





She and Elections II

Report on Mentoring on the Ground of Women Candidates
for the 2015 House of Representatives Elections

March 2016

Nazra for Feminist Studies

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About Nazra for Feminist Studies

Is a group that aims to work towards the continuance and development of the Egyptian and regional feminist movement in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Nazra believes that feminist and gender issues are social and political concerns with implications on the development and liberation of societies. The group aims to incorporate such issues into both public and private spheres in relevant societies.

The team of Nazra for Feminist Studies, comprising both women and men, considers the integration of feminist and gender issues achievable through believing in and struggling for such causes in both spheres. Nazra for Feminist Studies sees that young women and men across the board are struggling to incorporate their gender-based causes into society, thus, Nazra works to provide all forms of support to all supporters of such causes in general, and for the youth groups that take it upon themselves to further these causes in particular.

Nazra seeks to realize its vision through adopting a gender perspective which provides a feminist analysis and poses feminist questions regarding power relations within society and how they impact the political, social and economic conditions of women. Nazra also aims to have the concept of "manhood" as the base from which it moves towards the inclusion of men, out of Nazra's belief that such a concept can analyze and encompass male gender roles imposed by society.

Nazra for Feminist Studies uses a variety of mechanisms and strategies in order to achieve its vision and to contribute to the development of the feminist movement locally as well as regionally. This vision is reflected in Nazra's work on the issue of freedoms and bodily integrity from a feminist perspective, and supporting the active participation of women in both the public and political spheres, which is rooted in the group's belief that the feminist movement is not separate from the social and political mobility striving to cultivate the values of democracy. Nazra is also keen on providing women with support in various ways, as part of its assistance efforts for women defenders of human rights, and its support for the political participation of women in the face of the violence and discrimination they face in both the public and political spheres. Additionally, Nazra gives top priority to the issue of sexual violence against women, seeing such violence as a threat that undermines the right of women to be present and to participate in a safe public sphere. Nazra integrates feminist and gender concepts in all its activities that aim to urge the State to implement the necessary measures and mechanisms to ensure the safety of the public sphere for women, as part of Nazra's belief in the role entrusted to the State and its institutions to promote an environment that is free of discrimination and exclusion, and a safe society. Nazra also works through its various feminist programs and initiatives to provide spaces for young men and women to interact as part of its mission to propagate the feminist concepts it espouses. Nazra also believes it necessary to contribute to developing feminist knowledge production capable of accommodating the speci-

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ficiencies of the local and regional contexts, and for such knowledge production to be accompanied with efforts to develop Arabic terms related to the feminist cause in Egypt and the MENA region. Nazra for Feminist Studies aims for all its initiatives and activities to mainly contribute to supporting the presence of women and their active participation in the public sphere, while fully realizing the convergence of the public and private spheres, and how the forms of violence and discrimination faced by women in the latter affect their presence and their issues in the former. Nazra for Feminist Studies believes that the development and continuity of the feminist movement is closely tied to the presence of a public sphere in which all individuals enjoy the equal rights and duties of political and social citizenship, and through which women can incorporate their issues in the democratic process.

Nazra's Fields of Activity

1. Working on knowledge production that is specifically related to women and gender issues, and is based on research, documentation, observation and analysis, in addition to developing Arabic terminology related to the issues Nazra focuses on.
2. Supporting women defenders of human rights by providing legal, psychological and medical support.
3. Supporting the political participation of women and their presence in the public sphere in a manner that allows for addressing women's causes as political and social issues.
4. Strategic litigation regarding gender causes within the Egyptian, regional and international legal system, in addition to working on political and legal reform from a feminist perspective.
5. Launching advocacy campaigns to place women and gender issues in the political, legal, cultural and social action plans.
6. Networking between feminist youth groups in a manner that supports the continuity of the feminist movement and emphasizes its decentralization.
7. Focusing on art and the importance of its role in addressing feminist issues.
8. Launching initiatives that seek to bring young women and together in order to build feminist awareness and promote feminist culture.
9. Providing psychological, legal and medical support to survivors of sexual violence in the public sphere.
10. Supporting freedoms and bodily integrity from a gender perspective.



Introduction

During the past five years, Egypt has witnessed many multi-directional shifts in the structure of both state and society, which had a direct impact on the status of women; where the status of women went through the following three political stages:

First Stage

A temporary stage of openness in the public sphere as a result of the mass mobilizations of January 2011 and June 2013 which led to toppling two regimes (Mubarak - Morsi). This mobilization had a positive impact on the role of women in the public sphere.

Second Stage

A stage of severe violations being committed against women, perpetrated by state and non-state actors.

Third Stage

Confiscation of the public sphere: which is a stage that the Egyptian society is going through at the hands of the regime, with women being not too far from facing restrictions, and continuing to suffer from violations committed against them.

These three stages represented a real challenge for women in their attempt to create a safe space that guarantees their equal participation with men in public positions and political life in its broader meaning (political parties, trade unions, local and representative bodies). It is an inherent right protected by the Constitution, and must be realized through mechanisms and laws that guarantee the broad participation of women from all walks of life.

Nazra for Feminist Studies works within this framework to support women in the public political sphere in various ways, out of its belief in the importance of women's presence in the public sphere. Nazra also believes that women issues are an integral part of the causes of democracy and human rights. Hence, Nazra seeks to provide various means of technical support for women involved in political work, whether in trade unions or political parties, through participation in public elections- legislative and local - or through any other form of participation in political life.

With the House of Representatives elections taking place late last year, women participated in the electoral process amid a complicated political atmosphere. In doing so, women clearly challenged themselves, particularly with the continuous attempts to close the public sphere and the increasing repressive practices manifested in wide scale detention of peaceful protesters in more than one occasion. It was also manifested in conducting a nominal dialogue regarding the electoral system adopted in this election, without the participation of many stakeholders including political parties,

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civil society organizations, and feminist organizations concerned with democracy and elections, thereby resulting in an electoral system rife with flaws that does not aid the less empowered parties or those suffering from political pressures to enter the electoral race.

All the aforementioned factors led to the exclusion of many political players, particularly some civil democratic parties which boycotted the electoral process. Issues culminated in the withdrawal of the Sahwit Masr [Egypt Awakening] list from the elections, ending in failure to form an electoral list comprising a large number of political parties and public figures. This resulted in reducing available opportunities for many women activists in the political sphere to nominate themselves for the legislative elections.

Nevertheless, some female political actors in various Egyptian Governorates decided to persist, choosing not to back down from running in the elections, as it represented an opportunity for them to continue to have a presence in the political sphere in a manner that allows them to communicate directly with the citizens of their constituencies. Running in the elections was also viewed as a support for their political careers which they have so painstakingly worked to continue and develop, despite the deterioration of the public sphere in Egypt.

The work team of Nazra for Feminist Studies has managed to provide technical support through working with five candidates in five different governorates that included Alexandria, Port Said, Cairo and Aswan. All candidates ran on individual seats, due to the lack of electoral alliances between some democratic parties, where they could have run as part of such lists. Hence, they entered the race as individuals.

This report documents the experiences of these women candidates in their constituencies, and the challenges and obstacles they faced in the course of their political work in the context of the electoral campaigns.

The report also presents an in-depth study of the political and security environments surrounding the time of the House of Representatives elections. The report then concludes with recommendations proposed by Nazra for Feminist Studies for different feminist groups and organizations to adopt, and for the various concerned parties to push for the inclusion of such recommendations in the legislative agenda of the elected House of Representatives in the part related to women issues.



I. Political Environment, Public Sphere and the Status of Women during post-revolution Transitional Periods

Introduction

Egypt ranked 129 among 142 countries globally in the 2014 World Economic Forum (WEF) Global Gender Gap Report regarding the political empowerment of women. In 2013, Egypt's ranking fell from 128 to 134. The decline increased in the index for Women in Leadership Positions, where Egypt's ranking continued to deteriorate from 101 in 2013 to 116 in 2014.

On the economic level, Egypt also witnessed a decline in terms of availing opportunities for women and the level of their economic participation, where Egypt ranked 131 among 142 countries globally. Egypt also ranked 136 among 142 countries globally regarding women's participation in the labor force according to the 2015 WEF Report.

The figure below shows the index for Political Empowerment of Women over the course of three years according to the Global Competitiveness Report (noting that larger numbers indicate a decline in the empowerment index).¹

Over the course of the five years following the January 25th Revolution, successive regimes that ruled Egypt during the transition gave varying degrees of attention to the status of women in the public sphere. In order to assess that, the period following the January 25th revolution can be divided into four stages, in an attempt to read the patterns followed by the ruling regimes with regard to the status of women in the public sphere.

I. The First Transitional Period (Under the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces)

11 February 2011 - 29 June 2012

Many conflicting courses were adopted during the first transitional period after the January 25th Revolution, courses that contradicted with the goals of a revolution which called for democracy, justice and equality. This was a result of the ruling regime's attempts to build alliances with some political actors in an attempt to regain control of the political and security situation in the country.

This was most apparent in the alliance between the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) and the Muslim Brotherhood, which was in turn reflected on the formation of the committee put together by SCAF to draft a constitutional document (March 2011). The Committee was estab-

¹ The Egyptian Centre for Women's Rights (ECWR), Report of the Status of Egyptian Women, 2014 [in Arabic], available at: http://ecwronline.org/upload/annual_report/egyptian_women_status2014.pdf



lished under the chairmanship of Judge Tarek El-Beshry, comprising the following:

Atef El-Banna, Constitutional Law professor at Cairo University.

Hassanein Abd El-Aal, Former Dean of the Faculty of Law, Cairo University

Dr. Mohamed Bahy, Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Law, Alexandria University

Judge Maher Sami Yusuf, Technical Advisor to the President of the Supreme Constitutional Court.

Mr. Subhi Saleh, Appeals Court lawyer and a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, and later on the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) when it was officially established.

Judge Hassan El-Badrawy, Vice-President of the Supreme Constitutional Court.

Judge Hatem Bagato, Committee Rapporteur and President of the Consultative Commission of the Supreme Constitutional Court.

Women were not represented in the Committee at all, which affected the resulting text of the Constitutional Declaration of 9 March 2011, where the constitutional provisions did not grant women more political and social rights, while trying to entrench the traditional pattern that has controlled the state thinking process before the January 25th Revolution, which was built on an alliance that is “socially conservative and with a religiously conservative mindset”.

Additionally, the first cabinet appointed after the Revolution had no female representation. With regard to the Cabinet of Dr. Essam Sharaf, formed twice, the first Cabinet that remained in office from the day it took the oath of office on 7 March 2011 until 21 July 2011 included one female Minister only; Ambassador Fayza Abou El Naga.

The second Sharaf Cabinet, which lasted from the day it took the oath of office on 21 July 2011 until 1 December 2011 included no female ministers, again except for Ambassador Fayza Abou El Naga.

Dr. Kamal El Ganzouri replaced Dr. Sharaf as Prime Minister and announced the formation of a new Cabinet - later dubbed the National Salvation Cabinet - that consists of 29 ministers, which took the oath of office on 7 December 2011, with only three women in its ranks.

II: The First Constitutional Period (under former President Mohamed Morsi)

30 June 2012 - 3 July 2013

Once Mohamed Morsi - the Muslim Brotherhood candidate - assumed power as President, the political arena witnessed rapid developments that reflected on the path of the democratic transition in Egypt, including the status of women.

From the first moment President Morsi stepped into the Presidential Palace, there was an obvious tendency to follow a so-called "exclusion policy" on part of the Muslim Brotherhood, in parallel with a course of action that was described as straying away from the goals of the January 25th Revolution.



What can be considered as one of these courses was Morsi's failure to uphold the values of citizenship, which ushered in the absence of the concept of equality, a concept that has prevailed during the first transitional period after the Revolution; Changes were made in the structure and staff of the presidential establishment, in a manner that established the concepts of dominance and exclusion.

The first presidential team working with the Ex-President were a group of youths that have also worked in his presidential campaign (including Dr. Yasser Aly, Dr. Ahmed Abdel Atti, and Yahya Mohammed). This group served as the nucleus on which the Ex-President depended in running the presidential establishment. That nucleus was later expanded to include many figures perceived to be organizationally affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood (such as Dr. Essam El Haddad, who was appointed as Assistant to the President for Foreign Affairs, while in reality put in charge of all State diplomatic activities at the time, as well as Dr. Pakinam El Sharqawi who was appointed as Assistant to the President for Political Affairs).

Thus, it can be seen that most key files handled by the Presidency were entrusted to figures affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, and in particular, the close circle around Eng. Khairat El-Shater, which meant that the presidential establishment, in its traditional sense, was no longer there. Instead, two organizations were now at work, a legitimate organization chosen through the ballot box, represented in the person of Dr. Mohamed Morsi as head of state, and his presidential establishment, and another "shadow organization" or "parallel organization" represented by the Muslim Brotherhood.

The complications in this relationship were reflected on the way Ex-President Mohamed Morsi viewed the status of women, where the 2012 Constituent Assembly, which consisted of 50 members chosen from outside Parliament to draft the 2012 Constitution, had only three female members, with only two others out of 20 alternate members.

This was quite a weak representation of women in the drafting of the Egyptian Constitution. It also reflected on the outcomes enshrined in the 2012 Constitution where the texts relating to women curtailed both their social and political rights, an outcome that civil society, human rights and feminist organizations rejected. Among the important points of criticisms directed at the 2012 Constitution were related to the articles addressing the status of women; as the 2012 Constitution failed to achieve anything with regard to women rights, nor did it view women as equal partners in society and in the Revolution. Instead, the members of the Constituent Assembly tried to curtail women rights and deny the rights recognized by international conventions and treaties endorsed by Egypt.



The debate regarding this topic escalated with “Islamic parties”¹ insisting on adding the phrase “without prejudice to Islamic Sharia Law” to articles relevant to the status of women, in addition to objecting to the article recognizing the equality of women and men, which led eventually to deleting this article.

Finally, the Constitution was promulgated with only one article on women (Article 10) which stipulated: **“The family is the basis of the society and is founded on religion, morality and patriotism. The State is keen to preserve the genuine character of the Egyptian family, its cohesion and stability, and to protect its moral values, all as regulated by law. The State shall ensure maternal and child health services free of charge, and enable the reconciliation between the duties of a woman toward her family and her work. The State shall provide special care and protection to female breadwinners, divorced women and widows”**. We notice here that the Article does not view women as equal partners or as citizens in society with the same rights and duties as men, but are only seen from the angles of the “mother and family”, disregarding the role of women outside home, and entrenching the idea that “a woman’s role is to attend to her family, and undertake the tasks of motherhood” without having an active and independent role in the public sphere.

Moreover, the 2012 Constitution does not include any fundamental principles that criminalize discrimination against women, human trafficking, child marriage, child labor, domestic violence and violence against women and children. In response, civil society, women associations and feminist organizations took action in various ways to challenge the Constitution. Nazra for Feminist Studies - among many other feminist organizations - published its view on the outcomes of the 2012 Constitution, stressing that women were not adequately represented in the Constituent Assembly tasked with drafting the 2012 Constitution of Egypt.

Despite all attempts made by the Feminist Organizations Coalition and other feminist organizations and movements to pressure for adequate representation of women in the Constituent Assembly, such as the establishment of “Baheya Ya Masr” movement, women were only represented by 6 members out of a total of 100 members, most of which belong to what is known in Egypt as Political Islam.

The Administrative Court of the State Council ruled to dissolve the first Constituent Assembly on the grounds that its formation violated Article 60 of the Constitutional Declaration issued on 30/3/2011, which the Court interpreted as imposing a ban on electing the members of the Constituent Assembly from amongst the members of the House of Representatives and Shura Council.

1 Some examples of Islamic parties include : The Freedom and Justice Party (FJP); the official political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood, parties affiliated to Al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya [The Islamic Group] and the Salafi movement and Ahl Al Sunnah .Their number reached 20 parties including (Al-Wasat [The Center] Party, Al-Nahda [The Renaissance] Party, Al-Tasamoh Al-Igtemaai [The Social Tolerance] Party (STP), Al-Itihad Men Agl Al-Horreya [The Union for Liberty] Party (ULP), Masr Al-Horra [Free Egypt] Party) (FEP), Al-Nahda Al-Islamia [Islamic Renaissance] Party (IRP), Al-Islah wa Al-Tanmiyah [Reform and Development] Party (RDP), Al-Asalah [Authenticity] Party, Al-Fadilah [Virtue] Party, Al-Nour [Light] Party, Al-Tawhid Al-Arabi [Arab Unification] Party (AUP), Damir Al-Omma [Conscience of the Nation] Party (CNP).



Subsequently, both houses of parliament elected a new Constituent Assembly after it was assumed that an agreement has been reached between the political forces regarding the selection criteria of its members and how to ensure it is representative of the spectra and composition of the Egyptian people. Various bodies and organizations- feminist and otherwise - proposed many female figures to represent Egyptian women, in all their diversity, in the Constituent Assembly. However, none of these proposed names were considered, and eventually, the Assembly was formed without proper balance and falling short of expectations.

Once the new Constituent Assembly was formed, the Assembly began to receive suggestions regarding the Constitution articles from the public and political forces, movements, parties. Through "the Women and Constitution Working Group", the Feminist Organizations Coalition presented its proposals and aspirations for the new Constitution regarding the articles dealing with women, particularly under 7 titles:

- Equality and non-discrimination;
- Political participation;
- Work;
- Childhood;
- Education;
- Personal freedoms;
- and Healthcare.

All of which were disregarded in all drafts and discussions that were the output of the Constituent Assembly.

The article proposed by the Constituent Assembly dealing with equality between men and women, and led to political debates, as well as debates in social and human rights contexts, stipulated that:

"The State is obligated to take all legislative and executive measures to entrench the principle of equality between women and men in all spheres of political, cultural, economic and social life, and all other spheres, without prejudice to Islamic Sharia Law. The state shall provide maternal and child services free of charge, and shall guarantee for women social, economic and health protection and care, and her right to inherit, and guarantees their ability to balance their duty towards their families and their work in society."

This article appeared in various versions of the constitution draft as Article 36 then Article 68. The main controversy surrounding this article was the refusal of a majority of members of the Constituent Assembly to include an article on the equality of women and men after the January 25th Revolution, in addition to that fact that the proposed article included exceptions to this principle.

Societal debates centered on one question: What are the forms of inequality between men and women which could stand in the way of including an article that guarantees such equality in the



Egyptian Constitution? The debates and discussions ended with cancelling the article and not including it in the final draft that was voted on in 30 November 2012.

The Draft Constitution: Women as Second Class Citizens

The Constituent Assembly officially concluded its work by submitting the Draft Constitution to the President on Saturday 1/12/2012. That was a draft that fell short of the aspirations of all groups in the Egyptian society, particularly women, who were only addressed in five instances as follows:

1. In the preamble to the Constitution

“Three: Respect for the individual, the cornerstone of the nation, whose dignity is a natural extension of national pride... there is no dignity for a country in which women are not honored. Women are the sisters of men... and partners in all national gains and responsibilities.”

2. In the preamble to the Constitution

Five: Equality before the law and equal opportunities for all citizens, men and women, without discrimination or nepotism, especially in rights and duties.

3. In Part I (State and Society) - Chapter 1 (Political Principles) - Article 6:

The political system is based on the principles of democracy and Shura (counsel), citizenship (under which all citizens are equal in rights and duties), multi-party pluralism, peaceful transfer of power, separation of powers and the balance between them, the rule of law, and respect for human rights and freedoms; all as elaborated in the Constitution. No political party shall be formed that discriminates on the basis of gender, origin or religion.

4. In Part I (State and Society) - Chapter 2 (Social and Ethical Principles) - Article 10:

The family is the basis of the society and is founded on religion, morality and patriotism. The State is keen to preserve the genuine character of the Egyptian family, its cohesion and stability, and to protect its moral values, all as regulated by law. The State shall ensure maternal and child health services free of charge, and enable the reconciliation between the duties of a woman toward her family and her work. The State shall provide special care and protection to female breadwinners, divorced women and widows.

5. Part II (Rights and Freedoms) - Chapter 3 (Economic and Social Rights) - Article 73:

All forms of oppression, exploitation and sex trafficking are prohibited and criminalized by law.



Egyptian Women as Second Class Citizens:

The Draft Constitution 2012, whose Constituent Assembly, in both its formation and the mechanisms it adopted, what was called “societal dialogue”, failed to represent all segments of society. The Draft Constitution was the result of the Constituent Assembly adopting mechanisms which are not conducive to drafting a constitution, namely the new "social contract" between the people and its new ruling power in the aftermath of the January 25th Revolution.

The post-January 25th Draft Constitution of Egypt mentioned women only as divorcées, widows and female heads of households, as if women are second class citizens that need care, not equal partners in the homeland.

The Draft Constitution, when referring to women, focused on their need for care and support, did not place them on equal footing with men, and neglected guaranteeing them equal rights in all spheres of public and private life.

Women's issues were never tackled in the core articles of the Egyptian Draft Constitution. Women issues were limited to the traditional moral frameworks that patriarchal societies have agreed to be the only determinants of the specific roles assigned for women. No reference was made to women's rights in various fields. For instance, the article regarding the right to health did not specify health and reproductive rights of women, and only established the obligation of the State to provide maternal and child care services.

In its entirety, the 2012 Draft Constitution restricted freedom of association, whether for trade unions or labor organizations, which negatively affects the ability of women to organize within trade unions, syndicates and other similar organizations.

The articles of the 2012 Draft Constitution disregarded the political participation of women, and did not adopt an electoral system that guarantees more effective participation of women and includes women representatives democratically elected to the various elected bodies. While the Draft Constitution obliges political parties to not discriminate based on gender, it did nothing to oblige the State and its institutions to the same principles of equality and non-discrimination.

The 2012 Draft Constitution criminalized sex trafficking, which was not the case in previous Egyptian constitutions. However, the wording of the article regarding this issue was elastic, general and ambiguous, and related to forms of forced exploitation, which suggests that sex trafficking is a form of trafficking in women. Additionally, the inclusion of such an article in the section regarding rights and freedoms, without including an article that addresses the rights and freedoms of women, clearly shows that this document did not adopt the principle of equality between men and women.

