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EU bottom-up democracy promotion

Abstract: This research offers an analysis of democracy promotion through the bottom-up approach in Egypt. It argues that a liberalized civil society would demand for democratic change. This research questions the extent of EU norms diffusion in order to liberalize civil societies. Consequently, it suggests linking normative goals, means, and impact to different diffusion strategies. It is found that the EU is in the starting phase of promoting democracy towards the Egyptian civil society. In order to expand the bottom-up approach, it should invest in its visibility and accessibility.

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Chapter 1. Introduction: Regini event and the Bottom-up Approach

In February 2016, Italian PhD candidate Giulio Regini was tortured to death and his heavily harmed body ditched alongside the Cairo-Alexandria highway. The murder of the Italian PhD candidate Giulio Regeni is a cruel example of the worrying situation of human rights in Egypt.¹ Vice-president of the European Parliament subcommittee on Human Rights, Christian Dan Preda, argued that the Giulio Regeni case serves as a reminder that human rights should be the basis of the relations between the Europe Union (EU) and Egypt.² Elena Valenciano, chairman of the subcommittee on Human Rights, argued that the respect for human rights and international obligations is a basic principle of the agreements between the EU and Egypt.³ It is further argued that European Neighbourhood countries should give priority to the protection and promotion of human rights, and ensures that human rights violations are prosecuted.⁴ Keeping the terrible event described above in mind, does the EU use this current event as an example to increase democracy awareness at civil society level, does it feel obligated to pay more attention to democracy promotion after notification of such events, or should the EU sustain from the upholding of EU policy and the promotion of democracy?

What is sure is that the pressure on the independent civil society in Egypt, in particular human rights organisations and defenders, is not in line with Egypt's commitments to promote and respect human rights and fundamental freedoms as guaranteed by its Constitution.⁵ Furthermore, these actions, the pressure on the independent Egyptian civil society, go against the EU-Egypt ENP Action Plan, which is the basis for their partnership. The ENP is the European Neighbourhood Policy that directs the relations between the EU and its Eastern and Southern Neighbours. It was launched in 2004 with the objective to strengthening the prosperity, stability, and security of the enlarged EU and its neighbours. However, due situation changes in neighbouring countries, the ENP changed alongside its existence. The Arab Spring, referred as the Arab revaluations at the end of 2010, overwhelmed the European Commission (EC). In reaction on this event the EC introduced the term Deep Democracy,

¹ Human rights in Egypt: MEPs debate murder of Italian researcher Giulio Regeni . (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/news-room/20160309STO18493/human-rights-in-egypt-meps-debate-murder-of-italian-researcher-giulio-regeni>

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Mansour, A. (2014). The Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt. Retrieved from <http://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/eg/eg060en.pdf>

which include strong provisions for a free press and an independent judiciary,⁶ and introduced the more-for-more principle: *'the level of funding for a country was dependent on the level of reforms that had been carried out in the years before.'*⁷ The ENP was reviewed again in 2015 due to the different levels of involvement sought by the EU's partners. In order to ensure faster assistance during rapidly changing circumstances, the ENP introduced the principle of flexibility. Despite the changes, the ENP is still based on the norms of democracy, rule of law and respect of human rights. In the literature, two models are presented as strategies that can be used to promote democracy. First, the top-down approach which promotes institutional change on the level of governments. According to Youngs,⁸ top-down democracy promotion aggregates interest towards the target countries. In the case of the EU, the EU uses political conditionality and sets the adoption of democratic institutions and practices as conditions that the target countries have to fulfill in order to receive rewards.⁹ This is a strategy, whereby the EU is trying to strengthen the liberalization of the governmental actions of the partnering countries, in order to enable further political democratic reforms of the EU's neighbouring partner countries.

Second, the bottom-up approach involves the civil-society of the target country. According to Youngs,¹⁰ bottom-up democracy promotion addresses non-office seeking activities between the EU and civil societies.¹¹ Diamond¹² defined civil society as *'the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, largely self-supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of rules. It is to be distinct from society in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passions and ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, make demands on the state, and hold state officials accountable.'*¹³ What can be derived from the definition of civil society by Diamond,¹⁴ is that it points out the heavily involvement and importance of citizens to be involved in the development and upholding of rules and regulations to steer a government to a more democratic regime.

⁶ See page 19: Wesselink, E., & Boschma, R. A. (2012). Overview of the European Neighbourhood Policy: its history, structure, and implemented policy measures.

⁷ See page 20: Ibid.

⁸ Youngs, R. (2002). *The European Union and the promotion of democracy: Europe's Mediterranean and Asian policies*. OUP Oxford.

⁹ See page 14: Ibid.

¹⁰ See page 15: Ibid.

¹¹ See page 15: Ibid.

¹² Diamond, Larry. 1994. "Rethinking Civil Society: Towards Democratic Consolidation." *Journal of Democracy*, 5: 4-18.

¹³ See page 5: Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Regarding the two strategies that promotes democracy, especially in the bottom-up approach, involvement of its civil society is of utmost importance. One can argue that the ENP was ineffective in reaching political reform of partner countries towards more democratic states. This is why this research highlights the liberalization process from the bottom, and assumes that a more liberalized civil society could demand for democratic reform and prosperous development of the country itself. The basic idea is that liberalized opinions towards an authoritarian government matter and, that authoritarian governments, where there is a very strong opposition among the civil society, are unlikely to survive. The spread of liberalized opinions and ideas between individuals, groups of peoples, and institutions is in international relations known as diffusion. Diffusion involves ‘*information flows, networks of communications, hierarchies of influence, and receptivity of change.*’¹⁵ This research will discuss different ways how the EU could spread its norms towards civil societies, in order to disseminate liberalized ideas among individual citizens. It explores diffusion strategies in order to analyse liberalization by the EU from a bottom-up approach. The current literature of ENP democracy promotion focussed on the top-down approach and have not paid much attention to the implementation of the bottom-up approach, including the specific challenge of different diffusion strategies. Therefore, the literature neither provides a comprehensive empirical picture between ENP bottom-up democracy promotion and different diffusion strategies. Consequently, the following research questions is constructed:

‘To what extent is the EU using the bottom-up approach for promoting democracy?’

In order to answer this research question and for writing of encompassing results, this research is structured as follows. First, a comprehensive overview of the current literature on the ENP and democracy promotion is given. This overview donates the gap in literature regarding the bottom-up approach in combination with diffusion strategies. Next, the theoretical framework will highlight the concept of democracy promotion,¹⁶ normative power,¹⁷ normative foreign policy,¹⁸ and different diffusion strategies.¹⁹ Sequentially, the

¹⁵ See page 12: Kopstein, J. S., & Reilly, D. A. (2000). Geographic diffusion and the transformation of the postcommunist world. *World politics*, 53(01), 1-37.

¹⁶ El Molla, N. K. (2009). The EU’s Role in Political Reform and Democracy Building in the Southern Mediterranean Region: An Egyptian Perspective’. *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) Publications*.
Bollen, K. (1993). Liberal democracy: Validity and method factors in cross-national measures. *American Journal of Political Science*, 1207-1230.

¹⁷ Manners, I. (2002). Normative power Europe: a contradiction in terms?. *JCMS: Journal of common market studies*, 40(2), 235-258.

¹⁸ Tocci, N. (2008). Who is a normative foreign policy actor? The European Union and its global partners. *CEPS Paperback Series*, (3), 1-336.

method and methodology section will explain the use of Egypt as a case study in combination with the use of a discourse analysis. In order to seek qualitative consistency and provide a comprehensive analysis, this research analyses the goals, means, and impact of the EU democracy promotion towards the Egyptian civil society. This results in overarching themes regarding the use of the bottom-up approach in EU democracy promotion. Finally, a discussion section will provide debates on scientific and practical implications of this research. Lastly, limitations of the research accompanied by suggestions for future research are given.

¹⁹ Manners, I. (2002). Normative power Europe: a contradiction in terms?. *JCMS: Journal of common market studies*, 40(2), 235-258.

Chapter 2. Literature Review: The ENP and Democracy Promotion

The following section offers a modest attempt to review the effectiveness of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) as a tool to promote democracy as discussed in the literature. In order to do this, the research first examines the EU's objectives in the ENP, and then takes a closer look at the range of tools at its disposal. A brief overview is given about the challenges the ENP is struggling with in achieving the EU objectives. On the one hand, it is argued that the democratization-stabilization dilemma results in an overall ineffective ENP. On the other hand, there seems to be discussion regarding the ENP as an effective democracy promotion tool. In the following paragraphs this research gives a brief overview of the literature on these subjects. This review is necessary in the context of a research that seeks to investigate a different angle of promoting democracy.

The ENP is designed to serve different purposes, and it could be argued that the ENP should take a one-size-fits-all approach, so that unfair standards between the Eastern and Southern camps would not arise.²⁰ However, it should be recognized that there are great differences in the circumstances between and within the Eastern and Southern regions. The ENP is struggling with the challenge to ensure effectiveness in terms of achieving their objectives. These objectives include the establishment of closer ties between the EU and the surrounding countries. At the same time, the EU does not want to imply that there could be a potential membership for those countries. Despite that the ENP is designed to serve different purposes, there are certain considerations that underpin those purposes and there seems to be conflicting objectives for the EU considering the ENP.

In the literature, there seems to be an on-going discussion about the priorities of the ENP. A significant debate in relation to the ENP is the democratization-stabilization dilemma. This discussion says that the EU cannot democratise and stabilise at the same time. According to Börzel and van Hüllen,²¹ this democratization-stabilization dilemma results in an ineffective use of the ENP in non-democratic governments, because in the short term promotion of

²⁰ Tömmel, I. (2013). The new neighborhood policy of the EU: an appropriate response to the Arab Spring?. *Democracy and security*, 9(1-2), 19-39.

²¹ Börzel, T. A., & Van Hüllen, V. (2014). One voice, one message, but conflicting goals: cohesiveness and consistency in the European Neighbourhood Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(7), 1033-1049.

democracy is likely to result in instability.²² This is a significant debate in relationship to the effectiveness of the ENP, since it says that the EU cannot democratize and stabilize partner countries at the same time. The dilemma tells us that the EU seems to be forced to choose between democratization and stabilization. Börzel and van Hüllen,²³ argue that by promoting democratization, a higher degree of political liberalization in neighboring countries could lead to a greater risk of destabilization in the short term.²⁴ The ENP's ineffectiveness, according to Börzel and van Hüllen, is greatest when the democratization costs are high for the incumbent regime and the EU itself. It is argued that the promotion of effective and democratic governance became conflicting objectives, with an ineffective democratic reform agenda in the ENP Action Plans as a result.²⁵ The political uncertainty about the outcome of transition, often involving a violent conflict, is too hazardous for the EU in terms of refugee flows and decrease of energy security. That is why it is argued that the EU seeks to stabilize the status quo and promotes democracy less. Moreover, it is argued that the EU has provided less democracy assistance to civil society organisations under the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights.²⁶ It is argued that democracy promotion is not the first EU objective and interests like stability, security, energy supply, and economic relations are given priority.²⁷

As we have seen above not everyone agrees, but there is literature that accepts that the ENP is about democracy promotion and not about stabilization. Subsequently, in the literature there is discussion about the effectiveness of the ENP as a democracy promotion tool. Pearce²⁸ argues that the ENP is insufficient as a democracy promotion tool because '*it fails to provide the necessary conditionality or reciprocity.*'²⁹ With conditionality it is meant that the relations between the EU and his neighbours only can be upgraded if progress is demonstrated on democratic values. Rewards can differ from increased trade, aid, technical support and access to the internal market of the EU. However, EU neighbours could also be excluded from benefits provided by a bilateral relationship with the EU, for instance, if goals that were set

²² See page 1034: Börzel, T. A., & Van Hüllen, V. (2014). One voice, one message, but conflicting goals: cohesiveness and consistency in the European Neighbourhood Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(7), 1033-1049.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ See page 1037: Ibid.

²⁵ See page 1044: Ibid.

²⁶ See page 1038: Ibid.

²⁷ European Commission (2015) Review of the European Neighbourhood Policy. JOIN(2015) 50 final.

Online: http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/documents/2015/151118_jointcommunication_review-of-the-enp_en.pdf [accessed 06.01.2016]

²⁸ Pearce, E. (2007). *Exporting values: Conditionality, democracy and the European neighbourhood* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill).

