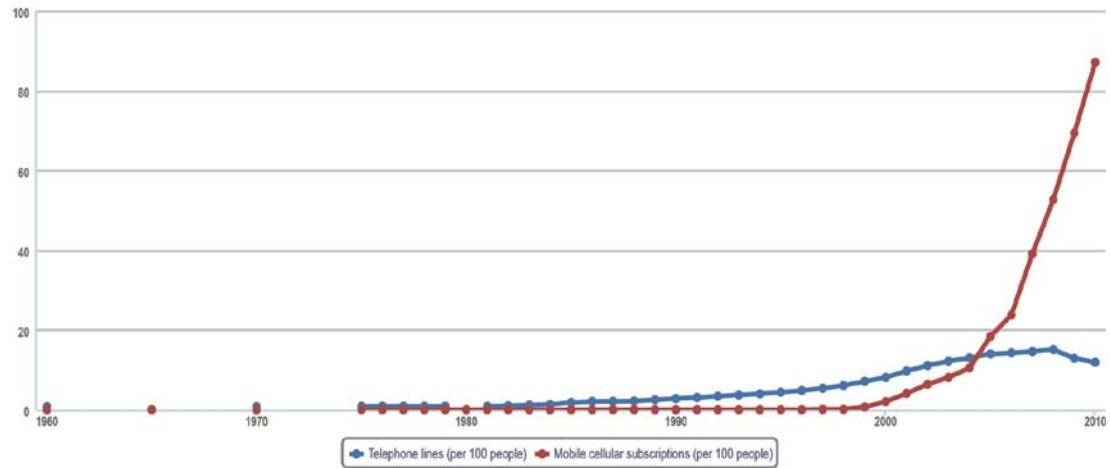
Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

Increased literacy can be one of the reasons for a change in people's mindsets because they are able to read and therefore govern their lives themselves. People that are not able to read have to rely much on other people and are not as likely to change values or desire change in the society. Increased literacy also increases the opportunity for getting an education. Literacy is also one of the reasons for demographic changes. This graph display data from the late 1970'ties to 2010. It shows the total development of literacy for adults and also the respectively developments in literacy for men and women. Overall there is an increase in literacy but the development is not steady and a there happened a decrease in the 1980'ties and again in the millenniums. This shows that there is a slow development in the directions of more literacy but there is still 30 percent of the population that are illiterate. Again there is a difference between the men and women; in 2010 there are 20 percent of the men and 38 percent of the women that are illiterate.