Based on the above, feminist and women groups and organizations expressed their rejection of the 2012 Draft Constitution, regarding which former President Mohamed Morsi deliberately ignored all demands that called for seeking consensus and holding a societal dialogue concerning it before putting it to referendum. Similarly, he ignored the demands voiced by all political, rights and femi-



nist groups to restructure the Constituent Assembly, whose formation conflicted with the structure of Egyptian society. Instead, the President insisted on calling voters to referendum on the Draft, throwing all parties in a severe political crisis and a delicate situation where citizens faced a choice between voting for a constitutional declaration which gives all power to the head of the executive branch, i.e. the President - an unacceptable situation - or to vote for a Constitution that will do away with all the rights and freedoms for which the Egyptian people revolted.

The same level of political performance of Former President Mohamed Morsi reflected on the Cabinet formation in 2013 during his regime, where the first Cabinet under Prime Minister Hesham Qandil was surprising and dubious with regards to the names chosen for the Cabinet. From the moment that Dr. Morsi chose Dr. Qandil and asked him to form the Cabinet, a state of skepticism surrounded the background of Dr. Qandil, and whether the allegations regarding his affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood were true, and the extent of the effect that such affiliation, if any, would have on Dr. Morsi with regard to his promise of choosing an independent figure to form the Cabinet.

This move had a serious effect on the reactions of all political forces, and the refusal of all political parties to participate in this Cabinet. The refusals to participate did not come only from secular parties and figures, but also from Islamic parties such as the Salafi El Nour Party, the second largest faction in terms of Parliament representation, whether in the dissolved People's Assembly or the dissolved Shura Council.

Looking at the formation of the Cabinet under the former president, we can see that 5 of its ministers were members of FJP, in addition to one minister affiliated with Islamic party; Al-Wasat, i.e. the Cabinet included 6 ministers affiliated with political Islam, while the rest were academics, some of whom were classified as close to the Muslim Brotherhood. According to the organizational levels within the Muslim Brotherhood, there are the grassroots, the sympathizers, the friends, the associate members and the active members. The Cabinet included 34 ministries, with only two female ministers; Dr. Nagwa Khalil, Minister of Social Insurance and Dr. Nadia Zakhary, Minister of Scientific Research, resulting in the representation of women in the Muslim Brotherhood's Cabinet being only 5.8% of the Cabinet members.

Taking into consideration that both Ministers were appointed during the first transitional period under SCAF. Moreover, no women governors at all were appointed during the term of the former President. The representation of women in the National Council for Human Rights under former President Morsi was 11%, with only 3 women members out of a total of 27.¹

Overall, the regime of former President Mohamed Morsi witnessed a sharp decline in the status of women in the structure and components of the government, coupled with severe discrimination at the hands of authorities under his presidency against many segments of Egyptian society, something that was met by popular rejection that culminated in calling for his removal from pow-

1 Elfagr Newspaper Website [in Arabic], September 2012, available at: <http://www.elfagr.org/180094>



er. Mass demonstrations went out on 30 June 2013 asking him to leave. Subsequently, the Armed Forces - in the presence of some Egyptian society civil and institutional notables (Al-Azhar and the Church) - issued a Decree removing former President Mohamed Morsi from power and establishing an interim regime to run the country under Chief Justice Adly Mansour of the Supreme Constitutional Court of Egypt acting as interim President.

III. The Second Transitional Period (President Adly Mansour)

4 July 2013 - 7 June 2014

The second transitional period started in the wake of another revolutionary wave on 30 June 2013. Women played a major role in this wave with the aim of bringing this mass mobilization to fruition, similar to their contribution in previous events. This was reflected in the speeches given by State officials, as witnessed in the speeches of the then Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, General Abdel Fattah El-Sisi, who recognized in his speeches the role that Egyptian women played in the success of the mobilization of 30 June 2013, as well as in removing former President Mohamed Morsi from power.

However, actions of the interim authority during the presidency of Justice Adly Mansour fell short of women's aspirations and the role they played in the mass mobilization seen by the country on 30 June 2013. To begin with, President Adly Mansour issued a Constitutional Declaration on 8 July 2013 which came out void of any mention of women and their right to equality. These articles were met by several objections, and the 2012 Constitution was rejected and temporarily suspended. Feminist and human rights organizations in Egypt continued to mobilize in response to overlooking women in the Provisional Constitutional Declaration.

Feminist organizations announced their political position as follows:

The Egyptian masses in and outside the Capital mobilized on 30 June 2013, voicing their demands for ousting President Mohamed Morsi, in yet another wave of the Revolution of the Egyptian people against their rulers, which started on 25 January 2011.

On 3 July 2013, General Abdel Fattah El- Sisi, the then Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and Minister of Defense, along with a spectrum of representatives of political and social forces, declared the removal of President Morsi. General Sisi also proposed a roadmap for the transitional period which included a phase dedicated to constitutional amendments, followed by legislative elections and finally, early presidential elections within six months.

After that Declaration, another wave of popular mobilization took place to celebrate the toppling of the Brotherhood's regime. Prior to the events on June 30, Egypt's women have been participating in public life for many decades. The various stages of development of women's participation in political life were characterized by a clear disregard for the presence of women in decision-making positions, in addition to general negligence towards women issues at large.



Despite the expansion of the scope of women's participation in the public sphere, and their presence in revolutionary movements and groups, the question of women's issues remains open and must be looked into with more attention and on a larger scale in the coming period in Egypt.

Despite their ceaseless and strong participation in the June 30 protests, and their rallying in several public squares in Egyptian governorates to prove that they are an integral part of the national fabric, political developments are not promising when it comes to their right to participate in the process of crystalizing the policies and visions regarding the coming period.

Most official discussions did not have women participation, and did not address women issues, despite their strong participation in the protests called for by Tamarrod [rebellion] movement and other political forces since the first day.

This exclusion and alienation of women testifies to the shortsightedness of the majority of political actors in their inability to see the importance of equal representation for women in reviewing and discussing the developments of the next phase whose consequences will affect women in various ways. In addition, negotiations concerning the Cabinet formation did not include any references to choosing a woman minister.

Despite the positive indicator of appointing writer Sekina Fouad as Women's Affairs Advisor, this choice per se implies clear neglect of the necessity and possibility of involving women politicians and women human rights activists involved in feminist political work, and are familiar with the issues and problems facing women on the ground, in addition to the state failure to articulate the functions of this position and the role that must be served through the Women's Affairs Advisor. Such decisions stress in a manner that is cause for concern the desire of those in charge of managing the coming transitional period to have nominal women representation instead of ensuring their effective participation in establishing all policies that concern them.

Unfortunately, the Constitutional Declaration issued in 8 July 2013 did not include any articles regarding women's issues and their right to equality. The absence of any such articles caused many objections which were one of the main reasons behind the rejection and temporary suspension of the 2012 Constitution.

All of the aforementioned took place in a general environment hostile to women's presence in the public sphere, among the forms this hostility took were the mass sexual assaults and gang rapes committed against female protesters, amid blatant disregard on part of the revolutionary political parties and movements that called for such demonstrations to what female citizens were being subjected to in their attempt to participate equally in public political and national events. This disregard is one of the most important indicators in analyzing the vision of the relevant authorities regarding the importance and forms of women participation in public life.

With women ceaselessly struggling and demanding their political, economic and social rights, the interim ruling authority under President Justice Adly Mansour was compelled to take symbolic



action by appointing Mrs. Sekina Fouad as Presidential Adviser on Women's Affairs. With the "conservative and traditional" pattern of governance continuing to dominate the performance of authorities in Egypt, the representation of women in the first Cabinet after 30 June 2013 was disappointing. A Cabinet was formed under Prime Minister Dr. Hazem El-Beblway with a meager representation of women that did not exceed 8% of the members of the Cabinet. The formation included only 3 women out of a total of 35 ministers; namely Dr. Dorreya Sharaf El-Din as Minister of Information, Dr. Laila Rashed Eskandar as Minister of Environment and Dr. Maha El Rabbat as Minister of Health and Population.

Beblawy's Cabinet was followed by that of Prime Minister Eng. Ibrahim Mehleb, which was formed in March 2014 under interim President Justice Adly Mansour, and included only four women ministers out of a total of 34, two of which were in the previous Cabinet, Dorreya Sharaf El-Din as Minister of Information and Dr. Laila Eskandar as Minister of Environment; in addition to Nahed Hassan Ashry as Minister of Manpower and Immigration and Ghada Waly as Minister of Social Solidarity joining the Cabinet for the first time. As such, the share of women went up to 12% of Cabinet members, which is a relative improvement in the status of women in government since the January 25th Revolution.

The National Council for Human Rights, formed during the interim Presidency of Adly Mansour, included only 5 women out of a total of 27 members, i.e. 18.5%, which is less than their representation under former President Mohamed Morsi.

However, the representation of women in the Supreme Council of Press (SCP) under interim President Justice Adly Mansour was less than what it was under former President Mohamed Morsi, where women were the council had only two women among 15 members, amounting to only 13.3%.

When interim President Justice Adly Mansour decreed the formation of a small committee to draft an amendment to the 2013 Constitution, under the name the "Committee of Ten", the Committee did not include any women.

The formation of the Committee of Fifty to amend the Constitution:

Justice Adly Mansour issued Presidential Decree no. 570 on the formation of The Committee of Fifty, its competencies and venue. The committee included 50 members, only 5 of which were women, limiting the representation of women on this committee to only 10%.¹

Despite the under-representation of women in the Committee of Fifty, the overall formation of the committee was closer to the concepts of secular state and citizenship, which reflected on women's

1 Al-Watan newspaper website [in Arabic], September 2013, available at:

<http://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/295257>



status in the amended Constitution which was put to a referendum in January 2014.¹ The 2013 Constitution gave special attention to women - in both preamble and in the articles concerning women - where it stressed that women are not merely one of the many groups in society, but are rather half of society and the foundation of the family. The 2013 Constitution referred to women's effective role and their strong participation in both the January 25th and the June 30th Revolutions, based on such, the Constitution granted women protection and care by dedicating more than 20 articles to women's issues. This is considered an important development towards affirming women's role in the State and in society without discrimination or exclusion.

On the other hand, women also benefit from the Constitution as a whole, as citizens enjoying full citizenship, such as the state commitment to achieve social justice and provide women with the means of social solidarity, in a manner that ensures a decent life for all citizens, men and women alike. The new Constitution was also keen to guarantee these rights for women on all levels; political, economic, social and cultural, as follows:

• **The Nationality of Children Born to an Egyptian Mother:**

Article 6 of the Egyptian Constitution states that: **“Nationality is a right to anyone born to an Egyptian father or an Egyptian mother, and legal recognition through official papers proving his/her personal data, is a right guaranteed and regulated by Law. Requirements for acquiring nationality shall be specified by Law.”**

This Article established the right of women to pass their nationality to their children, a right which they acquired after the amendment of the Nationality Law in 2004. This article recognizes, beyond any shadow of doubt, that the nationality of children born to an Egyptian woman is a primary nationality based on the right of blood, not an acquired one. Therefore, it is granted at birth without the need for special procedures or the approval of the Ministry of Interior, as is the case for children born to an Egyptian father.²

1 State Information Service, January 9, 2014, available at:

<http://www.sis.gov.eg/Newvr/Dustor-en001.pdf>

2 Amr Abdel Aati, The Monitor, March 2012, available at:

<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/ar/originals/2015/02/egypt-women-status-sisi-rule-muslim-brotherhood.html#>



• Equality Between Men and Women:

The Constitution affirms the right of Egyptians to dignity without discrimination based on gender, color, religion, race, disability or even political affiliation.

The Constitution also stresses that “The State shall ensure equal opportunities for all citizens without discrimination.” and “The State shall ensure the achievement of equality between women and men” according to Articles Nine and Eleven.

It also stresses that “Discrimination and incitement of hatred is a crime punished by Law”, and calls for taking the necessary measures to monitor all forms of discrimination. Women as a group has suffered the most from discrimination, hence, it will be the first segment of society to benefit from this Article.

• Participation in Political Life:

The new Constitution was keen for the State to take all necessary measures to guarantee a proper representation of women in all representative bodies, as specified by law. It also allocated one quarter of the seats in local councils to women, pursuant to Article 180, which equals 13 thousand seats.

• Holding Public Positions:

Article 11 guarantees the right of women to hold public positions and senior management roles in the state, and to appointment in judicial bodies and entities without discrimination, in addition to stressing their equal right to holding positions of leadership.

These articles and rights provided for in the Constitution are considered the required minimum, particularly after what Egyptian women did in demanding freedom, equality and citizenship. This drove some feminist organizations to demand more guarantees and further empowerment for women during the drafting of the amended Constitution through conveying their vision regarding the formation of the Committee of Fifty tasked with drafting the articles that address Egyptian women’s rights. The vision of the organizations was as follows:

1. In the recent amendments, Article 11 states that: **“The State shall provide care to and protection of motherhood and childhood, It shall also ensure enabling women to reconcile their family duties and their work, as well as ensuring the achievement of equality between women and men in all civil, political, economic, social, and cultural spheres, without prejudice to Islamic Sharia. The State shall provide special care and protection to female breadwinners, divorced women and widows.**

Here, we object to a fundamental point: the language used **“achievement of equality between men**



and women” does not refer to the right of women to equality as a general principle, which is later reasserted in the phrase “without prejudice to the principles of Islamic Sharia”, in a manner that implies that equality conflicts with Islamic Sharia. Therefore, such a phrase must be removed from this article, particularly with Article 2 present in the Constitution, and applying to all subsequent articles, otherwise, it would be necessary to add the statement “without prejudice to the principles of Islamic Sharia” in the text of each article in the Constitution.

2. Article 38 stipulates that **“All citizens are equal before the Law. They are equal in rights, freedoms and general duties, without discrimination based on religion, belief, sex, origin, race, color, language, disability, social class, political or geographic affiliation or any other reason”**.

This article established the principles of equality and non-discrimination, without specifying the guarantees of their implementation, without affirming the concept of equal opportunity, and without criminalizing discrimination.

Therefore, we propose that this Article is amended as follows: “All citizens, whether male or female, are equal before the law. They are equal in terms of public rights and duties. The State guarantees equal opportunity between men and women in in all fields. Legislative or other measures may be taken to protect certain persons or segments or to advance their status. Discrimination against any citizen, whether male or female, based on sex, gender, race, language, religion, belief or any other reason shall be criminalized.”

3. Article 80 of the Constitutions stipulates that **“Every child shall be entitled to acquire early education in a childhood center until the age of six. It is prohibited to employ children before the age of completing their preparatory education (six years of primary and three years of preparatory) or in jobs which subject them to danger. The State shall also develop a judicial system for children that have been victims and or are witnesses. Children may not be held criminally accountable or detained save as provided in the Law and for the period of time specified therein. In such a case, they shall be provided with legal assistance and detained in appropriate locations separate from those allocated for the detention of adults”**.

This Article is marred by the fact that it does not specify the age of childhood, and therefore, the age of childhood must be specified according to international standards and conventions regarding children’s rights that set the age of childhood to be from birth up until 18 years old. The article also does not ensure any protection for children against the dangers of child labor, which must be criminalized in the Constitution. Finally, the Article does not guarantee the right of children not to be discriminated against on the basis of gender, and does not guarantee physical and psychological protection for children.

4. Article 66 stipulates that: **“All forms of slavery, oppression, forced exploitation of human beings, sex trade, and other forms of human trafficking are prohibited and criminalized by Law”**



As human trafficking is criminalized in Article 45, it is unnecessary to make another reference to it here by linking it to sex trafficking, which suggests that sex trade is the only form of human trafficking. Accordingly, we demand that the phrase “sex trade” be omitted, so that the final text is as follows: “All forms of human oppression and exploitation, and all forms of human trafficking are criminalized by Law. The Law sets the penalties for committing any such acts”.

5. Article 191 determined the electoral system stipulating that: "**Parliamentary and local-council elections held after the date the Constitution enters into force shall be according to the single member district system**".

Restricting parliamentary and local elections to the single member district system takes us back to the dominance of money and tribalism in elections and political life. It also weakens the emerging partisan life instead of supporting and establishing it in the Egyptian political scene, thereby jeopardizing the sought after democratic process. The single member district system also contributes to excluding and marginalizing women in elections, considering the prevailing culture in society, and women's lack of access to the necessary financial resources, which in turn will make it doubtful that there will be a fair representation of women in parliamentary and local bodies.

Therefore, the Constitution must stipulate a mix between the single member district system and the electoral lists system, while allocating for women a fair quota in elected bodies in order to ensure a measure of equality of opportunities in Parliament and local councils.

II. Regarding the Articles of the Constitution

The Constitution must stipulate that Egypt upholds the international conventions and instruments it signed.

Allocating a quota for women in elected councils with no less than 35% of their membership.

Clearly stipulating the principles of equality, equal opportunity and non-discrimination on the basis of gender, and criminalize all forms of discrimination.

Integrating gender as part of economic, social, and cultural rights and human development, while obliging the State to allocate the necessary resources (Healthcare, education and scientific research, housing, work, pensions and social insurance...etc.) according to specific standards and objectives.

Comparing what some feminist organizations demanded and what the Constitution ultimately included shows that the Constitution contained the concepts of gender equality and non-discrimination on the basis of gender, and upholding the international conventions and instruments Egypt has signed. However, the Constitution ignored the requested quota for women, set at 35%.

Overall, the 2013 Constitution, amended in January 2014, is one of the Constitutions that give more room for the status of women in the state legislative framework, compared to how it was since women rights were recognized in the 1956 Constitution. More importantly, applying pressure on the ruling authorities and the Egyptian House of Representatives to implement these Articles through real legal frameworks and practices that reflect the concepts of citizenship, equality and empowerment of women.



IV. The Second Constitutional Phase (President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi)

8 June 2014 to Date

The Decision of Field Marshal Abdel Fattah El Sisi to nominate himself to the elections of President of the Republic was an event that reshaped the political and electoral scene in Egypt post 30 June, where this decision was perceived as an announcement of his assuming the presidency rather than running for it. The realities on the ground made it clear that the Field Marshal will win even before the elections were held, which led to an imbalance of the power scales against any other potential candidate who might wish to run for president. Moreover, El Sisi, as a candidate, did not need to announce an electoral program that would enable citizens and political forces based on the content or evaluation of which to elect him.

The elections (if the term can be used here) was closer to a referendum than an actual election. This political situation defined the features of the current phase in terms of the relationship between the ruling authority, represented in President El Sisi and the other state institutions on the one hand, and the components of the Egyptian society including the political parties and forces and civil society organizations on the other.

Assessing women status in President Sisi's vision, which can be only deduced from his statements, as well as some practices - due to the fact that Sisi had no written political vision (an electoral program) before running for President - we find that the initial indicators on the status of women in the vision of President Abdel Fattah El Sisi can be deduced from the following:

1- The Cabinet

The first Cabinet in President Sisi's regime was formed in June 2014 under Prime Minister Eng. Ibrahim Mehleb. Women were given only 4 ministries in this Cabinet, out of 34 ministries, with a ratio of less than 12%. three of the women ministers served also in the previous Cabinet, namely: Dr. Nahed El-Ashry, Minister of Manpower, Dr. Ghada Waly, Minister of Social Solidarity, and Dr. Laila Eskandar, Minister of Urban Development - a newly established Ministry, in addition to Dr. Naglaa El Ahwani as Minister of International Cooperation.

In the following Cabinet formed by Prime Minister Eng. Sherif Ismail, the ratio of women representation declined in comparison to what it was during the Second transitional period (under interim President Justice Adly Mansour) and the early days of President Sisi. This formation included 33 ministries, of which only 3 were assigned to women; Nabila Makram as Minister of Immigration, Dr. Sahar Nasr as Minister of International Cooperation and Dr. Ghada Waly as Minister of Social Solidarity, bringing the representation of women in this Cabinet to only 9%.

With the new reshuffling of Governors under Sisi, none of the appointed Governors were women. Yet three women were appointed as Deputy Governors in three governorates: Cairo, Giza, and



Alexandria. These appointments are a relative development in the concept of local governance, by introducing women to these positions in local government. However, this prompted many feminist organizations and political parties to issue a statement decrying the exclusion of women in the recent Governors' appointments. The statement stated that:

(The statement released by General Adel Labib, Minister of Local Development, which was published in Egyptian newspapers stated that newly appointed Governors will not include any women, and that women will only be appointed as Deputy Governors and Assistants to the Governor only until they are trained and qualified sufficiently - according to the statement - in local matters. The undersigned denounce the exclusion of women by the Minister of Local Development in the appointment of Governors, and its impact on the status of women in the various fields of local development. The statement stressed that excluding women from appointment as Governors is an unfair act, as many women have extensive experience in the field of local development and community services. Moreover, participation of women in local development, through serving as Governors, will strengthen their presence in decision making positions on the local level. It also contributes in ensuring that local development programs are more inclusive of women's needs and priorities. It will also improve the quality of services provided on the local level to support vulnerable and marginalized groups through integrating gender issues in the plans, strategies and policies of the Ministry of Local Development.

The undersigned demand that General Adel Labib, Minister of Local Development, appoints women as Governors in the coming Governor reshuffle, and to realize the principles of paragraph 2 of Article 11 of the 2014 Constitution, as amended by the Committee of Fifty, which stipulates that: **“The State shall take the necessary measures to ensure the appropriate representation of women in the houses of representatives, as specified by Law. The State shall also guarantee women’s right of holding public and senior management offices in the State and their appointment in judicial bodies and authorities without discrimination”**. Additionally, guaranteeing women's right to participate in legislative, executive and judicial authorities, which is the perfect way for women to enjoy their right and roles in the political public sphere and decision making positions. The scope and horizons of political participation and enablement of women has to be expanded to include all institutions of the State).

2- The Supreme Council of Culture

The number of appointed members in the Supreme Council of Culture, in all committees, reached 611 members, 166 of which were women, representing approximately 27% of the membership.



