

## **The Role of Indonesian and Egyptians' NGOs in Democratisation**

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### **Abstract**

The emergence of Non Government Organizations (NGOs) in various fields of life is proof that civil society is essential in building a democratic society. NGOs can educate citizens and communities on their fundamental rights to create a democratic state and world order life. NGOs in Indonesia and Egypt have played a significant role in strengthening democratic movements by empowering civil society. This study examines NGOs' role in democratization in Indonesia during the reign of President Suharto and Egypt under the leadership of President Hosni Mubarak. In carrying out their functions, NGOs take a stand as a balancing force for the state and agents of community empowerment. The NGOs' elements struggle in producing an ideal democratic society order in these two countries facing their respective challenges. Some NGOs challenge building democratic society such as military domination, party hegemony systems, and robust state control over society. To encourage democratization in Indonesia and Egypt, NGOs have contributed to building democratic practices, improving democratic performance, strengthening civil rights, monitoring elections, and promoting corruption eradication. The strengthening of democracy by NGOs in Indonesia and Egypt has impacted building political openness, awareness of citizens' political rights, and pro-society public policies.

**Keywords:** NGOs, Indonesia, Egypt, Democratisation.

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### **1.Introduction**

Civil society organizations are an important element in building a democratic society. One of them is an Non Government Organization (NGO) which gives a new nuance to the “check and balance” mechanism of society in government policies. NGOs can educate citizens and society to be aware and care about their fundamental rights.

The role of civil society in strengthening democracy in the last decades of the 20th century is associated with the third wave of democracy (Huntington,1991:13) in Latin America, Southern Europe and Eastern Europe. In the last decades of the twentieth century, democratic governance has emerged as a globally recognized political model despite cultural differences. Democracy as a model of government has also been accepted in Muslim-majority countries, such as Egypt and Indonesia.

Indonesia and Egypt are currently experiencing a democratic transition from authoritarianism to participatory democracy. The end of President Suharto's rule (32 years in office) witnessed a shift from an authoritative system to one that embodies democratic values and principles (Nasution,2018)

Democratisation in Egypt developed in a dynamic social and political context and where NGOs shaped its socio-political agenda. The country witnessed a new era with the people's revolution on January 25, 2011, which saw the Hosni Mubarak regime's overthrow. The absence of democracy has led to a revolution that meant redesigning democracy from its inception in the Egyptian socio-political milieu context.

This study examines the role of NGOs' in democratization in Indonesia during the reign of President Suharto and Egypt under the leadership of President Hosni Mubarak. Many factors influence the democratisation process in Egypt and Indonesia as well as different actors (Sorensen,2008). The democratisation processed in Egypt and Indonesia are driven by internal political, legal, economic, and social factors. This study employs a historical institutionalism approach to explain how NGOs helped strengthened democracy in Indonesia and Egypt under the rule of Suharto and Hosni Mubarak respectively. This can be seen by the the role of NGOs' role as a counter balance to state power.

### **2.Methodology**

This is a longitudinal study and examines the historical growth of NGOs and their contribution to democratisation of Egypt and Indonesia. The method

employed in this study involved four stages: heuristic (collecting sources), source criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Gottschalk, 1985).

Primary sources were examined, such as government and media reports. In particular, manifesto and platform from NGOs were reviewed. Secondary data for this research was obtained from books, reports, journals, and newspaper. The Indonesia Observer were also sources of local news in addition to magazines, such as Buletin Tapol. The study also reviewed the following online sites: Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (<http://www.eohr.org/>), <http://www.refworld.org/docid/45f056967>, and <https://www.un.org/press/en/2003/sgsm8766.doc.ht>.

The study analysed the following: the development of democratization and changes in Indonesia and Egypt government and political system. The socio-political approach has been used in this article and it is tried to take advantage of information to achieve a proper pattern for The NGOs role in strengthening democracy both Indonesia and Egypt.