²⁹ See page 23: Ibid.

out in the ENP Action Plans, were not adopted. Just like Pearce,³⁰ el-Molla,³¹ also argues that without proper conditionality and joint ownership the ENP cannot succeed. Joint ownership is based on shared values and common interests. The ENP Action Plans should depend on mutual recognition. However, it is argued that the EU imposes conditions for neighbouring countries when democratically reforming their governments. Schimmelfennig³² argues that the lack of conditionality for EU membership and the lack of a clear and considerable internal market participation are the main reasons why the democratic reforms in the Mediterranean have failed.³³ There is strong support that EU democracy promotion beyond candidates for membership has been *'inconsistent, fragmented and was often undermined by strategic or economic goals.'*³⁴ It is argued that there is a lack of clear merit based rewards for reforms that makes the creation of a cohesive democracy promotion policy almost impossible.³⁵

Other offer a more optimistic account about the ENP as democracy promotion tool. Rinaldi-Larribe³⁶ argues that the ENP is a very valuable instrument of cooperation between the EU and its neighbours. She argues that the ENP, in combination with the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM),³⁷ offers a complete set of bilateral and multilateral frameworks that propose new and deeper relations between the EU and its southern neighbours.³⁸ It is argued that these frameworks enable the EU to benefit from an improved economic situation and give it the opportunity to spread its norms across its borders without proposing perspectives of accession at the same time.³⁹ Part of the purpose of the ENP is to help build greater regional interdependence by supporting the UfM. Nevertheless, Rinaldi-Larribe argues that the ENP also can work highly differentiated due to its bilateral approach and simultaneously could comprise all neighbours. This shows a positive side of the ENP, implementing different democratization approaches towards EU neighbours that respects the different aspirations of their region and the associated countries.

³⁰ Pearce, E. (2007). *Exporting Values: Conditionality, Democracy and the European Neighbourhood*. ProQuest.

³¹ el-Molla, K. (2009). Nesreen, The EU's Role in Political Reform and Democracy Building in the Southern Mediterranean Region: An Egyptian Perspective.

³² Schimmelfennig, F., & Scholtz, H. (2008). EU democracy promotion in the European neighbourhood: political conditionality, economic development and transnational exchange. *European Union Politics*, 9(2), 187-215.

³³ See page 5: Ibid.

³⁴ See page 12: Ibid.

³⁵ Pearce, E. (2007). *Exporting Values: Conditionality, Democracy and the European Neighbourhood*. ProQuest. Llorente, M. G. (2010, June). Democracy Promotion in the European Neighbourhood: The Case of Belarus. In *ECPR Fifth Pan-European Conference, Porto*.

³⁶ Rinaldi-Larribe, M. J. Is the EU's strategy for dealing with its neighbours efficient?.

³⁷ The UfM is an intergovernmental organization of the 28 EU Member States and 15 countries from around the Mediterranean. It enhances regional cooperation, and dialogue in the EU-Med region.

³⁸ See page 22: Rinaldi-Larribe, M. J. Is the EU's strategy for dealing with its neighbours efficient?.

³⁹ See page 22: Ibid.

In this line, Tömmel⁴⁰ argues that the benchmarks for conditionality are more clearly defined in the renewed ENP,⁴¹ and that a more efficient and effective policy is introduced.⁴² The renewed ENP is called reinforcement instead of a revision of the existing policy and it is argued that the concept of regime change in parts of the Arab world is used to intensify a stronger conditionality. Tömmel⁴³ also argues that the increase of financial assistance in the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI) provides a stronger incentive to reform democratically, and according to her, this will lead to more effectiveness of the differentiated approach of the ENP. It is argued that governmental change is used to speed up policy implementation and that the Mediterranean countries are involved in a competitive race between democratic advanced countries and those lagging behind.⁴⁴ This race, and the implementation of the more-for-more principle, according to Tommel, will result in more democratic reforms. Moreover, she argues that the ENP's focus continues to be on dialogue about democratic reform and assistance for the civil society.⁴⁵

So far it became clear that there is a camp that argues that the ENP is about maintaining stability and there is a camp that argues the ENP is about democracy promotion. The democracy promotion camp disagrees about the ways the ENP, as democracy promotion tool, could be more effective. Börzel and van Hüllen,⁴⁶ and Tömmel⁴⁷ have different claims about the ENP's effectiveness and focus. Despite complications arising from the democratization-stabilization dilemma, the EU seems still be exporting its idea of what a democracy should look like and it could thus be argued that the EU is still exporting its norms towards its neighbouring countries. This research accepts this, however this research is guided by those who are more sceptical about the effectiveness of the EU's attempts to export democracy through governmental reforms. In this line, Blockmans⁴⁸ already argued that it is more important to know different ways of how norms could be transferred instead of focussing on

⁴⁰ Tömmel, I. (2013). The new neighborhood policy of the EU: an appropriate response to the Arab Spring?. *Democracy and security*, 9(1-2), 19-39.

⁴¹ http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-11-342_en.htm

⁴² See page 28: Tömmel, I. (2013). The new neighborhood policy of the EU: an appropriate response to the Arab Spring?. *Democracy and security*, 9(1-2), 19-39.

⁴³ See page 28: Ibid.

⁴⁴ See page 29: Ibid.

⁴⁵ See page 30: Ibid.

⁴⁶ Börzel, T. A., & Van Hüllen, V. (2014). One voice, one message, but conflicting goals: cohesiveness and consistency in the European Neighbourhood Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(7), 1033-1049.

⁴⁷ Tömmel, I. (2013). The new neighborhood policy of the EU: an appropriate response to the Arab Spring?. *Democracy and security*, 9(1-2), 19-39.

⁴⁸ Blockmans, S. (2015). The 2015 ENP Review: A policy in suspended animation. CEPS Commentary, 1 December 2015.

reforming governments of EU neighbouring countries with their own norms.⁴⁹ Additionally, Huntington⁵⁰ argues that democracy comes from the top as from the bottom. He argues that democracy is as likely to be the product of authoritarian regimes as it is likely to be product of protests against authoritarian regimes.⁵¹

Schmitter⁵² analysed the top-down approach where liberalized regimes should ensure the transition towards democracy. It is found that, with this approach, authoritarian regimes only reform at face value.⁵³ This makes it seem that they are open for liberalizing changes, but only so that they may retain power and minimize involvement losses. According to Schneider and Schmitter,⁵⁴ democracy development does not only consists of the governmental transitions and political reform. They argue that democracy development starts with the liberalization of the civil society, when basic civil and political rights start to be recognized, and when it is clear that a democracy will be established by free, competitive and fair elections.⁵⁵

There is space to investigate whether the claims of Tömmel⁵⁶ are correct and if the renewed ENP is indeed focusing more on democracy promotion due the increased ENI support. Moreover, it could be checked whether the EU has provided less civil society democracy assistance, as Börzel and van Hüllen⁵⁷ are arguing. Various explanations can be valid or can operate simultaneously to provide explanations for the democratization of authoritarian regimes. This research will not concentrate on the top-down approach of promoting democratic reform towards authoritarian regimes in order to democratize the EU's southern neighbours. This research will continue on Tömmel⁵⁸ findings, who argues that there is more ENP focus on democracy promotion and civil society support after the Arab Spring. That is why this research focuses on the bottom-up approach of liberalizing citizens. The bottom-up

⁴⁹ See page 4: Blockmans, S. (2015). The 2015 ENP Review: A policy in suspended animation. CEPS Commentary, 1 December 2015.

⁵⁰ Huntington, Samuel. 1984. "Will More Countries Become Democratic?" *Political Science Quarterly* 99 (Summer), pp. 193-218.

⁵¹ See page 212: Ibid.

⁵² Schmitter, P. C. (2012). *Ambidextrous Democratization and its Implications for MENA*. Manuscript, Florence: European University Institute. Available at <http://www.eui.eu/Documents/DepartmentsCentres/SPS/Profiles/Schmitter/AmbidextrousDemocratization.pdf>, accessed May, 14, 2012.

⁵³ See page 59: Baracani, E. (2005). From the EMP to the ENP: A new European pressure for democratization?. *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, 1(2), 1.

⁵⁴ Schneider, C. Q., & Schmitter, P. C. (2004). Liberalization, transition and consolidation: measuring the components of democratization. *Democratization*, 11(5), 59-90.

⁵⁵ See page 60: Ibid.

⁵⁶ Tömmel, I. (2013). The new neighborhood policy of the EU: an appropriate response to the Arab Spring?. *Democracy and security*, 9(1-2), 19-39.

⁵⁷ See page 1038: Börzel, T. A., & Van Hüllen, V. (2014). One voice, one message, but conflicting goals: cohesiveness and consistency in the European Neighbourhood Policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 21(7), 1033-1049.

⁵⁸ Tömmel, I. (2013). The new neighborhood policy of the EU: an appropriate response to the Arab Spring?. *Democracy and security*, 9(1-2), 19-39.

approach in combination with different diffusion strategies, who will be explained in the following chapter, is not yet comprehensively researched. Furthermore, the literature is only focussing on the ENP's goals or EU's instruments separately instead of comparatively analysing the ENP's goals in combination with the EU's instruments and actions towards civil societies.⁵⁹ Additionally, the analyses of the combination of these factors could give clearer perspective on the findings of Tömmel,⁶⁰ about the ENP's democracy promotion, and EU norm diffusion towards civil societies. In the following chapter, a theoretical framework is provided in order to support the reasoning for focusing on the bottom-up approach in combination with different diffusion strategies.

⁵⁹ Tömmel, I. (2013). The new neighborhood policy of the EU: an appropriate response to the Arab Spring?. *Democracy and security*, 9(1-2), 19-39.

Johansson-Nogués, E. (2013). EU's Post-Arab Spring Relations with Southern Mediterranean Civil Society Actors: Continuity or Change. *The European Union's Relations with the Southern-Mediterranean in the Aftermath of the Arab Spring*. CLEER Working paper. The Hague: Centre for the Law of EU External Relations, Asser Institute.

Comelli, M. (2010). Dynamics and Evolution of the EU-Egypt Relationship within the ENP Framework. *Istituto Affari Internazionali*.

Bauer, P. (2011). The Transition of Egypt in 2011: A New Springtime for the European Neighbourhood Policy?. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 12(4), 420-439.

Wibbeling, S. (2012). *A study of the effectiveness of democratization through conditionality in the framework of the European neighbourhood policy—A case study of Moldova and Egypt* (Master's thesis, University of Twente).

⁶⁰ Tömmel, I. (2013). The new neighborhood policy of the EU: an appropriate response to the Arab Spring?. *Democracy and security*, 9(1-2), 19-39.

Chapter 3. Theory, Methodology and Method

3.1. Theoretical Framework: Normative Dimensions and Diffusion Strategies

The literature review has shown that there is an ongoing discussion about the effectiveness of the ENP. It is argued that the unclear standards regarding rewards for liberal democratic reforms, the main focus on political liberalization, and security versus democracy dilemma leads to an ineffective ENP. It became clear that researchers paid less attention to the analysis of ENP's goals in combination with the impact of practical bottom-up approaches of democracy promotion. Yet highlighting what the EU actually does seems to be as important as an analysis of its goals and instruments. This chapter will provide support to this reasoning with theoretical underpinnings of Manners⁶¹ linked to the framework of Tocci.⁶²

Before reviewing theoretical understandings about EU democracy promotion, it is worth reflecting briefly on how authors conceptualize democracy. According to el-Molla,⁶³ democracy has different meanings in different contexts, within and between societies.⁶⁴ The concept of democracy is used interchangeably with political reform, good governance, the rule of law and human rights. For the purpose of this thesis, the focus of conceptualizing democracy will be on the type of democracy the EU is trying to promote: liberal democracy.⁶⁵ Liberal democracy is firstly characterised with fair, free and availability of competitive elections between multiple distinct political parties. Secondly, it is a separation of powers into different branches of the government. Thirdly, the rule of law in everyday life as part of an open society is accepted. Finally, democracy includes the equal protection of human rights, civil rights, civil liberties, and liberal political freedoms for the whole civil society.⁶⁶

When defining EU democracy promotion in general, the normative power theory is dominant in the literature. Normative power theory implies that the international role of the EU represents ideological ideas and has the ability to shape conceptions of the 'norm' in

⁶¹ Manners, I. (2002). Normative power Europe: a contradiction in terms?. *JCMS: Journal of common market studies*, 40(2), 235-258.

⁶² Tocci, N. (2008). Who is a normative foreign policy actor? The European Union and its global partners. *CEPS Paperback Series*, (3), 1-336.

⁶³ El Molla, N. K. (2009). The EU's Role in Political Reform and Democracy Building in the Southern Mediterranean Region: An Egyptian Perspective'. *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) Publications*.

⁶⁴ See page 8: Ibid.

⁶⁵ See page 1208: Bollen, K. (1993). Liberal democracy: Validity and method factors in cross-national measures. *American Journal of Political Science*, 1207-1230.

⁶⁶ See page 1208: Ibid.

international relations.⁶⁷ Over the past fifty years, the normative basis of the EU has been developed through a series of declarations, treaties, policies, criteria and conditions. Manners⁶⁸ argues that the application and dissemination of EU norms to the foreign policies of the EU could be the basis of democracy development in international relations.⁶⁹ Manners⁷⁰ defines six diffusion strategies. These are: contagion, informational, procedural, transference, overt, and cultural diffusion.⁷¹

Contagion is the diffusion of ideas and norms from the EU to other political actors. It is the way the EU is leading by example in exporting its experience in regional integration.⁷² Informational diffusion is the result of strategic communications towards foreign regimes and civil societies.⁷³ Procedural diffusion contains the institutionalization of the relationship between the EU and other parties.⁷⁴ Transference is diffusion which takes place when the EU gives aid or technical assistance to third parties.⁷⁵ Overt diffusion takes place as a result of the EU's physical presence in third states and international organizations.⁷⁶ The cultural filter is the final factor which affects the impact of international norms and political learning in third states. It leads organizations and the civil society to learn, adapt or reject norms.⁷⁷

These six factors contribute to the way the EU is diffusing its norms. To understand how the EU works on diffusing its norms and standards throughout the world, Tocci⁷⁸ defines a definition of normative foreign policy that is based on the normative goals of the policy, the normative means of the policy and the impact of the policy. In the following section these three dimensions are explained and linked to three Manner's⁷⁹ diffusion strategies. Those diffusion strategies are suitable for analyzing different bottom-up liberalization strategies.

