

In 2012 Parliament ... What women Lost and What Egypt Lost?!



Introduction:

The World Economic Forum's 2010 Report on Gender Equality stated with the sentence that Egypt's position is so regressive, as the country can not fill the gaps that exist between the two sexes. Egypt was ranked no. 121 out of a total number of 134 countries in the field of the economic participation.

Although there are not constitutional and legal restrictions on women's political participation in the political parties, in the parliament, and in the government, the constitutional system and legal one have established the state of citizenship and equality in Egypt. However, there is a gap between the law of state and the law of customs and traditions in Egypt and the impact on women's participation in public life.

In despite of women's participation all squares in the revolution was noticed in Egypt and outside that the electoral result related to women on the parliamentary election did not reflect this role: the results are considered a disaster in the light of what is known as "the parliament of the revolution".

Women's participation in the 2011/2012 parliamentary election was less for the unstable situation that Egypt lives at this time especially at the political and security levels. The burden is increased because of the Egyptian women's participation: women took part at the same way as men and made sacrifices and became martyrs. The reality reflects the deterioration of women's status after the revolution which represented a organized attack during the last period: women demand to change the personal status law and some articles of this law, they have to represent the balance between women and men in opposition to some fundamental currents that restrict the role of women in all fields increased. Women's participation in public life is limited in particular in the political life. Some people see the entering of women in the parliament as negative aspect; the Salafit Party has forced the nomination of women in its lists.

This situation worsened when women's participation was not supported by the political willing; the two ministries of the after-revolution also called "the first and second ministry of the revolution" elected only one woman during their governance but the number of women increased in the Ganzoury's Ministry governance with three female ministers.

Women have been excluded from important positions: in government, in the committee on constitutional amendments, even in the discussion on the amendments of the law in the parliament and in the Shoura Council and also in the law of dividing the constituencies: in this occasion the meeting was attended only by 5 women, men who represented women there were disappointing in their role and

reforming a 2010 parliament with an only difference that was the exchange of roles between the Islamic current and the National Democratic party.

The law of women's Quota of both Councils, the People's Assembly and the Shoura Council was canceled and was established that "each list should include at least one woman" which is contrary to many demands that were submitted by the women's and by civil organizations and by the National Council for Human Rights. Despite of these demands, the new law didn't give any advanced position on these lists to ensure a representation is coherent with what stated in the Constitutional Declaration. In the nomination phase, the political parties have broken their promises about female candidates in a high rank of the list but what they did is putting most of female candidates in the bottom of the list which means that they will never win.

In the same time, other Egyptian political parties have marginalized women and new parties which were established after the revolution, neglecting the women's issue. Most of the new parties, which reached the number of 47 parties, have put women's rights in their programs, five parties have stated the non-discrimination law against women and other two parties have accepted the participation of women in the economic, social and political in their programs.

For the religious parties, although their programs emphasize on the equality between men and women, they differentiated among the social and humanitarian role without any clarification to what are these roles.

PRELIMINARY INDICATORS OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS FROM A GENDER PERSPECTIVE:

First indicator: Egyptian women progressed unprecedentedly as a candidate and a voter:

Since 1956 the history of women's political participation, the number of the female candidates reached to 984 female candidates including 633 on the party-list system and 351 on the individual- system.

Despite the complicated political and security conditions in Egypt an unprecedented number of women ran as candidates. In the parliamentary elections 2010 which are also know as the "Golden Opportunity for Women"- because 64 seats were allocated for women in the People's Assembly and 404 women run as candidates.

The nomination of women in the previous elections was in 2005, where there were not seats allocated for women, 133 women had run as candidates.

At the level of female voters, the eligible votes reached to 23 million and five hundred thousand female voters, and in an unprecedented reality with the election of identity cards, women was a voting bloc can't be neglected. As the attendance of the Egyptian women was impressive in the revolutions squares, it was notable also in the voting lines who spent long hours women were bear with their family burdens, where many women carried their children for long hours waiting to vote with a hope to get a parliament maintains their dignity and keep a safe future for their families.

Second indicator: South governorates "conservative" and borders governorates "tribalism" progressed in their supporting for women:

All the political powers, with different affiliations, believe in the pretend of not supporting women's participation due to the lack of acceptance of the Egyptian society for their participation. Their analysis is depended on the geographical, tribal, and partisanship variations. However, the indicators of nomination were completely different. Where the highest percentage of women's nomination on the lists was in North Sinai governorate and Aswan governorate which was 28.8%, and 28%. The one is follow them is The New Valley with a percentage 27% which distinguish with the tribalism. It is worth mentioning that the only one who selected in the previous Shoura council was from the New Valley.