3- Advisory Council of Egypt's Scientists and Experts

Egypt's Advisory Council of Scientists and Experts was formed pursuant to a Presidential Decree issued by President Sisi. The council included only one woman, namely Dr. Mervat Abu Bakr as an expert on pre-university education. With only one woman member out of a total 16 members, women were represented by a mere 6.25% on this council.¹

4- The Legislative Reform Committee

President Sisi issued a decree establishing The Supreme Committee for Legislative Reform (SCLR) which was tasked with preparing, researching and studying draft laws, presidential decrees and Prime Minister decisions, in addition to researching, studying and reviewing draft key laws, as well as forming sub-committees to prepare and develop legislation in different areas.

However, SCLR work was limited to enacting new laws, and did not address the main objective of its establishment which is to review the many laws in Egyptian legislation which have reached a point of conflict with each other on the one hand, and with the new 2014 Constitution on the other.

This committee did not have any female members, which drove certain civil society organizations and political forces to take a stand against the policy of excluding women from one of the most important committees tasked with reshaping the legislative structure in Egypt.

The stance taken by these political forces against the Cabinet action was expressed by rejecting the Prime Minister's reasoning: where he argued that The National Council for Women (NCW) has the authority to review legislation and laws concerning women, as stated in the statement, and to contribute to the societal dialogue about them. Additionally, NCW or "any other body", according to the Prime Minister's statement, can participate in the societal dialogue which opens the way for proposing laws and legislation - particularly those concerning women's issues - without obliging SCLR or its subcommittees to include female legal experts or women involved in women's issues, even in the sub-committees affiliated with SCLR. Objecting political forces stressed that:

1. The Prime Minister's response ignores Article 11 of the amended Constitution, ratified on 18 January, 2014, which states that: **"The State shall take the necessary measures to ensure the appropriate representation of women in the houses of representatives, as specified by Law. The State shall also guarantee women's right of holding public and senior management offices in the State and their appointment in judicial bodies and authorities without discrimination"**. This constitutional text must be translated into actual practices that include taking measures that aim at allowing women to assume different postilions in the State hierarchy. As SCLR is one of the entities established by virtue of a Presidential Decree to amend legislation and laws; we deem it necessary that women are included in the structure of SCLR so that they can participate in the legislative reform process which naturally affects the lives of Egyptian female citizens, and in compliance with

1 ECWR, op. cit.



the aforementioned constitutional text - particularly when there are no grounds for the exclusion of female legal experts involved in women's issues - in addition to ensuring the representation of the national mechanism for women rights (NCW) within the structure of the SCLR and the sub-committees emanating from it.

2. The current Egyptian legislative system is rife with discriminatory laws. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) included in its concluding notes on the Egyptian Government's report in February 2010 Recommendation (16) which is concerned with the necessity of reviewing current legislation in partnership with concerned parties, including civil society organizations, particularly non-governmental feminist organizations.

This is a clear contradiction between the role of SCLR, namely reforming the current legislative system in order for it to be in line with the new constitution, and insisting on clear negligence of constitutional obligations in force regarding combating discrimination against women, particularly regarding their representation and participation in decision-making positions, and ignoring Egypt's international obligations in this regard by insisting on only cooperating with NCW when dealing with legislation of concern to women, without being formally part of SCLR. Such actions on part of the Cabinet disregard the constitutional obligation provided for in Article 93 which stipulates that: **“The State shall be bound by the international human rights agreements, covenants and conventions ratified by Egypt, and which shall have the force of law after publication in accordance with the prescribed conditions”**.

Therefore, the organizations and political parties reiterate their previous demands to remedy the current lapse and include female legal experts in SCLR, in addition to including female experts on women's issues in sub-committees, each according to her area of competence, in order to ensure the integration of women's issues in the reform of current legislation and laws, and their representation in decision-making positions in the various State bodies, whether legislative or executive, and in elected bodies. Such demands have been met with severe negligence from the State and the ruling authorities, and have not been implemented yet.

5- The National Council for Women (NCW)

The formation of NCW, pursuant to President Sisi's decision, included 30 members; 24 women representing 80% of the membership, and 6 men representing 20%.¹ The decree reforming NCW did not include restructuring its competencies.

1 The National Council for Women [in Arabic], available at: <http://www.ncwegypt.com/index.php/ar/slidebar/2078-19-2016>



6- The Judiciary

President Sisi issued Decree no. 235/2015 appointing female members in the Administrative Prosecution Authority and the State Lawsuits Authority, including 26 female judges from Administrative Prosecution and State Lawsuits Authority reassigned to ordinary courts. Out of the group of female judges approved by the Supreme Judiciary Council, 8 were appointed as Court Presidents ranked A. 3 as Court Presidents ranked B, as 'B' rank Chief Judges, and 15 as judges.¹

Several rights and feminist organizations considered these appointments as insufficient, particularly as the Egyptian Constitution allows the legislator and the three Egyptian branches of authority to activate the role of women in the Judiciary. This prompted the organizations to demand the necessary integration of women in the various judicial entities and authorities, particularly in the State Council, without deliberate discrimination or prejudice against them in appointment.

The essence of the political views of these organizations was presented as follows:

(Despite having an explicit constitutional text regarding women's right to assume public and judicial positions in Article 11) which stipulates that "... **guarantee women's right of holding public and senior management offices in the State and their appointment in judicial bodies and authorities without discrimination**". and another constitutional text that criminalizes discrimination of any grounds in Article 53) which stipulates that: "**All citizens are equal before the Law. They are equal in rights, freedoms and general duties, without discrimination based on religion, belief, sex, origin, race, color, language, disability, social class, political or geographic affiliation or any other reason. Discrimination and incitement of hatred is a crime punished by Law.** Various judicial authorities still deliberately exclude women from their ranks and do not allow them to apply for jobs there. This was the case when some female Law School graduates in 2013 applied for the position of "Assistant Deputy", based on Announcement no. 1/2014, which was published by the State Council in national newspapers. Their request was met with rejection, and applicants were not even allowed to withdraw job applications on the grounds that the State Council's decision does not include females.

This incident only serves to testify to judicial authorities' non-compliance with constitutional texts on the one hand, while reflecting the impact of the prevailing social traditions and culture which discriminate against women and restrict their right to assume public and judicial posts on the other. This culture, which bespeaks of condescension towards women, extends to permeate the various judicial authorities and institutions, including State Council, Public Prosecution, ordinary courts

¹ Al-Youm Al-Sabe'a [in Arabic], June 2015, available at:

<http://www.youm7.com/story/2015/6/9/%D9%86%D9%86%D8%B4%D8%B1%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B3%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%A1%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B5%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%B9%D9%8A%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%AF%D9%81%D8%B9%D8%A9%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B6%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%84%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%85%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%B6%D8%A7%D8%A1%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%89/2218377#.VsQ2v7Bun3g>



and other judiciary institutions and bodies. Changing this culture requires the concerted efforts of state institutions and civil society, particularly organizations and groups concerned with women's issues, and political parties which have the ability to radically change this inferior perception that demean women and their ability, which seems to be rampant in the Judiciary.

Feminist and human rights organizations demanded that the State Council and the various judicial authorities and entities comply with the articles of the constitution that oblige them to integrate women in their ranks and to put an end to the discrimination practices against them in appointment to the various positions. Additionally, to establish a judicial committee specialized in looking into complaints regarding appointments in the State Council, in order for the latter not to be both judge and jury in such complaints.

The organizations also deem it necessary to have legislative guarantees that ensure the implementation of aforementioned articles, and to amend State Council Law and the Judicial Authority Law so as to include a specific quota for women's appointment in all judicial bodies and authorities, in a manner that guarantees their gradual integration in the Judiciary in general. The undersigned demand that all members of the House of Representatives, which will hold its first session following the conclusion of the second phase of the legislative elections, to adopt such demands and include them as priority issues in their legislative agenda.

7 - Representation of Women among Appointees to the House of Representatives

Pursuant to Presidential Decree no. 560/2015 issued by President Sisi, 28 members were appointed to the House of Representatives, 14 of which are women, representing 50% of appointed members.¹

These appointments are considered the largest - for women - in the history of presidential appointments to legislative bodies in Egypt during the past half century. This increase in the ratio of women appointed by President Sisi to the House of Representatives was in implementation of the article on appointments to the House of Representatives provided for in the 2014 Constitution, which obliges the President to specific quotas for the segments appointed to the House of Representatives, which can't be considered an indicator to be used in assessing if a transformation has occurred in the prevailing political mindset in the Egyptian government towards women and their public role.

1 Al-Youm Al-Sabe'a [in Arabic], 31 December 2015 available at:

<http://www.youm7.com/story/2015/12/31/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%85%D8%A9%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%84%D8%A9%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B3%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B9%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%8A%D9%86%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%88%D8%B8-%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%81%D9%87%D9%85-%D9%88%D8%A3/2517336#.VsMdRbBun3g>



8- State Initiatives for the Empowerment of Women

Some State institutions and bodies made an effort to state a positive stance towards Egyptian women through creating channels and work mechanisms which foster women's rights. Although most of these initiatives may seem nominal, and have no clear legal frameworks, the initiative of the Ministry of Interior may be worth noting:

1. The Ministry of Interior is establishing police stations in all security directorates to combat crimes of violence against women.
2. A protocol will be signed with NCW with the aim of strengthening cooperation between NCW and MoI - particularly the Civil Status Organization - in order to issue 225 thousand national identity cards for disadvantaged women across Egyptian Governorates within three months, in cooperation with the Civil Status Organization and the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women).
3. A cooperation protocol shall be signed between NCW and the Ministry of Interior to strengthen cooperation between the two sides with regard to the protection of women and consolidation of their rights. This protocol seeks to facilitate notifying the lawyer of the Complaints Office in NCW of the complaints in order to file police reports for the ladies complaining of harassment, in addition to establishing a department for combating crimes of violence against women. The establishment of this department was part of MoI initiative to monitor crimes of violence against women under the Human Rights Division in the Ministry in May 2013. The specialized department relies on policewomen in order to track all forms of violence against women. Two female psychologists were seconded to the force as officers to encourage women who might feel uneasy about reporting any incident. The department's force was trained in the United States on the latest tools in combating violence against women.

As part of its work, the department seeks to support women in taking the decision to report incidents of violence, particularly when many girls and women are reluctant to report such incidents out of their embarrassment or fear from families or husbands. Reporting is to be through the telephone numbers dedicated for the purpose by the department or through visiting the department in the MOI headquarters in person.

4. Expansion in hiring female officers to undertake police roles in both services and security, which is observed in appointing female officers in police stations and allowing female officers in service jobs that were exclusively for males in the past, such as the traffic service.

The rapid developments occurring throughout the Second transitional period in the wake of the June 30 protests serve as sufficient warning that the administration lacks a comprehensive vision regarding national reconciliation and participation policies for all segments of society, first among which are the women groups figures that are still resisting systematic exclusion attempts. This exclusion can be recognized on both the political and legislative levels, including the enactment of



laws regulating elections in a manner that restricts the participation of women in formal political life. It can also be witnessed on the social level, where women lack for the right environment which allows for more freedom to move and participate safely and on an equal footing with men. On the economic level, women suffer from many structural problems that do not allow for achieving the principles of equality and equal opportunities.

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II. The Electoral Process Environment

The electoral process is connected to three overlapping and interrelated determinants that represent the core of the electoral process and determine its outcome. These determinants are:

I. The Political Environment

II: The Legislative Environment

III: The Security and Economic Environment

I. The Political Environment Surrounding the Electoral Process

Failure of political partisanship in pre-January 25th Egypt was manifested in the emergence of many political parties, and their failure to gain the Egyptian citizen's trust, which led political forces to establish new alternative political parties through which they can realize their aspirations and present their ideas.

Despite the fact that such parties are still at inception stage, and may not be equipped to navigate through the ocean of politics, they still managed to enter the political arena and become an effective player within a short period of time in the current interactions between the revolutionary forces and the ruling authority during the First transitional period (Under SCAF). Some were optimistic about the emergence of such parties and the positive impact this could have on reshaping the political partisan structure in Egypt, however, after five years since the January 25 Revolution in 2011, circumstances have changed and pressures have increased with the restriction of the public sphere, to the extent that some of these new parties withdrew or even completely disappeared, which negatively impacted the democratic transformation process in Egypt. This was reflected particularly in the role of women in the public sphere; as there were numerous factors leading to the withdrawal of political parties related to their internal framework, their interaction with external surroundings and their relationship with the ruling authorities.

In an attempt to examine the map of political parties which emerged in the wake of the January 25th Revolution, five partisan groups can be found: Islamic parties, liberal parties, leftist parties, nationalist parties, and non-ideological parties.

1- Islamist Parties

The January 25th Revolution caused many internal changes in the political partisan environment in Egypt in terms of the ruling elite's acceptance of the emergence of Islamic parties, and their engagement in political life. At the forefront of this scene was the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), the official political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood, followed by parties affiliated with the Islamic Group, the Salafi movement and Ahl Al-Sunnah, adding up to a total of 20 Islamic parties ((Al-



Wasat [The Center] Party, Al-Nahda [The Renaissance] Party, Al-Tasamoh Al-Igtemaai [The Social Tolerance] Party (STP), Al-Itihad Men Agl Al-Horreya [The Union for Liberty] Party (ULP), Masr Al-Horra [Free Egypt] Party], Al-Nahda Al-Islamia [Islamic Renaissance] Party (IRP), Al-Islah wa Al-Tanmiyah [Reform and Development] Party (RDP), Al-Asalah [Authenticity] Party, Al-Fadilah [Virtue] Party Al-Nour [Light] Party, Al-Tawhid Al-Arabi [Arab Unification] Party, and Damir Al-Omma [Conscience of the Nation] Party.

2- Liberal Parties

These are the political parties that advocate free market mechanisms and political and intellectual pluralism, but have become more invested in the social aspect after the January 25th Revolution. These liberal parties are: Al-Masreyeen Al-Ahrar [The Free Egyptians] Party, The Liberal Party, Al-Nahr Al-Gadid [The New River] Party, The Reform and Development Party, Masr El-Horreya [Egypt Freedom] Party,

3- Leftist Parties

The political parties that embrace a socialist ideology, and champion the cause of the marginalized classes and the rights of workers and peasants, such as the Egyptian Labor Party, The Socialist Popular Alliance Party, The Communist Party, The Egyptian Socialist Party, The Democratic Labor Party, The Egyptian Countryside Party, and the Bread and Freedom Party (under establishment).

4- Nationalist Parties

Political parties based on the nationalist aspect and the Pan-Arab project such as Hizb Al-Karama [Dignity] Party, The People's Congress Nasserist Party, The Popular Unionist Party and the Egyptian Popular Current Party (under establishment).

5- Non-ideological Parties

The political parties that formed the majority of the newly established parties, based on general slogans such as "justice, freedom and dignity" without proposing mechanisms for the implementation of such slogans, among them is the January 25th Revolution Party, Masr Al-Youm [Egypt Today] Party, Thawrat Al-Tahrir [The Revolution of Liberation] Party, Roayet Masr [Egypt's Vision] Party, and the Youth of January 25 Party.



6- Centre-Left Parties (Social Democratic Parties)

The political parties which embrace liberalism in its political and economic aspects, while taking into account the social justice aspect (such as comprehensive health insurance, labor rights, etc.) including the Egyptian Social Democratic Party and the Constitution Party.

Despite the diversity of political ideologies and political parties after the January 25th Revolution, the political trajectory in Egypt during the past five years had positive reflections only briefly, and most of the time, had negative reflections, particularly in the wake of June 30, 2013.

The political map witnessed several varying transformations with the emergence of new political movements and coalitions such as the June 30 Front, which included the youth of Tamarrod Movement, the Popular Current Party, the Constitution Party, the Egyptian Democratic party, and what remained of the youth of the January 25th Revolution Coalition. In addition to the National Salvation Front which was formed in the wake of the Constitutional Declaration crisis of November 2012 and had an important role in uniting civil political powers in the face of political Islam. Despite their inadequate performance, and with the removal of former President Morsi, some political parties that had influence during the First transitional period (under SCAF), withdrew from political life after the ousting of former President Mohamed Morsi (the Second transitional period under interim President Justice Adly Mansour). This withdrawal culminated into complete disappearance from the political scene, which had reflections on the environment surrounding the elections, whether presidential or parliamentary, in post-June 30 Egypt. The Egyptian partisan scene witnessed some restructuring of political alliances which preceded electoral alliances, particularly after the decline of political Islam as a result of the ostensive exit of the Muslim Brotherhood from the political scene.

The electoral law passed by former interim President Justice Adly Mansour came as a disappointment to the democratic forces, as it put the electoral process in Egypt back where it was before the January 25th Revolution. In other words, the individual seat system, which resembles in terms of form and content the electoral system of the 2010 elections, and which has served as an obstacle to the empowerment of women, which seems to have been the aim. This led many civil society organizations and feminist associations to oppose the legislative frameworks regulating the electoral process in Egypt, represented in (the Elections Law - the Electoral Districts Law - the Law on the Exercise of Political Rights) in terms of how said laws affect the participation of women in the House of Representatives.

Below was the view of these feminist organizations and associations:

The laws in question are fraught with several problems regarding the formation of the High Election Committee (HEC), and the absence of women from this formation, which will in turn reflected on the management of the stages of enactment of the law, in addition to the content of the articles contained in the two laws which do not provide for fair representation for women in the House of Representatives.



As for the Law on the Exercise of Political Rights, it did not provide for including women in the General Committee or the Sub-Committees provided for in Article 40 of the Law. The Article stipulates that:

"The voting shall take place under the full supervision of HEC which shall form Sub-Committees to oversee voting and vote-counting under the chairpersonship of one of the members of Judicial Authorities or Bodies. It is permissible for one member to serve as chairperson for more than one Sub-Committee, provided that they are all located, without separators, in one premises, allowing their Chairperson to exercise actual oversight thereon.

Sub-Committees shall be under the oversight of General Committees to formed by HEC from members of Judicial Authorities and Bodies, all in accordance with the rules and procedures established by HEC.

It shall also appoint one or more titular secretaries and an adequate number of substitutes for each General Committee or Sub-Committee, from among civil servants, provided that one of them is a woman.

HEC may appoint youth from both genders who are holders of tertiary degrees and who have not yet reached the age of thirty-five to work in the Sub-Committees in accordance with regulations it puts in place in that regard.

HEC may appoint youth from both genders who are holders of tertiary degrees and who have not yet reached the age of thirty-five to work in the Sub-Committees in accordance with the regulations, it puts in place in that regard. HEC may also appoint titular and substitute members from these Authorities and Bodies in each governorate in order to assist General Committees in overseeing elections in the respective governorate and in order to preside over polling stations or substitute the Chairman or Members of the General Committees when necessary".

Hence, it was necessary for the legislator to provide for including women from judicial authorities and bodies such as the Administrative Prosecution Authority, after the approval of their Supreme Councils, in the formation of the electoral committees as representative judges and as representatives of the concerned ministries as determined by the HEC to be chosen by the competent ministers. However, the legislator considered it sufficient to have only one woman among the alternate members of the General Committees and Sub-Committees, which we deem as a shortcoming in the Committee tasked with enacting the law.

According to the Presidential Decree forming the Committee tasked with amending the law, the committee should have invited the concerned parties, political parties and civil society organizations to a community dialogue on the draft law which the committee was assigned to prepare, which did not happen and the Committee only held some private sessions. Later on, some amendments were unofficially presented; A draft law was published in the newspapers, in a manner that



confirms the absence of transparency in the committee's work, which resulted in a draft law that was unsatisfactory for the majority of political parties and civil society organizations concerned with democracy, elections and the political participation of women.

In response, many feminist and human rights organizations made several proposals to the committee tasked with amending the laws to ensure the representation of women in the next House of Representatives. In the midst of the presidential race, and the preoccupation of all political parties in Egypt, the Committee adopted the final text of the law, clearly ignoring all proposals presented by the political forces.

The law stipulated that women shall be represented in 4 electoral lists, and guaranteed a minimum of 56 female members in the upcoming House of Representatives, which does not fulfill the proportionate representation provided for in the Constitution with regard to women's representation, considering that women make up almost half of society. Through observing the participation of women in the public political sphere as detailed above, there is an obligation on the State to support the presence of women, not only in the political scene in its broader sense, but also in elected bodies, particularly in the upcoming House of Representatives.

For women, the situation is different than it is for other representative blocs prescribed by law, where the Constitution provides for the appropriate representation of women, unlike other blocs for which the constitution required adequate representation. According to the percentage of women in the population, the percentage for representation as stipulated in the law was disappointing, whereas the legislator should have provided for more equitable representation of women, as intended by the Constitutional legislators.

As for the electoral system, Article 3 of the new law stipulates that: "**The election of the House of Representatives shall take place under the Individual-Seat system for 420 seats, and under the Absolute-Closed-Lists system for 120 seats. Political Parties and independents may run for both. Parties and independent candidates may run under both systems.**" giving more space to the individual-seat system, which relies more on wealth and tribalism and is not conducive to a systemized partisan life. In turn, this will hinder the ability of parties to nominate women for individual seats, and eliminates all chances for the less empowered women to win a majority in Parliament, in addition to limiting their candidacy to electoral lists.

The individual seat system requires large financial resources to absorb the cost of campaigns that are conducted on an individual level, in addition to familial and tribal connections, all of which are factors not accessible to many women in this country. For that reason, the legislator should have allocated more room for the list system.

In general, the individual seat system has its disadvantages and negative effects on political participation of women and their causes. The first such advantage is the electoral districting; where the size of an electoral district may in some cases stretch to 600 square kilometers interspersed with desert areas, while other districts cover only ten square kilometers.



This disparity in the physical size of districts has led many individual candidates to focus their campaigning efforts on specific areas of their constituencies and communicate only with its locals, and as a result, many of the locals in a given constituency may not have even heard of this candidate. In some cases, the demographic difference in an electoral district may be the reason why voters do not know this candidate. In the 2011/2012 Parliamentary elections, we witnessed some electoral districts that consisted of different residential areas, with both well-off areas, slums and industrial zones included in the same constituency. This poses difficulties for the voters and candidates at the same time. The candidate will find it difficult to address a single constituency with the same policies and discourse, while the voter finds himself at loss due to their inability to communicate normally with the candidates.