### **3. NGOs Challenge Building Democratic Society**

It is said that there were many challenges faced by the Indonesians and Egyptians in the formation of a democratic society during the reign of President Soeharto (1968-1998) and the government of Husni Mubarak in Egypt (1981-2011). Some NGOs challenge the building of democratic societies such as military domination, party hegemony systems, and strong state control over society.

In Indonesia, the New Order era was the culmination of the involvement of the military in the bureaucracy, the government political party (Golkar), and the legislature, which occurred because the New Order military was the socio-political force that was most ready to enter the bureaucracy. Then, the initial conditions of the New Order were marked by the authorities' suspicion of party-based civilian politicians, as well as military control over the bureaucracy as a strategy to secure the continuity of power. Lastly, the penetration of the military into the bureaucracy is without obstacles from the community.

Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 20 of 1982 provides a juridical basis for the existence of Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI) as a defense and security force, as well as a socio-political force where ABRI personnel fill the government bureaucratic network, political parties, the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) and the House of

Representatives (DPR). Mac Dougall (1982) points out that the military dominates the control of strategic departments in the bureaucracy.

**Table (1): Percentage of Military and Civilians in Each Department 1982**

| NO | DEPARTEMEN               | MILITARY | CIVILIANS |
|----|--------------------------|----------|-----------|
| 1  | Home Affairs             | 89       | 11        |
| 2  | Foreign Affairs          | 50       | 50        |
| 3  | Defense and Security     | 100      | 0         |
| 4  | Law (justice)            | 50       | 50        |
| 5  | Information              | 57       | 43        |
| 6  | Finance                  | 30       | 70        |
| 7  | Trade and Cooperative    | 38       | 62        |
| 8  | Agriculture              | 40       | 60        |
| 9  | Industry                 | 38       | 82        |
| 10 | Mining and Energy        | 14       | 86        |
| 11 | Public Works             | 12       | 88        |
| 12 | Transportation           | 56       | 44        |
| 13 | Education and Culture    | 44       | 56        |
| 14 | Health                   | 38       | 62        |
| 15 | Religion                 | 56       | 44        |
| 16 | Social                   | 57       | 43        |
| 17 | Labor and Transmigration | 50       | 50        |

(Source: MacDougall, 1982:102)

According to Liddle (1992:133), the New Order government which was dominated by the military had a unique perception of political parties, namely as competitors in the struggle for power. As a result, the Golkar (The functional group of New Order ruling party) is getting bigger and the role of political parties is underestimated.

The hegemonic party system provides opportunities for other parties to compete through elections. Ali Murtopo's role was very big in turning Golkar's victory into a hegemonic party. The government is taking steps to hegemony Golkar. With the following objectives: 1. to weaken the party system and increase the dominance of the military state as the main actor, and to eliminate parliamentary domination, 2. introducing to the public the symbols of development and modernization, and 3. building formal legitimacy for the state in order to streamline control and co-optation of society.

Golkar has eliminated the political parties that prevented Golkar from

winning the election, such as the Indonesian National Party (PNI) and Nahdhatul Ulama (NU). The government banned the re-formation of the Masyumi party which was supported by the masses in the 1955 elections and only allowed the formation of a party called the Indonesian Muslimin Party (Parmusi).

The government combines the political parties into two political parties (PPP and PDI) plus Golongan Karya. Furthermore, laws (UU) that benefit Golkar and disadvantage political parties are made, namely the 1969 Election Law, Law no. 5 of 1975, and the revision of Law no. 5 of 1985. In this law there is a concept of "floating masses" and a stipulation of the position of the Minister of Home Affairs as the supervisor of domestic politics.

The false awareness that was built by the New Order regime through the single principle doctrine of Pancasila, centralization of power, and the role of ABRI in socio-political life began to waver with the emergence of critical figures, academics, NGOs and opposition parties. This was the beginning of the fall of the New Order regime.

The dominant state control makes it difficult for the civil society movement to develop its autonomy in the process of building a democratic politics and society. There are three inhibiting aspects: a. the process of trimming the critical power of society, b. the production of discourse on threats, and c) the labeling of the latent dangers of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). For civil society organizations, this control is not only on simple ideas but also on various concrete actions, such as the dissolution of events and other forms of pressure. Despite being weakened, civil society organizations continue to move against undemocratic power structures through a network of organizations and groups of students, scholars, NGOs, politicians and former high-ranking government officials, both civilian and military.