Then Luxor, the Red Sea, Suez and Ismalaya with a percentage is 25%. For Greater Cairo which includes three governorates Cairo, Giza, and Qalubaya, and it is also the capital of Egypt and it is the biggest area in Egypt, women's nomination on the lists in Cairo is 13% , Giza is 13% and Qalubaya is 17.7 %.

In the individual system, the highest governorates in the nomination phase were Post Said, the Red Sea with a percentage was 11% , south of Sinai with a percentage was 10%, the New valley with a percentage was 7 % , Giza with a percentage was 5.6% and the smallest governorate that nominated women in the individual system was Kafr El-Sheikh 1.5%.

Which emphasizes on the need of the political power to review the geographical and demographic reality and the attitudes of voters, in addition to see the stereotypes of women's roles and work hard to support the women's cadre and attract more in the light of a voting bloc for women can't be ignored.

Third indicator: women's issue is equal with the ideological affiliations and became a hostage of the erroneous reading of reality

Women always gamble on the progressive and liberal powers in supporting women, however these powers fall as hostage of the erroneous reading of reality to voters' education. Although their discourse is progressive, they are not highly different in their attitudes towards women than the conservative powers. The nominations of the political powers that related to women were very close form each other, none of them made any difference sign that refers to its different for the female or male voters.

Although the Revolution Continuous coalition announced that it will allocate 50% of its electoral list for women and youth, women's participation percentage was 16%. Although the clear librarian trend of the Egyptian Bloc, their nomination of women on their lists was 15.8%. The liberal El Wafd party was 13.7%. It was not very far from the nominations of the freedom and Justice party that follows the Muslim Brotherhood while their women's nomination percentage on their lists 13.6%, also Al-Nour Salafi party, women's nomination percentage on its lists was 13.2% "the forced person's nomination"

However, some political parties recorded a better representation of women's nomination while the women's nomination percentage of the Human Rights and citizenship party was 30%, The Egyptian Union party was 27.5%, The Egyptian Justice and Development Party was 25% and the Socialist Free was 25%.

It is strange the inverse relationship between the percentage of women's nomination and the number of candidates who belong to a party, the percentage of women's nomination increased on the lists for a third or a quarter, but the number of candidates still small.

With regards to the status of the female candidates on the lists:

- In the top rank of the female candidates on the lists (the first third of the list)

The Egyptian bloc and the conservative party came in the front of the political parties because they listed 10 women in the for front, followed by the freedom and justice party; the justice party and the Revolution Continues Coalition listed 7 women, the women were in the top rank in other parties but with less numbers.

- In the middle rank of the female candidates on the lists (the second third of the lists)

The Reform and Development party and the Egyptian bloc were the top nomination for women with 12 candidates, followed by El Wafd party with 9 candidates then the freedom and justice party and the center party with 6 candidates and other parties with less number.

- The female candidates at the end of the lists (the last third of the list)

El Nour party was one of the biggest parties listed the women at the end of the lists by 22 candidates, followed by the freedom and justice party by 18 candidates; the Egyptian bloc by 16 candidates; El Wafd party by 15 candidates and the Reform and development party by 13 candidates.

The fourth indicator: the Money and stars industry and their impact on the female candidates

Its popular that people talk about the lack of support the female voters to the female candidates! The analyses refers that the female candidates not win on the individual seats although the huge voting bloc for the female voters, whether this observation is not accurate, but it is totally devoid of reading or analysis of the factors affecting on the voters directions in the vote or the political reality which competed with the candidates, especially the independent female candidates.

The political forces which not supported woman on the lists was more than 90% of the individual sites, these sites supposed to be for the majority of the Egyptian who are not belong to a current or a political party. However, according to the pressure of the political forces they were allowed competitive the candidates who are not belonging or not supported by a party or specific current.

A small percentage remained for whom not belonging to party but the main factor that gathering them was the result of being a media star in the TV shows either as a guests or podcaster.

Accordingly, the women found themselves in the face of either a huge political bloc or a public media stars; we can refer to many cases, Gamila Esmail- an independent candidate in the third circle in Kasr El-Nile, she has a very famous political history; she was before in competition with the Egyptian bloc candidate or the religion current candidate, although she is a public media star too, but the competition with the political blocs with a potential of large financial; make an unequal competition which contributed to the exit from the electoral race for less than a thousand votes of the winner candidate.