This situation becomes yet more difficult when the candidate is a woman. Women candidates, not affiliated with a powerful political party (the party in power in most cases), without the power of great wealth that allow them to bear the cost of a large-scale campaign, or being members of powerful families, have no chance at winning a seat under the individual seat system.

The second disadvantage of the individual seat system is the general temperament of the Egyptian voter, who prefers a certain type of candidates. This represents a key obstacle facing women candidates, where the common attitude generally refrains from supporting women, in addition to the diffusion of discourse against the presence of women in political life and their inability, particularly those women who adopt a gender perspective or belong to newly-established political parties or movements, to find a place for themselves in such circumstances.

The third and most common disadvantage is the domination of tribalism, strong families and political money on individual seat elections, particularly in Upper Egypt, rural areas and Sinai, where large families with power and money dominate the political scene. Such families seek to impose their influence in the constituency, whether through family control of the area resources, or through buying votes, tribal moral support, or other forms of influence. This negatively impacts the political participation of women, as women in traditional communities, particularly in Upper Egypt, lack for this sort of influence except in very few cases.

The Proportional List System, rather than that of closed lists, would strengthen the multi-party political life in Egypt, and lead to a multi-party House of Representatives that is more capable of speaking for all citizens. Under this system, political parties would be able to nominate more women for Parliament, and support them politically and financially, leading to their political empowerment and participation in the public sphere and decision-making positions.

The Law has adopted an absolute closed list system, whereby the list winning 50% + 1 of the votes wins all, which eliminates the chances of women candidates in other lists, even if such list secured more than 40% of the vote, as well as waste the votes of those who voted for other lists.

Moreover, Article 4 of the Law provided for the division of the country into 4 electoral districts, to be organized in a subsequent law that takes into consideration the population ratio in each.



However, it did not provide for taking gender representation; the legislator failed to consider the fair representation in terms of gender provided for considering population density, irrespective of gender.

Additionally, Article 31, which is concerned with prohibited campaigning activities, is void of controls that aggravate penalties for the violation of the rights of woman candidates to campaign, being the most exposed to libel, defamation, or violation of personal life, whether verbally or in writing. Hence, sexual violence against women in the public sphere should also be added to the prohibited campaigning activities specified in Article 32 of the draft law; where the Article lists 8 such activities, including clause 3 which provides for the prohibition of using violence or threatening such use, while ignoring violence against women in all its forms, particularly sexual violence.

With regard to media coverage regulations, Article 32 failed to take the situation of women into account, being the least likely to receive media attention as candidates. Therefore, the law should provide for allocating more time in the media to cover the campaigns of women candidates, as part of the social support and encouragement of women's participation, and in order to realize the principle of equality of opportunities between candidates of both genders with regards to access different media outlets.

Moreover, an aggravated penalty should be imposed on any media coverage violating the rights of women candidates, whether by libel, ridicule or violation of private life, which may put their personal lives in danger. Different media outlets should devote adequate space to introduce the planned electoral system to voters, particularly after adopting the representative quota system for women in the absolute closed lists provided for in the Draft Law of the House of Representatives, so as to allow voters to choose on the basis of a clear understanding of the existing electoral system.

Article 38 of the Draft Law addressed the role of civil society as an "observer" of the electoral process, without providing for controls regarding non-interference with and protection of observers from local and international civil society organizations, as well as permitting such organizations to monitor the elections and protect them from administrative arbitrariness.

Finally, the negligence with which the committee drafting the law met the demands voiced by feminist organizations, civil society organizations and political parties resulted in two laws which do not provide for the fair representation of women in the upcoming elections, nor in the next House of Representatives. The committee ignored, more than once, the demands of these organizations to include women in the committee, as well as the various technical committees.

Moreover, more than one draft law was presented to the committee containing several proposals for the optimum electoral system. The organizations called for adopting an electoral system that allocates more room for the list system in order to ensure adequate representation for women as prescribed by the Constitution, and to produce a House of Representatives that allows for the formation of strong partisan blocs within it to implement the entitlements of the 2014 Constitution. The Committee also ignored a draft law which proposed that the Committee adopts the mixed



electoral system, whereby 50% of seats would be elected under a list system and 50% under the individual seat system, provided that a ranked voting system is adopted for the list based portion. The Committee, however, ignored all proposals and provided for an electoral system that is biased towards the individual seat system, with a ratio for women that does not fulfill the requirement of proportional representation of women stipulated for in the Constitution.

The representation of women by only 56 seats in the upcoming House of Representatives, and under systems that shut many doors in the face of effective and true participation of multiple women raises many questions about the future of political participation of women, and affects the participation of larger numbers of women in future political life, fails to rise to the aspirations of Egyptian women who participated in the momentum created in national political life over the past few years, and violates constitutional entitlements.

II: Procedures of the Electoral Process

The ruling authorities passed several laws directly related to the electoral process, namely amendments of the three laws that regulate the Elections of the House of Representatives (the Law on the House of Representatives - The Law on the Exercise of Political Rights - The Districting Law), in addition to the decisions of the High Elections Committee, and the decisions of the Chairman of the High Elections Committee.

1- Amendments to (The Law on the Exercise of Political Rights - The Law on the House of Representatives - The Districting Law):

The amendments to the three laws regulating parliamentary elections (The Law on the Exercise of Political Rights - The Law on the House of Representatives - The Districting Law) - after the Supreme Constitutional Court ruled in March 2015 that some articles of said laws, which President Sisi has ratified, were unconstitutional - were introduced by the drafting committee tasked with amending said laws by the Cabinet, as follows:

Article No.	The Amended Text
Law on Electoral Districting https://www.elections.eg/images/pdfs/laws/Constituencies2015-88.pdf	
Article 1	The text of Article 2 of Decree-Law 202/2014 concerning Electoral Districting for the Elections of the House of Representatives is replaced by the following text: "The Arab Republic of Egypt shall be divided into 205 electoral districts (constituencies) under the Individual-Seat system for 448 seats, and 4 constituencies under the lists system for 120 seats, for a total of 568 seats in the next House of Representatives"
Article 2	The Table (I. Individual Seat System Constituencies) attached to the Decree-Law concerning Electoral Districting for the Elections of the House of Representatives, will be replaced by the corresponding table.



Law on the Exercise of Political Rights https://www.elections.eg/images/pdfs/laws/HouseOfRepresentativesAmendments2015-92.pdf	
Article 2	With regard to disenfranchised groups, the word conclusive was replaced with the word final, to read: "Persons against whom a final judgment was rendered for having committed the crime of tax evasion or for having committed the crime provided for under Article (132) of the Income Tax Law promulgated by Law no. 91/2005."
Article 12	Regarding the formation of Governorate Elections Committees: After amendment, the Article stipulates that in governorates where there is no court of first instance, the President of the Court of Appeals shall replace the President of the Court of First Instance, as chairman of the governorate elections committee.
Article 25	Regarding electoral campaigns: The upper limit imposed on campaign spending for lists was changed for a list of 15 candidates to be EGP 2,500,000 instead of EGP 1 million, and EGP 7,500,000 instead of EGP 3 million for a list of 45 candidates.
The Law on the House of Representatives Promulgated by Decree-Law no. 46/2014 https://www.elections.eg/images/pdfs/laws/HouseOfRepresentativesAmendments2015-92.pdf	
Article 1	With regard to determining the number of seats of the House of Representatives: The Article was amended to be in line with the amendments of the Districting Law; where the number of seats was increased from 540 seats to 568 seat, in addition to the seats of the appointed members. The amended Article reads: "The first House of Representatives after the coming into force of the Constitution of January 18th, 2014, shall be composed of 568 members elected through universal, secret, and direct ballot. The President of the Republic may appoint no more than 5% of the members, subject to the conditions stipulated under this law."
Article 3	With regard to determining the number of seats allocated for the individual seat system and the number of seats allocated for the party list system. After amendment, the Article stipulates that: "The election of the House of Representatives shall take place under the Individual-Seat system for 448 seats, and under the Absolute-Closed-Lists system for 120 seats. Parties and independent candidates may run under both systems."
Article 8	The First Clause, which was one of the reasons for postponing the elections and the unconstitutionality of the Law on the House of Representatives, and which stipulated that a candidate must have no nationality besides the Egyptian nationality. The Clause was amended to be "to be an Egyptian national, and in full enjoyment of civil and political rights."
Article 6	The amendment deleted the last paragraph of the Article which stated that a woman shall not lose her seat in Parliament unless she changes their party affiliation or independent status based on which they were elected, thereby giving women members equal rights and duties to the remaining male members.



2- Presidential Decrees Regarding the Electoral Process

According to the Parliamentary Elections Observatory (PEO), only one Decree-Law was enacted regarding the House of Representatives in the period following the President's ratification of the amendments on the three laws that regulate Parliament. These amendments included abolishing Decree-Law No. 26/2014 Amending Some Provisions of the Supreme Constitutional Court Law, which aimed to shorten the period required to study appeals challenging the constitutionality of the recently enacted Presidential Elections Law (for up to 23 days) in order for such appeals not to have a significant impact on the electoral schedule. The amendment law is as shown.

Procedures taken by HEC to initiate work on the Elections of the House of Representatives:

During the period set by the PEO in its second issue, which ended in late August 2015, all decrees issued by HEC and by the Chairman of HEC solely regarding the regulation of the Election of the House of Representatives have been recorded, as follows:

3- HEC Decrees

First Decree: High Elections Committee Decree no. 49/2015 on Suspending Decree no. 1/2015.

Second Decree High Elections Committee Decree no. 55/2015 on Applying for Media Coverage Requests for the Elections of the House of Representatives.

Third Decree: High Elections Committee Decree no. 56/2015 On the Acceptance of Applications of Egyptian and Foreign Civil Society Organizations for Observing the Elections (For accepted foreign and national organizations for elections follow-up: see annex 1).

4- Decrees by HEC Chairman

First Decree: Chairman of the High Elections Committee Decree no. 15/2015 on the Formation of a Committee to Receive the Electoral Symbol Allocation Requests Presented to the High Elections Committee.

Second Decree- Chairman of the High Elections Committee Decree no. 18/2015 on the Formation of a Committee for Receiving Complaints and Appeals.

Third Decree- Chairman of the High Elections Committee Decree no. 19/2005 on Appointing Members to the Permanent General Secretariat of the High Elections Committee.

(** For the agenda of the Electoral Process, see Annex 2.)

On August 30, 2015, HEC issued the schedule of the electoral process, which starts by receiving application for nomination as of 1 September and for a period of 12 days; followed by timed steps which include two election phases, with the final steps of vote counting and announcing the newly elected Egyptian House of Representatives scheduled to be before the end of 2015.



III: The Security Environment Surrounding the Electoral Process

Security factors come second to economic factors in determining voters' preferences in Egypt, which was the case in the Parliamentary elections of 1990 and 1995. In both cases, the unstable security situation caused by the violence perpetrated by terrorist organizations (Al-Jihad for instance), in addition to the economic vulnerability which troubled the country during the 90s, both played an important role in guiding voters preferences in legislative bodies during that decade. The Egyptian State has suffered a series of successive violent attacks since 30 June 2013, which has taken more severe patterns than the attacks of the nineties, the most important of which are illustrated as follows:

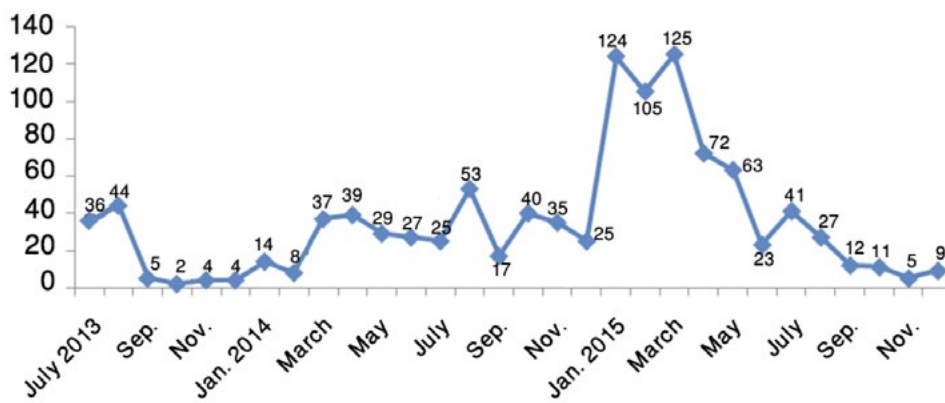


Figure (1)
Development of Acts of Violence between July 2013 and December 2015

Figure (1) shows the development of violent attacks between July 2013 and December 2015, with a clear upwards curve in 2015, March 2015 is considered the highest in terms of number of terrorist attacks, with a total of 125 attacks occurring during the month, followed by January 2015 which has seen 124 terrorist attacks. It is possible that this upward surge in violence in 2015 was a result of the same escalation of terrorist attacks in Sinai the same year, which included a number of organized attacks carried out by Ansar Bait al-Maqdis (Supporters of Jerusalem) (ABN) against several Police and Army checkpoints, institutions and encampments.

The armed attacks waged by terrorist organizations are divided into six main types and they are: Usage of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) and sound bombs, arson attacks against private and public facilities and vehicles, sabotage of infrastructure such as gas lines, electricity towers, high power lines and cellphone towers, shootings, car bombs, and attacks with different types of projectiles). Attacks using IEDs rank first among all types in terms of the frequency of usage, where IEDs were used in 55% of all armed attacks occurring in 2015. It has also seen increased use compared to other types of weaponry used in earlier cases. IEDs are followed by destroying infrastructure with 17% of all armed violence attacks in the same period. Arson attacks against facilities and transportation means came next with 14% of total attacks. Shootings came fourth with 10% of the total,



followed by attacks using car bombs at 3% of all attacks for the same period. In addition to another type of attacks, which has not been witnessed previously, using different types of projectiles, particularly mortars, which ranked last in terms of frequency of use with 1% of all attacks occurring between January and December 2015, as illustrated in Figure (2).

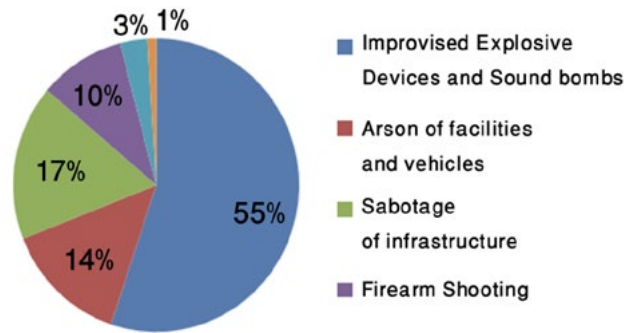


Figure (2)
Percentage of Acts of Armed Violence in 2015

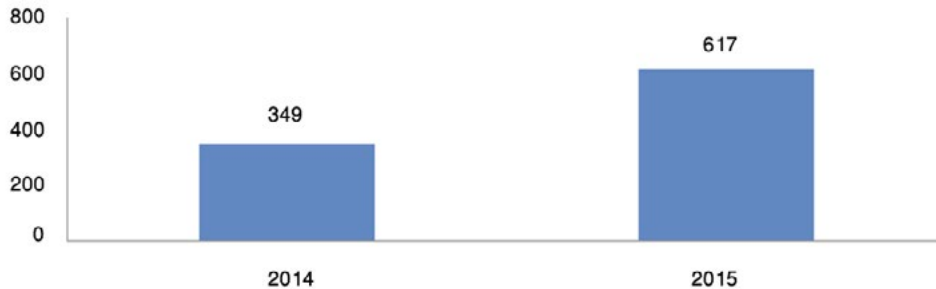


Figure (3)
Comparison of Acts of Armed Violence between 2014 and 2015

Figure (3) illustrates a comparison of the timeline of terrorist attacks in 2014 and 2015 in Egypt. The figure shows a clear disparity between the two years. While violent attacks declined in 2015, attacks in 2014 occurred with an erratic pattern. Over the course of 2014, occurrence of violent attacks showed no gradual increase or decrease in frequency; while January and February witnessed a decline in the number of terrorist attacks, March and April saw a relative upsurge. Moreover, unlike the curve of violence in 2015, which declined in frequency of violent attacks to the lowest point in the last three months, the last three months of 2014 showed an upwards trend compared to the first three months of the same year, as shown by Figure (4).



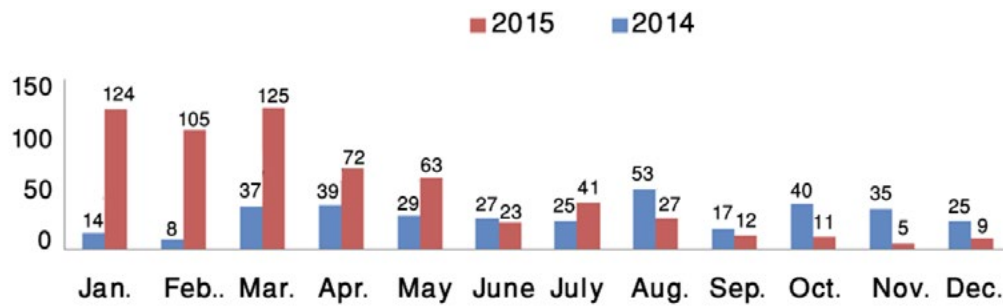


Figure (4)
Comparison of the Monthly Distribution of Acts of Violence between 2014 and 2015

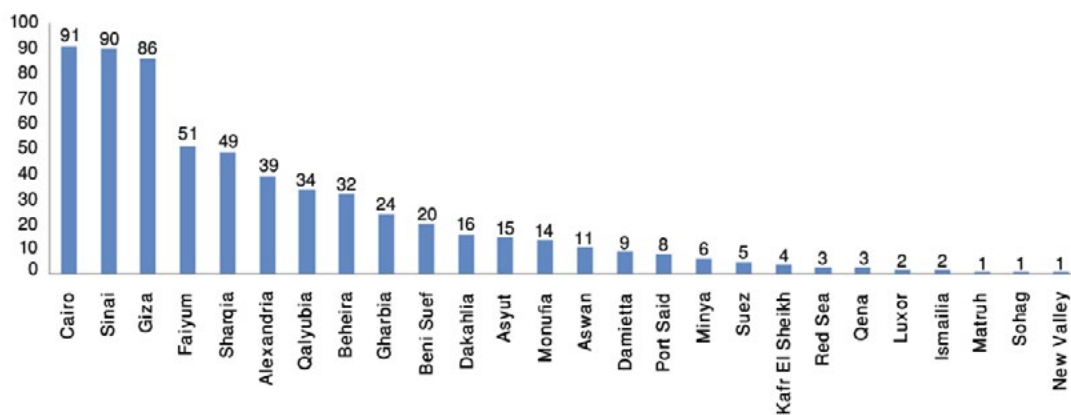


Figure (5)
Geographical Distribution of Acts of Armed Violence in 2015

Figure (5) shows the leading governorates in terms of frequency of armed violent attacks between January 2015 and December 2015. Cairo, Sinai and Giza were the top three governorates in terms of frequency of armed attacks. Cairo came first with 91 attacks, while Sinai comes a close second with 90 armed attacks, and finally Giza, with 86 attacks in 2015. Three other governorates, however, were only targeted once during 2015, namely Marsa Matrouh, Sohag and El Wadi El Gedid.

In conclusion, it can be said that the months leading up to the election have seen a state turmoil in terms of security, as a result of terrorist attacks carried out by some extremist groups. Armed attacks took place in almost all governorates of the Republic (26 governorates), which means that these operations extended over a million square kilometers. The occurrence of such attacks in such a large area made the task of security agencies quite difficult.

Additionally, there was quite a variety in the type of targets attacked, which included gas lines, infrastructure facilities, in particular electricity towers and high power lines, which were hit hardest by terrorist organizations between the first of January 2015 until December 2015. Furthermore, public figures and senior state officials were also targeted, including the assassination of the Attorney General by targeting his convoy with a car bomb.



The continued state of disarray that has prevailed the media since January 25, and became apparent after June 30, has caused citizens to have a sense of insecurity, coupled with political uncertainty, in addition to the incriminating rhetoric prevalent among several media outlets against secular forces and youth groups perceived to be affiliated with the January 25th Revolution. This situation resulted in poor participation in the elections in comparison to the participation rate in the 2011 Parliamentary Elections.

Examining elections results for the House of Representatives (which will be addressed in section IV) we find that in governorates with the highest rate of occurrence of terrorist attacks, the electorate was inclined to vote for candidates close to the ruling authorities and those who call for restricting the public sphere, and for taking repressive measures under the pretext of fighting terrorism. As Cairo, Sinai and Giza have been the leading governorates in the frequency of armed attacks in 2015, which made them the most unstable governorates in 2015, the year in which the elections of the House of Representatives took place.

Finally, the three aforementioned factors (general political environment - electoral procedures and laws - security environment) were the key determinants of how the House of Representatives would take shape. Observers of Egyptian affairs could even foretell the results of the elections before they were announced officially.



III. Experiences of the Women Candidates with whom Nazra for Feminist Studies worked

About Mentoring on the Ground

Mentoring on the Ground is a strategy used for close engagement with women candidates and their teams, as it does not involve mentoring them only, but also going through the election campaigns at their side in order to analyze the strengths, weaknesses, risks and opportunities in their context. This training process begins with analyzing the electoral district of a given female candidate with the purpose of identifying her needs during the campaign in order to attract the various electoral blocs in her constituency. Nazra applied this methodology with each candidate separately, with the aim of providing legal, political and psychological support. Nazra for Feminist Studies also provides the same support for the campaign teams.

Criteria of Enrollment in the Academy

Since its inception in 2011, the Academy has determined the following set of criteria for choosing the eligible candidates with whom it works:

1. The candidate has never been nominated for Parliament by the dissolved National Democratic Party (NDP).
2. The candidate is not older than 45 years of age.
3. The candidate has experience in political or social work, human or labor rights.
4. The candidate is less empowered within her community.