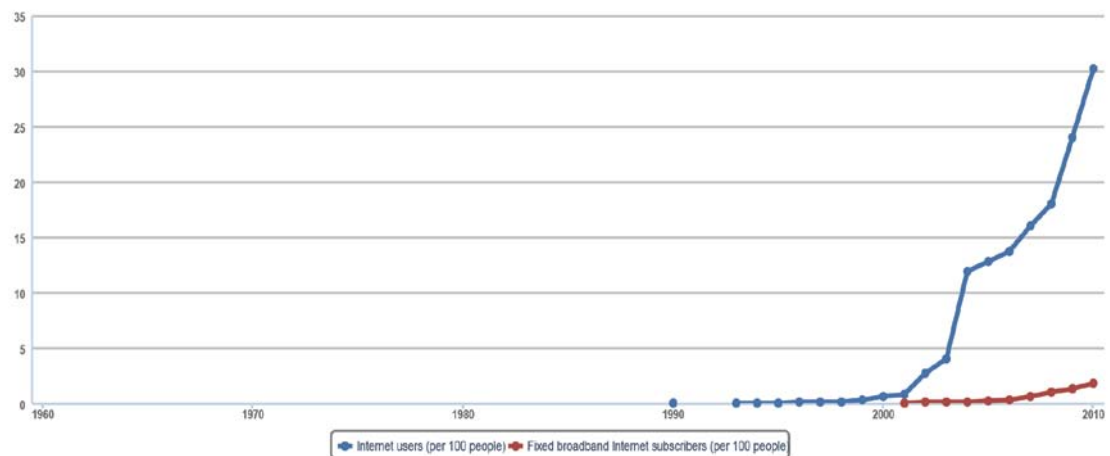
## Mass communication

### Telephones 1960-2010



Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

### Internet 1960-2010



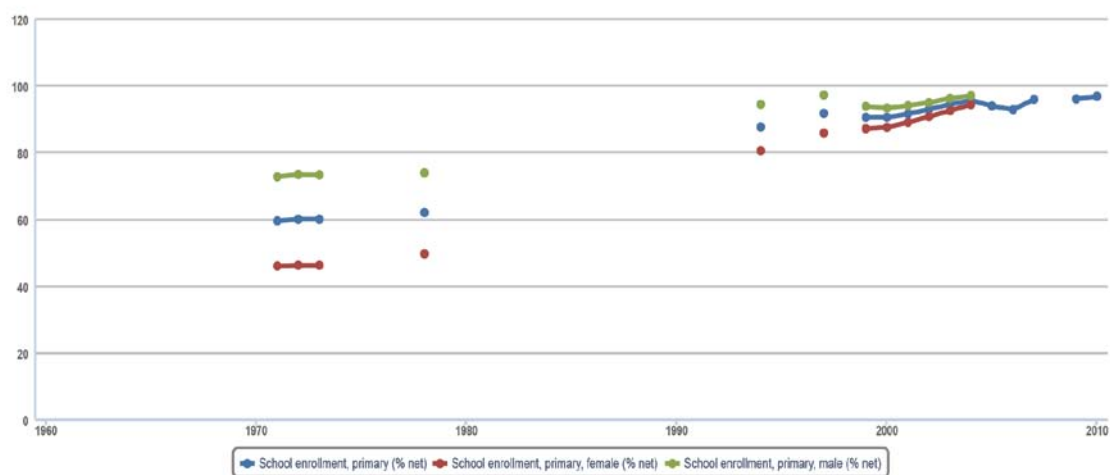
Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

Increase in mass communication indicates also a change in the mindsets of the people. This is connected, like literacy, with the access to information and the option of chosen between different truth as the opposite of always only hearing one moderated truth trough state radio and TV like it is custom in many countries. The two graphs shows how many people who has telephone lines and access to internet. They shows that

neither has been very widespread until the last decades. Since 2000 there have been a very fast growing increase in the people who uses the internet from almost none to a third of the population. The mobile phone have had the same drastic development whereas the subscribes of telephone landlines and broadband internet are much lower and not nearly as mainstreamed. This very fast grow indicates that when it comes to communication it is mainly within the last decade that the Egyptian people have been exposed to that in significant matter.

## Education

School enrollment 1960-2010



Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

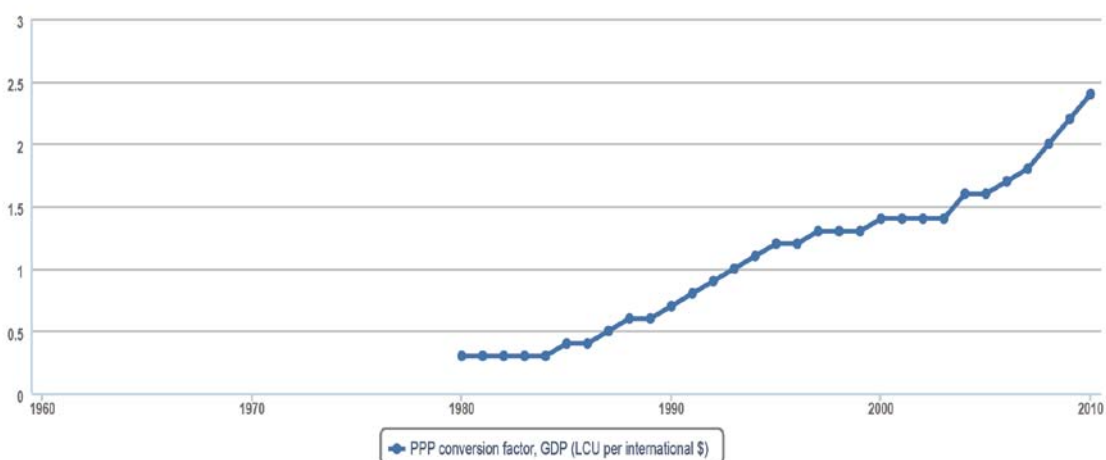
## Education

Education can of change people's mindset. The level of education can therefore tell us something about the level of people's desire for change in the society. Trough Huntington's research he had discovered that a high level of enrollment in schools was directly linked to instability it seems that the faster people get enlightened the more frequent the overthrow of government in countries with authoritarian leadership. In this graph the increase in school enrollment in primary school is measured. There are significant holes in the variables but the overall pictures show an increase from the first applied data in 1970, with an total enrollment percentage on 60, to 2010, with an total enrollment of 98 percent. Which is a significant change. The graph suggests that the

curve have not been steady but highly varied, however because of the holes in the data it is difficult concluded on. Another interesting observation is that this is the on graph where there have been a change in the gender perspective, it shows that the level of enrollment of boys and girls almost reach the same level in 2010. This could suggest that if the same measurement where made when this generation are grown the difference between the female and male variables throughout the study would be significantly smaller than what have been laid out here. This indicates a high level of demographic change and a high level of both mobilization and change in the mindset. The level of school enrollment in 2010 was considerable high with almost a percentage on 100, this connected to indicator of change in the peoples mindsets and Huntington's observation on education and instability makes these data the most important in actually suggesting that the modernization process occurs in Egypt.