During Mubarak's administration, the Democratic National Party, which became the ruling party in the Mubarak era, could not be separated from the role of the military. The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) was founded and specialized in Egyptian politics. In 1981-1987, there were many attempts to expand military responsibility in defense and the role of national politics, until the issuance of the Emergency Law which reflected the government's concern for threats from within, such as fundamentalist Islamic groups that were a threat to the stability of leadership in Egypt.

In 1981, Mubarak enacted a State of Emergency Act that gave powers to the police and military, suspended citizens' constitutional rights, and legalized censorship. In addition, Mubarak gradually introduced controlled politics. He allowed the opposition and civil society organizations to become active in politics. However, Mubarak also permitted the arrest of opposition actors and indirectly excluded them from political competition. An indication of the closure of the opposing political space is the enactment of the 1983 Election Law. Mubarak controls the political period in what is called "guided multipartism." (Brownlee,2007).

In contemporary Egyptian politics, parliaments are the investment of executives. Election fraud and voter intimidation characterize the administration of elections in every legislative election. For decades, the Egyptian government has sought to control civil society. The Egyptian trade union federation with 23 trade unions has a close relationship with the state to become autonomous in its movement. (Mustapha K. Al-Sayyid,1993). Semi-independent syndicates, such as the Bar Association, journalists, doctors, and technical associations were quite active during the 1980s and 1990s, predominantly dominated by the Muslim Brotherhood. To reduce Islamic hegemony in this syndicate, a country dominated by members of the National Democratic Party (NDP), which has been in power since the late 1990s, enacted Law no. 100/1993. (Hassan,2011).

Non-government agencies were developed within the Mubarak Regime. As a result, business associations and chambers of commerce depend on the state to protect its economic interests. The government enacted law 84/2002, which stipulates that all non-profit organizations must be registered with the Ministry of Social Solidarity or face criminal penalties. The ministry must approve the various activities of civil society organizations, have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of any organization and dissolve it if it receives foreign funds or is affiliated with an international group without official permission. (Amy Hawthorne,2004).

#### **4.NGOs Role in Democratization**

##### **4-1.NGO Encourage Democracy**

The weak performance of formal political institutions, parties and legislatures has encouraged the emergence of NGOs. Many activists use NGOs to build an institutional base and struggle. in activities covering various aspects such as community development. They take on the roles of

various legal-political institutions, and influence the policy-making process. Elridge noted that the NGO approach varies from country to country, but has the same orientation in building a democratic society. According to Uhlin (1997), the involvement of NGOs in the democratization process is real. NGOs have long struggled to deal with state domination over society. Pro-democracy and human rights NGOs are fighting against the authoritarian state structure through demonstrations of public protest activities. NGOs provide political education and encourage public awareness to care about issues in the formulation of the National Security Bill.

During times such as the New Order era, NGOs contributed to strengthening the pillars of democracy. This contribution is made through advocacy and NGO support for efforts to reform state institutions, organize and mobilize marginalized groups, and the pluralization of institutions that support democracy (Clarke,1998). Indonesia and Egypt are committed to practicing a democratic culture and ecosystem in their institutions. This commitment can at least be seen from the following conditions:

1. Internally the NGO has a democratic structure. This is indicated by open membership recruitment and shows equality in the organization.
2. NGOs exhibit a high institutionalization level, including autonomy, adaptability, coherence, and complexity.
3. The structure has "civics," which includes tolerance, trust, and cooperation.
4. NGOs will always respect and develop pluralism in an expansive manner.
5. NGOs have broad support from the community.

Many NGOs adopt democratic values, however, there are also NGOs that have not implemented them because NGOs do not strictly separate their organizational structure. Leadership in some NGOs is also dominated by one person and NGO members are less involved in the decision-making process. Based on the 2005 LP3ES survey. Many NGOs have not yet formally established a body assigned to determine the direction of the organization and implement it (Ibrahim,2006).