Nazra's decision to undertake this mission, rests on the conviction that women's political work is inseparable from political work in general, and that achieving women's rights comes within a democratic framework which promotes human rights. For this reason, the Women's Political Participation Academy (WPPA) seeks to create a general political sphere inclusive of women, in a manner that allows the feminist movement, as a political movement, to continue to be interlinked with the public sphere.

Therefore, Nazra for Feminist Studies, represented by the team of WPPA, has undertaken to join the candidates in their political journey, starting by providing legal and psychological support, and helping the candidates individually in understanding their electoral districts, and reviewing strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT Analysis). WPPA has also organized theoretical and practical trainings for candidates and their teams, as well as for delegates, on monitoring violations at polling stations. Furthermore, Nazra has engaged with the candidates through



Mentoring on the Ground and joining them in their electoral campaigns, working with them in their constituencies, and supporting them within the limitations of time and ability of the team, regardless of their partisan affiliations, except when such affiliations conflict with WPPA criteria and requirements for choosing candidates.

Five Candidates, two of which were nominated in the first phase, were selected:

- Aswan Governorate: Candidate: Wafaa Abdel Kawy- Independent - First District - City of Aswan - Individual Seat.
- Alexandria Governorate: Candidate: Rasha El-Gebaly - Independent - Second District - Montazah II - Individual Seat.

The three candidates selected in the second phase of the 2015 House of Representatives elections were:

- Cairo Governorate: Candidate Salwa Alaa - the Egyptian Social Democratic Party - Thirteenth District - Boulaq - Individual Seat.
- Cairo Governorate: Candidate Zeinab Abdel Rahman - The Egyptian Social Democratic Party - Eighteenth District - Al-Basateen - Individual Seat.
- Port Said Governorate: Candidate Rania El-Sadat - Independent - Third District - El Zohour - Individual Seat.

Characteristics of Electoral Districts

1- Aswan Governorate. Candidate: Wafaa Abdel Kawy- Independent - First District - City of Aswan - Individual Seat.

Affiliation: Independent

Type of Candidacy: Individual Seat

Electoral Phase: First

Governorate: Aswan

Number of Seats: Two

Elections Date: October 18 and 19

Electoral Symbol: Candle No. 10

District: First District. Precincts I and II, Aswan - Aswan and Abu Simbel District



Period of Working with the Candidate: From August 2014 until October 2014

Geographic and Demographic Characteristics of the District

Number of Registered Voters: 271,107 Turnout: 62.846 Ratio: 23.18%

Total Valid Votes: 57,757 Ratio: 91.95%

Total Invalid Votes: 5,089 Ratio: 8.10%

The electoral district consists of four local village units, including 11 main villages and 60 Naga's and Kafrs.

The District of Aswan consists of the City of Aswan and the touristic city of Abu Simbel, and is divided into 4 Sheyakhas (Sheikhdoms), as follows:

The City of Aswan - First Chiefdom, which includes: Al Koroud, Al Shekhab, Al Tiab, Arshkol, Al Tour, Al Mahatta, Al-Shallal, Gabal Shisha, Al Morashah, Al Souq, Al Gabal, Al Hodoud, Al Daboudeyah, Shenouda, Khalf El Mosahma, Heisa, Soheil, Gharb Soheil, Al Korour, Tenkar and Mansheyet El Khazzan.

The Second Chiefdom includes: Al Gezira, Al Nasiriyah, Al Hakroub, Al Sail Al Reefy, Khor Awa-da, Ezab Kima, Al Sail Al Gadid, Sahari, Al Sad Al Aali Gharb and Al Sad Al Aali Sharq.

The Third Chiefdom includes: Al Koroud, Al Keshaab, Al Tiab, Arshkol, Al Tour, Al Mahatta, Al-Shallal, Gabal Shisha, Al Morashah, Al Souq, Al Gabal, Al Hodoud, Al Daboudeyah, Shenouda, Heisa, Soheil, Khalf El Mosahma, Gharb Soheil, Tenkar, El Korour, Manshyet El Khazzan)

The Fourth Chiefdom includes the touristic city of Abu Simbel which consists of five villages, namely:

Abu El Rish Bahary village which consists of five villages as follows: Abu El Rish Bahary, Abu El-Rish Kebly, Al A'kaab, Behriv, Gharb Aswan and El-Kobbaneyah.

El Alaaky village which consists of: Al Alaqi Valley which includes Old Nubia, the villages of El Soboua and El Malky, Shatermah, El-Sankari.

The village of Bashayer El-Kheir, the village of Wadi Karkar which consists of eight villages. This district has a large number of civil associations totaling 557 associations.

Voting blocs in the district of Aswan are divided as follows:

Aswan First Precinct: 118,447 voters, representing 44% of the voting bloc, the largest in the district.

Aswan Second Precinct: 102,961 voters representing 38% of the voting bloc.

Markaz Aswan comes third with 44,885 voters representing 17% of the total number of voters, and finally Abu Simbel Precinct with 2,996 voters representing only 1% of the total number of voters in the Aswan First Constituency.

Voters falling into the age bracket from 21 to 30 years make up the largest portion of the voting



bloc in the district, representing 26% of the residents of the area, 50% of which are female voters. The 31-40 age bracket makes up 24% of the voting bloc, 49% of which are female voters. The 41-50 age bracket comes next, representing 18% of the voting bloc, 48% of which are female voters. While the 51-60 age bracket makes up 13% of the voting bloc, 50% of which are female voters. The Above 60 age bracket represents 13% of the voting bloc, 54% of which are female voters, which is the largest female electorate bloc in all age brackets. Finally, the youngest and smallest bracket, 18-20 years, represent 6% of the voting bloc, with female voters making up 47% of the total.

Noticeably, this district shows an approximate equality between male and female voters (50% each) which can be attributed to the fact that it incorporates both Markaz Aswan and the city of Aswan.

It can be said that the first constituency - the City of Aswan and Markaz Aswan - is not homogenous in its composition, since it contains different ethnic and religious groups, migrant workers from other governorates who moved to Aswan to work in the tourism sector or in other commercial activities. The constituency includes residents of the Governorate who are natives of others such as Qena, Sohag and Assiut. It also has diverse groups such as the Nubians, tribes like Al Gaafrah, Banu Hilal, Al Daboudeyah, in addition to Copts. This is a constituency where tribes grappling for seats in the House of Representatives is part of the tribal balance of power, without any regard for the political affiliations of the candidates.

The constituency covering the City of Aswan and Markaz Aswan is divided into urban and rural regions. Population in the urban region is 329,949 (15,9218 females and 17,0731 males), while the rural region has a population of 85,366 (43,128 females and 42,238 males).

The Economic and Social Conditions of the District (City of Aswan and Markaz Aswan)

The District of Aswan has a number of commercial activities, some of which is based on agriculture, fishing, industrial activities, mining and tourism, thanks to the importance of the City of Aswan and its status as a touristic city, in addition to having the power generating plants stations constructed near the High Dam, which is located inside the district.

The cleanliness of both city and markaz is the responsibility of the governorate. The Governorate also oversees the solid waste management and utilization project, which consists of a process to collect and sweep the waste in the Governorate (Aswan, Koum Ombo and Edfu) and recycling it. The governorate oversees this project technically, financially and administratively, pursuant to the Public Cleaning Law no. 38/1967, amended by Law no. 10/2005 and the executive regulations thereof.

The project aims to maintain the cleanliness of the governorate and to employ as many local residents as possible. On 25 October 2009, cleaning equipment for the project in the cities of Aswan, Koum Ombo and Edfu were purchased at a total cost of EGP 18,007,000, 25% of which was paid upfront upon execution of the contract, with the remaining amount to be paid in 24 monthly installments.

On 1 October 2010, a supplementary contract was signed to supply equipment for the cleaning project for a total of EGP 1,993,000. On 1 November 2010, a contract was signed to purchase ad-



ditional equipment to improve work flow in the cities cleaning project for a total cost of EGP 20 Million.

Nevertheless, the garbage and solid waste management problems are main issues facing the citizens of Aswan, in addition to the problem of managing hospitals dangerous waste. The electoral program of candidate Wafaa Ashry included working on an environment friendly solution for waste disposal through tasking national companies with garbage collection, with encouragement from the private sector and community initiatives, in addition to encouraging youth to establish projects for waste recycling.

Lake Nasser is considered one of Aswan's most defining features. The lake is artificial, and has a length of around 500 km, 350 km of which are inside Egyptian territory, while the remaining 150 km are in Sudan. The lake was created between the first and second waterfalls as a result of the construction of the Aswan High Dam in 1969. The lake derives its vital importance from its being Egypt's main reserve of fresh water. The lake area is almost void of any cosmopolitan infrastructure, owing to the historical background of the area where the indigenous population was displaced for the purpose of constructing the High Dam.

The lake area contains a number of important projects including granite and marble quarries on the banks of the lake, which are considered some of the most important quarries nationwide due to the essential granite ores they hold. There are 63 granite quarries in Aswan alone, 44 of which have been renovated, in addition to 17 sand and gravel quarries. Aside from these quarries, which used to be under the control of the General Authority of Lake Nasser in Al-Alaqi region, which could add up to 250 granite and marble quarries. employ 5 to 20 workers each.

Control of the quarries on the banks of Lake Nasser was transferred from the General Authority of Lake Nasser to the Governorate for the purpose of increasing the resources of the governorate. It is worth mentioning that the project revenues increased while in governorate control by a ratio of 800% to become EGP 24 Million during the fiscal year 2009/2010, up from EGP 3 Million only.

The high ratio of Coptic citizens in the district as a whole, in addition to the absence of forces linked to the Muslim Brotherhood from the election scene, resulted in the appearance of the Copt voting blocs in the district, and Coptic candidate Naguib Naseef Shenouda Ghali (Independent) managed to reach the run-off round in the elections, an occurrence with few precedents in this electoral district.

The District from a Gender Perspective

The first district, the City of Aswan and Markaz Aswan is considered important among the governorate's districts, with its mélange of the urban and the rural. Despite being predominantly urban, and famous for its touristic attractions, the city still suffers from poor standard of living as a result of the decline in revenues generated from the tourist sector! This contributed to making the movement of the candidate and her campaign easier.



The Political, Social and Professional Background of the Candidate

Candidate Wafaa Ashry has a long history of political work; she is the daughter of Haj Abdel Kawy Ashry and granddaughter of Abdel Kader Abo Bakr, who was a member of the National Assembly in the 1930s. She is also a founding member of the Dostour [Constitution] Party in Aswan, a former treasurer for the Governorate, a former member of the National Association for Change (2010), and part of the presidential campaign of Mohamed El Baradei in 2011.

The candidate also has a history in political activism, as she was former candidate in the electoral list of "Al-Thawra Mostamerra" [The Revolution Continues] in the Shura Council election of 2012, was a member of Tamarrod Movement [Rebellion] in Aswan in 2013, and she is now a member of the Women Against Corruption group which is affiliated to the Center for Egyptian Women's Issues, which works to uncover the extent of deficiency and corruption in the implementation of laws or court rulings relevant to women.

The candidate is also one of the leading women who are continuously involved in Nubian issues in her district, as she is a member of the General Nubian Union in Aswan, and a member of the High Council of Nubia. She has also taken interest in the Nubian issue and discussed the problems of Nubian women and working to resist the societal customs and traditions with regard to Nubian women such as earning the right to marry outside their tribes, as well as their economic rights such as demanding to write up a list with the wife's dues.

Wafaa Ashry works as an independent accountant. She holds a Bachelor's Degree from the Faculty of Commerce, Ain Shams University in 1991, after which she obtained a diploma in Quantitative Methods from Ain Shams University in 2008.

Problems Faced by the Candidate in Running for this District

Despite the fact that candidate Wafaa seems at first glance a traditional woman in her mid-forties, which might give the impression that she is a woman who shies away from challenging traditions and customs, Wafaa however managed to break such barriers by being politically and socially active during her participation in the January 25th Revolution and the subsequent calls for change.

The candidate organized a door-to-door campaign in one of the most challenging slum areas that lack security, such as Ezbet Al-Morashah and Gharb Suhail. She held a number of meetings with family seniors and Nubian tribes in her district. The candidate was able to win the favor of the Nubian Council, and was among the top ten candidates chosen by the Council. The candidate received 1,563 votes from the entire district, due to considerations of political money, poor campaigning and confusion with other female candidates in terms of promotions.



Other Candidates Who Succeeded and Stood for Run-off Election in the First District (The City of Aswan)

Four candidates were able to reach the Run-offs in the elections of the House of Representatives, as follows:

- Salah Afifi Abdel Zaher Khalil, who received 24,595 vote representing 42.58% of the electorate. Salah is affiliated to 'Homat Al-Watan' [Protectors of the Nation] Party, and was a leading member of the dissolved National Democratic Party (NDP) and a Member of Parliament representing the same party. The candidate was a police colonel and was previously appointed as Chief of Police in the First Precinct of Aswan, gaining control of all families and tribes in the district through providing services for them while in his former post.
- Naguib Naseef Shenouda, who received 6,154 votes representing 10.65% of the total electorate. It can be said that candidate Shenouda represented the Christian voting bloc in this district.
- Shar'ey Mohammed Saleh Abdullah, who received 5,964 votes representing 10.33% of the total electorate. Candidate Abdullah is a former member in the Shura Council of 2010, and has the support of the tribes and families in the district of the City of Aswan.
- Ahmed Sayed Ahmed Hassan received 5,918 votes representing 10.25% of the total electorate.

In the Run-offs of the first district of the City of Aswan, the two winners were the candidates who had the power, family and political money, namely, Salah Afifi Abdel Zaher and Shar'ey Mohamed Saleh Abdullah.

2- Alexandria Governorate: Candidate Rasha El Gebaly - Independent- Second District - Montazah II Individual Seat.

Affiliation: Independent

Candidacy: Individual Seat

Electoral Symbol: Egyptian Renaissance Statue Candidate Number: 22

Electoral Phase: First Phase

Elections Date: October 18 and 19, 2014

Governorate: Alexandria.

The Second District, Montazah II.

Place of Birth: Abu Qir.

Period of Work with the Candidate: From July 2014 to October 2014.

Number of Seats: Three Seats.



Geographic and Demographic Characteristics of the District

Number of Registered Voters: 384,279 voter Turnout⁹ 86,426 voters representing 22.40% Total Valid Votes: 77,417 voters at 89.58% Total Invalid Votes: 9,007 at 10.42%

The Montazah II district was established pursuant to Decree of the Prime Minister no. 1189/2013, inside which the Montazah Precinct II was established pursuant to Minister of Interior Decree no. 10053/2006. The Montazah II Precinct consists of eight Chiefdoms, as follows: El Mandara Bahari, El Mandara Kebli, El Maamourah, El Amrawy, El Nasiriyah (formerly The English Kobbaneyah), Tolombaah El Tabyah, Abu Qir El Sharkeya, and Abu Qir El Gharbeya.

The Montazah II district has a rural region containing villages and farms, with an expanse of agricultural lands that reach the left of Street 45, including El Amarouah, El Mallaha, El Raas El Souda, Ezbet El Makana, Ezbet El Arab El Kobra, Ezabet El Arab El Soghra, Ezbet El Rahmaneya, Ezbet El Gabal, Ezbet Eskout, Ezbet Houd Ashara, Ezbet Houd 12, Ezbet El Brens El Bahareya, Ezbet Karamela, Ezbet Kila, Ezbet El Kobbaneyah, Ezbet Houd Hedashar, Ezbet Maknas, Ezbet Debbana, Siklam.

Montazah II District is not a homogeneous area, as it contains rural and urban regions, natives of Upper Egypt and the Delta, residents of peasant and Arab origins, Copts and Muslims, and fishermen and farmers). Montazah contains major industrial strongholds including the Abu Qir Fertilizer Plant, the oil refineries in Abu Qir, and many other industrial facilities that are important on both governorate and state levels.

It also houses many touristic attractions such as Montazah Palace and Parks, and the Maamourah touristic area, in addition to the archaeological regions inside the Tabyet Kousa 1, and Tabyet El-Borg 1 neighborhoods, as well as religious touristic attractions, both Christian and Islamic.

It can be said that this district is somewhat homogeneous, as it contains more uniform areas which have been specified with the assistance of the Alexandria Planning Center established by the General Organization for Physical Planning in Alexandria. The district is divided into high end areas (such as Maamourah) and mid-level areas (Abu Qir and Mandara Bahari), however, it also contains non-uniform areas that lack basic services such as utilities and schools that can serve the number of residents.

The age bracket 18-20 accounts for approximately 6% of the voters' bloc, while the age bracket 21-30 years represents up to 28% of the total electorate. The age bracket 31-40 years represents up to 23% of the total electorate, the age bracket 41-50 years represents up 16%, followed by the age bracket 52-60 years which make up 14.5% of the voters. The age bracket above 60 years old represents the largest portion of the electorate at 12.5% of total voter base. Females make up around 50% of the total electorate.



The Economic and Social Conditions of the District

Abu Qir, Montazah II Precinct, Toson Neighborhood: This sector extends from Street 45 to Abu Qir, and contains 9 police posts and a number of vital facilities and establishments including 9 power stations, 3 sewage treatment plants, 2 drinking water plants, 9 state hospitals and health centers, general directorates affiliated with various ministries, 257 schools covering all educational stages, in addition to 16 Azhari institutes, two faculties affiliated with the Alexandria University (The Faculty of Tourism - The Faculty of Physical Education for Boys), in addition to the branches of the Arab Academy for Science, Technology and Maritime Transport (Abu Qir - Miami), the International Youth Center of Abu Qir, the Religious Institute in Asafrah and the Azhar University branch in Mandarah.

It also contains a large industrial stronghold that includes the Abu Qir Fertilizer Plant, the National Paper Company, the oil refineries of Abu Qir, the Qaha and Edfina Plants for Food Processing, and the Linen Company.

Montazah II District is considered one of the most important industrial centers in the governorate as it houses the Abu Qir Fertilizer Plant and the Abu Qir oil refineries. As far as education in Alexandria is concerned, Montazah I and II districts are marked for their high illiteracy rates.

In terms of electricity, Montazah district records the highest power usage across Alexandria governorate, despite the fact that there are regions that do not have street lights and lack sanitation facilities. In addition to the major crisis in infrastructure that Alexandria suffers as facilities disintegrate under the constant floods, where many areas witnessed buildings collapsing to bury their inhabitants, among other crises which have befallen both the governorate and the district such, including the usufruct rights crisis over the beaches of Abu Qir, and the problems of fishermen and farmers in Montazah II district.

Low income households in Montazah district represent 4.7%, while high income households represent 46.2% of the total household count in the district, with high income households concentrated in Maamourah.

The per capita share of basic services in the Montazah district has dropped to reach 0.32, 0.14 and 0.11 compared to the per capita share in Alexandria which is 0.53, 0.22 and 0.27 of the educational, healthcare and recreational services, respectively.

Abu Qir is considered the largest area in Montazah II District and includes Abu Qir El Sharkeya and Abu Qir El Gharbeya, and is home to a large number of citizens and voters, as well as a number of factories including the Abu Qir Fertilizers plant.

Water Quality in Abu Qir Bay

1. Industrial Waste. Industrial activity, sewers and canals are considered the main sources of water pollution in the Abu Qir Bay, where liquid industrial waste is discharged in the bay, either directly or through the main sewers, without treatment. This problem is centered in three areas



including El Tabya in Abu Qir. Industrial plants that discharge waste in the main sewers of the Abu Qir Bay include the Abu Qir Fertilizers Plant.

2. **Agricultural Waste.** Agricultural waste, with all its contaminants, is carried from the agricultural drains in Kafr El-Dawar, Abu Qir, El Tarh and El Tabya to El Ammeya drain, which leads to Abu Qir Bay through the pump station of Tabya.

3. **Sanitation.** Sewage water produced by slum dwellings in Abu Qir is discharged indirectly in the Abu Qir Bay through the drains, due to the lack of a sewage system in the area. The disposal of such industrial, agricultural and sewage waste in Abu Qir Bay water without treatment has led to polluting the bay banks, starting from El Bahr El Mayet to Lake Idku. Industrial plants in Abu Qir Bay area (Abu Qir Fertilizers and Chemicals, Qaha for Preserved Foods) discharge their waste in the Abu Qir Bay water either directly or through the drain of Tabya.

The biggest problem in the district however lies in the disproportionate access to services and industries in line with population growth in the district. This poses serious problems in providing enough jobs. In addition to the problems faced by fishermen, who do not have social or health insurance, the problem caused by the beaches shutting down for one or two months, lack of pension for elderly fishermen, the presence of the Abu Qir Port as a shipping wharf where the ships obstruct fishing activity, and finally the need for providing jobs and pensions for female breadwinners in the district.

The District from a Gender Perspective

Montazah II District is one of the largest electoral districts in Alexandria. It is a recently established district, but one that contains a large electorate. The district is equally rural, urban and coastal, and suffers from extreme poverty. The distribution of voters in this district, in comparison to previous cases, has facilitated the candidate's work within the district, owing to the candidate being a trade unionist and a researcher in the Real Estate Taxation Authority, and comes from a family of fishermen, which made her well-acquainted with their problems, and was able to interact with the largest segments in the district; workers and fishermen.

The Political, Social and Professional Background of the Candidate

This is Rasha El Gebaly's first experience running in the district of Montazah II. Previously, E Gebaly was a member of the "Bread and Freedom" Party- Under Establishment- and upon the Party's boycott of the 2015 Elections of the House of Representatives due to the party's demand investigating the killing of activist Shaimaa El Sabbagh, and changing the elections-based legislative system, El Gebaly decided to freeze her membership in the party out of her desire to nominate herself for parliamentary elections.

Rasha El Gebaly works as a linking researcher in the Real Estate Taxation Authority in Alexandria. She has a track record of work in trade unions, which encouraged her to participate in the 2015 Elections of the House of Representatives, and has participated in establishing an independent



union for Real Estate Taxation employees. El Gebaly is one the leading labor figures in Alexandria, as she is a member of the Coalition of Permanent Congress of Workers in Alexandria, in the latest elections of which she has won the position of Treasurer. She also comes highly recommended by all members of the Coalition for her honesty and dedication to labor causes, particularly in cases of arbitrary dismissal. El Gebaly is also a member in the Campaign for Justice and Equal Pay, and a member in the Campaign "Partners in the Struggle, Partners in Decisions" for empowering women to participate in decision making.