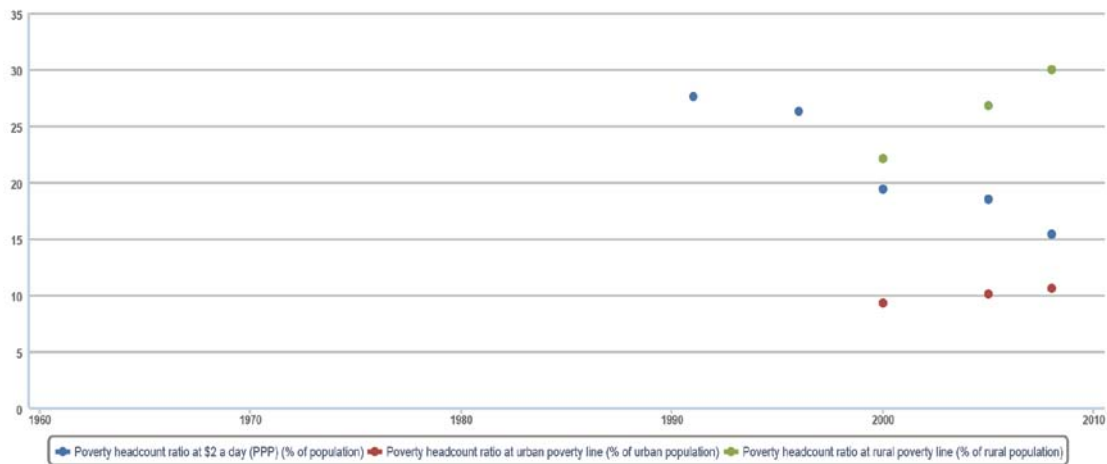
## Economic development

### PPP 1960-2010



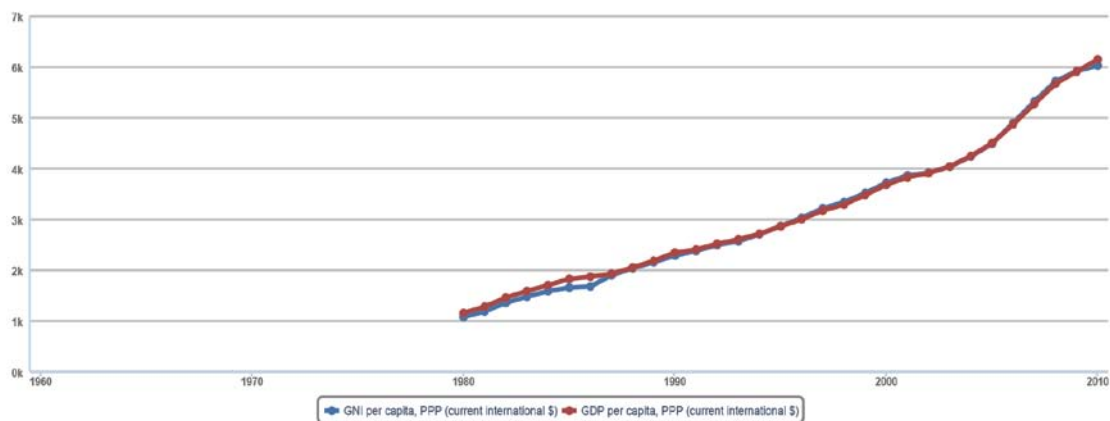
Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

### Poverty headcount 1960-2010



Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

### GNI and GDP per capita, PPP 1960-2010



Data retrieved from: World dataBank, World Development Indicator

These three graphs can all be applied to the indicators for the economic form of political development. The graphs display the number of people who lives under the Worldbank poverty line, the GDP and GNI and the PPP. Overall they show an increase in economy of the Egyptian people. The poverty headcount is not very sufficient because of lack of data but it indicates an decrease in the number of people living under the 2 dollar a day ratio have fallen significantly the past two decades from 28 percent to 15 percent. However it also shows that the people in rural areas have been increasing more poor the past decade meanwhile there are far less poor people in the urban areas. This brings

back the idea of urbanization; the reason for that it was difficult to detect in graph that showed growth of the population in the rural and urban areas can be because the urbanization is a recent phenomena that is not yet been detected in demographic terms. The graphs that show the PPP shows that the peoples purchase power parity have increased significantly and this is consistent with the indicator that increased welfare leads to economic development. The GDP and GNI per capita have also increased significantly but does not tell us anything on economic equality in Egypt, Data on economic equality was not possible obtain in a satisfactory state.