⁶⁷ See page 236: Manners, I. (2002). Normative power Europe: a contradiction in terms?. *JCMS: Journal of common market studies*, 40(2), 235-258.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ See page 235-236: Ibid.

⁷⁰ See page 235-236: Ibid.

⁷¹ See page 244-245: Ibid.

⁷² See page 6: Whitehead, L. (1996). *The international dimensions of democratization: Europe and the Americas*. Oxford University Press.

⁷³ See page 244: Manners, I. (2002). Normative power Europe: a contradiction in terms?. *JCMS: Journal of common market studies*, 40(2), 235-258.

⁷⁴ See page 244: Ibid.

⁷⁵ See page 245: Ibid.

⁷⁶ See page 245: Ibid.

⁷⁷ See page 61-71: Kinnvall, C. (1995). *Cultural Diffusion and Political Learning-The Democratization of China* (Vol. 88). Statsvetenskapliga institutionen, Lunds universitet.

⁷⁸ See page 5-12: Tocci, N. (2008). Who is a normative foreign policy actor? The European Union and its global partners. *CEPS Paperback Series*, (3), 1-336.

⁷⁹ Manners, I. (2002). Normative power Europe: a contradiction in terms?. *JCMS: Journal of common market studies*, 40(2), 235-258.

First, normative policy goals, according to Tocci,⁸⁰ are those that aim to shape the milieu by regulating it through international declarations. Tocci⁸¹ argues that ‘*a normative goal is one that pursues international regularization in a manner that binds the behavior of all parties.*’⁸² In the ENP those are set out in the Action Plans. The ENP Action Plans set out the agenda of the partner countries for political and economic reforms. They reflect the needs and capacities of the country and also the interests of the EU. In Chapter 4, this research discusses those aspects of the Action Plan that reflects this attempt on the part of the EU to regularize the partner country’s behavior.

Second, the normative means, according to Tocci,⁸³ emphasize the instruments that are used to pursue the normative goals within the legal boundaries. The foreign policy means are ranging from soft methods of persuasion towards promising or granting rewards, applying or threatening with sanctions, ending with hard methods of using force. Cortright⁸⁴ and Dorussen⁸⁵ argued that conditionality, such as economical rewards in the form of aid, are preferable in a normative perspective. Positive financial incentives are viewed as less intrusive as sanctions into the sovereignty of a third country and thus generates less friction.⁸⁶ Transference is the diffusion strategy that acts as the policy means in which the ENP’s goals are translated into the available financial instruments to put the ENP’s goals in practice. The EU’s financial assistance is provided by the European Neighborhood Instrument (ENI). It was established in 2014, serving as a replacement of the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI). The ENI focuses on shared objectives and supports cooperation agenda’s built upon agreements, such as goals set out in the Action Plans.⁸⁷

Third, the impact of the policy, according to Tocci, is a traceable path between the direct and indirect actions of an international actor on the entrenchment of the environment of the other. According to Tocci ‘*the task would be to create specific institutional, policy or legal changes*

⁸⁰ See page 7: Tocci, N. (2008). Who is a normative foreign policy actor? The European Union and its global partners. *CEPS Paperback Series*, (3), 1-336.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² See page 8: Ibid

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Cortright, D. (1997). Incentives and cooperation in international affairs. *The price of peace: Incentives and international conflict prevention*, 3-18.

⁸⁵ Dorussen, H. (2001). Mixing Carrots with Sticks: Evaluating the effectiveness of positive incentives. *Journal of Peace Research*, 38(2), 251-262.

⁸⁶ See page 10: Ibid.

See page 253-254: Ibid.

⁸⁷ European External Action Service. (2017). Financing the ENP. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/8410/financing-enp_en

*within a third country.*⁸⁸ In this research, impact will be described as the extent to which the normative goals reached the civil society. In order to achieve impact, actions are needed that translate the goals and means into practice. In this research these activities are linked to informational diffusion. Informational diffusion is a diffusion strategy that, as theorized by Manners, has potential to liberalize societies by spreading EU norms. It uses a consequence of declaratory communications and policy initiatives in a non-obtrusive manner. This mechanism constitutes a bridge between the goals of the ENP action plans and the operational levels in practice. Informational diffusion of EU norms occurs through references to totems, rituals and taboos in the messages and readings regarding institutions of the EU. For the EU it could thus be important to strengthen the informational diffusion of their norms, so that there is the potential that more citizens can liberalize and dare to express their opinion in public. However, we have to dare in mind that certain states have more impermeable structures such that diffusion is more or less difficult depending on the political system of the partner country.

Furthermore, it is important to stress that the diffused norms are not universal and that this relies on the universalism versus cultural relativism debate.⁸⁹ Universalism, on the one hand, is the interpretation that human rights are universal, not subject to cultural or religious specificities, and should be applied indiscriminately. Cultural relativism, on the other hand, argues that, far from being universal, human rights are culturally dependent. Followers of cultural relativism argue that moral principles cannot serve as a reference point for all cultures, because generalizations can be equated to a denial of the existence of cultural particularities.⁹⁰ Kinnvall⁹¹ adds that the cultural filter is a diffusion mechanism that had its foundations in the process of political or social learning as a result of transmission of norms and the construction of a social identity.⁹² The cultural filter of the normative diffusion theory argues that the disseminated EU norms have to diffuse consistently within the culture of the targeted country. It could be expected that political structures reflect the culture but it may also be able to retain the individual cultural aspects and still change the structure. That is why cultural differences between the EU and the partner country are taken into consideration while analyzing informational diffusion in practice.

⁸⁸ See page 12: Tocci, N. (2008). Who is a normative foreign policy actor? The European Union and its global partners. *CEPS Paperback Series*, (3), 1-336.

⁸⁹ Daskalova, A. (2013). To Be or Not to Be a Normative Power: The EU's Promotion of Human Rights and Democracy in Russia. *Bruges Regional Integration & Global Governance Papers* 2/2013.

⁹⁰ See page 11: Ibid.

⁹¹ Kinnvall, C. (1995). *Cultural Diffusion and Political Learning-The Democratization of China* (Vol. 88). Statsvetenskapliga institutionen, Lunds universitet.

⁹² See page 61-67: Ibid.

To conclude, in order to provide a lens through which one can understand bottom-up strategies better, this section has discussed liberal democracy, normative power, and diffusion strategies in relation with the three dimensions of normative foreign policy. In order to give a structured analyses, the following section discusses the way of how research will be done and it becomes clear what tools are going to be used in this research.

3.2. Methodology and Method: Egypt Case Study and Discourse Analysis

The method and methodology used for this thesis will be presented and explained. Accordingly, the research design will be explained including its advantages and limitations. In order to answer the research question: '*To what extent is the EU using the bottom-up approach for promoting democracy?*', a case study in combination with discourse analysis will be conducted. Egypt will be used as an example to show the perspective of EU initiatives in order to liberalize civil societies. The method choice for a case study in combination with discourse analysis will be explained. Additionally some problems of generalization are highlighted.

Qualitative methodologies focuses on how we understand and interpret the world. Several methods are offered to conduct research, like the use of case studies, interviews, discourse analysis, and participant observation.⁹³ These methods can be used as an individual scientific tool or in a multi-method approach and can help in achieving an understanding of interactions that take place in societies.⁹⁴ A qualitative focus and observations generates different interpretations of the social reality that cannot always be traced by statistical data and other quantitative methods. That is why, qualitative data is described as rich and deep because the contextual approach can give detailed information.⁹⁵

The phenomenon to be studied is EU democracy promotion towards the Egyptian civil society taking EU transference, informational and cultural norm diffusion into account. A case study could provide the opportunity to address the historical and cultural side of the topic. Moreover, a case study refers to the study of a phenomenon that is carried out within the

⁹³ See page 726-727: Fossey, E., Harvey, C., McDermott, F., & Davidson, L. (2002). Understanding and evaluating qualitative research. *Australian and New Zealand journal of psychiatry*, 36(6), 717-732.

⁹⁴ Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Sage publications.

⁹⁵ See page 408: Bryman, A. (2015). *Social research methods*. Oxford university press.

boundaries of one social system or within the boundaries of a few social systems.⁹⁶ According to Yin,⁹⁷ a case study is defined as ‘*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context.*’⁹⁸

The advantages of doing a case study include meaningful and holistic interpretations of real-life events and the possibilities to explore complex causalities.⁹⁹ Accordingly, it provides a high level of conceptual validity, because the researcher is only investigating what is important for the research. Moreover, new hypotheses can be derived from the case study, because it is theory-laden.¹⁰⁰ Theory-laden means that observations are interpreted through prior knowledge. Knowledge about theories is needed to understand observations. Furthermore, a case study explores causal mechanisms in a highly detailed manner.¹⁰¹ Finally, a limitation that we face as students is that we do not require the economic resources to investigate extensively. It should not be ignored that studies are costly, and the practical advantage of a case study is that it is ‘*economical for all resources*’.¹⁰²

Another criticism of a case study is the lack of methodological guidelines, the subjectivity of the researcher, and external validity.¹⁰³ According to Yin,¹⁰⁴ the absence of systematic procedures for a case study is traditionally the greatest concern. Maoz¹⁰⁵ argues that ‘*case studies have become in many investigations a synonym for freeform research where anything goes*’.¹⁰⁶

To overcome the problem of absence of the use of systematic procedures, this research will use discourse analysis to provide structural interpretation of material which could informationally diffuse EU norms towards the Egyptian civil society. Discourse analysis is a tool for analyzing the political meanings of documents, initiatives and speeches. Several

⁹⁶ See page 171-172: Bennett, A., & Elman, C. (2007). Case study methods in the international relations subfield. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(2), 170-195.

⁹⁷ Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Sage publications.

⁹⁸ See page 16: Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ See page 181: Bennett, A., & Elman, C. (2007). Case study methods in the international relations subfield. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(2), 170-195.

¹⁰¹ See page 9-22: George, Alexander L. and Andrew Bennet (2005) *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: MIT Press

¹⁰² Eckstein, H. (1975) *Case Study and Theory in Political Science*. In R. Gomm, M. Hammersley, and P. Foster (eds) *Case Study Method*. SAGE Publications Ltd: London.

¹⁰³ See page 189: Bennett, A., & Elman, C. (2007). Case study methods in the international relations subfield. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(2), 170-195.

¹⁰⁴ Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Sage publications.

¹⁰⁵ Maoz, Z. (2002) *Case study methodology in international studies: from storytelling to hypothesis testing*. In F. P. Harvey and M. Brecher (eds) *Evaluating Methodology in International Studies*. University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor.

¹⁰⁶ See page 164: Ibid.

structural steps will be followed in order to analyze appropriate EU documents, initiatives, and speeches. These materials have the ability to diffuse EU norms in an informational way.

First, the context will be established. This step clarifies the social and historical context of the sources by mentioning the language, the origin, the writer, and publisher of the sources.

Besides this, the sources' relations with the EU have to be clarified.

Second, the material is coded in order to explore which EU norms the sources contain. Here, specific words are assigned which apply to EU norm diffusing. These words will fall under coding categories which entail the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.¹⁰⁷ Examples of the categories are: promoting equality, promoting liberty, opposing torture, defending the rule of law, and promoting freedom of expression. These examples of human rights categories are norms which the EU is diffusing in international relations.

Third, the discursive statements of the source is collected and examined. In order to know whether informational diffusion is present, it is essential to mention whether and with what reason the EU norms are diffused to the Egyptian civil society. This will be done by highlighting fragments in which statements show the transferal of EU norms towards the Egyptian civil society. Hereafter, cultural references will be identified. It will be checked whether the Egyptian culture is taken into account by diffusing EU norms. This is achieved by analyzing whether the EU takes Egyptian habits, such as language, art, music, and religion, in account while informationally diffusion its norms.

Finally, the results will be reviewed schematically and the data will be interpreted. In the interpretation, the discourse will be explained by combining the structural features and individual statements in relation to the research question. The findings will then be placed in the broader context and will be linked to the established theories.

Another limitation is the problem of construct validity that concerns the reliability and replicability of the single-case study analysis. The subjectivity of the researcher could be a problem here because the exact same case study can lead to different outcomes when interpretations are made by different researchers. This is a debate grounded in positivist

¹⁰⁷ United Nations. (2015). Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf

versus post-positivist thinking. The positivist holds that the purpose of science is directly measurable or observable, and the post-positivist believe that all scientists are biased and that all observations are affected.¹⁰⁸ To prevent subjectivity prevailing, critical thinking will be applied and verifiable observations will be made, using sources and data that are freely and widely available, such that the study is replicable by others.