The Ibn Khaldun Center in Egypt has a key role in the advancement and development of science because it can help develop responsible citizenship. (<https://www.un.org/press/en/2003/sgsm8766.doc.ht>). In a region with so

much internal and external pressure, The Ibn Khaldun Center can serve as an example of peaceful dialogue and suggest ways to build an Egyptian society that respects human rights, political pluralism, and just and sustainable growth.

EOHR is the oldest NGO in Egypt that respects human rights and fundamental freedoms for all Egyptians, reforms the law, promotes the rule of law, respects fair trials, and guarantees the right to participate in public affairs without discrimination, freedom of opinion and expression, freedom have religion and belief. In realizing its goals, EOHR uses democratic methods, namely through a peaceful approach (Nielsen and Neubert,2009).

#### **4-2. Improving Democratic Performance**

The authoritarian political structure lasted three decades. Enthusiasm has been thwarted by an undemocratic political process for the four decades since 1957. Institutionally, democracy appears to exist, but is limited in the arena of political participation. Many are oriented towards fighting for citizenship values and empowering political participation by prioritizing civil rights and obligations. The efforts of NGO activists succeeded in subverting authoritarianism when Suharto stepped down on May 21, 1998.

On 3 February, representatives from civil society groups and human rights activities met at the EOHR office to discuss the current situation, and hold them accountable for the January 25 Demonstration violations and groups. then formed the Egyptian Fact-Finding and Anti-Corruption Commission.

EOHR issued a press statement containing testimony. The EOHR advocates for civilians to be tried in military courts by publishing a report entitled 'Military Courts: Violation of Guarantee for a Fair Trial,' to document civilian cases. In addition, NGOs issued documents to ensure that the Egyptian constitution will be based on the values of the January 25 revolution with its slogan: 'Freedom, Dignity, Social Justice signed by more than 25 organizations. (Naggar,2012).

#### **4-3. Advancing Civil Rights and Its Performance**

NGOs replace political organizations that are less helpful in governance. They worked together during the New Order government. NGOs pressure the government to pay attention to community rights. In this case, there are at least three critical issues related to civil rights that are fought for by NGOs, namely related to consumer protection, trade unions, and agrarian reform.

In terms of consumer protection, Indonesian Consumers Foundation (YLKI) proposed a consumer protection law in 1981. The DPR approved the draft on March 31, 1999. Efforts to mobilize labor were undertaken by one of the NGOs, namely the All Indonesia Workers Union (SBSI). In 1993 the SBSI was still moving and forming a labor union. As of March 1994, SBSI claimed to have 250,000 members. The government revises the Manpower Law no. 25/1997. Workers and NGOs are demanding a trade union bill and the formation of sectoral and cross-sector federations.

NGOs are faced with the government's low respect for human rights. The constitution provides freedom of speech and press; however, in practice these rights remain restricted. In the late 1980s, the Egyptian human rights movement adopted the EOHR campaign in the early 1990s to end torture, which succeeded in placing the issue on the agenda of the People's Assembly. 2. Involving the press in informing the institution's attitude to the public. 3. Human rights reports deal with cases such as torture and ill-treatment in prisons and police stations. 4. Annual reports and activity reports, and 5) Periodicals and journals (Naggar,2012).

On May 26, 2004, according to the EOHR, police tortured activists Kifaya, Muhamed al-Sharkawy and Karim al-Shaer after the May 25 demonstration at the Kasr al-Nil police station. In April 2005, the EOHR issued a report based on prison visits in 2004. (<http://www.refworld.org/docid/45f056967>). Throughout 2006, opposition political activists, journalists and NGOs continued to support political reform and publicly criticized the government.

#### **4-4. Election Monitoring for Enhancing Democratic Political Transition**

There were 3 forces guarding the New Order: the military, the bureaucracy, and Golkar, which were able to maintain power for more than 30 years. In the six elections that were held, the principles of honesty, justice and democracy were almost non-existent. Elections are only ceremonial and the results are known.