The fifth indicator: the weakness control and committed to the law only women paid the price.

The High Committee of the election enjoyed a great judicial and legal experience, but this did not reflect on its role in overseeing in the elections; as they were not have the ability to handle with violations of the electoral process or even the violations of the decision issued by the committee, with all appreciations; but the committee was not qualifies to confront to electoral violations, and didn't have the executive mechanisms which enable it to stop or limited these abuses. But the problem was that the committee didn't recognized these problems which greatly limited its effectiveness, but on the opposite it considered to handle with the violations as it's not see or minimize the importance and impact of the electoral process, which is represented in many excesses affected on women,

The most important two significant are:

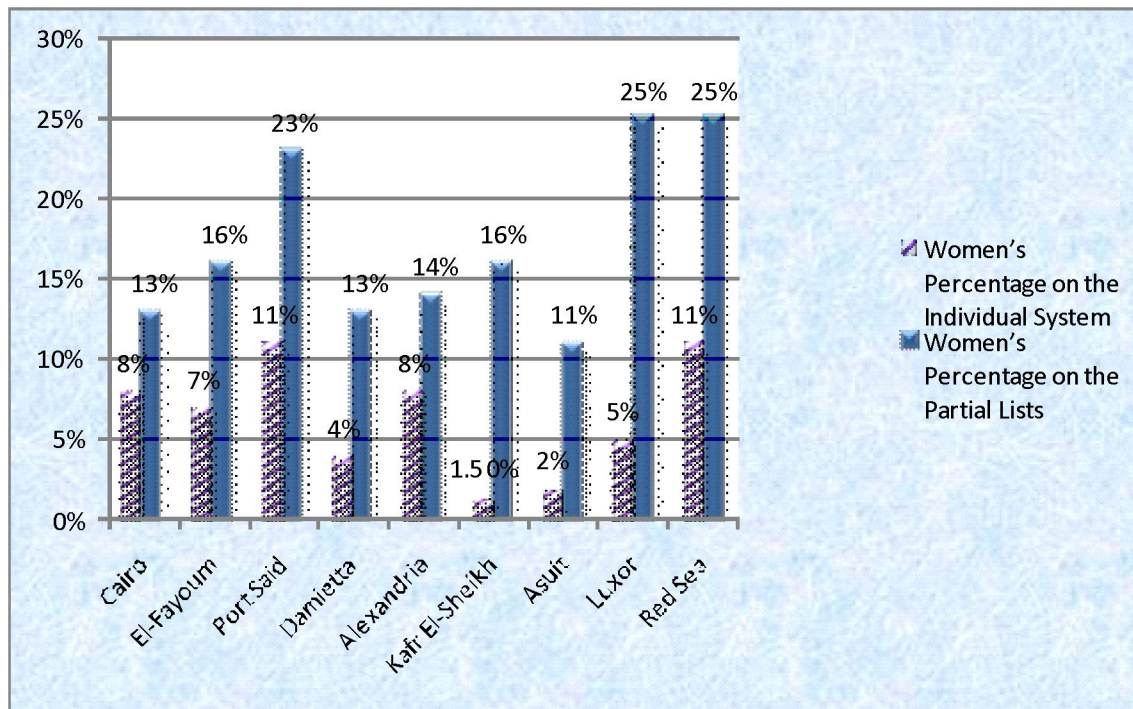
Firstly: the silence of the high committee of the election towards what El Nour party did were it humiliated the women whether on its lists or through some of the party leaders statements who considered the women participation in the elections "corruptive "and listed her as "The distressed", and the committee not considered that the denial of the women rights in the public sphere and canceling their presence on the candidate lists and replacement of their photographs in either a rose or the party's slogan, was against the high committee of the election decision number 21/2011 for the organizing regulations of the election propaganda, the second article which provides (the candidate's commitment to maintain the national unity, and abstain to use the logos or the symbols or made a religious propaganda, or discrimination because of sex, language or religion).