After comparing the advantages, constraints, and solutions for these constraints, a single case study is most appropriate for this research. The selected case is Egypt, because since the Arab Spring, it represents interesting transitions that are influenced by liberal civil society and non-liberal authoritarian actions. Besides, the Pew Research Center Egypt Report¹⁰⁹ and the Anna Lindh Gallup Poll¹¹⁰ shows that the Egyptian civil society is strongly divided about norms that could be associated with democracy. 59% of the participants believe that democracy is preferable, 25 % says that in some circumstances a non-democratic regime is preferable, and 14% believes that the type of regime does not matter.¹¹¹ These studies explain that the Egyptian civil society view about political, cultural and religious diversity in Egypt is not hopeful. More than half of the surveyed Egyptian participants believe that cultural and religious diversity is a threat to the stability of their society.¹¹² One could argue that, until now, the EU was not effective in diffusing the importance of cultural diversity and democracy towards the Egyptian civil society. In addition, Egypt is a pioneering country in the Mediterranean. EU initiatives that are accepted by Egypt's civil society, will presumably also be accepted by other Mediterranean civil societies. Besides, the Egyptian civil society consists half of young people, less than 25 years old. The composition of the population of the Mediterranean region is almost similar. This means that EU initiatives towards Egypt could be used and expressed in the same way. Nevertheless, Egypt has a nationalistic civil society, and at the same time this civil society is suppressed by their government. Propositions about EU initiatives towards the Egyptian civil society could perhaps be applicable for countries with the same features, which consist of a nationalistic suppressed civil society. Specifically, Turkey and Morocco are countries with the same civil society and governmental features.

¹⁰⁸ Ormston, R., Spencer, L., Barnard, M., & Snape, D. (2014). The foundations of qualitative research. *Qualitative research practice. A guide for social science students and researchers*, 1-25

¹⁰⁹ Pew Research Center (2014) One Year after Morsi's Ouster, Divides Persist on El-Sisi, Muslim Brotherhood. Retrieved from <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2014/06/Pew-Research-Center-Egypt-Report-FINAL-May-22-2014.pdf>

¹¹⁰ Anna Lindh Gallup Poll (2014) Intercultural Trends and Social Change in the Euro-Mediterranean Region, Retrieved from http://www.annalindhoundation.org/sites/annalindh.org/files/documents/page/anna_lindh_report14.pdf

¹¹¹ See page 16: Pew Research Center (2014) One Year after Morsi's Ouster, Divides Persist on El-Sisi, Muslim Brotherhood. Retrieved from <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2014/06/Pew-Research-Center-Egypt-Report-FINAL-May-22-2014.pdf>

¹¹² See page 98: Anna Lindh Gallup Poll (2014) Intercultural Trends and Social Change in the Euro-Mediterranean Region, Retrieved from http://www.annalindhoundation.org/sites/annalindh.org/files/documents/page/anna_lindh_report14.pdf

However, Turkey is not an ENP partner country, so this research is not replicable for this country.

The time frame of the case study will be from prior to the outbreak of the Arab Spring until the present. This timeframe allows a comprehensive analysis of the EU-Egypt Action Plan and the ENI. The European Commission (EC), manages EU policies, allocates EU funding and represents the EU internationally, and will be analyzed because the ENP Action Plans and the ENI fall under its scope. In this case study, EU goals will be analyzed by a comparative analysis of the EU-Egypt Action Plans and Progress Reports prior to and after the Arab Spring. In order to know whether the EU's goals are reflected as policy means, the European Neighborhood Instrument (ENI) prior and after the Arab Spring will be analyzed secondly. The ENI belongs to transference diffusion which conveys financial support in the EU's region.

EU initiatives and speeches dealing with informational norm diffusion towards Egypt's civil society are analyzed in order to analyze the normative impact of the goals and instruments. This part falls under informational diffusion which is a bottom-up democracy promotion tool for liberalizing civil societies. Informational diffusion will be analyzed by collecting information from available documents, statements, expressions, speeches and initiatives from the European External Action Service (EEAS), the European Delegation to Egypt, and the Anna Lindh Foundation. The EEAS is the EU's diplomatic service, it is their role to make sure the EU's voice is heard in the world. In the EEAS section, four statements and one speech of Mogherini, the EU's chief diplomat, will be analyzed. The European Delegation to Egypt is essential for the promotion of EU norms towards Egypt, interacts with the civil society and non-governmental organizations, and reports developments to Brussels. The Delegation works closely with the Anna Lindh Foundation, which is an institution that tries to bring civil societies across the Mediterranean together. In this sections, two Delegation initiatives (Awladna National Multimedia Campaign Promoting Positive Parenting, and Annual Photography Competition) and three Anna Lindh Foundation initiatives (Believe in Dialogues Act for Citizenship, The New Arab Debates, and Dawrak – Citizens Dialogue Programme: Moltaqa) will be analyzed. It will be analyzed whether these EU institutions, actors and their preferences are diffusing EU norms to the Egyptian civil society. In doing so, the analysis examines whether cultural differences are taken into account while informationally diffusing norms.

To conclude, Table 1 gives a brief overview of this chapter and shows in which order the EU's goals, the EU's means, and the EU's impact towards the Egyptian civil society will be analyzed. First, the EU's goals will be explained by a comparative analyzes of the EU-Egypt ENP Action Plan. Second, the EU's means will be explained by analyzing the transference diffusion of the ENI. Third, the EU's impact will be explained by analyzing the informational and cultural diffusion of the available documents, initiatives, and speeches of the EEAS, the EU Delegation to Egypt, and the Anna Lindh Foundation by following the discourse analysis steps. More importantly, it will be analyzed to what extent these activities reached the Egyptian civil society. Combined, it will result in a comprehensive overview of the EU's democracy promotion via the bottom-up approach. The following chapter provides an in-depth explanation of processes and developments of EU democracy promotion towards the Egyptian civil society.

Chapter 4. Analyses: ENP Action Plan, Progress Reports, ENI and EU Activities

This chapter analyzes the EU's bottom-up approach towards the Egyptian civil society by analyzing its goals, means and impact. Firstly, the EU's goals, outlined in the EU-Egypt Action Plan and Progress Reports, drafted by the EC, are analyzed. Second, the EU's means reflected as transference diffusion, outlined in the ENI, are analyzed. Third, the EU's impact reflected as informational diffusion, outlined in EEAS statements, a Mogherini's speech, EU Delegation to Egypt activities, and Anna Lindh Foundation activities complement the analyzes. Additional focus will be placed on highlighting EU implementation of Egyptian cultural habits when informational diffusing it norms.

To put the analyses in the right context, it is necessary to draw a brief summary of the activities following the deposal of President Mubarak due the Arab Spring uprisings. Egypt has been going through a complex transition period since the beginning of the 2011 uprisings, which caused the fall of former President Mubarak. Thereafter, parliamentary and presidential elections were held. From June 2012, Mohamed Morsi, supported by the Muslim Brotherhood, served as President of Egypt. For the EU this process seemed initially to suggest there would be a transition towards more and deeper democracy in Egypt. However, by ignoring the People's Assembly and crafting a new passage in the Constitution,¹¹³ matters of concern arose for non-Islamists.¹¹⁴ This led to a massive uprising, which resulted in the military ousting of Morsi.¹¹⁵ Defense Minister Abdel Fattah el-Sisi established a new administration. Morsi and Muslim Brotherhood supporters were violently deposed and imprisoned. After July 2013, the new administration adopted a new constitutional road. In January 2014, the Constitution was adopted, followed by a referendum that allowed the EU to send an Election Expert Mission. New presidential elections took place in May 2014, and el-Sisi, a former military officer, managed to obtain a convincing victory. The observation mission concluded that the elections were generally in line with international standards, but there was a lack of respect towards fundamental freedoms and human rights. The political sphere was polarized and the authorities restricted the Muslim Brotherhood and other political opposition. With el-Sisi as President, mass arrests followed, including mass death sentences

¹¹³ Al Jazeera and agencies (2012) Egypt court orders dissolving of parliament. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2012/06/2012614124538532758.html>

¹¹⁴ Hussein, A. (2012). Egypt referendum: opposition calls for fraud inquiry. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/dec/23/egypt-referendum-opposition-fraud-inquiry>

¹¹⁵ Kirkpatrick (2013). Army Ousts Egypt's President; Morsi Is Taken Into Military Custody. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/04/world/middleeast/egypt.html>

for Muslim Brotherhood supporters.¹¹⁶ Human rights activists, including every other form of opposition, were suppressed. Egypt is currently anything but a free society and is once more subjected to the powerful military regime, much like before the outbreak of the Arab Spring uprisings. In order to research the extent of bottom-up approaches used by the EU, the upcoming part analyzes the goals, means, and impact of the EU's democracy promotion towards Egyptian civil society in the context just set out.

4.1. European Commission

Firstly, the EU goals within the Egyptian ENP Action Plan will be analyzed.¹¹⁷ In this plan, Egypt and the EU reaffirm their commitment to deepen their political, economic, and social relations.¹¹⁸ The Action Plan takes into account the balance between necessary changes for modernization of the Egyptian economy and ensuring sustainable changes in the socio-economic spheres. Second, the Progress Reports of the Action Plans will be analyzed in order to determine comment on achievement of Egyptian civil society liberalization goals.

4.1.1. EU-Egypt Action Plan

The ENP Action Plan confirms commitment between the EU and Egypt to develop '*political, economic and social relations on the basis of joint ownership, shared values, and common interests*'.¹¹⁹ Given the nature of the research question, the focus here is on electoral, human rights, cultural, and civil society issues. Some priorities in this plan of action include the promotion of human rights in all their aspects. This entails the '*improvement of the dialogue between cultures and religions, cooperate in the fight against intolerance, discrimination, racism and xenophobia*'.¹²⁰ Another priority mentioned is the strengthening of links and co-operation in people-to-people contact in youth and sports, culture and audiovisual areas, and civil society. The partners are trying to achieve this by enhancing the effectiveness of institutions entrusted with strengthening democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and

¹¹⁶ Saleh, Y., & Evans, D. (2014). Egypt upholds death sentence on Brotherhood leader, nearly 200 supporters. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-brotherhood-ruling-idUSKBN0EW0B520140621>

¹¹⁷ European Commission. (2016). EU-Egypt Action Plan. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/egypt_enp_ap_final_en.pdf

¹¹⁸ See page 1: Ibid.

¹¹⁹ See page 1: Ibid.

¹²⁰ See page 2: Ibid.

fundamental freedoms.¹²¹ Image A shows the related goals.

The EC goals not only show the possibilities for enhancing the effectiveness of institutions, but also that there is a search for dialogue with the civil society.¹²² These intentions are also reflected in the improvement of the educational and training systems, which are important for diffusing EU norms. There is a priority to reform the education system within the Egyptian framework towards more EU convergence. Image B shows the related goals. It is notable that the requirements at first hand are rather vague, and it seems to be that the EU comes short in giving a precise roadmap of instructions that could accomplish these goals.

In the Action Plan the priority People-to-People contacts are added.¹²³ This is further subdivided into culture, youth and sport issues, and civil society cooperation. The partners try to co-operate in the fields shown in Image C. To deepen the relationship, between the EU and the Egyptian civil society, the EU opened the New Partnership Perspectives. This could raise possibilities for gradual opening of European Community programmes that promote cultural and educational links. The intention to promote the exchange of culture between the EU and the Egyptian civil society has the aim to bring cultures and civilizations closer as a part of the New Partnership Perspectives. The EU-Egypt Action Plan pays particular attention to the civil society and cultural diversity. It appears that the EU wants to intensify people-to-people contact to improve cultural and religious dialogue. The Action Plan shows that normative goals are strongly represented. Nevertheless, the appointment of goals for enhancing and promoting dialogue with the civil society is not enough. The transfer of norms itself is needed to have proper liberalization of the civil society. The next section analyzes the Progress Reports, in order to assess the progress of implementation of the normative goals described in the Action Plan.

4.1.2. EU-Egypt Progress Reports

The Progress Reports are what they say, they evaluate the progress of the ENP Action Plan goals. These Reports give a clear overview of the developments and roadblocks by describing the activities in detail. The EC publishes the Reports once a year, with a focus on specific

¹²¹ See page 5: European Commission . (2016). EU-Egypt Action Plan. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/egypt_enp_ap_final_en.pdf

¹²² See page 14: Ibid

¹²³ See page 34: Ibid

priorities. These priorities represent political, economic, and social issues but people-to-people contacts will be focused on here.