When the 1997 election, the community had the initiative to monitor the election. The target was clear, not wanting Suharto to rule again. This idea of civil society gave birth to several election monitoring organizations called the Independent Election Monitoring Committee (KIPP). It has a mission to promote free and fair elections, encourage the participation of citizens to protect their rights, and create a framework for joint efforts for organizations

committed to democratic change.

KIPP assessed that Golkar and the military's dominant position in the New Order political system needed to be tested to validate their representation through clean elections. The government is still not holding fair and honest elections. (Uhlen,1998:154). To build a democratic election, KIPP has published reports, held discussions and held opinion polls and received support from various pro-democracy elements who decided to participate in it. Legal Aid Institute (LBH) activist Mulyana W Kusuma was elected general secretary. Goenawan Mohamad chairs the presidium council, Beathor Surjadi, and Budiman Sujatmiko (Tapol Bulletin,1996:24).

In the 1997 Election, however, activists and volunteers were secretly monitoring the election process. The government has also closed TPS access, but KIPP is still planning to monitor the final stages of the election in eight cities. Election observation is also taking place in Egypt. Egypt's electoral framework contains many serious flaws that run counter to international legal obligations. It is believed that the involvement of the judiciary in election supervision can reduce, if not, eradicate election fraud. Election observers in Egypt in 1995 had the right to supervise the polls, to a certain extent, and count only the votes. Until 2005, based on the results of the PTUN decision, domestic observers were allowed to participate in monitoring the election even though there were significant restrictions on observers. Election observation by the NCHR, various domestic NGOs, including the EOHR and the Independent Committee for Election Monitoring (ICEM), has provided an important element in transparency and contributed to enhancing the integrity of the electoral process and voter trust (The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights,2007).

#### **4-5. Monitoring and Combating Corruption**

In Indonesia, corruption has long been part of the deviant activities of public officials for personal gain (Carey and Haryadi,2016). The corrupt behavior of state administrators cannot be separated from the condition of the New Order government. The Suharto regime created a brutal government for public control. On the other hand, corruption is a reality that is not easily accessible to the public. During the New Order era, Suharto was determined to eradicate corruption by forming a Corruption Eradication Team chaired by the Attorney General. However, the performance of the team that was developed turned out to be ineffective, causing many protests in 1970.

The New Order attempted to respond to society's demands by passing Law no. 3 of 1971 which contains serious threats to perpetrators of corruption. Unfortunately, however, this law seeks to fulfill public demands without a firm commitment from the authorities to implement it consistently, thereby undermining efforts to eradicate corruption. (Astuti,2014).

When the government was held hostage by state officials involved in corruption, anti-corruption NGOs clung to their commitment to realizing clean governance practices so that anti-corruption movement-oriented NGOs emerged, including Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW). ICW, which was founded in mid-1998, was the first NGO to disclose allegations of bribery received by Attorney General A.M Galib in mid-1999 (The Jakarta Post, 4 June 1999).

The anti-corruption movement is carried out socially and structurally, and by disseminating new values that corruption is not a culture, but a crime. Structurally, eradicating corruption means stopping Corruption, Collusion, and Nepotism (KKN) by empowering government agencies in charge of dealing with these problems by building a corruption prevention system from an early age, encouraging the birth of a consistent Corruption Act, and encouraging audit of official assets. Corruption was still ongoing when the Egyptian government implemented a policy of partial economic liberalization in the 1970s, which resulted in a corrupt crony capitalism system. Likewise, government reforms in 2004 to promote a market economy were unclear and plagued by corruption (Bertelsmann Foundation 2014).

Corruption is a business obstacle in Egypt (World Economic Forum,2015) especially in licensing for construction and necessary infrastructure connections (World Bank). The practice of nepotism is also often seen in jobs that are often distributed through personal connections and networks, thus hindering efficiency and innovation, and triggering unemployment. The lack of segregation of powers, government accountability and transparency, as well as adequate oversight of public finances, and large amounts of political funds all create fertile ground for political corruption (Bertelsmann Foundation,2014). The emergence of NGOs is proof that civil society plays an important role in building a democratic society.

