

Women Representation in the Egyptian Parliament: Representation or Misrepresentation?

Amany A. Khodair
Suez Canal University/The British University of Cairo

Salwa A. Farrag
Suez Canal University

Abstract

Egyptian women who played a pivotal role in both, January 25th and June 30th revolutions were rewarded by achieving the highest female representation in Egypt's parliamentary history in the last 2015 elections (89-14.9%). This paper accesses women's representation/mis-representation in light of this increase in numbers. Results show that the implementation of a one-time quota, that not only seeks to include women but several unprotected sectors of the society, guaranteed positive outcomes but warns from a decline if not implemented for at least one more time ensuring the continuance of women empowerment.

Keywords:- Women Representation – Egyptian 2015 parliamentary elections – Empowerment – Quota.

Introduction:

Egyptian women who played a key role in both recent revolutionary movements, January 25 and June 30 revolutions were rewarded by achieving the highest female representation in Egypt's parliamentary history in the 2015 parliamentary elections. 89 (14.9%) female parliamentarians are representing Egyptian women who constitute 49.5%¹ of the population. Numbers are considered a giant "leap" in women's representation, a new record after the 12.7% in 2010 and the disappointing 2% of seats in 2012². Additionally, Egyptian women had a positive and effective participation in the drafting committee of the constitution, represented in the 5 female members of a total number of 50 members (10%)³. Moreover, recent development in the status of women also include the election of the 1st female political party president Hala Shukrallah⁴ as well as the appointment of three women ministers in the current government⁵.

This paper attempts to access women representation/misrepresentation in light of the current increase in women's representation in the 2015 parliament which signifies an encouraging beginning for better future representation. Also whether elected women signify the majority of Egyptian women; do they represent the educated middle-class women, or the working mothers, or women who are trying to fight the existing social taboos and stigmas, and get their voices heard.

Methodology:-

The study which aims in general to assess the one time quota system that includes women as well as other sectors of the society (Copts, youth, workers and farmers, handicapped as well as women living abroad) in accordance with the newly implemented electoral system, especially when assessing the quota in the 120 seat electoral absolute closed list⁶.

Regarding data collection, the study encompasses qualitative and quantitative analysis, depending on primary data-collection, through interviewing parliamentarians, and surveying voters, as well as the target beneficiaries; in addition to the use of academic literature, articles, and reports as secondary sources for the research.

The Egyptian feminist movement:

I: - A historical overview

The early stage of the Egyptian women's struggle for equity started with the end of the 19th century and is characterized by three characteristics; first it was founded by women who belong to the elites like; Hind Nawfal who issued *Al Fatat magazine* in Alexandria in 1892 and Malak Hefny Nasif she established the

¹ <http://data.albankaldawli.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.FE.ZS>

² Amany Khodair, Bassant Hassib, Women's Political Participation in Egypt: the Role of the National Council for Women, *International Journal of Political Science and Development*, Vol. 3(7), pp. 326–338, July, 2015.

³ Johnson, Darin E. W. "Beyond Constituent Assemblies And Referenda: Assessing The Legitimacy Of The Arab Spring Constitutions In Egypt And Tunisia." *Wake Forest Law Review* 50.4 (2015)

⁴ <http://www.opemam.org/node/2362?language=en>

⁵ <http://www.cabinet.gov.eg/Cabinet/Cabinet.aspx>

⁶ Amany Khodair, Reman Abdall, Egypt's 2015 Parliamentary Elections: Assessing the New Electoral System, *International Affairs and Global Strategy*, Vol. 44 (1-10), 2016, p.1.

intellectual league in 1914 as well as Hoda Shaarawi who the 1st feminist movement; aided by her husband's connections with both the palace and the Wafd party; soon after the middle class- women joined too owing to their education in missionary schools¹.

The second feature of this early stage is that the 1st female activists or feminists groups were known for their charitable; social and cultural activities - they were not politically based -activities; these activities were initiated when Fatma Rashed established her association in 1908 which was considered one of the most important contributions by women, followed by princess Fatma's (the daughter of Khedive Ismail) donation to establish the 1st Egyptian university. Ironically although she donated the money and land, women were still banned from entering the campus; and were not allowed to participate in cultural life as they were prohibited as well from holding meetings (even on Fridays) or-organizing lectures; they were not allowed to enter the university until the late 20's and early 30's of the twentieth century².