Problems Faced by the Candidate in Running for this District:

At the time of nominating herself in the 2015 elections of the House of Representatives, Candidate Rasha El Gebaly appeared as a traditional lady in her late thirties, which might give the impression that she would be unable to break the barriers of traditional stereotypes and run for Parliament in a community such as that of Montazah II District. El Gebaly was one of three women candidates running for the elections in this district out of a total of 40 candidates.

She managed to win 4,802 votes within the district and 36 votes from voters abroad, ranking 19th among the 40 candidates running in this district, and first among women candidates. She managed to obtain the votes through her connections with labor leaders in various areas, door-to-door campaigns in Abu Qir, the fish market and the local market, in addition to being hosted in a popular coffee shop in Abu Qir. Building on that, she was able to cover the region of Abu Qir, her place of birth, and where she has family acquaintances and work colleagues living in the area.

Some of the most important rivals who made it to the Run-offs in Montazah II district include:

- Hussein Hassan Khater, an independent candidate and a member of the Governorate Council, he also owns a contracting company.
- Mohamed Ashraf Mahmoud El Sayed Sardina, owns three private schools and private buses, and is a member of Al Reyadah [Pioneering] Party.
- Ehab Mohammed Mahmoud Abdel Gawad Abu Keleila (has relatives in the Governorate Council and in the local council who control youth centers in Mandara, Asafrah and Montazah)
- Sameh Abdel Moneim Ibrahim (known as Sameh El-Sayeh), a member of the Congress Party, and works on a project for literacy classes.
- Mohamed Abo Farrag Atta Selim, independent youth, son of Atta Selim, a former member of Parliament.
- Ramadan Mohammed Said, independent, works as an engineer.

In the Run-offs, the three candidates who have the backing of powerful families, political money and tribal connections won the seats for the Montazah II District. They are: Hussein Hassan Khater, Sameh Abdel Moneim Ibrahim (known as Sameh El-Sayeh), and Mohamed Abu Farrag Atta Mohamed Selim.



3- Cairo Governorate: Candidate Salwa Alaa, The Egyptian Social Democratic Party, Thirteenth District, Boulaq, Individual Seat

Party: The Egyptian Social Democratic Party.

Electoral Symbol: Train Candidate Number: 16

Candidacy: Individual Seat

Thirteenth District (Boulaq, Zamalek, Kasr El-Nile and Azbakeya).

Place of Birth: Boulaq

Electoral Phase: Second

Number of Seat: One Seat

Period of Work with the Candidate: August 2014 until end of November 2015

Geographic and Demographic Characteristics of the District

Number of Registered Voters: 156,644 Turnout: 42,088 at 26% Total Valid Votes: 38,997 at 92.66% Total Invalid Votes: 3,091 at 7.34%

This electoral district consists of four regions: Boulaq, Azbakeya, Zamalek and Kasr El-Nil. Boulaq is located in the center of Cairo, and was separated from the Western District by virtue of Decision no.1858/2002 establishing the district of Boulaq Abul Ela. This electoral district consists of 19 Chiefdoms: (Abul Ela, El Ahamdein, El Torgoman, El Galladin, El Gawaber, El Khoteiry, El Sabteya, El Sandabeesy, El Shiekh Ali, El Sheikh Farrag, El Adaweyah, El Eleimy (previously known as El Faransawy), El Kallaya, Houd El Zohour, Sinan Pasha, Souq El Asr, Eshash El Nahl and Sharkas). The district has an area of 14 feddans, with a population of 84,308 citizens; 42,985 out of which are males and 41,323 are females. The region of Ramlet Boulaq is located in this district, and is one of Egypt's most impoverished slum areas. The number of voters in the district is 84,151 citizens, with a disproportionate level of availability of health services and public facilities, and is also plagued with several buildings that are not safe for residence.

El Azbakeya District is the second largest in terms of the number of its Chiefdoms after Boulaq, where it contains 8 Chiefdoms as follows: (El Gayarah, El Rihani (previously known as Qantaret El Dekka), El Zahhar, El Faggala, El Qabila, El Kolaly, Orabi and Clot Bey). Azbakeya has a population of 31,955 citizens; 17,715 of which are males and 14,240 are females, and an electorate of 24,347 voters.

The Gharb El Qahera district which includes Qasr El Nil and Zamalek, where Qasr El Nil consists of four Chiefdoms (Ismailia, Garden City, Kasr El Doubara and Maarouf), and Zamalek which consists of four Chiefdoms ((Abou El Fedaa, El Gabalaya, Omar El Khayyam and Mohamed Mazhar). Gharb El Qahera district has a population of 32,190 citizens; 16,794 of which are males and 15,396 are females, and an electorate of 43,070 voters. Population of the District of Boulaq



is split at 77,494 males, representing 52%, and 70,959 females representing 48%. Voting blocs are divided between age brackets as follows:

The age bracket 18-20 years has 4%, while 19% fall in the 21-30 bracket, 20% fall in the 31-40 bracket, 18% fall in the 41-50 bracket, 18% in the 51-60 bracket, and finally, the largest ratio goes to the above 60 bracket with 21%. The ratio of females in the district is similar to the national average of 48%.

Looking at the components of the electoral district of Boulaq, disparity and non-uniformity is evident; as it contains the old neighborhood of Boulaq, one of Cairo's oldest. It also contains a number of Chiefdoms and areas that are classified by the Informal Settlements Development Fund as grade 2 unsafe areas such as Santo, where residents work as tradesmen, employees, landlords of shops and workshops and other real estate. In the same district, there is also Corniche area, which contains the Nile City Towers, Arcadia Mall and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

There are many disputes regarding the development of the Maspero-Ramlet Boulaq triangle, since the locals of Ramlet Boulaq and the inhabitants of the shanty town there are dependent on the aid provided by local associations such as Resala Charity Association and Boulaq Association, in addition to suffering from the lack of a sewage network in such areas, as opposed to, for instance, Gharb El Qahera district which contains Qasr El Nil and Zamalek. Gharb El Qahera district is characterized by its urbanity, being one of Cairo's high end areas, with a concentration of foreign embassies, making it one of Cairo's richer neighborhoods.

Economic, Political and Social Conditions of the District of Boulaq

The District of Boulaq is one Cairo's oldest. It was founded by El Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun. Several changes were made to Boulaq during the reign of Mohammed Ali and the area contained several industries and crafts, including factories for glass and bricks, cotton ginning plants and metal workshops. However, the conditions of the district deteriorated after the construction of Arcadia Mall and the Nile City Towers in the 1990s, and after a number of factories and workshops were bought and privatized, which in turn exacerbated the problem of unemployment, and resulted in the deterioration of economic conditions in several Chiefdoms, lack of public facilities, and deterioration of health services provided in Boulaq General Hospital, and lack of health services, medicines and intensive care units.

In addition to the major problem posed by the dispute between the government and locals regarding the ownership of lands in areas such as Ramlet Boulaq, Eshash (shanty town) El Kafrawy, and the Maspero triangle. The district of Boulaq suffers from the deterioration of public services such as clean water, electricity and sanitation, among others, and many Chiefdoms in this district are classified as hazardous slums of the second degree.

Zamalek, on the other hand, is considered one of Cairo's most prestigious and quite neighborhoods, making it the residence of preference for the city's elite. The district houses several sports



clubs, cultural centers, Egyptian and international associations as well as a number of embassies. One of the main problems facing Zamalek is the residents' protests against opening a metro station there, which to them will deprive the neighborhood of its prestigious aura, particularly with the arrival of street vendors and other non-urban manifestations, in addition to the problem of constant high traffic congestion in the district. Such problems reflect the disparity between Zamalek and Boulaq with its major societal problems. The candidate reached out to the families in Garden City and tried to meet with the Nubians through their association.

Qasr El Nil District: Qasr El Nil is one of Cairo's old districts, and is home to several tourist attractions and historical landmarks such as Tahrir Complex, the Egyptian Museum, the House of Representatives, and the Cabinet, among other important institutions. It also houses a number of antique buildings that date back to the nineteenth century, and which are in need for renovation, similar to many other buildings in the district. Qasr El Nil lacks hospitals and health centers, in addition to suffering the chaos caused by street vendors in most dynamic areas. The district also has no parking lots.

Azbakeya: Azbakeya is a district famous for its paper and ceramic traders, and the presence of many workshops for various trades, as well as old buildings. It is also characterized by its increasingly narrow streets as a result of the large number of shops, in addition to some shops displaying their wares outside the shop. Azbakeya suffers from many problems, the most important of which are cleanliness and widespread garbage piles. The district produces more than a thousand tons of waste every day, with 80% produced by houses and the remaining 20% by shops and industrial establishments. The district also suffers from continuous power outages caused by street vendors operating illegal connections to the public power lines openly and with impunity. Additionally, street lights are not cared for, causing residents to feel fear and uncertainty while moving around.

There is still an ongoing crisis between street vendors and governorate authorities over the latter failing to provide enough places for the vendors stands, particularly in Torgoman Market and the Ahmed Helmy Market. Despite the problem of street vendors, and other problems caused by owners of workshops, stores and the many other industries that abound there, they are not, however, included in the district's population count. Candidate Salwa Alaa was not able to hold a public conference in Azbakeya due to difficulties in securing access to the area, and the difficulty of dealing with vendors and property owners. As a result, she could only resort to door-to-door campaigning and distributing promotional material.

To conclude, Boulaq is considered a non-uniform district insofar as it contains very upscale neighborhoods and very impoverished ones, and slums that vary in terms of safety and security. The presence of the largest neighborhood in the district, Boulaq, with its multiple Chiefdoms, population and voting blocs, contributed to the rise of political money, and the ability of the richer and more generous candidates to secure the seats. The winning candidate was Mohammed El Masoud, the El Masreyeen El Ahrar [The Free Egyptians] Party candidate.



Candidate Salwa Alaa devoted considerable effort in Boulaq, the biggest neighborhood in her district, where she held four public conferences in Sabteya, the Maspero Triangle, El Gawaber, El Galladeen, El-Ansari and the Boulaq coffee shop) in which she discussed the main problems in the district such as poor infrastructure and the poor services provided in the fields of education and health and others. In addition to the poor health services provided in Boulaq General Hospital, the deterioration in treatment services and medical equipment, and insufficient number of physicians. Despite her affiliation to the Egyptian Social Democratic Party, and being a former member of the party's High Board, in addition to holding the position of Greater Cairo Secretary in the Youth Association, she only received 663 votes. This was due first of all to the fact that voters mostly refrained from participating in the 2015 elections for the House of Parliament, in addition to the interference of other factors such as electoral bribes and political money.

The District from a Gender Perspective

Boulaq, District Thirteen, is a relatively small district when compared to other electoral districts. It is a non-uniform district insofar as it contains slums and high end areas in the same division. It is also a district that is reliant on services provided by civil associations, as the role of local government in providing such services is weak, which resulted in the rise of political money leading to the success of the candidate who heads a civil association there. This great disparity between the upper middle class and the poor class served as a double-edged weapon. Additionally, in the 2015 elections for the House of Representatives, a new factor was added to the equation, with the implementation of the single seat system, which does not help women to win or reach the Run-offs.

The Political, Social and Professional Background of the Candidate

Dr. Salwa Alaa is a partisan politician who held several positions in the Egyptian Social Democratic Party, and was a member of the High Board of the Party. She currently holds the position of Greater Cairo Secretary in the Youth Association.

Salwa Alaa started her political work as a member of the Egyptian Social Democratic Party in the Red Sea Governorate in 2011 as Secretary of the Committee on Rights and Freedoms. Afterwards, she became Acting Secretary of Education in the Party, and a member of the Central Cairo Secretariat. She held several administrative positions such as Assistant Secretary of the Professionals Secretariat, Assistant to the Organizational Secretariat, and finally Acting Secretary for Localities in the Central Cairo Secretariat, a member of the Central Education Secretariat and the Central Women's Secretariat. Alaa is concerned with achieving social justice and equality among all citizens.

She works as a physiotherapist in the Boulaq General Hospital, a position that enables her to communicate with the residents of Boulaq more than others. She also worked as Assistant Secretary for Professionals in the Party and participated in mobilizing for the elections of the Medical Syndicate and communicating with physicians in Central Cairo. She was in charge of the Boulaq General



Hospital development file in the Egyptian Social Democratic Party. Additionally, she was a member in the initiative "Together We Change Our Society" which aimed to qualify 100 young Muslim and Christian men and women to be political and social cadres, and she is also a human development coach and a writer of short stories.

Problems Faced by the Candidate in Running for this District

Salwa Alaa is young woman who has taken interest in political work. She is in her twenties, yet despite her young age, she managed to break through societal stereotypes by getting into politics and partisan work, and standing for the elections of the House of Representatives. Despite these barriers, she was able to have a presence in Boulaq through door-to-door campaigning and holding public conferences, yet she could not do that in Zamalek, where she only distributed promotional material. Additionally, engagement with the electorate in Azbakeya and Kasr El-Nil was very weak. Yet, the candidate did not receive any votes from Boulaq, and garnered most votes from Azbakeya, Kasr El-Nil and Zamalek.

Competing Candidates Who Succeeded and Stood for Run-offs in the Boulaq District

Candidate Mohamed Ahmed Masoud Afifi of the Free Egyptians Party managed to garner 12,909 votes, representing 33.10% of the total electorate. Afifi is businessman who owns several industrial and tourism related projects, including a company for manufacturing and exporting cars, and a tourist resort in Sharm El Sheikh "Hollywood Sharm El Sheikh", in addition to owning the Masoud Charitable Association, known to the residents of Ramlet Boulaq and Maspero for being a constant provider of services and aid in the district.

The second candidate to win is Mohammed Mostafa Hussein Hamouda, independent, who garnered 10,571 votes representing 27.11% of the total electorate. Hamouda is the attorney of Ahmed Ezz, the General Secretary of the dissolved National Democratic Party (NDP), who has been accused in several lawsuits for crimes that include corruption of political life during the reign of ousted President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak. Hamouda also admitted in a television show that he supports the ousted President Mubarak. In the Run-offs, Hamouda managed to win the seat for Boulaq district, thanks to political money and the strong backing of his partisan affiliation, and to the humanitarian services he provides in the district.



4- Cairo Governorate: Candidate Zeinab Abdel Rahman, the Egyptian Social Democratic Party, Eighteenth District, Basateen, Individual Seat

Party: The Egyptian Social Democratic Party.

Candidacy: Individual Seat

Electoral Symbol: Train Candidate Number: 6

Electoral Phase: Second Phase

Elections Date: 22 and 23 November 2015

Period of Work with the Candidate: From September 2015 to November 2015

Governorate: Cairo

District: Eighteenth District, Basateen Precinct

Place of Birth: Basateen

Geographic and Demographic Characteristics of the District

The district of Basateen has a population of 458,468 citizens, 232,936 of which are males representing 51% of the total population, and 225,532 are females representing 49% of the population, exactly in line with the national average of male to female population distribution.

The number of registered voters in the district is 308,666 voters, and the elections had a turnout of 45,588 voters representing 14.77% of the electorate. Total valid votes were 39,587 representing 86.84%, while total invalid votes were 6,001 at 13.16%.

The district was given the name "Basateen" (Gardens) due to its history, where it was called during the Mameluke era "Basateen Al-Sultan" (Gardens of the Sultan), having been a large expanse of farmlands at the time. Later, the name was shortened to "Basateen". Basateen District is one of Cairo's oldest, with a rich history and fame. It contains monuments such as Om Sultan Well, which is a well built around 1000 years ago to provide Cairo with water. The well area is administratively part of Basateen Precinct North, going through Ein El Sira area.

Basateen district is famous for manufactories of building materials such as bricks, marble, granite and pharaonic bricks, to the extent that many historians point to the contributions of many of the ancient inhabitants of this region in the construction of the Pyramids. Basateen consists of many Chiefdoms and residential areas such as: El Basateen El Sharekya, El Basateen El Gharbeya, Ezbet Gebreel, Ezabet Nafea, Ezbet Desouk, El Wehda City, Fayda Kamel and Mansheya. Some of its most important landmarks are: Um Sultan Well, Basateen Industrial Zone, the Jewish cemetery, and the cemetery of Basateen.

The majority of families in Basateen work in agriculture, while some work in construction and in the quarries, carving stone blocks for construction from the mountains in surrounding areas such as Mokattam, Ein El Sira, Tora and Helwan, in addition to numerous families that work in the fields



of building and construction. The system of local governance in Basateen was previously a mayorship, where it had an appointed mayor. However, mayorship was abolished in Basateen in the late 1950s, and Basateen Police Post was established under Khalifa Precinct, then it moved to be under Maadi Precinct, and was finally established as Basateen Precinct. Some of the most famous families in Basateen Districts are:

Abu Ouf, El Sheikh, Ghaly, Abdel Raouf, Salama, El Zeiny, El Gazar, El Matary, Awad, Sharaf, Okby, Abu El Kheir, Tantawy, Moawad, Shabayek, El Saadani, Ayoub, Azzam, Zaalouk, Ghayyad, El Agarmah, Abdel Latif El Matarawy, El Hamaydah, Abdel Ghani, Abdel Wahed, Abo Galalah, El Gammal, El Ghannam, El Sabbagh, Fattouh, Mohamed Mahmoud Shaker, and the Arab families. Some of these families nominated members in the 2015 elections of the House of Representatives.

Basateen is divided into several neighborhoods, such as the Basateen Cemetery neighborhood which houses the cemeteries of some major families, marked by their grandeur and the gardens surrounding them. The most important among which are the family cemeteries of Abdel Raouf, Tantawy, El Saadani, Azzam, and Agarmah. However, the impoverished locals of Basateen actually live in these cemeteries, due to the high cost of housing and the static nature of their incomes. According to the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), the cemeteries of Cairo are home to one and half million people. This problem came to the forefront in 1977, when the Cairo Governor at the time tried to expel the inhabitants of cemeteries only to fail due to their large numbers. The inhabitants of cemeteries have no access to basic services such as electricity, safe housing, food, water and public facilities.

Shaq El Thoaban: This area is famous for the marble and granite industries, which has seen a major recession lately. Labor problems in these factories escalated, particularly after industrial exports of marble and granite have declined. The area contains scores of plants employing around three thousand workers, most of them are locals of Ezbet Khairallah, Ezbet El Tahawy and the Um Sultan Well area. Many of these plants shut have down after being flooded by sewage waters that damaged the equipment and machinery.

Basateen District is inhabited by the families that own the granite and marble workshops, and those who work for them. The district of Basateen is very densely populated, and the majority of its streets narrow and uneven, not to mention the sewage trenches are in the middle of the way to the mosque, garbage is strewn about everywhere, and houses are built randomly and too close, leaving no room for privacy.

The largest age bracket in the electorate is made up of voters who fall in the 21-30 years, representing 28% of the electorate. Coming second is the 31-40 age bracket, which represents 25% of the electorate, followed by the 41-50 age bracket, representing 16%, the 51-60 age bracket representing 13%, the above 60 bracket representing 11%, and finally the 18-20 bracket representing 7% of the electorate. Based on these ratios, it is clear that youth make up the largest portion of voters, at around 53% of the total electorate.



Economic, Political and Social Conditions of the District

Basateen is considered a slum area, according to the informal settlements map prepared by the Informal Settlements Development Fund of the Cabinet, including areas like Ezbet Khairallah Ein El Khayyala, which is owned by the State, and has an area of 7.8 feddans and has 407 residential units. Ezbet Khairallah Ein El-Khayalah "The Schools Complex", which is also owned by the State, covers an area of 1.3 feddans and has 42 residential units. Ezbet Khairallah Ein El Khayalah "Ring Road 1", also owned by the State, covers an area of 5.9 feddans and has 364 residential units. It is classified as a grade one unsafe and informal area.

All such slums suffer from fundamental problems such as lack of basic facilities and services, low standard of living, widespread poverty and illiteracy, and the prevalence of dangerous social behaviors.

The area of Shaq El Thoaban is one of the informal neighborhoods that cover around 1 thousand acres, approximately 4 million square meters. The area relies on the marble and granite industry, and has around 1,300 plants and workshops specialized in marble supplementary industries. The industries provide employment for around 25 thousand workers, in addition to an estimated 30 thousand temporary workers. The area is known for its unpaved roads, lack of public and health services and facilities, in addition to widespread respiratory diseases caused by the marble and granite industries.

Basateen suffers from a lack of universities, teaching hospitals, treatment facilities, and health insurance hospitals. The area has only one mobile clinic and one hospital for one-day surgeries, three health offices, one medical center, and one ambulance. The district contains 11 private hospitals. Hospitals in Basateen lack medical equipment, as there are no blood banks, laboratories or hemodialysis units available in the local facilities.

From the previous tally of the available services in Basateen, it is evident that it is disproportionate to the number of residents or voters. Basateen has 227 civil associations, a women's club and six workshops for women. The influence of powerful families and tribes becomes evident here in their control of the workshops and industrial plants in various areas of Basateen. Moreover, Basateen is considered the primary stronghold for the Muslim Brotherhood in the Eighteenth District of Cairo, where the Brotherhood controls most mosques in the area, in addition to the popularity of the Salafi Movement in the majority of mosques, which is an almost prevailing trend in the popular areas of Cairo and Giza. Additionally, most commercial shops, particularly the groceries and paint shops, are often owned by Muslim Brotherhood members, or at least, Muslim Brotherhood sympathizers. However, in the wake of the June 30th events, and the collapse of the Brotherhood's political influence, turnout ratio in this district declined to 14.77% across voting blocs.



The District from a Gender Perspective

The Eighteenth District of Cairo - the district of Basateen - is relatively large in terms of population and electorate size, and has two seats in the House of Representatives. The district is characterized by its haphazard planning, and the layout of the houses surrounding it. Large families and tribes control capital in the district, hence, electoral bribes and using the provision of services to support certain candidates vs. others is quite known there. This made the task of winning the seats or reaching Run-offs quite hard for a woman with a history in service work like Zeinab Abdel Rahman.