#### **4-6. The Strengthening of Democracy by NGOs and Its Political Impact**

The political reforms of 1998 in Indonesia and 2011 in Egypt are seen as

transitional processes towards the formation and strengthening of civil society and democracy. The reform process is understood from a practical political context as a long process of cultural work by non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Various changes in the Indonesian and Egyptian societies prior to the fall of the authoritarian regime were caused by the building of solidarity and the development of a common goal of realizing a democratic state order. It is in this context that many NGOs take a role.

Since the end of the New Order regime in 1998, the change in the political atmosphere was marked by the intensification of relations between the state and society. The position of the state, which during the New Order era tended to be firm with restrictions on the expression of citizens, began to shift, balanced with the strength of civil society. In the reform era, civil society emerged as an agent of change with various agendas to achieve democratic consolidation. Rosser, Rosserd, and Edwin (2005) explain that the Indonesian reform era provided political space for the community to influence the policy-making process. This phenomenon is in line with Fung and Wright's (2001) view of the idea of deepening democracy, which explains civil society as an arena for organized social life and provides opportunities for society to be involved in influencing public policy and a pluralistic policy-making process.

Public space is a place that must be accessible to all residents without any restrictions. The public sphere is an expression of democracy. In the context of Egypt, Tahrir Square in early 2011 has returned to function as a public space. The Mubarak government understands that the square is a place for citizens to meet, chat, go out, gather, protest, appear and exchange ideas. He understands that the square is the physical embodiment of democracy. Therefore, considering that Midan al-Tahrir will be feared as a threat to the security regime, so far the state has implemented the physical design of urban space as one of the main ways to break the spirit of democracy.

Since January 25, 2011, the Egyptian people have demanded an end to the Mubarak regime. Public spaces such as "Medan El Tahrir" in Cairo and "Al-Qaed Ibrahim" in Alexandria became public platforms for protests, discussions, conflicts, political contestation initiatives, and social movements so that people began to reinterpret urban public spaces more democratically. (Hendawy,2015).

In the pre-revolution phase, the Al-Qaidah Ibrahim square with its mosque

was known as a symbol of religiosity. It is the meeting point for most Alexandrians who celebrate Islamic holidays. However, conditions changed when on January 25, the plaza was turned into a public space where there were demands, chants and aspirations. Al-Qaeda Ibrahim is a "civilized city" where the values of altruism, solidarity, brotherhood, dignity, tolerance and coexistence prioritize social integration to grow and develop (Hegazy, 2020). Al-Qaeda Ibrahim Square is a public platform for discussion and conflict, a window to politics, and an arena for political contestation. On the one hand, the regime is manifested by its security apparatus and, on the other hand, by demonstrators and protesters (Assala,2015). Finally, the socio-urban meaning of the public sphere begins to change.

When there were protests on January 25, peaceful protesters from all Egyptian cities began marching towards Tahrir Square. The square has become a magnet for its central location and the symbolic name Tahrir which means "liberation". For the demonstrators and the Egyptian people who wanted change, the main square (Alun-Alun Tahrir) was the main stage of events and the epicenter of the revolution. Tahrir is a demonstration site and arena for citizens with one goal.

In addition to protests and citizen demonstrations against the government in 2011, activists have succeeded in activating the process of spatial perception, by enabling citizens to reinterpret the city's public spaces in a more democratic manner, free of top-down policies, and open to a bottom-up revival approach (Hendawy,2015). The square became a more intimate space accessible to all residents. Many activists, artists, practitioners, specialists, and large sections of society have paved the way for self-expression.

Reform in Indonesia brought changes in various fields, including economic, social, legal and political. One of the most prominent changes which is a logical consequence of a democratic state is the guarantee of individual rights, including expressing opinions which are fundamental rights for every individual.