Last but not least, these early stages were characterized by women trying to obtain their rights to vote and participate in public life, and it was clear in the 1919 revolution which was the first real political involvement of Egyptian women in politics. Egyptian women signed petitions along with men and protested against the British occupation; facing English bullets and sacrificing their lives³.

By 1920 Hoda Shaarawi became the president of the central delegate of the wafd party ; she spoke at first about providing women with the right to vote; as the wafd party had promised in a bid of gratefulness for efforts exerted by women during national resistance against the British occupation; but this promise was never kept. Thus the members formed what was known as the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU) on March 16, 1923 Hoda Shaarawi's house and their first request in this preliminary meeting were to call for the right of women to vote⁴.

Egyptian women continued their struggle for liberty and basic rights side by side with men that were also struggling for freedom from the British occupation. The feminist movement was stretched to include women from the middle classes and even lower classes in society unlike the case in the beginning of the century. The activity of women in this period was extended to the participation in various initiatives for example the Egyptian feminist union called for the reform of the civil status law and called for equal wages, better work conditions and the right to earn money in addition to their previous request the right to vote⁵.

II- Egyptian women and the struggle for liberation against colonialism

In the early 40's of the 20th century, the liberation of women depended on a few well-known figures like Doria Shafik the founder of Bint El-Nil (daughter of the Nile) and creator of the first school to combat illiteracy; also established a recruitment bureau that assisted graduates to look for and find suitable jobs- raising their awareness of their own rights; and in 1943 and a group of female lawyers for the first time; founded the female lawyers group or union- and in 1946 the first organization or female employees was founded as well as the union of female workers⁶.

This stage witnessed a link between the requests of women liberation and the society's requests as a whole for liberation from all forms of occupation and colonization; portrayed by efforts of prominent women activists like Engi Aflatoun and Latifa El Zayat as well as the establishment of a new feminist union led by Ceza Nabarwi that led a resistance committee that took to street protests in 1951- in memory of the day of the martyr; a march that was described by media (al ahram newspaper) as Egyptians women soldiers defending the land; a patriotic act on the part of women; Doria Shafiq joined with a group of 1500 heading towards the parliament demanding their rights an act by women which was considered one of the events that paved the way for the 1952 Egyptian revolution toppling monarchy in Egypt⁷.

III: The Status of Women after the 1952: for better or for worse?

The post-revolutionary era witnessed the 1st blow to all Egyptian feminist movement. All women organizations

¹ Lanfranchi, Sania Sharawi., John Keith King, and ebrary Academic Complete. *Casting Off the Veil: The Life of Huda Shaarawi, Egypt's First Feminist*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2012.

² Ahmed Ghoneim, *Egyptian Women: To Whom Girls Owe their education*, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Planetarium Science Center, SPRING 2015 | Year 8, Issue 2.

³ Ramdani, Nabila. "Women In The 1919 Egyptian Revolution: From Feminist Awakening To Nationalist Political Activism." *Journal Of International Women's Studies* 2 (2013): 39.

⁴ ISTRATE, Ligia. "The Contemporary Egyptian Woman In Islamic Background Perception And Self Perception." *Scientific Journal Of Humanistic Studies* 4.7 (2012): 7-14.

⁵ Nadje S. Ali-Ali, *The Women's Movement in Egypt, With Selected References to Turkey*, Perpustakaan Nasional RI, 2002.

⁶ Mariscotti, Cathlyn. *Gender and Class in the Egyptian Women's Movement, 1925-1939: Changing Perspectives*. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 2008.

⁷ Blyades, Lisa, and Sainaz El Tarouty. "Women's Electoral Participation In Egypt: The Implications Of Gender For Voter Recruitment And Mobilization." *Middle East Journal* 63.3 (2009): 364-380.

were considered political parties and were shut down as the government has adopted a one party system. Closing down the Egyptian feminist union and the daughter of the Nile union was a devastating time for women in Egypt.