## 2.2 Analysis 2

This analysis applies the indicators that were identified in the theoretical discussion of Huntington's modernization to establish if there has been an increase in the peoples living standards. In the analysis the data from opinion polls from the Gallup Institute and in order to analyze the theoretical indicators of modernization. The analysis is based on the graphs that represents the retrieved data. The second of the research questions presented in the analysis strategy is the frame of this analysis;

- Can there be detected a change in the peoples opinion on democratic values in Egypt from 1952 to 2010?

To answer the research question the following groups of indicators will be applied on the data:

**Change in the mindset:** Intellectually modernization affects the people's knowledge: This can be detected through increased literacy, mass communications, secularization and education.

**Political development in the form of mobilization:** the process where old social, economic and psychological commitments ends and this leads to new patterns of socialization and behavior. This means that it changes; the attitudes, values and expectations of people and makes them familiar with the modern world in contrast with the traditional world. This mobilization is a consequence of literacy, education, increased communications, mass media exposure, and urbanization.

In order to investigate whether there have happened a shift the opinion of the Egyptian people towards democratic values sets of questions are retrieved from the Gallup WorldView; Approval of the country's leadership and importance of religion.

The indicators for change in the minds sets have secularization as one of the indicators; in the Gallup World View asked the Egyptians if they were found religion important. Almost 100 percent answers yes to that question. The demographic differences are also displayed but despite of age and gender it is around 98 percent in every case.

The indicator for political development in the form of mobilization leads a change in behavior and in the values and expectations for the society this leads to the Gallup WorldView questions if the people approve of the countries leadership; here the answer is less homogeneous; 58 percent of the males approve 38 percent of the males disapproves of the govern men within the female respondentent it looks a bit different ; 53 percent approves of the government hence 40 percent disapproves.

### **3 Conclusion**

The data retrieved provides some answers in whether modernization occurred in Egypt prior to the 2011 uprising;

When it comes to demographic change the indicators does not quite agree, there have been an significant increase in the life expectancy but there have not been much of an increase in occupation neither the urbanization seemed increased but as detected in the economic section of the analysis it turns out that people are less poor in urban areas; this might lead to an increase in the urbanization in the longer run. Within the indicators of change in the mindset they are more convincing towards a positive status of the occurrence of modernization in Egypt; there was both an increase in literacy, mass communication and education, this tells that there is a level of intellectually modernization however it is possible that the generation that is affected by this is too young on the burst to old enough to have had anything to do with 2011 uprising. Of the indicators that tells something about the political development in the form of mobilization as stated about all three , literacy, education, increased communications, has increased. Which tells us that new patterns if social, economic psychological

commitments are changed into new patterns of socialization and behavior. Of the indicators, that shows if there was occurring political development in the form of economic development, the economic indicators showed that the economy increased and that overall poverty have gone down too. Huntington uses instability to explain how it can be detected that a society are on its way to over trough their leader; within this perspectives the rapid growing numbers of children enrolled in primary school supports this thesis.

The data from the Gallup world view shows that even though a lot have happened in Egypt it seems that the overall opinion of the society have not changed yet.

This can be because the affects of the modernization process have not been deeply rooted yet. Even though a lot of the modernization indicators was detected in Analysis 1, it does not completely ram home modernizations is the cause of the 2011 uprising in Egypt.

## **4 Reflection**

In order to have a better understanding of why the 2011 uprising occurred when it. I will apply the perspectives of Raymond Hinnebusch (2006 and 2012)

### **4.1 Hinnebusch**

In the article, Authoritarian Persistence, Democratization Theory and the Middle East: An overview and Critique (2006), Hinnebusch explains why and how the authoritarian regimes had been resistance to the democratization process. He follows up on the resent development in the Middle East in the article; Syria: from “authoritarian upgrading” to revolution? (2012). these two articles are used to apply Huntington’s modernizations theory to the case of Egypt.

The Middle East had been exceptional in resisting democratization (Hinnebusch 2006). Hinnebusch argues that the authoritarian regimes in the Middle East had been very good at adapting to new conditions. The regimes use their ability to adapt to substitute democracy by using political liberalization or pluralization. Hinnebusch describes how modernization had not been effective in the Middle East. As an explanation to this he describes how the political structure of the authoritarian regimes in the region.