The article number nine in the same decision which provides (forbidden from conducting any election propaganda to deception and fraud the voters, publishing or broadcasting false news on the election about a candidate behavior, ethics or defamation through words, pictures, symbols or the graphic tricks in order to effecting on the electoral process or voters direction to express their opinion or to abstain from)

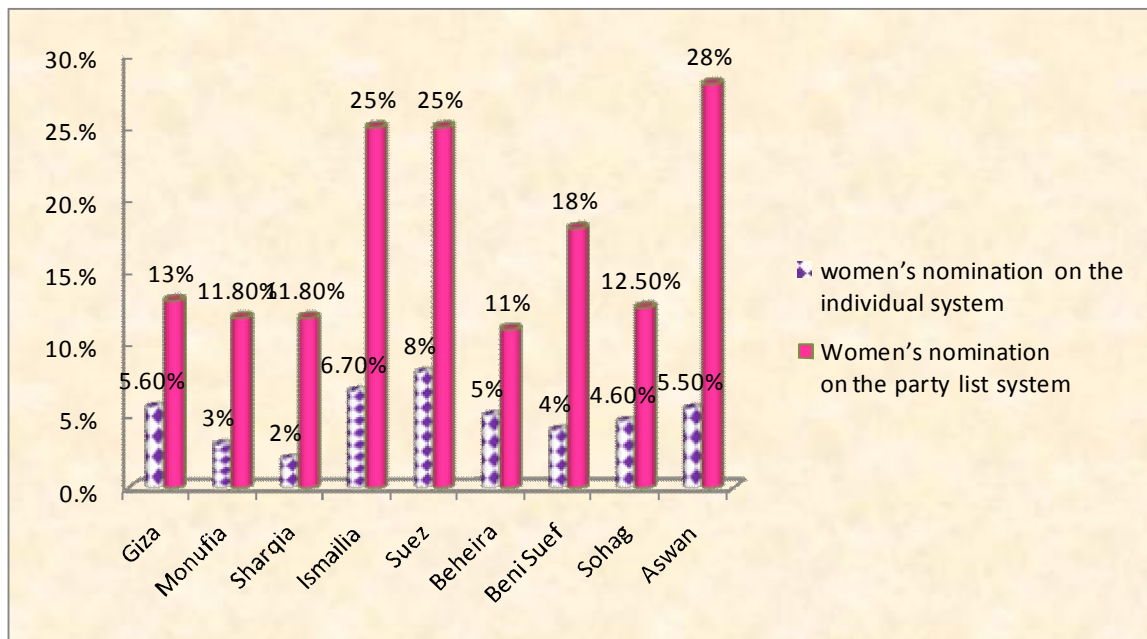
Before the committee silence, more parties proceeded to cancel the image of the female candidates from their lists like El Wafd party at the second constituencies in El Minya governorate which is a dangerous precedent by a party belongs to the Liberal current.

Secondly: The forgiveness on the election campaigns, the law selects the expenditure ceiling for both the lists and individual systems with five hundred thousand Egyptian pounds, and in case of run-off two hundred fifty thousand Egyptian pounds. Which is contributes to equal opportunities for candidates; however, the committee didn't do any overseeing or punishment roles, to exceed the maximum of expenditure. The female candidates especially the individual candidates find them before electoral blocs without expenditure limit on the ground or the TV advertising, and then some of the female candidates lost their serious efforts in their electoral campaigns within the individual lists which exceeded one hundred candidates in all constituencies. The large electoral expenditure was playing an important role in direct the voters either in the field campaigns or the TV advertising, while the last word that voter heard before the polling station by team of worker that belong to the parties and the political forces is greatly contribute in their selections regardless on their beliefs.