This right is limited between the community and policy makers. In other words, the public has the right to convey their views and input on policies issued by the government. There are several benefits to having public involvement in policy making, which are: a. support for the realization of the principles of transparency and accountability, b. enriching views and

arguments for the policies that will be born to make these policies more qualified, c. making a policy more likely to be accepted by the community, d. the costs are used in making it more efficient, and e. minimizing the negative public response that can have an impact on political stability.

NGOs act as an organizational container that accommodates, processes, and implements the aspirations of the community in development which are then channeled to political or government institutions to balance communication between the community and the government. One of the NGOs taking this role is engaged in the environmental sector, such as the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (WALHI) whose contribution is to receive or collect complaints from the public regarding environmental problems for later follow up.

NGOs that are members of the Civil Society Alliance (Yappika) formulated four issues that must be guarded together in order to lead to New Order authoritarianism and move towards consolidating democracy. The four main agendas raised by Yappika are: First, to be actively involved in improving various policy products related to the 1945 Constitution. Attention to this issue needs to be done to prevent the birth of policy products that are thickly colored by the interests of state administrators and owners of capital, even detrimental to the interests of civil society. Second, encouraging the creation of democratic regional governance, namely governance that is open, accountable, participatory, and responsive in serving the interests of the community. Third, develop discourse on diversity to narrow the space for violent conflict between communities. The atmosphere of violence in conflict situations will prevent civil society from developing its capacity to participate in the public policy-making process. Fourth, empowering people, especially those who are marginalized, to have a progressive ability to acquire and manage access to and control over natural resources, economic resources and political resources.

The Egyptian Revolution on January 25, 2011, provided an opportunity for Egyptian NGOs to position themselves from being an instrument of the state to being an agent of democratization. After decades of hegemony in power, the Egyptian NGO sector seized the opportunity to get involved politically in leading civil society to transform Egypt to be more democratic. More organizations today are interested in politics, particularly in policy issues that focus on broadening political awareness, local governance, defense of

rights, transparency and accountability (C.E. Herrold,2016).

Many NGOs have started workshops and training programs for citizens to teach democratic politics to get citizens involved in local and national politics. Its goal is to change awareness and support public engagement in politics. This collaboration was building very strongly among Egyptian human rights NGOs, which were quickly united in changing public policy.

Amendments to the constitution are important for the public to be involved in new policies. NGOs are influential in this change. In addition, development NGOs are united in conducting advocacy and campaigning to amend Law no. 84 of 2002, to ensure freedom of association and protection of human rights are regulated in law.

### **5. Conclusion**

During the authoritarian regimes in Indonesia and Egypt, NGOs played an important role in increasing the status of society before becoming a state. NGOs initially acted as a counterweight against the state in opposing ways which also empowered the people.

NGOs in Indonesia and Egypt face challenges from authoritarian regimes, namely the domination of military power, party hegemony systems, and strong state control over society. With this, NGOs affirm and strengthen the vision of the democratic paradigm and internal institutional structures by strengthening the answer to the restoration of people's political rights through the role of their constituents. NGOs carry out advocacy and control over state policies and their implementation, advocating for the political rights of the people. The next program of action is to encourage the eradication of corruption.

NGOs in Indonesia and Egypt play a role in strengthening democratic movements by empowering civil society. The efforts of NGOs are to control, prevent and stem the domination and manipulation of community governance. This role is exercised through policy advocacy through lobbying, political statements, petitions and demonstrations. Then, as a community empowerment movement, NGOs are realized through the development of institutional capacity, productivity, and community group independence, freedom and participation. NGOs also carry out education and training, community organizing, and mobilization.

In terms of vision and action, the results of the analysis show that NGOs tend to have a transformative paradigm that has influenced NGO strategies

and programs to become advocacy organizations. The choice of strategy and program shows that NGOs emphasize balancing forces. In addition, NGOs continue to play a role in community empowerment and community political rights which are also oriented towards strengthening the hegemonic role of NGOs in the country.

The results are shown by the increased openness in the political field, the opening of public awareness of their political rights, and a more pro-people public policy. In this way, these NGOs can provide a basis for developing a more democratic government.

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