The Political, Social and Professional Background of the Candidate

Candidate Zeinab Abdel Rahman was a member of the political bureau of the Egyptian Social Democratic Party, and a former member of its Supreme Governing Body, the Secretary of the Southern Cairo bureau. She stood for parliamentary elections several times; the first time as a candidate in the 2010 Parliament elections on the women's quota seat in the former district Southern Cairo. Her second time was in the 2011 elections of the House of Representatives, as a candidate of the Egyptian Social Democratic Party. Her third time was in the 2015 elections of the House of Representatives for the same party.

In her meetings, the candidate adhered to the electoral program laid out by her Party, and the Party provided her with logistical support, where Dr. Mohammed Abu El Ghar attended several of her conferences to support her campaign, in addition to the presence of many other leading figures in the Party. However, the limited financial resources available for the Party resulted in limited financial support for the candidate's campaign. This was one of the factors that contributed to the weak performance of the candidate in that district.

The candidate's work as Chairman of the Board of Directors of El-Kheir lel Gheir (Goodness for Others) Association for Social Development helped her get acquainted with Basateen district through engagement with families with dependent children and other vulnerable groups. The candidate took part in a number of environmental initiatives such as the Initiative for Development of Arab El Maady Station, and worked to support female heads of households through contributing to small projects, literacy classes, educating women about their legal rights, through her work as a member of the High Committee for Eradicating Illiteracy in Basateen and Dar El Salam, and as her work as a member of the Environmental Committee of Basateen District.

Problems Faced by the Candidate in Running for this District

Candidate Zeinab Abdel Rahman is one the female candidates who have recently managed to break through traditional stereotypes. Despite being in her forties, she managed to establish a civil association, chair it and manage it. She was also able to hold top positions in the Egyptian Social Democratic Party. Moreover, she was able to carry out door to door campaigns in the district of Basateen, quite an informal district. The candidate garnered 3,583 votes including expats votes.



The Role of Tribalism and Wealthy Families in the District of Basateen

The district of Basateen is one that is dominated by wealthy families. This becomes quite obvious when looking at the results of the Run-offs in this district. Four candidates competed for the seats in this district, three of which belonged to wealthy families of Basateen, namely:

Candidate Ahmed Abdo Mostafa Ibrahim, known as Ahmed El Gazzar. He belongs to El Gazzar family, and owns a marble and granite plant in the district. He received the largest number of votes at 27% of the total.

Coming second in number of votes received was Candidate Said Hanafi El Sayed Mohamed Shabayek, known as Saeed Shabayek. He received both partisan and family support, which won him 25.4% of votes in the district.

The third candidate was Alaa Mohamed Hafez Ghali, an independent candidate who received 16.54% of total votes in the district. Finally, candidate Raafat Saadi Abdullah Abdel Wahed, of the Free Egyptians Party, won 15.25% of the votes. The district had 27 candidates, of which three were women, including candidate Zeinab Abdel Rahman. In the Run-offs, the winning candidates were Ahmed Abdo Mostafa Ibrahim, known as Ahmed El Gazzar, and Saeed Hanafi El-Sayed Mohamed Shabayek.

5- Port Said Governorate: Candidate Rania El Sadat, independent Third District, El Zohour, Individual Seat

Affiliation: Independent.

Candidacy: Individual Seat

Governorate: Port Said.

Electoral Symbol: Camera Candidate Number: 28

Election Date: 22 and 23 November Run-offs: 1 and 2 December 2015.

Period of Work with the Candidate: From October 2015 to December 2015.

Electoral District: Third District, El Zohour (El Zohour, El Manakh, El Manasrah).

Number of Seats: Two Seats.

Place of Birth: El Manakh

Geographic and Demographic Characteristics of the District

The district has 222,726 registered voters, and had a turnout ratio of 47,628 voters, representing 21.38% of the electorate. Total valid votes were 42,560 voters representing 89.36%, with 5,068 invalid votes representing 10.64%. In the Second Phase, the candidate was able to reach the Run-offs on an individual seat, and managed to win a parliament seat representing El Zohour District.



District Three, El Zohour, consists of the following three districts: El Manakh, El Zohour, and El Manasrah. The villages attached to the district of El Zohour are El Diba, El Manasrah and El Garabaah, west of Port Said).

El Manakh consists of four Chiefdoms, El Galaa, El Saraya, El Manakh and Adly. El Manakh is one of the oldest districts in Port Said, and most of its locals work in fishing. El Manakh was established in the 1800s at the time of the construction of the Suez Canal, and houses the majority of the middle and poor classes. The larger portion of the district's houses are state projects, in addition to some current and future urban expansion areas. The district has an estimated population of 61,346 citizens. Females in the age bracket 15 to 49 (childbearing age) account for 16,730 of the total, while the population in the age bracket 45 to 65 (working age) account for 20,873 citizens. Population in the age bracket 6-15 (primary education age) is 8,670 citizens. Services in the district are estimated as follows:

- 62 Hospitals
- 23 Emergency Centers
- 64 Sports Clubs and Youth Centers
- 19 subsidized Civic Associations.
- Tourism Related Statistics: - 3 Hotels
- Industry Statistics: - 256 Steel Plants - 156 Cement plants - 516 Home Appliance Plants - 170 Power Stations

El Zohour District: Population in El Zohour district is estimated to be 99,941 citizens, of which females in childbearing age (15-49) account for 279,315 citizens. Divorces have recorded 3,014 cases. The district has 12 hospitals, 23 emergency centers, 24 sports clubs and youth centers, and 6 subsidized civil associations.

El Manasrah- Gharb Port Said: The population of El Manasrah is estimated to be 242,651 citizens, of which 64,725 are females in childbearing age (15-49), with 86,401 divorce cases. Population in working age (45-65) are estimated to be 82,585 citizens. Service statistics show that El Manasrah has 24 emergency centers, 73 sports clubs and youth centers, 32 subsidized civil association, and one steel plant.

The age bracket 21-30 years old accounts for the largest portion of the total electorate, representing 26% of total voters. The age bracket 31-40 comes second, representing 22% of the electorate, followed by the 41-50 and the 51-60 age brackets, each representing 15% of the electorate. The age bracket 60 years and above comes next with 14% of the electorate, and finally comes 18-20 age bracket representing 8% of the electorate. This indicates that youth represent the largest portion of voter blocs, approximately 53% of the total. The Third District of El Zohour is marked for its high ratio of women among the electorate, where women represent 51% of registered voters.



The third district of El Zohour in Port Said is also not uniform in its composition, as it contains villages and ezab that suffer from extreme poverty and lack of services and public and health facilities, while it also contains other areas that enjoy access to all basic life needs and standard of living.

Economic, Political and Social Conditions of the District

Social and cultural life in Port Said is driven by a community which has distinct characteristics dictated by the city's environment and location; where trade and fishing are considered among the most important professional and economic activities in the governorate. Accordingly, the social setting is divided into traders, workers and employees in the various government bodies, which explains why the governorate gives special attention to the Commercial Chambers Elections. El Zohour district contains 12 hospitals, and 23 emergency centers, a number that is not enough considering the population size in this district.

One of the main problems in the third district of El Zohour is the high number of divorced women, in addition to the worsening problem of housing, particularly in the Amin Dwellings in El Manakh district, where locals' conditions are deteriorating, where they live in unsound buildings prone to collapse. The district also suffers from poor infrastructure in terms of public facilities and sewage networks. It also suffers the lack of any development strategy implemented by the governorate. Additionally, garbage piles in the streets of E Zohour and El Manakh are a problem that gives rise to the spread of diseases and epidemics.

One of the most significant landmarks of El Zohour District is El Zohour Stadium, where the Ultras massacre occurred as a result of the pitched battle between the football fans of El Ahly Club and El Masry Club which resulted in casualties on both sides. This situation is aggravated by the State's failure to give recognition to the victims and martyrs of the massacre, which is an open demand by the current members of the House of Representatives, including MP Rania El Sadat, calling for resolving the issue in the presence of both parties, and compensating the families of the victims and martyrs.

The economic conditions of Port Said traders have deteriorated after the duty-free zone in the city was abolished, amid demands of implementing Law No. 12/1977 On the Free Zone. Additionally, the governorate suffers from coastal erosion, a challenge facing coastal governorates that own beaches.

The presence of Political Islam, represented by The Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafi Movement in the neighborhoods of El Zohour, El Manakh and El Manasrah is not uniform. Salafi and members of El Nour Party are numerous in El Zohour and the Western villages, as well as in El Manakh. The Salafis have a number of mosques such as Riyad El-Saleheen, El Seddeeq and Malek El Molk in El-Zohour, as well as Al-Husseini in El Manakh.



The District from a Gender Perspective

District Three - El Zohour in Port Said has gained a distinct character after the new division of electoral districts. It is one of the largest electoral districts in the governorate, and contains poor and unplanned neighborhoods that are both urban and rural. Additionally, the district gained one more seat, to be represented in Parliament by a total of two, which helped the candidate stand in the Run-off round and win a seat.

Candidate Rania El Sadat has a rich experience in journalism, particularly in electronic press institutions. She has worked as an independent journalist and managing editor of Oyoun Port Said [Eyes of Port Said] Newspaper, as an editor of the website Port Said El Baselah [Port Said the Valiant] and the website Ard El Fedaa [Land of Sacrifice] and in the Information Network of Oyoun Port Said Association, and before that as a journalist in the electronic edition of Shorouk News.

Tribalism

Society, in most cases, frowns upon the presence of women in the public and political spheres, particularly in a mixed district such as El Zohour, where there is a variety of Islamic groups represented by the Salafis and the Muslim Brotherhood, remnants of the dissolved National Democratic Party (NDP), in addition to youths of the Revolution, and impoverished locals who live in slums and unsafe areas.

The candidate's father provided financial and administrative support in her constituency by managing her electoral campaign, and paying for promotional material and the delegates on election day. Friends of her father, El Sadat Abdel Rahman, in addition to her uncles who are traders in the used garment market in El Zohour also supported her, along with other relatives and close acquaintances of El Sadat family. Such support gave the candidate's campaign credibility and popular acceptance, and in turn, contributed to her winning.

Problems Faced by the Candidate in Running for this District

Candidate Rania El Sadat belongs to the youth category in the current House of Representatives, given that she is in her mid-thirties, and this is her first experience as a candidate in the 2015 elections of the House of Representatives. El Sadat conducted door-to-door campaigns in the markets and several areas in El Zohour, including Omar Ibn El-Khattab, Othman Ibn Affan, Khaled Ibn El Waleed, Ali Ibn Abi Talib, Amr Ibn El Aas, and Belal Ibn Rabbah; all of which are quite poor areas.

The candidate also organized a field trip in the villages of Gharb with the purpose of visiting the elder of El Manasrah and El Garabaah villages. Additionally, she held a large public conference in the fifth and sixth areas of El Manakh with the support of her father and trader uncles. She was able to engage with the district's locals in the socially and economically varied areas. El Sadat is one of those candidates who are not intimidated by dealing with people, as a result of her work as a journalist and her interest in what is called "citizen journalism".

Other Candidates who Ran in the Third District of El Zohour



The 2015 House of Representatives election was contested by 40 candidates in El Zohour, including two women candidates; Hanan Mohammed El Sayed Alfy, and Candidate Rania El Abdel Rahman El Sadat. It is worth noting that the two women candidates were independents, not affiliated with political parties.

The candidate who managed to reach the Run-offs were:

- Sherif Saleh Mohammed Abdo of the 'Masr Baladi' [Egypt is My Country] Party, who received 11.57% of votes in the first round,
- and Ahmed Mohamed Ahmed Farghaly, who received the largest portion of votes at 44.98%. He is a popular candidate due to his commercial activity and his stance against the shutdown of the free zone in Port Said, and who is also in the youth category of candidates.
- Candidate Ahmed Soliman Soliman, an independent candidate who received 11.6% of votes in the first round,
- and finally, candidate Rania El Sadat who received 11.45% of votes. In the Run-offs, candidates Ahmed Farghaly and Rania El Sadat won the two seats of the district, both are youth, independent candidates.

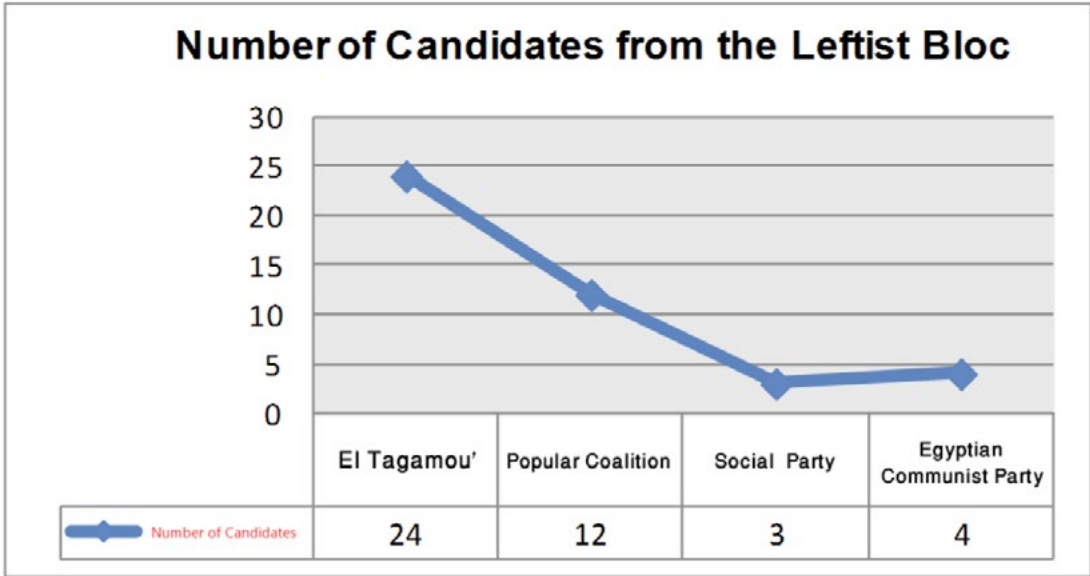


IV. Women in the Elections of the House of Representatives

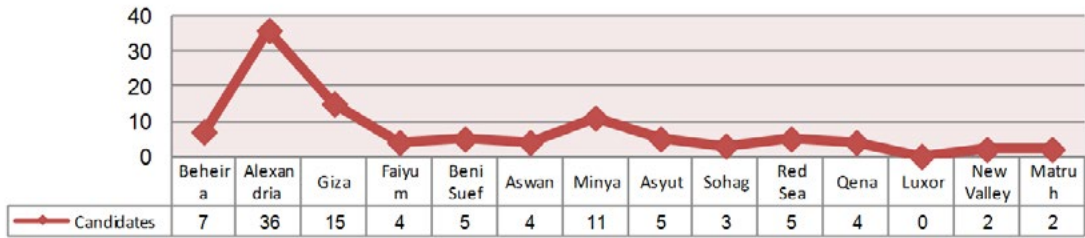
Despite the difficulties surrounding the electoral process, on the legal, political and security levels, there is a noticeable increase in the willingness of women to stand for elections of the House of Representatives, especially for individual seats. These elections saw the participation of a total of 448 women candidates, who ran for 54.6% of the individual seats, indicating a 9.2% difference in favor of women pursuing individual seats vs. list seats. **This was a clear challenge on part of women to the environment surrounding the electoral process.**

Political money has played a significant and decisive role in the results of the recent House of Representatives elections, so much so that it has become crucial in attracting candidates to certain political parties on the one hand, and in the formation of electoral lists and alliances on the other. This influence was reflected in the ability of many political parties and forces to participate in the elections of the house of Representatives. A problem which was a major factor in the withdrawal of the 'Sahwet Masr' [Egypt's Awakening] electoral list, which was unable to provide the financial resources necessary for re-nominate its list of candidates and complete the procedures. This withdrawal was a clear example of the restrictions placed on the public sphere surrounding the electoral process; as this was the only list with a potential of representing the Egyptian opposition forces post June 30.

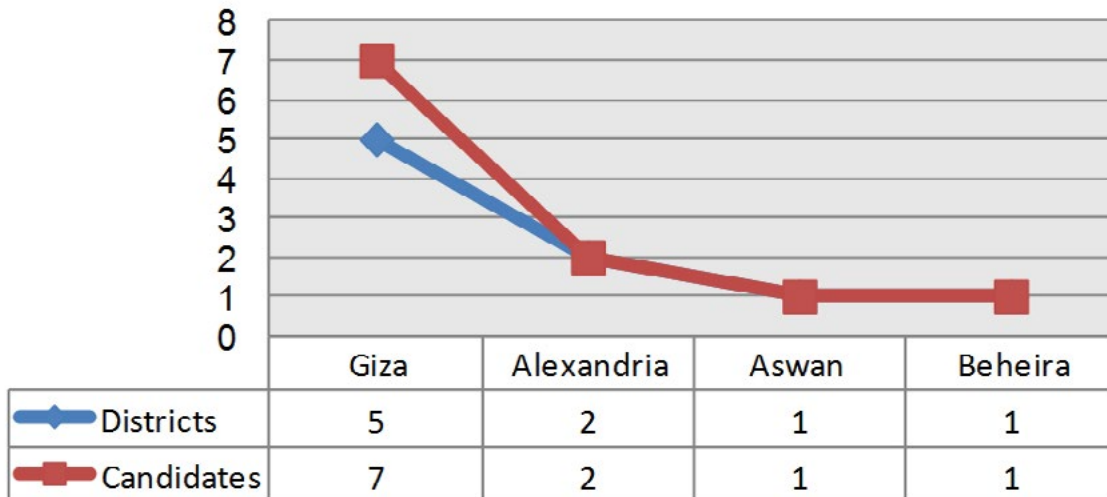
With the withdrawal of the Sahwet Masr List, the electoral process became an exclusive game for supporters of the current regime, particularly with regard to electoral lists, in other words, the electoral "race", so to speak, has become a competition between lists seeking the appeasement of the political regime, which was reflected in the entire electoral process. This was evident when the leftist bloc announced their boycott of electoral lists, with a few of them participating with 43 candidates running for individual seats, distributed as follows:



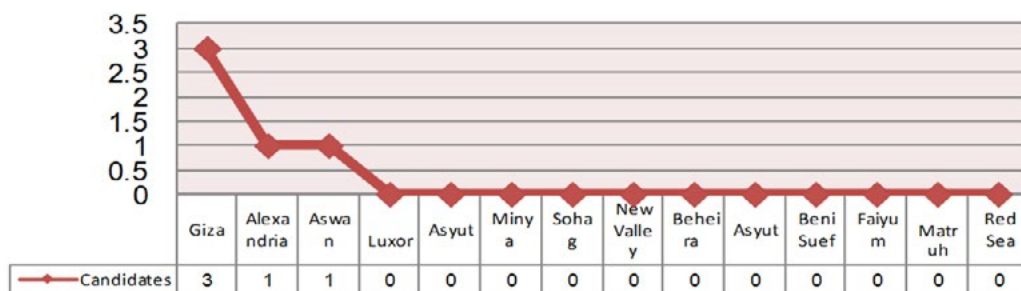
Distribution of Women Candidates in the First Phase Governorates



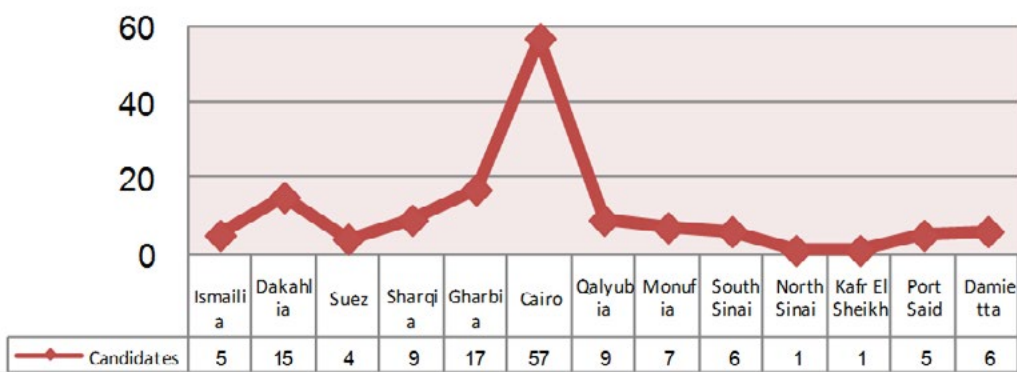
Number of Women Candidates in the Run-offs of the First Phase



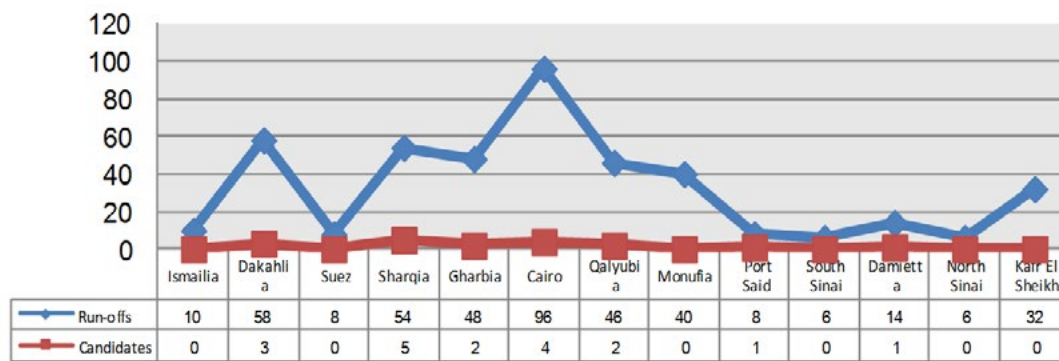
Final Results of Women Candidates in the First Phase



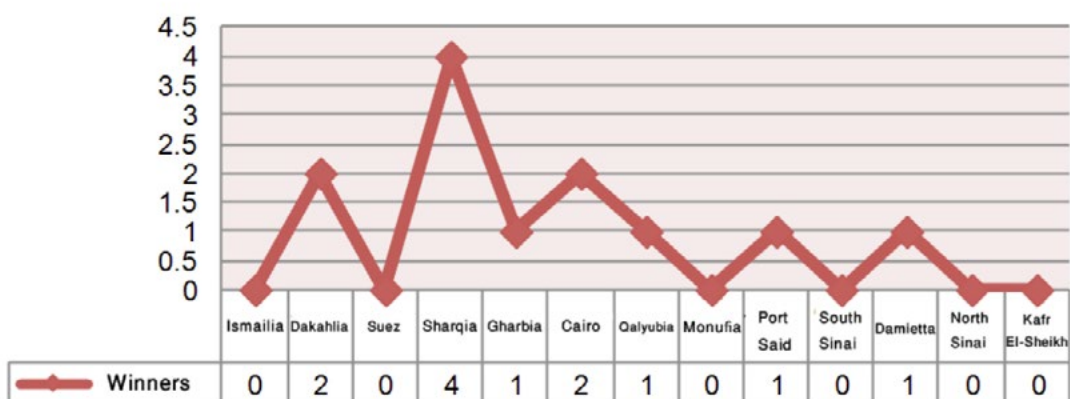
Number of Women Candidates in the Second Phase Governorates



Number of Women Candidates in the Run-offs of the Second Phase



Final Results for Women Candidates in the Second Phase



Analyzing above figures reveals the following:

The total number of women candidates running for individual seats was 142 out of a total 2,893 candidates running for the same seats, representing 4.9% of the total individual seat candidates. As such, total number of women candidates in the 2015 parliamentary elections was 448 candidates, which is the sum of the number of candidate women, both for individual seats and list seats in the first and second phases. Individual candidacy of women represented 54.6% of the total, indicating a 9.2% difference in favor of women pursuing individual seats vs. list seats. These figures reflect an interest in participation, and admirable courage on part of the women considering the difficulty of running for individual seats and the dominance political money exercises on most individual-seat districts.