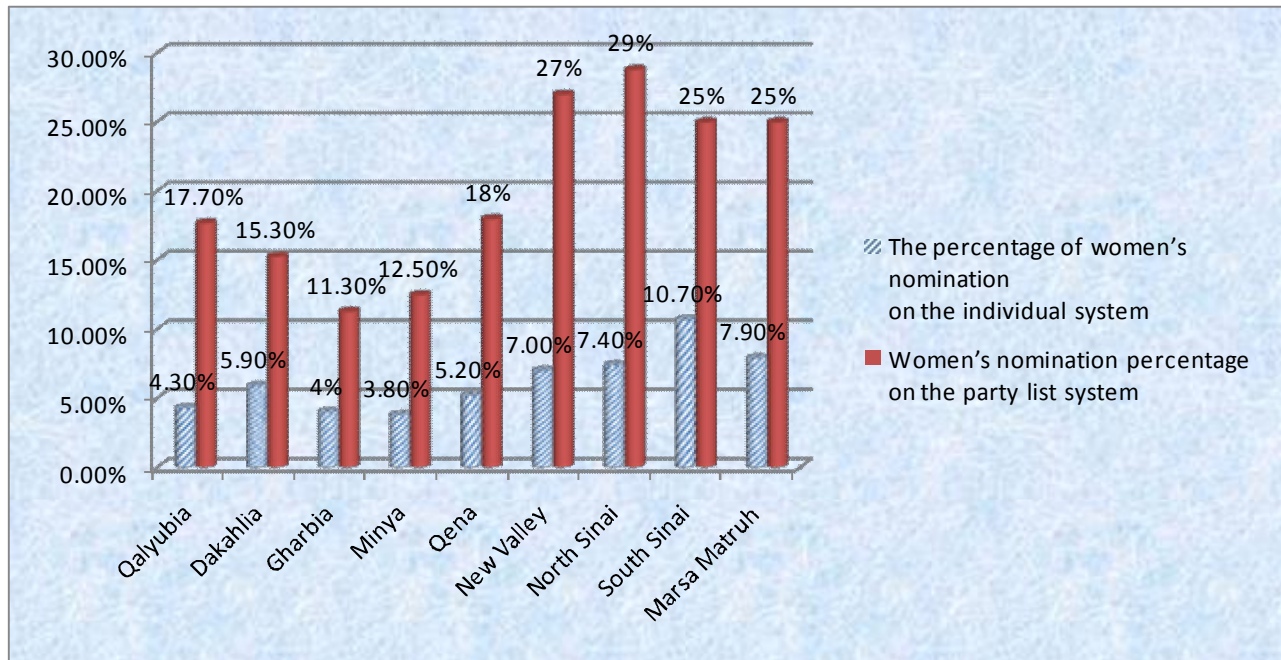
Women's Nomination Percentage in the First round governorates on the Individual System and on the Partial Lists



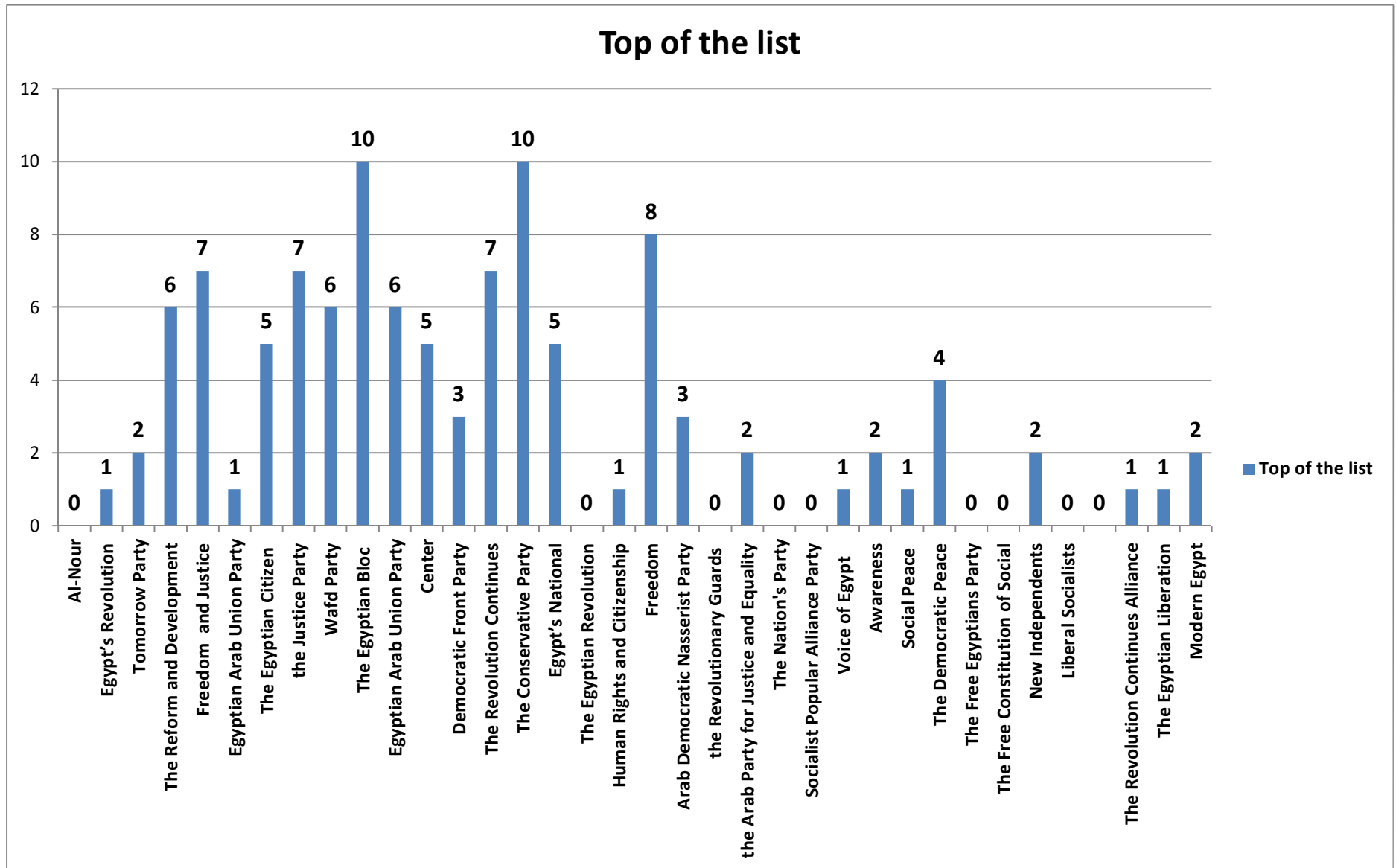
A chart shows the percentage of women's nomination on the individual system and the party system of the governorates of the second round:



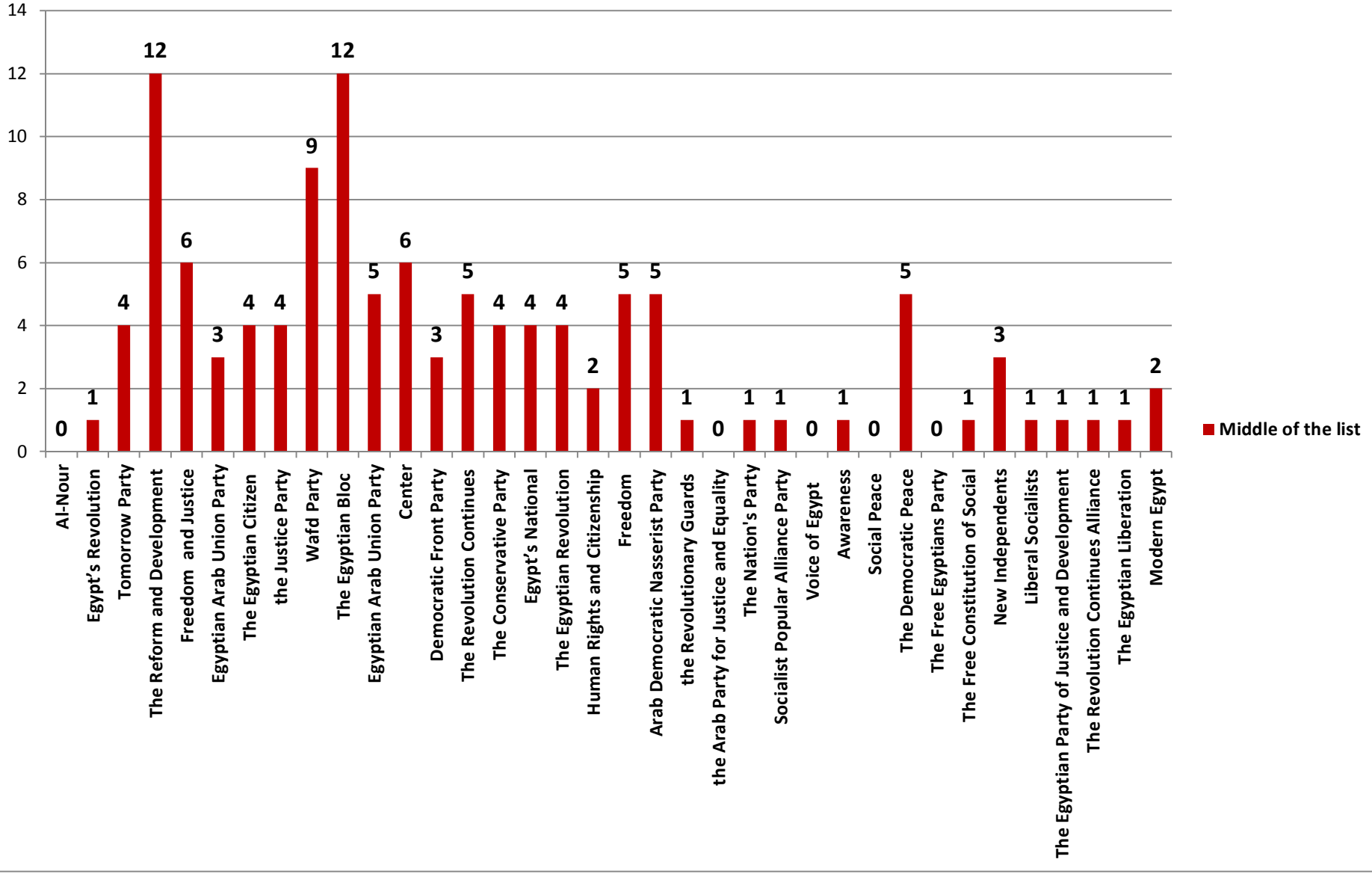
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