In the period between 2007 and 2011, Egypt participated actively in educational regional programmes and deepened reforms of the internationality of its higher education system.¹²⁴ In this period of time, four additional Tempus projects¹²⁵ were selected in cooperation with Egypt and in 2011 mobility schemes for 240 Egyptian students and staff were forecasted.¹²⁶ Under the Euro-Med III and Youth in Action programmes, Egyptian young people benefitted from charitable activities and exchanges.¹²⁷

Between July 2012 and July 2013 the government prepared several proposals to refurbish the Supreme Council of Human Resource Development, which was incomplete since President Morsi's ousting. Despite the ousting of Morsi, Egypt remained very active in the Tempus and Erasmus Mundus Programmes. One third of the Tempus projects in 2013 were coordinated by an Egyptian partner and 159 Erasmus Mundus scholarships for higher education in the EU were provided.¹²⁸ In 2013, Egypt did not have a national youth policy, but the EuroMed Youth programme was extended. 293 Egyptian young people already benefitted from the supported Youth in Action programme.¹²⁹ In 2014, the EU and the Egyptian government developed a short- and long-term national strategic plan for education. Additionally, they developed the technical and vocational education and training programme and the Egyptian government created a National Human Resources Development Council.¹³⁰ In this year, Egypt participated with 357 participants in 34 on-going Tempus programmes. Also Youth and youth organizations benefitted from the Erasmus+ programme. 453 students and staff were selected by Erasmus Mundus supported partnerships.¹³¹

The strength of the Progress Report is the permanent sustaining of communication, evaluation and publication of the relations between the EU and Egypt. Causing a transparent state of play about the two partners. Moreover, Erasmus Plus participants come in contact with other international students, assumedly causing exchange of norms. Subsequently, the EU's

¹²⁴ European Commission (2008), Progress Report Egypt, SEC(2008)395, Brussels Working Paper

¹²⁵ Tempus projects are Joint European Projects which aim to increase networks between actors in higher educations and propagate its knowledge outside academic institutions

¹²⁶ European Commission (2012), Progress Report Egypt, SWD(2012) 113 final, Brussels Working Paper

¹²⁷ European Commission (2010), Progress Report Egypt, SEC(2010) 517, Brussels Working Paper

¹²⁸ European Commission (2014), Progress Report Egypt, SWD(2014) 71 final, Brussels Working Paper

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ European Commission (2015), Progress Report Egypt, SWD(2015) 65 final, Brussels Working Paper

¹³¹ Ibid.

initiative of investment in education for children and youth could be considered as norm diffusion in which cultural difference are incorporated. People-to-people contacts in the field of higher education may be able to further promote democracy in a bottom-up approach via the civil society. Despite the increasing amount of participants over the past years, this would probably take a relatively long time considering the relatively small number of students involved. Due this reason, it could be assumed that the impact on democratization is probably quite limited.

In order to get a better impression of the transnational linkages between the EU and Egypt this research is going to take a look at the transference diffusion of the European Neighborhood Instrument. This instrument will tell us how much money the EU allocated to Egypt for the purpose of democracy promotion at civil society level. This is important to investigate, because high levels of civil society support in terms of funding, can indicate changes in the use of a bottom-up approach for promoting democracy.

4.1.3. European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI)

In order to contribute to the realization of the goals of the Action Plan, the EU provides appropriate financial support through the ENI which is the main financial instrument for implementing the ENP.¹³² The share of financial support for projects that support the civil society with these targets are compared with the total allocation of financial support for projects in Egypt. In order to analyze the EU's transference diffusion towards the Egyptian civil society, Table 2, provided in the appendixes, gives an overview of the funded projects from 2007 until 2016. Table 3 gives an overview of the abbreviations of Table 2. Table 2 outlines the beneficiaries, amount, range of activities and length of each project. Figure 1 shows the share of financial allocation between civil society support programmes in comparison with financial support to all sectors. The grey factor line shows the percentage of financial instruments which support and promote human rights and democracy towards the civil society. With respect to the research questions of this research, it is necessary to explain the fluctuation of the monetary value of civil society support provided by the EU. In order to give a comprehensive explanation, findings on the funding on civil society support are compared per year. Subsequently, an analytical point of view is taken in order to shine light

¹³² European Commission. (2017). The European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI). Retrieved from <http://www.euneighbours.eu/en/policy/european-neighbourhood-instrument-eni>

upon the possible reasons behind the amount spend per year on civil society support.

In 2007, no project was financially supported by the ENPI that was allocated for the liberalization of the Egyptian civil society. Probably due the startup phase in 2007, only money was allocated to support the implementation of the Action Plan. In 2008, €7.000.000, which is 25% of the total amount spent on Egyptian funded projects, was allocated to projects which aimed to support and promote human rights and democracy towards civil society. The focus was on strengthening the respect of human rights and supporting civil society organizations.¹³³ Emphasis was also placed on providing high quality education to all students.¹³⁴ In 2009, again, no project was financially supported by the ENPI that was allocated for the liberalization of the Egyptian civil society. In 2010, €1.000.000, which is 15% of the total amount spent on Egyptian funded projects, focused on promoting the rule of law,¹³⁵ on local development support with decentralization activities,¹³⁶ on enhancing cultural diversity and social cohesion.¹³⁷ Between 2008 and 2010 the amount spent on civil society support fluctuated. This could be explained by the length of the programmes, because the programmes overlap subsequent years.

In 2011 and in 2012, no project directed at liberalization of the Egyptian civil society was financially supported by the ENPI. Until 2011, Mubarak was in power. He was typified as a military power and ran Egypt as an autocratic state. From 2011 the Arab Spring ran its course and consequently, in 2012 the society and its development towards a possible democracy was still insecure. Bearing this in mind, one can explain the stop in funding civil society support from the EU. In 2013, the focus was on the improvement of the poorest and most vulnerable segment of the Egyptian population. €9.000.000, which is 77% of the total amount spent on Egyptian funded projects, enhanced support to civil society by strengthening the capacity of human rights activists to provide community interventions.¹³⁸ Figure 1 shows that after the Arab Spring relatively more money was allocated to civil society support. In 2013 Egypt held, to some extent, democratic elections and the public choose Morsi as new president. Because the president was chosen by elections, which in itself was already a victory for democracy and

¹³³ See page 5: European Commission (2008). ENPI. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/c20087874_aap_egypt_2008_en_ad1_019607.pdf

¹³⁴ See page 20: Ibid.

¹³⁵ See page 30: European Commission (2010). ENPI . Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/aap_egypt_2010_ad5.pdf

¹³⁶ See page 38: Ibid.

¹³⁷ See page 45: Ibid.

¹³⁸ See page 5: European Commission (2013). ENPI. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/c_2013_8416_aap_part_ii_annex_en.pdf

the ENP, the general notion existed that Morsi would develop Egypt to a more democratic state. The EU's trust in the Egyptian civil society and their demand for democracy could explain the huge amount of money spent on civil society support.

In 2014, €30.000.000,- was allocated to the only project that was financially supported by ENI and focused on increasing child protection and to strengthen access to education for the most vulnerable and socially excluded children.¹³⁹ The military coup with additional violations provided instability and an uncertain direction of the new administration. One could argue that this may have led to cancelling of other projects and 100% allocation to civil society support. In 2015, regarding civil society support, €10.000.000, was allocated to women's participation in public life.¹⁴⁰ In 2016, the focus was also on women equality in public life. Again, €10.000.000,- was allocated to the Advancing Women's Rights Programme.¹⁴¹ This was 14% of the total amount spent on Egyptian funded projects. After the appointment of el-Sisi relatively less money was allocated to civil society support. The overall amount of funded projects towards other sectors in Egypt also decreased. One could argue that this could be explained due to ENP changes, regarding the introduction of the more-for-more principle in 2011. However, financing the enhancement of women's rights can still be interpreted as transference/diffusion of EU norms towards the Egyptian civil society.

In order to give a comprehensive analysis of the EU's informational and cultural diffusion towards the Egyptian civil society, Table 4 provides an overview of the discourse analysis of EU initiatives towards the Egyptian civil society. The analysis of the institutions and deputies from EEAS, EU delegation to Egypt, and the Anna Lindh Foundation is schematically outlined. Table 4 shows the analyzed material, norm categories, whether there was informational and/or cultural diffusion, and the content of cultural diffusion.

4.2. European External Action Service (EEAS)

In this section informational norm and cultural diffusion by the EEAS is analyzed. As part of the EU's diplomatic service, the role of the EEAS is to make sure that the voice of the EU and

¹³⁹ See page 7: European Commission (2014). ENI. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/c_2013_8416_aap_part_ii_annex_en.pdf

¹⁴⁰ See page 11: European Commission (2015). ENI. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/c_2013_8416_aap_part_ii_annex_en.pdf

¹⁴¹ See page 11: European Commission (2016). ENI. Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/sites/near/files/c_2013_8416_aap_part_ii_annex_en.pdf

its people is heard in the world.¹⁴² In order to analyze informational and cultural norm diffusion, the EEAS' statements will firstly be analyzed. This is followed by analyzing a speech of Mogherini at Cairo University.

4.2.1. EEAS statements

The EEAS statement focuses on the issue of the death sentence, sentencing of activists, imposition of travel bans, asset freezes and summoning of human rights defenders by the Egyptian government, and storming of the Egyptian Press Syndicate by the Egyptian security forces. The EEAS called upon the Egyptian judicial authorities to follow the legal process according to international standards. The mass trial of 230 defendants violates Egypt's international human rights obligations. Among them was the well-known activist and blogger Ahmed Douma, who spearheaded the 25 January Egyptian uprisings.¹⁴³ The EEAS called for the release of all activists charged with violating the Egyptian Constitutional, which safeguards the freedom of assembly.¹⁴⁴ The EEAS is for releasing those who were imprisoned for expressing their opinion.¹⁴⁵ The EEAS stated that it is against the increasing pressure on independent Egyptian civil society organizations, in particular human rights organizations and defenders. The EEAS called for an open society that is not only good for democracy, but also serves as the best answer to extremism.¹⁴⁶

These statements are about the Egyptian civil society and advocate protection of human rights and promotion of the rule of law. However, they are only directed to Egyptian institutions and not to the Egyptian civil society. It is therefore questionable whether these statements do reach the Egyptian civil society. In these statements the Egyptian culture is also not considered. Agreements are especially highlighted to which the Egyptian regime has to adhere to become closer to the EU in relation to rule of law regulations. Therefore, the EEAS statements cannot be defined as informational and cultural diffusion. To see whether and in what ways the EEAS tries to reach the Egyptian civil society, the speech of Mogherini at

¹⁴² European External Action Service (2017). Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage_en

¹⁴³ European External Action Service. (2015). Statement of the spokesperson on the sentencing of activists in Egypt. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/2729/statement-spokesperson-sentencing-activists-egypt_en

¹⁴⁴ European External Action Service. (2015). Statement by the spokesperson on the pardoning of prisoners by Egypt's President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/3155/statement-spokesperson-pardoning-prisoners-egypts-president-abdel-fattah-el-sisi_en

¹⁴⁵ European External Action Service (2016). Statement by the Spokesperson on the situation in Egypt. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/2857/statement-spokesperson-situation-egypt_en

¹⁴⁶ European External Action Service. (2016). Statement by the spokesperson on civil society in Egypt. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/2949/statement-spokesperson-civil-society-egypt_en

Cairo University is analyzed.¹⁴⁷

4.2.2. A speech of Mogherini at Cairo University

Mogherini begins with a special welcome to the present youth and starts with praising Cairo as historical center of the Arab region.¹⁴⁸ She continues by comparing herself with the Egyptian youth, where she addresses age and opportunities. She argues that age should not discourage opportunities:

*'Do not let anyone use your age against you, it is your strength, your energy, you capacity to dream, to dare, to hope. The power of change needs the energy of youth.'*¹⁴⁹

From the outset, emphasis is placed on youth qualities. She immediately draws attention, so that the diffusion towards the, mainly young attendees, will be more effective. Subsequently, Mogherini mentions her goal, which is developing a common future. She argues that, for this, there is a need for common interests, which lay down in common values. According to her, the challenge is to focus on values bringing the EU and the Arab world together and not on values pulling them apart. She says:

*'We share so much history, so much culture. Christianity is common in de Arab world and the Islam is common in the EU. The Mediterranean is not a barrier but a bridge between civilizations. Living together in respect and diversity is possible and indeed beneficial for all; diversity makes the Arab world and the EU so unique and is our common strength. To preserve such diversity, we need to build open, inclusive societies and democracies, where everybody can find his own place. This is not only about politics but also about culture, and faith.'*¹⁵⁰

Mogherini attempts to encourage the expression of common values by saying that these norms are much closer than it is thought and already exist within the Egyptian culture. This further expresses the idea that diversity is not a weakness but rather the strength of civil societies. By saying that *'diversity is our common strength'*, the collectivity and equality

¹⁴⁷ Mogherini, F. (2015). Visit of Federica Mogherini to Egypt: speech at the Cairo University. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F4CxT0Rg_Og

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

between the EU and the Arab world is expressed and diffused. At the same time, Mogherini does not want to create or express superiority. She picks up on the European migration crisis and women's rights as an example of which the EU still could make progressions. Mogherini diffused the subject of equal rights for women by arguing that women's rights are about the equality of the society and economy. Finally, she closes her speech with the following words:

*'Any narrative, opposing us against them, has no sense at all today. It is not the other that tears our societies apart; it is the fear of the other that can destroy our societies. It is our responsibility to focus on what keeps us together, and not what divides us. It is our responsibility to work for unity, mutual understanding, and respect. It is our responsibility to build new partnerships between Europe and the Arab world. We have so much in common, we face the same challenges, we hold the same fundamental beliefs, we share a long history, it is up to us to build a future together.'*¹⁵¹