One of the reasons that helped women run for individual seats was the small number of electoral lists, only three, two of which did not fully cover the four divisions of the Republic. This resulted in reducing the ratio of women running on electoral lists and prompted some of them to run for individual seats.

The Internal Structural of the House of Representatives

The Bureau of the House of Representatives consists of the House Speaker, Dr. Ali Abdel Aal, a member of the "Support Egypt" Coalition, and Deputy Speakers MP Mahmoud El Sherif from the "Support Egypt" Coalition, and MP Suleiman Wahdan of El Wafd Party.

The House of Representatives consists of 596 members, 89 of which are women, and 57 are between 25 and 35 years of age. Members are distributed, pursuant to the old Statute, on 19 thematic committees. The first is the Defense and National Security Committee, with 58 members, representing 9.73% of the total number. While the Religious Affairs and Endowments Committee comes last with 10 members, representing 1.67%.

As for partisan representation within the House, The Free Egyptians Party comes first among 19 parties with 65 members representing 10.9% of the total, followed by Mostakbal Watan [the Homeland Future] Party with 52 members, then El Wafd Party with 34 members, and finally Homat El Watan [Homeland Defenders] Party with 18 members. All four parties have a total of 169 MPs, with a ratio of 70% of the total number of partisan members. The following analysis prepared by the Parliamentary Elections Observatory addresses the internal structure of Parliament, shedding light on the professions of the MPs and how such professions reflect on their performance, as illustrated by the figure below:



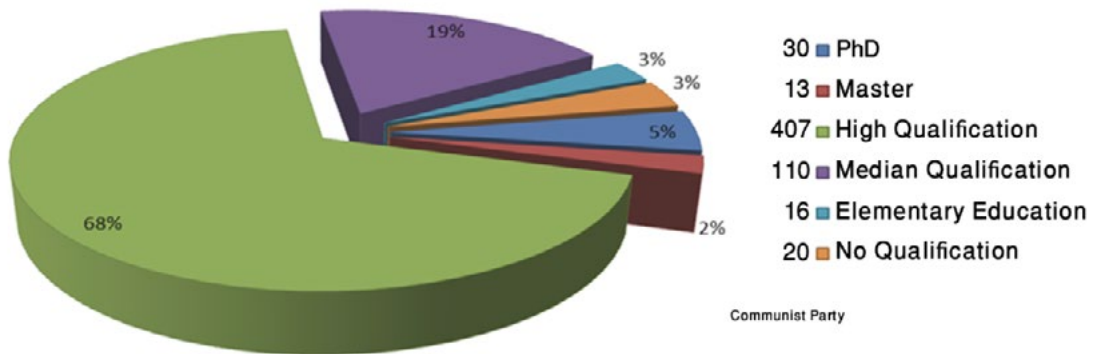


Figure (6): Distribution of MPs by Educational Degree

From the previous figure, it might seem that the diversity of educational degrees of MPs could create sufficient space to overcome any conflicts that might arise between MPs, and might even enrich the internal dialogues that may be held between the various represented political forces. This variety of qualifications will also help to quickly bring the MPs to order in the Parliament hall, in addition to speeding up their comprehension of the new regulations. This was obvious during the Parliament discussions of the decisions regarding laws which have been passed before its convention.

From the above figure, it is clear that the largest portion of the 2016 Parliament members have attained higher educational degrees, with around 407 members representing 68.28% of the total. Around 48 members, representing 8.05% of the total, hold doctoral degrees, the number of members who only hold primary educational degrees went down to 16 members, while 20 members have no educational degrees.

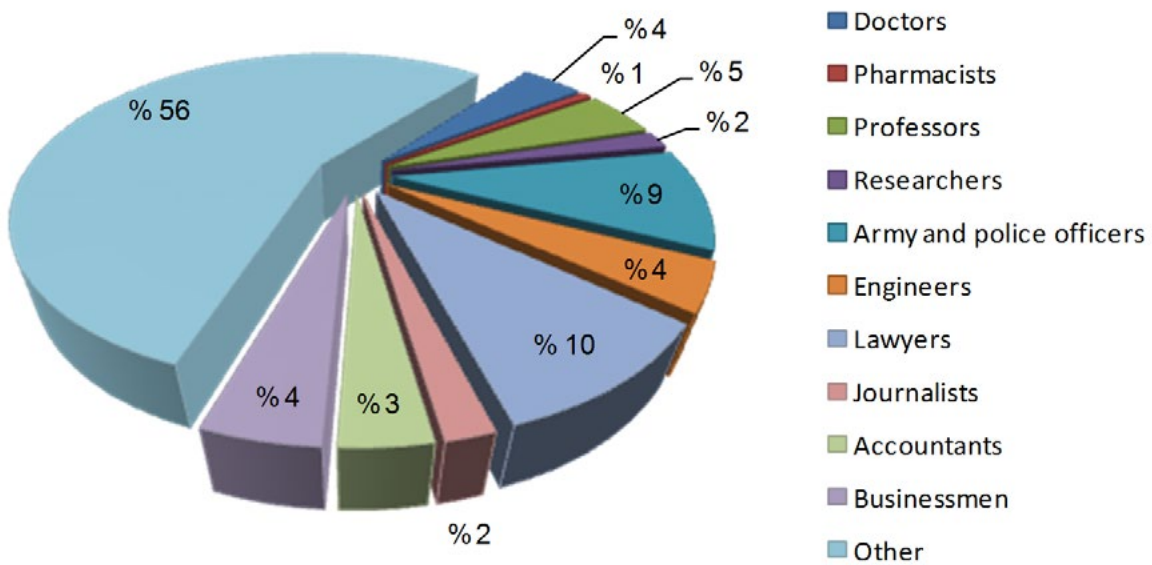


Figure (6): Distribution of MPs by Profession



The above figure shows the diversity in the professions of the 2016 Parliament members, including physicians, engineers, university professors, journalists, police officers, accountants, and researchers in various fields, in addition to the various professions which have always had a regular presence in Parliament such as farmers, drivers and entrepreneurs. Lawyers come first among organized professions that have their own syndicates and clubs, with 9.65% of total members, thus enriching the Legislative and Constitutional Affairs Committee in Parliament. Coming second are army and police officers making up 9.3% of total members, which could explain why the Defense and National Security Committee ranks first among thematic committees in parliament in terms of the number of members.

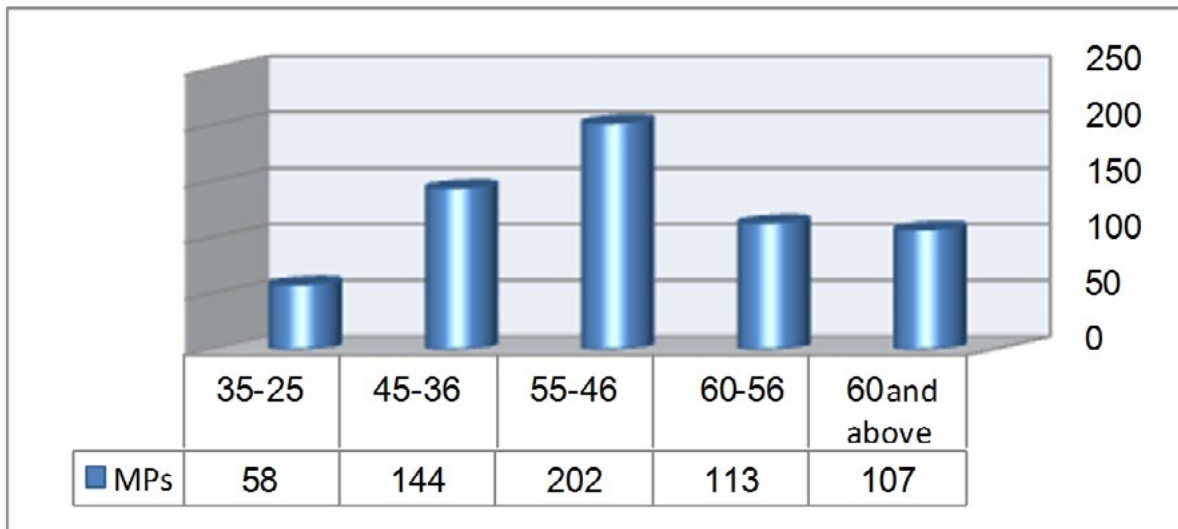


Figure (9) Distribution of MPs by Age

The above figure shows that the 46-55 age bracket is the most represented in the House of Representatives, with 199 members, representing 33.38% of the total. Coming second is the 36-45 age bracket representing 22.65% of total elected and appointed members. This was reflected in the Parliament's performance since its convention, where members falling within that age bracket made more demands for solutions to the problems of their districts through directly visiting officials' offices to present their problems. The next age group, 56-60 years, comes third with 106 members representing 17.78%, and coming last is the youth category falling within the 25-35 age bracket with 9.56% of the members.

It appears from the categories in which successful members fall, in terms of professions and educational degrees, that this House is one with a majority of holders of college degrees.

In addition to the small number of members affiliated with Political Islam, indicating a clear majority for secular forces in the House, as shown in the figure. Could this be reflected in the essence of the House in terms of nominating women to the thematic committees of the House, in addition to devoting attention to the various women's issues and enacting legislation which helps reformulate the legislative structure which restricts women in Egypt? This remains to be seen in the next term of the House, although we remain skeptical.



V. Recommendations Based on Analyzing the Results of the Elections from a Feminist Perspective

Based on a Feminist analytical reading of the results of the elections of the House of Representatives, Nazra for Feminist Studies sees that it is necessary to propose a feminist agenda to the House, which was convened earlier this year, and which is now in the process of adopting its Statute in order to determine its committees, their formation and their areas of competence.

However, indicators for women members are not promising, particularly after [the State Council refused to recognize the principle of affirmative action with regard to women MPs in the committees of the House](#), there also seems to be [an inclination on part of MPs to abolish Article 6 of the regulations](#) which recognize this principle. As a result, women MPs declared their opposition to such transgression, and we hope that they fight in this battle until the end so that women are included in the committees and not isolated from certain issues such as the State budget or national security, among other issues where male MPs may deem the inclusion of women MPs unnecessary, just as they deemed it unnecessary for a woman to be part of the Bureau of the House, which consists of the House Speaker and his two Deputies.

Nazra for Feminist Studies, therefore, proposes a number of recommendations regarding the House agenda, hoping that women MPs adopt these recommendations in order to allow feminist and women groups and organizations concerned with policies and legislation to work with women MPs on the recommendations which we propose before all members of parliament concerned with women's issues, their political empowerment and improving their status in Egyptian society. We are also presenting these recommendations for the competent national body on women's issues in Egypt; "The National Council for Women."

The recommendations include the following points:

- Reviewing the Elections Laws by the current House of Representatives:

These laws include the Law on the Exercise of Political Rights, the Law on the House of Representatives and the Law of Electoral Districting, where [the undemocratic electoral system adopted](#) in the 2015 elections must be revised, in addition to reviewing the regulations regarding campaign spending provided for in the Law of the Exercise of Political Rights.

As for electoral districting, the law in this regard must be reviewed in accordance with [international standards](#) applied in countries more democratic and advanced in this respect. Fair representation of the population and equal opportunities between competing lists must also be taken into account in the process of electoral districting, with lists being proportional and not absolute for more politically pluralistic elections.



- [Public and Private Rights and Freedoms Agenda:](#)

Some feminist and women organizations and democratic parties have already presented a set of demands that should be top priority items in the legislative agenda, particularly with regard to public rights and freedoms affecting all citizens in general, and whose violation also affects all citizens, with some gender-specific differences when it comes to women who are subjected to violations that are often gender-based, which can be evident in sexual violence committed against women in the public sphere.

Issues regarding the private sphere which are clearly affecting women must also be tackled, such as domestic violence and personal affairs and other similar issues in the private sphere.

- The necessity of having a thematic committee for women in the House:

Despite the fact that the Statute does not provide for such a committee, it is necessary that women MPs demand it in the future through requesting a revision of the Statute so that it provides for this committee. It is essential to have an official committee working on women's gender issues in particular. This committee must include all concerned parties, both male and female MPs, without isolating women within it.

- The importance of a non-official women bloc within the House:

This bloc will provide women MPs with the space necessary to discuss their knowledge and skill requirements, and to prioritize the issues which they raise in the House of Representatives. It will also enable them to develop their legislative performance through working together with the national mechanism for women's rights and civil society associations concerned with women's issues.

The necessity of implementing a mechanism for affirmative action in the committees:

Towards this end, the Department of Fatwa and Legislation of the State Council must refrain from the systematic discrimination against women it always practices, and approve Article 6 of the Statute of the current House of Representatives, and to comply with the constitutional obligation provided for in Article 11 of the Constitution which recognizes equality for women in all public and leadership positions.



Annexes:

Annex 1. Approved International and Egyptian Organizations in Observing the 2015 House of Representatives Elections

Approved International Organizations

S.N.	Organization Name	Number of Requested vs. Approved Observers	Number of Requested vs. Approved Interpreters
1	International IDEA	200	60
2	The Global Network for Rights and Development	300	50
3	The International Institute for Peace, Justice and Human Rights	100	25
4	The Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa	90	30
5	The Ecumenical Alliance for Human Rights and Development	100	15

Approved Egyptian Organizations:

S.N.	Organization Name	Number of Requested vs. Approved Observers
1	The Arab Center for Democracy and Human Rights Studies	2000
2	The Egyptian Association for Supporting Democratic Development	1500
3	The Association for Supporting Veterans and their Families	36
4	The Egyptian Alliance for Human Rights	600
5	The Justice Foundation for Human Rights	50
6	Maat for Peace, Development and Human Rights	7,000
7	The Egyptian National Association for Human Rights	1,000
8	The Freedoms and Immunities Center for Human Rights and Community Development	500
9	The One World Foundation for Development and Civil Society Care	2,850
10	The Workers of Egypt for Development and Human Rights	300
11	The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights	3,050
12	The Youth of Egypt Association	5,000
13	The Egyptian Association for Development and Defense of Human Rights and the Environment	500
14	The I'tissam Association	1,500
15	The Association for the Development of the Rights of the Egyptian Citizen	5,500
16	The Community Development Association	10
17	The Farsis Charity Association for Community Development	1,200
18	The Freedom Center for Human Rights and Community Services	300
19	The Egyptian Association for Supporting Human Rights	750
20	The Arab International Council for Human Rights	200



21	The Egyptian Association for Comprehensive Awareness and Development	500
22	The National Center for Human Rights	100
23	Horreyaty [My Freedom] Association	50
24	The Egyptian Association for Human Rights	1,500
25	The Egyptian Amnesty Association for Development and Human Rights	750
26	The Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement	600
27	El Sadat Association for Development and Social Care	500
28	El Montazah Association for Cultural Development	1,000
29	The People and Police for Egypt Association	100
30	The Egyptian Women Assembly for Development	6,000
31	The Foundation of the National Initiative for Positive Interaction	15,000
32	The Global Legal Association for Human Rights	400
33	The National Association for Human Rights	120
34	The National Association for Defending Rights and Freedoms	1,000
35	Maakom [With You] Association for Development	2,000
36	The Association for Development of Rural Egypt	50
37	The Egypt First Association for Human Rights and Development	440
38	The Social Justice Association for Development and Human Rights	1,000
39	The Middle East Association for Peace and Human Rights	500
40	The Bright Future Association for Development	300
41	The International Society for Human Rights and Combatting Corruption	1,000
42	The National-International Organization for Human Rights	150
43	The Samia Khattab Foundation for Charity and Human Development	1,000
44	Yalla Nesharek [Let Us Participate] Association for Community Development	2,500
45	Oyoun El Mostakbal [Eyes of the Future] Association for Culture and Development	300
46	The Forum for Development and Human Rights Dialogue	1,000
47	The Generation of Justice Association	2,000
48	The General Federation of NGOs and Civil Associations	320
49	The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights and Development	100
50	The Egyptian International Organization for Human Rights and Development	2,700
51	El Watan Lel Gameea [Homeland for All] Association	4,000
52	El Ayady El Mohebba [Loving Hands] For Childhood, Motherhood and Human Rights	1
53	The Against Discrimination Foundation	350
54	The Unity Association for Human Rights	2,000
55	Al-Sahwa [Awakening] Association for Human Rights and Community Development	350
56	Hawl El Alam [Around the World] Foundation for Development	400
57	The Egyptian International Council for Human Right and Development	800
58	The Human Rights and Consumer Protection Association	250
59	The Egyptian Association for Popular Monitoring and Human Rights	5,000
60	The Women and Children Rights Association for Community Development in Assuit	1,000
61	Oyoun Foundation for Studies and Development of Human Rights and Democracy	1,550
62	The Human Rights Association for Community Development in Assiut	1,550
63	Edraak [Awareness] Foundation for Development	20



Annex 2. Timetable of the 2015 Elections of the House of Representatives

Date	Duration	Procedures
Common Procedures		
312015/8/		Publishing the Call to Voters for the Elections and Announcing the Agenda
12015/9/ 122015/9/	12 days	Submission and Examination of Candidacy Applications
132015/9/ 152015/9/	3 days	Announcing Candidate Lists and Appeals
172015/9/ 212015/9/	5 days	Decision on Appeals
First Stage		
282015/9/	1 day	Announcing the Final List for the First Phase Candidates and Commencement of Electoral Campaigns
292015/9/ 302015/9/	Two days	Withdrawals and Amendments
12015/10/ 32015/10/	3 days	Publishing the Lists After Withdrawals, Amendments and Appeals
42015/10/ 82015/10/	5 days	Decision on Appeals
162015/10/	1 day	Electoral Silence Period
172015/10/ 182015/10/	Two days	First Phase of Expatriate Voting
182015/10/ 192015/10/	Two days	First Phase of Voting in the Arab Republic of Egypt
202015/10/ 212015/10/	Two days	Announcing the First Phase Results, Submission of Appeals to HEC and Decisions Thereon
252015/10/	1 day	Run-offs Electoral Silence Period
262015/10/ 272015/10/	Two days	First Phase of Expatriate Voting
272015/10/ 282015/10/	Two days	First Phase of Voting in the Arab Republic of Egypt
292015/10/ 302015/10/	Two days	Announcing the First Phase Results, Submission of Appeals to HEC and Decisions Thereon
Second Stage		
32015/11/	1 day	Announcing the Final List of the Second Phase Candidates and Commencement of Electoral Campaigns
32015/11/ 42015/11/	Two days	Withdrawals and Amendments
52015/11/ 72015/11/	3 days	Publishing the Lists After Withdrawals, Amendments and Appeals
82015/11/ 122015/11/	5 days	Decision on Appeals

202015/11/	1 day	Electoral Silence Period
212015/11/ 222015/11/	Two days	First Phase of Expatriate Voting
222015/11/ 232015/11/	Two days	First Phase of Voting in the Arab Republic of Egypt
242015/11/ 252015/11/	Two days	Announcing the First Phase Results, Submission of Appeals to HEC and Decisions Thereon
292015/11/	1 day	Run-offs Electoral Silence Period
302015/11/ 12015/12/	Two days	First Phase of Expatriate Voting
12015/12/ 22015/12/	Two days	First Phase of Voting in the Arab Republic of Egypt
32015/12/ 42015/12/	Two days	Announcing the First Phase Results, Submission of Appeals to HEC and Decisions Thereon
Handing of Certificates to Elected Members until 202015/12/		

Annex 3. Section III References: Experiences of the Women Candidates with Whom Nazra for Feminist Studies Worked

1. References of the Analysis of Aswan Governorate: Candidate: Wafaa Abdel Kawy, Independent, First District, City of Aswan, Individual Seat.
2. References of the Analysis of Alexandria Governorate: Candidate: Rasha El Gebaly, Independent, Second District, Montazah II, Individual Seat.
3. References of the Analysis of Cairo Governorate: Candidate Salwa Alaa, The Egyptian Social Democratic Party, Thirteenth District, Boulaq, Individual Seat.
4. References of the Analysis of Cairo Governorate: Candidate Zeinab Abdel Rahman, The Egyptian Social Democratic Party, Eighteenth District, El Basateen, Individual Seat.
5. References of the Analysis of Port Said Governorate: Candidate Rania El-Sadat - Independent - Third District, El Zohour, Individual Seat.

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