Hinnebusch defines authoritarian regimes, the really simple ones is personalistic dictatorships and military juntas, they both lack institutions that can implement social forces policy. These kinds of regimes are likely to only exist at lower levels of development. The other kind of authoritarian regimes are the more institutionalized ones with single party/corporatist systems. These regimes got bureaucratic/technocratic institutions; they are potentially more capable of being inclusive and develop the countries. This kind of regimes is likely to exist in higher levels of development. When it comes to the more developed regimes Hinnebusch distinguish between populist authoritarian (PA) and bureaucratic authoritarian (BA).

#### **4.1.1 Critique of modernization theory**

Democratization theory are closely linked to modernization theory. It is modernization theory that had examined the occurrence of democratization in developing countries. Modernization theory concludes based on the experience of developed countries, according to Hinnebusch, that in most cases societies will become too complex and mobilized to be governed by authoritarianism. Hinnebusch shortly outlines the concepts of Modernization Theory in connection to the Middle East; the claim of modernization theory is that high income countries most likely will become democratic. This will develop through rising literacy, urbanization and non-agricultural employments, these factors are also the ones Huntington uses to explain social mobilization. Because of the increased mobilization this will according to the theory lead to increased political participation and make people work actively towards a more democratic society. This process will make democracy inevitable. Hinnebusch identifies a problem within modernization theory when it comes to explain why some authoritarian regimes have been persistence to democratization and in the same time had experienced economic growth. He argues that in the contemporary middle-income countries in the Middle East democratization is possible but not necessary. To explain why democratization did not happen in the Middle East some analysts use the argument that it is the regions cultural exceptionalism that is the reason for that that there has not been a linear relationship between increased development and increased democratization. Islam, “oriental despotism”, patrimonialism, patriachalism and mass passivity is for some analysts the identity of the Middle Eastern countries and these factors are blamed for being against democracy. Especially Islam is by some analysts referred to as the biggest obstacle to



democracy. It could seem as the natural explanation because the gap between Western and Middle Eastern culture is quite obvious. However Hinnebusch disagrees and finds these kinds of statements misleading and refers to the survey “Islam and democracy in the Middle East” (Tessler 2002). The survey concludes that a strong connection to Islam does not equal non support to democracy. Islam movements have often participated in democratic elections. They have only shown to be a barrier when they have been radicalized by being excluded. In the Mediterranean Europe clientism and patriarchalism has also been proven to be compatible with democracy. Hinnebusch also disagree with the perspective that the Middle Eastern people are passive; on the contrary he believes that they seize every chance they have to influent and participate in their society. The influence of Middle Eastern culture, on the possibility for democratization, is summed up to be an intervening variable but not the reason why Middle East have not been democratized yet. However the Middle East is not unmarked by modernization, and Hinnebusch gives credit to Huntington’s Political Order in Changing Societies for being one being, with its more empirical approach than the classical modernization literature, able to acknowledge that modernization not always leads to democratization but can lead to other types of modernized states.

#### **4.1.2 Populist/post-populist authoritarian regime**

In the Middle East the modernization have lead to mainly two different types of regimes; PA (populist authoritarian) regimes and BA (bureaucratic authoritarian regimes). The regime type that matches the history of Egypt the most is PA, with the one-party system and strong military, where the society got structured around the unprivileged people and there was a huge nationalizing of business in order to make everything accesses able for the people e.g. apartment stores (Shawky 2013). The military is an integrated part of the governance. There was done an effort to mobilize the lower classes of the society; Nasser built for example a lot of apartment buildings with the underlying philosophy that everyone should be able to live in a nice apartment in the city. There was a social contract between the government and the people. This made the Egyptians felt taken care of and there was no desire for change. The PA regime form created stability in the region. The regime understood how to adapt to the conditions; despite that there was no sign on a democratization process. However after Mubarak took over the power things changed; the nationalized businesses was

privatized and the social contract between the people and their leader terminated. The regime turned into what Hinnebusch names a post-populist authoritarian (PPA) regime; one of the consequences was a growing Islam. The ruling was based on a narrow group and benefiting few people. Islam developed from being a small radical group to becoming a moderate mainstream religion and movement.

#### **4.1.3 Summary**

Middle Eastern states have been capable in including modernization in limited scale and still maintain the hostile structural conditions that have been resistance of democratization. In the same time the states, just like Egypt, have been undergoing a transition that left the people very frustrated. The liberalization made the countries adaptable and persistent. In his concluding argument he suggest how democratization could happen in the Middle East; the solution is a long evolution where the regime legitimacy is enhanced and growing investments in the region will open the countries up. Nevertheless he thinks that US intrusive and biased treatment of Middle East has to stop before democracy will become a realistic opportunity.

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