The body language of Mogherini is very important in this last section, because when mentioning 'our' and 'us' she is pointing to herself, which is the European civil society, and to the audience, which is the Egypt civil society. It could be argued that she is not referring to the responsibility of the governments, but that she refers to the responsibility of both civil societies to respect each other and build a future together. In the Q&A that follows, Mogherini states that building a future together will be accomplished by bringing people together. She argues that partnering, twinning programmes, and exchange programmes are key to build bridges and a common future. According to her, the EU should take a different path:

'I think we have, somehow to, changed the way in which we approach our relationship, our partnership. We have built, for years, the idea that there is a European Neighborhood; There is European Union at the center, and neighbors around us. We measured our partnership, and our relationship on the basis of the steps that our neighbors take to get closer to us. I believe, we have to reverse this approach, and learn how to manage together challenges we have in common. I think that this is the real basis for growing together. As future generations of Europeans and Arabs are able to work together on an everyday life. This is the field in

¹⁵¹ Mogherini, F. (2015). Visit of Federica Mogherini to Egypt: speech at the Cairo University. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F4CxT0Rg_Og

*which we have to invest the most.*¹⁵²

Mogherini suggests that there should not be one-way traffic wherein the EU only diffuses norms, but that reciprocity should also be created. Mutual respect is strongly emphasized and cultural diversity is considered to be key in promoting a more democratic Egyptian civil society. Mogherini makes references to ‘*we*’ and ‘*together*’. These words stand for the EU civil society, which, according to Mogherini, have to change their superiority towards the Egyptian civil society. Moreover, mutually equality is diffused. The references to ‘*cooperation*’ and ‘*partnership*’ could stand for openness, respect, and trust. It could be argued that these references uncover new relations between the EU and Egyptian civil society. They could be associated with participation of citizens, with decentralization or social responsibility. The speech of Mogherini would be a classic example of effective EU informational norm diffusion if it reached the appropriate audience. Since the speech was held at Cairo University, it could be argued that the audience consists of high educated people who assumable are familiar with EU norms. Nevertheless, Mogherini used the bottom-up approach and informationally diffused the desire and aspiration for democracy in a common future.

4.3. EU Delegation to Egypt (Delegation)

The next institution to be analyzed is the EU Delegation to Egypt.¹⁵³ The EU Delegation to Egypt plays a key role in the implementation and monitoring of the EU-Egypt Partnership priorities laid down in the EU-Egypt Action Plan. They are essential for the promotion of EU norms and interest around Egypt, and they are the main institution in delivering EU external policy and action within Egypt.¹⁵⁴ The Delegation interacts with the government ministry, but also with the civil society and non-governmental organizations. Reinhold Brender, Chargé d' Affaires a.i. of the EU Delegation to Egypt, argues that Egypt is going through a historic transition in the wake of the January 2011 revolution.¹⁵⁵ He clarifies that the contact with the Egyptian civil society is an important factor for realizing democratic change.¹⁵⁶ In this section latest initiatives of the Delegation are analyzed, in order to see whether EU norms are informationally diffused and whether cultural differences are taken into account.

¹⁵² Mogherini, F. (2015). Visit of Federica Mogherini to Egypt: speech at the Cairo University. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F4CxT0Rg_Og

¹⁵³ European Delegation to Egypt. (2017). Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/egypt_en

¹⁵⁴ European Delegation to Egypt. (2016). Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/egypt/1155/about-eu-delegation-egypt_en

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

4.3.1. Delegation Activities

The analyzed Delegation activities are used as a more detailed example of the Delegation's work to connect with the Egyptian civil society. The first analyzed Delegation initiative is the launch of Awladna National Multimedia Campaign Promoting Positive Parenting.¹⁵⁷ Awladna means our children, and this campaign reflects the EU commitment of the support to Egyptian children. In collaboration with the National Council of Childhood and Motherhood and UNICEF, the campaign wants to raise public awareness on the issue of positive parenting by using multimedia.¹⁵⁸ Through TV and Radio Public Service Announcements, SMS transmission, and social media posts engaging celebrities under the slogan #CalmNotHarm, as well as printed press, outdoor advertising, and direct public interaction.¹⁵⁹ Additionally, National Child Helpline 16000, and the Family Counselling Helpline 16021 was opened that provides parents and caregivers with guidance on positive discipline techniques via trained social workers.¹⁶⁰ The #CalmNotHarm is used extensively on the UNICEF Egypt Facebook, which has more than 1.6 million followers.¹⁶¹ There are over 500.000 clip views and over 1000 reactions such as, '*the most important thing is to promote trust.*'¹⁶² The use of the Egyptian culture in this campaign is also evident. Using Egyptian cartoons, the message is conveyed in a light-hearted way, making it possible for both parents and child to pick up the message. It could be argued that the Awladna Campaign promotes that Egyptian children grow up in an environment that is conducive to their development and wellbeing. This campaign illustrates that social media posts are very powerful in disseminating messages towards the civil society.

Another Delegation event, which attempts to integrate EU norms into the Egyptian civil society, is the Annual Photography Competition.¹⁶³ This event is organized to promote and

¹⁵⁷ European Delegation to Egypt. (2016). Launch of 'Awladna' National Multimedia Campaign Promoting Positive Parenting. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/17486/launch-awladna-national-multimedia-campaign-promoting-positive-parenting_en

¹⁵⁸ Mohamed, E. (2017). UNICEF Launches Campaign to Reform Parenting Styles in Egypt. Retrieved from <http://www.spiralmag.net/?p=10280>

¹⁵⁹ European Delegation to Egypt. (2016). Launch of 'Awladna' National Multimedia Campaign Promoting Positive Parenting. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/17486/launch-awladna-national-multimedia-campaign-promoting-positive-parenting_en

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Unicef Egypt. (2017). Retrieved from www.facebook.com/UNICEFEgypt/

¹⁶² <https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=calmnotharm>

¹⁶³ European Delegation to Egypt. (2016). Launch of 9th Annual Photography Competition. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/egypt/11455/european-union-delegation-egypt-launches-its-9th-annual-photography-competition-amateur_en

stimulate interest and creativity in photography among amateur photographers in Egypt. The theme of the latest competition was '*Job creativity of Egyptians and Youth*'.¹⁶⁴ The theme explores the innovation of Egyptian entrepreneurs and showcases Egypt's strengths, its people and their ideas. In order to check whether EU norms were diffused during this event, the conference speech of Reinhold Brender is analyzed.¹⁶⁵

Using YouTube as a medium, directly noticeable was the Egyptian background music. This shows that during the event the Egyptian culture was taken into account. Moreover, Reinhold Brender starts with a one minute silence as vindication of respect for the victims of the latest terrorist attack in Egypt. This creates a cohesive sense between the EU and Egypt civil society. Furthermore, a special welcome is presented for various attendees, including Miss Abdel-Asim, who is founder of the magazine '*What Women Want*'¹⁶⁶. This special appointment diffuses the EU norm equal rights for anyone and especially the support for women at large. It is highlighted that the topic of the event, Job creativity of Egyptians and Youth, was autonomously chosen by the participants using an online poll. It could be argued that this practical implication emphasizes that freedom of choice and feeling autonomous should be greatly appreciated. Additionally, it is cited that more than half of the Egyptian population is under the age of 25, and therefore it is argued that it is important to support the creativity of these young people.¹⁶⁷ It is explained that the Annual Photography Competition is organized for the 9th time and had around 1000 participants in total. This year over 130 photos were sent in from 40 participants across Egypt. It is clearly reiterated that the participants who are interested and are willing to participate are from all over Egypt, and not only from Cairo.¹⁶⁸

During this event multiple languages were used and Egyptian nationalism in combination with EU norms was highly valued. One could argue that this resulted in the dissemination of the norms: freedom of choice, and freedom of expression. The event aims to initiate a national dialogue in Egypt, involving public and private cultural institutions, and individual experts. Additionally, cultural industries have a potential to give positive contribution to national, regional, and international exposure and interaction. The range of the event is nationwide,

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Brender, R. (2016) The EU's 9th Annual Photography Competition - Job Creativity of Egyptians and Youth. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=65toGTDSRFM>

¹⁶⁶ <http://whatwomenwant-mag.com/>

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ <https://twitter.com/search?q=annual%20photography%20competition%20egypt&src=typd&lang=nl>

however, in comparison with the Egyptian population, there is a small amount of participants. It could be argued that due practical and financial reasons such event can only allow a limited number of participants. Subsequently, this results in a limited achievement of EU norm diffusion.

4.4. Anna Lindh Foundation (ALF)

There are multiple actors that engage in human rights and democracy promotion across international borders. Human Rights Watch,¹⁶⁹ Amnesty International,¹⁷⁰ and the ALF¹⁷¹ are all engaged with influencing, implementing, and transferring EU norms. For the analyses and the success of their work, it was chosen to focus on the ALF, because the ALF is in close contact with the EC, EEAS, and EU Delegation to Egypt. Hence, it is one of the main EU partners that are actively engaged with the Mediterranean civil society. It promotes mutual respect and in-depth knowledge among the societies of the Euro-Mediterranean region. In the upcoming part, for the purpose of this research noteworthy initiatives and events of the ALF related to Egypt are highlighted.

4.4.1 ALF Activities

The first ALF initiative that will be analyzed here is the regional initiative, 'Believe in Dialogue, Act for Citizenship'.¹⁷² It aims for exchange of good practice and debate about citizenship and democracy among cultural operators, non-governmental organizations, media and young activists.¹⁷³ A seminar has taken place in Cairo, which was the Regional Training Seminar on Intercultural Dialogue and Social Change. The Cairo Training Seminar consisted of a capacity building scheme for the Anna Lindh Arab Networks, which addressed new challenges of the southern civil societies and new actions and initiatives were prepared. The seminar focused on the role of the civil society in promoting citizenship and democracy through intercultural dialogue. Figure 2.1 shows there is still room for improvement. Only 44% of the Egyptian people think that there are absolute guidelines for what is good and bad. To improve this, the aim of the ALF is to focus on enhancing youth leadership and in

¹⁶⁹ Human Right Watch. (2017). Retrieved from <https://www.hrw.org/about>

¹⁷⁰ Amnesty International. (2017). Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/who-we-are/>

¹⁷¹ Anna Lindh Foundation. (2017). Retrieved from <http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/about>

¹⁷² Anna Lindh Foundation. (2011). Believe in Dialogue, Act for Citizenship. Retrieved from <http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/news/believe-dialogue-act-citizenship-regional-initiative-launched>

¹⁷³ Ibid.

increasing their own role in generating social changes. Additionally, they are reinforcing the use of social media and other new technologies in information dissemination and communication policies.¹⁷⁴ More than 50 participants signed up for the seminar and it could be expected that these participants received more knowledge about EU norms. Moreover, the hash tag, #BelieveInDialogue, was used multiple times and around 600 page likes on Facebook were achieved.¹⁷⁵ This number for one seminar is considerably high. The Believe in Dialogue initiative promoted good practices in the democracy debate and cultural diversification efforts. One could argue that those network events, seminars and social media posts leads to the bottom-up informational diffusion of EU norms, because participants debated, in public and on social media, about the role of the civil society in promoting democracy.

Another ALF supported event is The New Arab Debates.¹⁷⁶ This is a Egyptian television debates in Cairo and Alexandria. The aim of the project is to concentrate on the people driving the change in the region, and discuss issues that affect their lives, suggest solutions, make politicians accountable for their actions and get further involved in politics.¹⁷⁷ The format involves a controversial motion, with two speakers, one arguing for and the other against. Before the debate is open to the audience, the participants each speak in front of a live audience. Finally, an electronic vote is taken from the attendees. The following motions were previously discussed: *'Egypt is becoming dangerously divided and intolerant'*,¹⁷⁸ and *'Egypt is a disappointment to the rest of the Arab world'*.¹⁷⁹ The debates make full use of social media and is translated and streamed in English and Arabic on the website of New Arab Debates.¹⁸⁰ The New Arab Debates actively seek to make regional and international headlines. It could be argued that these sessions are an essential exercise in establishing accountability. It will probably help the whole Egyptian civil society to engage in political arguments that affect their lives. The New Arab Debates were broadcasted both in the English and Arabic language. Human rights and the rule of law were promoted. It could be argued that this initiative diffused that disagreements should be respected and that dialogue is always

¹⁷⁴ Walton, P. (2014). Anna Lindh Foundation Communication Guidelines. Retrieved from <http://communication.annalindh.org/>

¹⁷⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/BelieveInDialogue/?fref=ts>

¹⁷⁶ Anna Lindh Foundation. (2013). The New Arab Debates Retrieved from: <http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/news/new-arab-debates-how-dangerous-are-divisions-todays-egypt>

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ The New Arab Debates (2013). THB Egyptians are dangerously divided and tolerant. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x--z_a2aIdI

¹⁷⁹ The New Arab Debates (2014) Egypt is a disappointment to the rest of the world. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bcFkZwopdwk>

¹⁸⁰ <https://vimeo.com/user10959674>

possible.