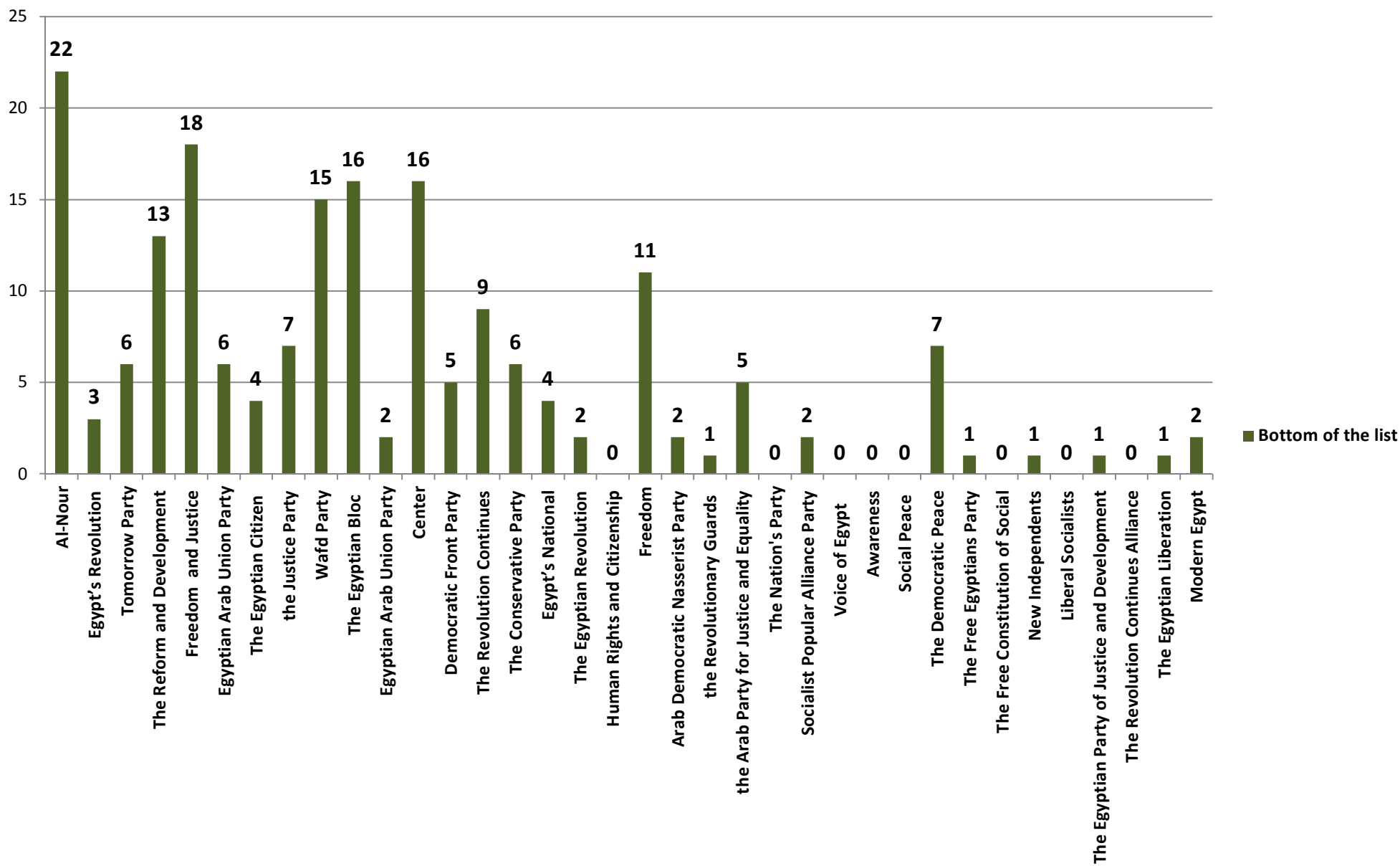
The Rankings of the Female Candidates on party-list throughout Egypt