The following ALF event analyzed is Moltaqa, which means Gathering, and is part of the Dawrak-citizens for Dialogue programme.¹⁸¹ The Dawrak citizens for Dialogue Programme was launched as a response to the Arab awakening and aims to develop intercultural dialogue skills for the whole civil society. It wants to provide the civil society with tools for dialogue, advocacy, networking and participation.¹⁸² The YouTube clip Dawrak – The Movie,¹⁸³ shows that Dawrak is one of the leading programmes that strengthens the role and ideas of youth and helps citizens to find their role in civil life. The conference brought together more than 300 civil society leaders from across the Arab region, in addition to representatives of CSOs from the EU and international institutions. The conference was built on a series of working sessions on the themes that focused on intercultural citizenship, youth participation, and local governance.¹⁸⁴ Additionally, a cultural event was hosted at the Sayed Darwish Opera House in Alexandria. There were many publications and reactions in English, France and the Arabic language about this event on social media,¹⁸⁵ The Moltaqa program showed that the civil society should learn how to express liberal ideas within times of repression. It could be argued that the conference was a successful event, because the media headlines and certain political narratives informationally diffused freedom of expression among the Egyptian civil society.

Taking the ALF activities in mind as well as the participation rates of its civilians in those activities, one can argue that the cooperation between the EU and ALF encompasses real constructive value towards building a more liberalized Egyptian civil society. They bring people together to work on common projects in the fields of education, media, culture and youth participation. Due to the ALF's visibility and accessibility to civilians, one can argue that the ALF works as a positive force multiplier for diffusing EU norms towards the Egyptian civil society. The following chapter presents a discussion based on the analyses of the goals, means, and impact of the EU's bottom-up approach towards the Egyptian civil society in relation with the theoretical statements. For discussing the analyses, each area of research will be separately explained along the most important findings.

¹⁸¹ Anna Lindh Foundation. (2017). Dawrak - Citizens for Dialogue. Retrieved from <http://www.dawrak.org/en/dawrak-citizens-dialogue>

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Anna Lindh Foundation. (2014). Dawrak - The Movie. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AXOd0FwBVcw>

¹⁸⁴ Anna Lindh Foundation. (2014). Motaqa: Anna Lindh Regional Conference in Egypt on building open and plural societies. Retrieved from <http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/news/moltaqa-anna-lindh-regional-conference-egypt-building-open-and-plural-societies>

¹⁸⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/annalindhfoundation/?fref=ts>

Chapter 5 Conclusion: Remarks and Discussion

Based on the analysis of norm diffusion of EU institutions and deputies towards the Egyptian civil society, this research presents a sequential illustration on the bottom-up approach of the EU in order to promote democracy among civil societies. In order to present a discussion about the contributions and limitations of this research, theoretical and practical considerations are demonstrated. More specifically, findings on the goals, means, and impact of EU foreign policy towards the Egyptian civil society are connected. Consequently, this chapter provides an answer on the research question.

Comparative analyzing the EU-Egypt ENP Action Plan and their Progress Reports explained the EU goals and their progress in enhancing people-to-people contacts. Analyzing the ENI showed that domestic events in combination with the introduction of the more-for-more principle heavily influenced the transference diffusion towards the Egyptian civil society. The demanded elections in 2013 most likely resulted in an increase in civil society support. After the violent military coup in 2014 the civil society support decreased. These findings are not in line with the findings of Tommel,¹⁸⁶ who argued that the more-for-more principle and the Arab Spring event would lead to more democratic reform and civil society support.

The analyses of the practical activities showed that the informational and cultural diffusion are differently used among the analyzed institutions. Using various informational norm diffusing strategies can work in the EU's favor, but also to their detriment. Different strategies could ensure a multitude of opportunities in which the civil society comes in contact with EU norms. However, if not managed delicately, there is a possibility that this could lead to incoherent, disproportionate and aimless informational norm diffusion. The EEAS statements could not be consider as bottom-up informational diffusion, because statements were aimed for the Egyptian government and not for the Egyptian civil society. The speech of Mogherini showed that it was argued that the EU has to change the way it approaches the ENP countries. During this speech Mogherini used the bottom-up approach and diffused women's rights, cultural diversity, and freedom of expression. It is important to consider the background of the audience, because one could argue that this could influence the degree of norm diffusion. The Delegation activities show that the Delegation is aiming for democracy promotion by using

¹⁸⁶ See page 30: Tömmel, I. (2013). The new neighborhood policy of the EU: an appropriate response to the Arab Spring?. *Democracy and security*, 9(1-2), 19-39.

the bottom-up approach. However, it could be argued that achievements were not significant due a limited number of participants. Nevertheless, the Delegation activities illustrate that social media posts are helpful in diffusion EU norms. The ALF activities showed that their network events, seminars and social media posts leads to the bottom-up diffusion of EU norms. The ALF operates with and for the civil society and works on civil society level. One could argue that this results in more accessibility and visibility. Therefore, the ALF arguably works as a positive force multiplier for implementing EU goals. The ALF has proven to be a strong EU partner, in order to increase the reach, and the overall visibility of EU-Mediterranean cooperation of the ALF activities, the ALF Communication Policy¹⁸⁷ could be used more intensively. This policy ensures that the communication towards civil societies begins at the start of the programming process. Additionally, strategies can be introduced where the ALF website portal and social media outreach are reinforced as the primary tools for external communication. With more EU support, the ALF network can be an sustained active partner and positive contributor to the liberalization process.

The analyses of this thesis ultimately highlights the need to further enhance the understanding of the EU's informational and cultural diffusion regarding liberalization of civil societies, as it constitutes an important topic in democracy development. By generating a conceptual framework that includes the interconnectedness of factors and potential moderators of democracy development, further research could test various different cases, population polls and EU initiatives. One could then evaluate whether the results are in line with liberalization indexes of other nationalistic, suppressed civil societies. Moreover, it could be analyzed whether the EU is using different diffusion strategies on other Mediterranean countries. The analyses of the different activities showed that accessibility is highly important for diffusion EU norms towards civil societies. In future research, overt diffusion could be analyzed. As we have seen in the theoretical framework, overt diffusion takes place as a result of the EU's physical presence in third states and international organizations.¹⁸⁸ It could be researched how the EU could improve bottom-up democracy promotion by analysing the overt diffusion of partner institutions. Additionally, specific civil and political rights could be researched, so that the EU is able to intensify diffusion on the norms that are most popular for civil societies. One could argue that promoting the most popular norms will suffer from less civil society

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http://communication.annalindh.org/sites/communication.annalindh.org/files/pages/files/alf_communication_guidelines.pdf
¹⁸⁸ See page 245: Manners, I. (2002). Normative power Europe: a contradiction in terms?. *JCMS: Journal of common market studies*, 40(2), 235-258.

resistance. This could result in faster acceptance of EU norms. In the case of Egypt, it is recommended here to promote the rule of law, since judicial rights are considered to be more important than other norms.¹⁸⁹

Despite, taking certain measure to enhance accurateness, reliability, and validity, this research is not without limitations. A limitation of doing a case study is the small sample size. The consequence of this is that the analysis has issues with the external validity or that the research findings cannot be generalized to other cases. This means that findings, for example participation rates of the civil society cannot really say something for other populations, because scientific facts are usually based on multiple case studies that have replicated the same phenomenon under different conditions. For instance, even though the governmental and civil society features of Egypt are almost similar with Morocco, it is still problematic to generalize findings to other civil societies. One could argue that civil societies of countries in combination with their government react differently on domestic events. Such as during the outbreak of the Arab Spring, having experienced several types of governmental transitions. Due to the multiplicity of extreme events in the society it becomes difficult to limit the scope of the research. This makes it difficult to prove causal connections. Therefore, EU initiatives are required to function on different levels. This research supports the positive statement of Rinaldi-Larible¹⁹⁰ which argued that the ENP, due to its bilateral approach, can work differentiated towards all neighbours by respecting the different aspirations of their region and the associated countries.¹⁹¹

Another limitation is that it is difficult to draw conclusions about the impact of initiatives in practice. It was chosen to use a discourse analysis to provide a more structured analyses about EU activities towards the Egyptian civil society. A discourse analysis can only be considered as a tool that analyses the content of EU initiatives. This research makes no claims on what people or entire societies believe, but it only makes claims about what the EU actually does in order to promote democracy among the Egyptian civil society. So, no statements are made about the effectiveness of the EU's actions on the believes of the Egyptian civil society. Subsequently, this research typifies impact as the successfully implementation of ENP goals into practical initiatives.

¹⁸⁹ See page 16: <http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2014/06/Pew-Research-Center-Egypt-Report-FINAL-May-22-2014.pdf>

¹⁹⁰ Rinaldi-Larible, M. J. Is the EU's strategy for dealing with its neighbours efficient?.

¹⁹¹ See page 22: Ibid.

Though, bearing its limitation in mind, this research is able to make claims that are supported by the analyses. In order to reach a conclusion, the three different dimensions (ENP goals, ENI means and impact) are linked together, because the appointment of goals for enhancing and promoting dialogue with the civil society and promoting democracy is not enough. In order to promote democracy, transfer of normative goals into practical actions is needed to have proper liberalization of the civil society. From this, it appears that the EU norms: free cultural rights, right to education, women's equality, and judicial rights are promoted in all three dimension. One could argue that the EU diffused these norms, via the bottom-up approach, towards the Egyptian civil society, because these normative goals were implemented in practice. The analyses showed that the EU has made a start in approaching the Egyptian civil society with informational norm diffusion. Mogherini clearly argued that the EU has to change the way it approaches their neighborhood countries. Since the outbreak of the Arab Spring, there are more initiatives aiming on diffusing EU norms to the Egyptian civil society. This means that the EU uses the bottom-up approach and is willing to reach the Egyptian civil society. However, the EU is in the starting phase of intensifying effective informational norm diffusing towards the Egyptian civil society, and changed its approach of merely liberalizing authoritarian regimes from the top. In order to improve EU norm diffusion towards the Egyptian civil society, one could suggest that the EU should invest in the visibility of the EEAS and the accessibility of the Delegation to Egypt.

Appendices

Table 1: Overview of Theory and Content of Analysis

Normative Dimensions	Diffusion Strategies	Content of Analysis
1) EU Goals		ENP Action Plan Progress Reports 2007-2014
2) EU Means	Transference Diffusion	ENI 2007-2016
3) EU Impact	Informational Diffusion	EEAS Activities
	Cultural Diffusion	EU Delegation to Egypt Activities Anna Lindh Foundation Activities

Image A: Goals for enhancing the effectiveness of institutions entrusted with strengthening democracy and the rule of law¹⁹²

- Strengthen participation in political life, including the promotion of public awareness and participation in elections.
- Foster the role of civil society and enhance its capacity to contribute more effectively to the democratic and political process as well as to the economic and social progress in accordance with national legislation.
- Pursue and support the efforts Government of Egypt towards decentralization and the reform of local administration.
- Pursue and support the Government of Egypt in the further modernization and development of public services rendered to citizens, promoting accountability, transparency and contestability.
- Strengthen the culture of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in Egypt and in the EU.
- Examine the relevant UN recommendations and the recommendations of the Egyptian National Council for Human Rights pertaining to security, detention conditions and prison staff with a view to their practical implementation in order to protect the human rights and integrity of detainees and to fight impunity.
- Promote the enhancement of women's participation in political, economic and social life as well as their role in the political decision-making process by supporting the formulation and implementation of Egypt's government policies and programmes.
- Assert freedom of expression and independence of the media by facilitating the work of independent information providers including through appropriate legislative action.
- Pursue the liberalisation process in the information sector and further increase access to information for all citizens including by reviewing the legal and administrative frameworks.
- Promote efforts, in Egypt and the EU, towards increasing tolerance, understanding and respect of all religions and cultures.
- Develop a dialogue on fundamental social rights and core labour standards.

¹⁹² See page 5: European Commission . (2016). EU-Egypt Action Plan. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/egypt_enp_ap_final_en.pdf

Image B: Goals for enhancing cooperation in reforming education and training systems¹⁹³

- Combat illiteracy and achieve education for all, especially for women and girls, by continuing the reform of the education systems, and pre-school education aiming at early childhood development.
- Reform higher education in line with the principles of Bologna process to improve internal and external efficiency. Foster the development of human resources and human capital, and promote the reform of higher education through the TEMPUS programme; ensure the integration of the social dimension in educational planning and programmes.
- Take steps to increase the involvement of civil society stakeholders and social partners in higher and adult education and reform the Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) programme.
- Encourage participation in the Erasmus Mundus programme.
- Encourage the participation of Egyptian students in the forthcoming EC scholarship programme and in similar schemes of EU Member States.

¹⁹³ See page 14: European Commission . (2016). EU-Egypt Action Plan. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/egypt_enp_ap_final_en.pdf

Image C: Goals for enhancing people-to-people contacts¹⁹⁴

- Enhance cooperation through exchange of information, experience and expertise, in cultural sectors, in particular as regards the protection of historic monuments and cultural heritage, promotion of translations as well as capacity building and communication skills development.
- Enhance Egypt's participation in the relevant EC cultural cooperation programmes of the Euro-Med partnership inter alia by developing appropriate structures.
- Enhance dialogue between cultures, taking into consideration the principles embodied in the Action Programme for the Dialogue between Cultures and Civilizations, adopted by the Valencia Ministerial Meeting in April 2002 and taking advantage of Egypt's hosting Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the dialogue between cultures.
- Exchange views on the UNESCO Convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions including its development aspects, and promote its ratification and cooperate in its implementation.
- Promote initiatives aiming at bringing closer cultures and civilizations.
- Enhance youth exchanges and co-operation in the field of non-formal education and intercultural dialogue.
- Promote mutual knowledge among Egyptian and European youths of their respective cultures and fostering tolerance.
- Examine the scope for further improving the legal and administrative framework for the operation of civil society organizations.
- Support the Egyptian Non-Governmental Organizations in contributing effectively in the economic, political and social development process in accordance with national legislation.

¹⁹⁴ See page 34-35: European Commission . (2016). EU-Egypt Action Plan. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/egypt_enp_ap_final_en.pdf

Table 2: ENI (ENPI) 2007-2016

Year	Project	Beneficiary	Amount	Range of activities	Length
2007	Support to the Implementation of the Action Plan		€ 17.000.000		4 years
2008	Promotion and protection of human rights and civil society	NCHR, NCW, NCCM, EEAA Ministry of Higher Education and CSOs, GoE staff, Law Enforcement Agents	€ 17.000.000	Promotion of HR culture and increasing the efficiency of the NCHR Ombudsman office Application of basic and advanced HR principles by relevant institutions Awareness-raising of higher education students in HR and democratic process Protecting and promotion of women's rights and rights of the child and reduction of violations of vulnerable groups' rights Reinforce the involvement of EEAA and CSO's on environmental issues, planning and implementation	4 years
	Political development and good governance	MPs and staff of the Egyptian Parliament, ACA, AP, AG, PP, Egyptian Ministry of Finance, civil society organizations	€ 3.000.000	Information function in Egyptian Parliament Fight against corruption Institutional capacity building Training Supply for IT equipment	4 years
	Education Sector	Egyptian Ministry of Finance, Education, Higher Education, and Local Development	€ 20.000.000	Open and equitable access for all children Decentralization and school-based reform Quality of educational services and learning outcomes System efficiency and enhancement of public spending	5 years
	Transport Sector		€ 80.000.000		5 years
	Water and Waste Water Service		€ 29.000.000		5 years
2009	Health Sector 2		€ 110.000.000		3 years
	SAAP 3	Egyptian administration, PAO, Ministry of International	€ 20.000.000	Improved legislative and regulatory context through approximation with EU legislation and regulation	3 years

Year	Project	Beneficiary	Amount	Range of activities	Length
	Rural Development		€ 10.000.000	Improved institutional capacity of the Egyptian public administration particularly in fields specified in the ENP AP Improved awareness of the ENP Action Plan and the AA As a key energy partner for the EU, energy should also form part of the support provided under SAAP III	4 years
2010	Water Sector Reform Programme 2		€ 120.000.000		2 years
	Research, Development, and Innovation Programme 2		€ 20.000.000		2 years
	Wind Farm in Gulf El Zayt Project		€ 20.000.000		6 years
	SAAP 4		€ 10.000.000		3 years
	Justice and Security	Ministry of Justice, State for Family and Population, Foreign Affairs and Interior Experts, Forensics and real Estate Registration	€ 10.000.000	Capacity Building of the Ministry of Justice and court professionals to increase the quality and reduce delays within the public service of Justice Establishment of a judicial system of minors Drafting and adopting a National strategy against trafficking in human beings Capacity Building of the Ministry of Interior against new forms of crime	4 years
	Public Administration and Local Development (2010/11)	IDSC, Ministry of Administrative Development, Finance and Local Development, The Parliament and CAO	€ 18.000.000	Improving the effectiveness and efficiency of Public Policy Management Strengthening PFM to better implement public policies Improving and Measuring Performance of Public Administration Supporting Local Development/ Decentralization	4 years
	Support to cultural diversity and creativity	Cultural Operators, artists and creators	€ 3.000.000	Protect and promote the diversity of cultural expression at local, national and international levels Contribute to provide increased access to culture all over Egypt	3 years

Year	Project	Beneficiary	Amount	Range of activities	Length
				Foster dialogue between cultures in order to develop cultural interaction in the spirit of building bridges among operators/ organizations/ professionalism of actors in the cultural and creative sectors	
				Support capacity building and structuring of the cultural and creative sectors in order to enhance its socio-economic impact and to improve the sustainability of operators/ organizations/ professionalism of actors in the cultural and creative sectors	
				Support artistic and cultural education	
2011	Upgrading of Informal Areas		€ 20.000.000		4 years
	Trade and Domestic market		€ 20.000.000		3.5 years
	Energy Sector Policy Support (2011/12)		€ 60.000.000		6 years
	Support to Agricultural SMEs		€ 22.000.000		5 years
2012	Water and Waste Water Service 2		€ 10.000.000		5 years
	Technical and vocational education and training reform		€ 50.000.000		5 years
	Employment Investment		€ 70.000.000		4 years
2013	Rural Development		€ 27.000.000		5 years
	Socio-economic development and civil society support	WFP, GIZ, Ministry of Education, Manpower, Migration, Planning, Environment, Local Development, Housing, Youth, Local administration, communities, Civil Society Organizations and NGOs	€ 90.000.000	Enhancing access of children to education and fighting child labor Upgrading information areas in the Greater Cairo Region Supporting civil society in socio-economic development at local level	5 years
2014	Access to Education and Protection for at Risk Children	Ministry of Education, Social Solidarity, Local Development, Health and Justice. UNICEF, civil society and local community. NCCM and Lawyer's Syndicates	€ 30.000.000	Access to Community-based Education for most vulnerable children Access to education for disable children Operationalization of the Egyptian Child Law and the provision of the Constitution towards child protection	5 years

Year	Project	Beneficiary	Amount	Range of activities	Length
2015	Citizen Right Project	NCHR, NCW, MoPMAR, CAOAA, MoLD, CAPMAS, Civil Society	€ 10.000.000	Support to the National Council for Human Rights Strengthening NCHR towards fulfilling its mandate as	5 years
	Promoting Inclusive Economic Growth in Egypt		€ 15.000.000		6 years
	Upgrading Informal Areas Infrastructures		€ 26.000.000		4 years
	Renewable Energy and Water		€ 8.000.000		4 years
2016	Advancing Women's Rights	NPC, Ministry for Population, Education, Health and Justice. Office of the General Prosecutor Higher Council for Media, NCW Universities (Cairo University and Regional Universities), civil society organizations, Doctors and Lawyers Syndicates and other non-state actors, NCJS, Egyptian Bar Association	€ 10.000.000	Support to the implementation of the National Action Plan for FGM/C abandonment and family empowerment (2015-2020) Support women's access to justice and legal empowerment through the expansion of LAOs and DSOs in Family Courts and women support offices in Primary Courts Continuation and expansion of the media platform against FGM practices Continuation and expansion of the civil society network throughout the country for NGOs to coordinate anti-FGM/C efforts	5 years
	National Drainage Programme		€ 40.000.000		7 years
	EU Facility for Inclusive Growth and Job Creation		€ 20.000.000		7 years

Table 3: List of Abbreviations of Table 2

Abbreviation	Meaning of abbreviation
SAAP	Support to the Implementation of the Action Plan Programme and the Association Agreement
AC	Aquis Communautaire
ENP AP	European Neighborhood Policy Action Plan
AA	Association Agreement
MoALR	Egyptian Ministry of Agriculture and Land Reclamation
UPEHC	Union of Horticultural Producers and Exporters
GARBLT	The General Authority for Roads, Bridges and Land Transportation
HSWW	Egypt Water and Wastewaters institutions and agencies
MoSS	Ministry of Social Solidarity
CAOA	Central Agency for Organization and Administration
PFM	Public Finance Management
WFP	World Food Programme
GIZ	Gesellschaft für International Zusammenarbeit
NCCM	National Council for Childhood and Motherhood
NCHR	National Council for Human Rights
NCW	National Council for Women
MoPMAR	Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform
MoLD	Ministry for Local Development
CAPMAS	Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics
LAO	Legal Aid Offices
DSO	Dispute Settlement Offices
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/ Cutting
EEAA	European Evangelical Accrediting Association
ACA	Administration Control Authority
PP	Public Prosecution
PAO	Public Administration Office
IDSC	Information and Decision Support Center
NCJS	National Centre for Judicial Studies

Figure 1: ENI (ENPI) per year 2007-2016

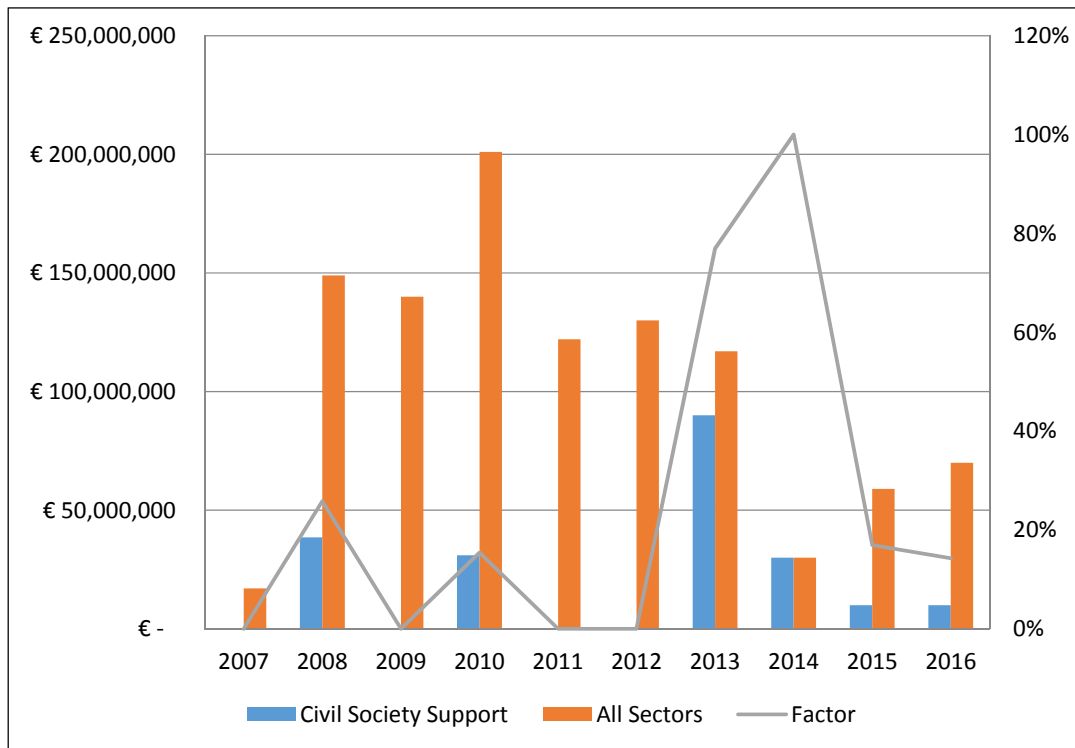


Table 4: Discourse Analysis of EU Activities

Institution / deputy	Material	Norm categories	Informational / Cultural diffusion	Cultural content
European External Action Service	Statement about the release of Peter Greste	Freedom of speech	Average / No	
	Statement about Egyptian Court decision on the death sentence	Opposing death sentence	Average / No	
	Statement about mass trial	Freedom of speech and the right to obtain a fair trial	Average / No	
	Statement about pardoning of prisoners	Freedom of assembly	Average / No	
	Statement about civil society In Egypt	Open society and human rights in general	Average / No	
	Statement about storming of Egyptian's Press Syndicate building by security forces	Freedom of expression and freedom of assembly	Average / No	
Federica Mogherini	Speech at Cairo University	Developing common future Promoting open, inclusive societies and democracies Civil society diversity	Yes / Yes	Nationalism, religion, no EU supremacy, diversity and creativity
EU Delegation to Egypt	Awladna National Multimedia Campaign Promoting Positive Parenting	Gender equality and child protection	Yes / Yes	Multiple languages and Egyptian cartoons
	Annual Photography Competition	Freedom of expression, gender equality,	Yes / Yes	Multiple languages, music and art.
Anna Lindh Foundation	Believe in Dialogue, Act for Citizenship: Regional Training	Good practice and democracy debate, freedom	Yes / Yes	Egyptian nationalism Multiple languages and Egyptian framework

Seminar on intercultural Dialogue and Social Change				
		of expression and assembly		
Institution / deputy	Material	Norm categories	Informational / Cultural diffusion	Cultural content
Anna Lindh Foundation	The New Arab Debates	Promote human rights in general and the rule of law	Yes / Yes	Multiple languages
	Dawrak- Citizens for Dialogue Programme: Moltaqa	Freedom of expression, and equal rights,	Yes / Yes	Intercultural dialogue skills for civil society. Egyptian art and multiple languages

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