Middle of the list



Bottom of the list



THE RESULTS OF THE THREE ROUNDS OF THE 2011 / 2012 PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

The total number of female candidates for the current people's Assembly elections for the year 2011 for the three stages as follows: 984 female candidates out of 8415 candidates: 351 female candidates out of 4847 candidates running for individual seats and 633 female candidates for parties lists out of 3566 candidates.

Below is a table showing numbers and percentage of women candidates in the three stages nationwide:

Governorate	Total of male Candidates & female candidates	Total Number of female candidates in each round	The percentage of women's nomination	Total of the candidates and female candidates of the Individual system	Total of the female candidates on the individual system	Women's nomination percentage on the individual system	Total of the candidates and female candidates of the Party-List system	Total of the candidates and female candidates of the Party-List system	Women's nomination percentage on the Party-List system
1st Round	1547	376	%24.3	1055	164	%15.5	492	212	%43
2nd Round	3813	328	%8.6	2241	107	%4.7	1572	221	%14
3rd Round	2753	280	%10	1551	80	%5.1	1202	200	%16.6
Total	8113	984	%12.1	4847	351	%7.2	3266	633	%11.2

The first stage results show four women winning as follows: two women belong to the Wafd party's list; Margret Azar in the second district in Cairo governorate and Hanan Abuelgheit in Damietta governorate. The third one is Sana Alsaied, the candidate of the Egyptian bloc for the second district in Asyut governorate, and Dr. Omaima Kamel, in the fourth district of the Freedom and Justice Party but uncertain.

In the second stage of the people's Assembly elections, three women candidates won, all of them belong to the parties' lists. The three women are Azza Mohamed Ibrahim Algarf, the candidate of the Freedom and Justice party for Giza governorate, Magda Alnuayshi, the Wafd party list candidate for Ismailiya governorate and Rida Abdallah Mohamad, the Freedom and Justice party candidate for the first directorate in Alsharqiya governorate.

In the third stage, Huda Ghanya, the candidate of Freedom and Justice Party in second district in Qalubaya, Seham Abdel Lateef, the candidate of Freedom and Justice Party in the first district in Dakahlaya, Bardees Seif El-Deen, the candidate of Arab Democratic Nasserist party in the New Valley have a chance of receiving a seat, however at the time of writing the final results of the party lists were not yet known. Only Fada Salem Ebid Allh, the candidate of The Reform and Development party in the South of Sinai could already secure a seat for herself. It is worth mentioned that if the Arab Democratic

Nasserist party don't get 5% of the remaining eligible votes throughout Egypt, they have to pass their seat to Saleh Khalid, the candidate of the Egyptian Bloc.

Only one female candidate, Ne'ammatt Rashad, an independent, competed in the run-off from El Gharbaya, the third district but did not succeed.

The female winners belong to the following five parties: four women of the Freedom and Justice Party, three women of the El Wafd party, one woman of the Egyptian Bloc, and one woman of the Arab Democratic Nasserist party, and one woman of the Reform and Development party.

Combined in all three rounds of the elections, women gained not more than 10 seats out of the total 498 seats of the People's Assembly, resulting in women representing solely 1.8% to 2% of parliamentary members.

The violations were as follows:

- 1) Spreading Rumor
- 2) Influence on The Will of the Voters
- 3) Continuation of Illegal Propaganda
- 4) Lobbing Female Voters
- 5) Administrative and Organizational Mistakes
- 6) Misleading Female Voters
- 7) Fraud Cases
- 8) Violation against women voters the polling stations:
- 9) Bribes
- 10) Electoral Tricks
- 11) Preventing female candidates to enter their polling stations:
- 12) Transport the Female Voters Blocs "Transport vs Votes"
- 13) Casting Votes on Behalf of Female Voters
- 14) Collective Vote
- 15) Using Public Money and Houses of Worship
- 16) Not Include the Names of Female Voters in the Electoral Lists
- 17) Using Violence
- 18) Illegal Removing of the Voting Sheet (Ballot Stuffing)