But soon after and in 1956, a new constitution was drafted providing Egyptian women with the right to vote, elect and nominate themselves for public office. The new constitution gave women equal rights with men in both work and education; the Egyptian constitution then enacted that the state is to provide equal opportunities for all citizens and it should consequently provide for mothers and children as the state is to help women maintain the balance between her different roles; in life and work; and to ensure her equality with man in all the political fields; social- cultural and economic. Therefore, eight women stood for candidacy in the 1957 elections¹. Two women won seats in the Egyptian parliament; Rawya Attiya who won the seat of Giza constituency, and Amina Shoukri won Alexandria candidacy in the Parliament for the 1st time in Egyptian contemporary history².

Hekmat Abu Zaid, became the first minister of social affairs in September 1962. And in November, a law to form the Preparatory Committee for the National

Conference of Popular Forces was issued, where the Committee recommended that the members of the Conference should be 1,500, where women represented 5% of the total members³.

In 1979, Egypt adopted a guaranteed representation formula reserving 30 seats (out of 360 seats) for women in parliament. It is worth mentioning that this quota system applied in the late seventies was a part of the gains of women in Sadat's era; women were encouraged to nominate themselves for the local councils and Gihan El Sadat was appointed as chief in Mounifia on October 1975 in addition to 30 women who succeeded in nine governorates and it is noted that in the year 1980 their representation of women reached 10.25 % in the local councils. Unfortunately, in late 1986, the Supreme Court issued a decree ruling the quota system as unconstitutional, in late 1986, and was cancelled in a general revision of the electoral laws⁴.

The percentage of female representation decreased to 2.11% then reached 1.2% in 1992 and 0.5 % in 1997 this stage too witnessed the battle if the civil status law that was issued in June 1979 as the supreme court issued the non- constitutionality too in 4 May 1985 due to some faults in the procedures.⁵

Reasons for growing interest in handling women's issues include Egypt's signing the agreement of destroying all forms of discrimination against women in 1979, restrictions on some acts against women within 139 country (this is more than two third of the members of the UN) an agreement that became valid on September 1981; the world population conference held in Egypt in 1994. In addition to the preparation of the fourth international conference for women held in Beijing in 1995⁶.

However this was not reflected in the 1995 elections. In spite of the fact that the number of female candidates in the 1995 elections has increased to 87 (2.1%) from only 1.5% (42) ; the representation of women in 1995 was the least since the 1970's only 5 women (1%) were able to obtain seats out of the 444 member parliament. The president therefore used his constitutional right to appoint ten members among which he chose 4 women raising the total number of women representatives to 9 (1.6%)⁷.

The year 2000 witnessed the establishing of the national council for women after the world realized at last that development cannot be exerted by sticking simply to old paradigms; forsaking half the population and resorting to the public- service duality that divides society to men/ women worlds ; such division is no longer valid. Nonetheless only 6 (1.3 %) women managed to obtain seats in the 2000 elections⁸. Then the president used his constitutional right again to appoint ten members among them women so the number became 13 female members that is 2.9%. Furthermore, the number of women members in Shura Council (Egypt's upper house) reached only 18 out of 264 members; about 6.8% of the total number.

This low representation for women continued in the next elections (2005-2010), it did not exceed 2% (9 members, only 4 were elected, of a total number of 454)⁹.

In 2009 and just before the next elections some articles in the electoral law were amended reserving two seats for women in 32 new districts. Thus 64 women were elected according to this amendment which was

¹ Talhami, Ghada Hashem. *The Mobilization of Muslim Women in Egypt*. Gainesville, FL: UP of Florida, 1996, p.21.

² Bier, Laura. *Revolutionary Womanhood : Feminisms, Modernity, And The State In Nasser's Egypt*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2011.

³ Talhami, G., Op.Cit., p.19.

⁴ Mona Lena Krook. Reforming Representation: The Diffusion of Candidate Gender Quotas Worldwide. *Politics & Gender*, (2006) , pp. 303-327.

⁵ [http://wlahawogohokhra.org/home/3173/1985/-/](http://wlahawogohokhra.org/home/3173/1985/)

⁶ Amany Khodair, Empowering Women under Socialist Regimes: The case of China, Conference proceedings, the Egyptian-Sino relations, Suez Canal University, March 2014.

⁷ http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2097_95.htm

⁸ Makram-Ebeid, Mona. "Egypt's 2000 parliamentary elections." *Middle East Policy* 8.2 (2001): 32.

⁹ http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2097_05.htm

applied for the elections for the People Assembly on November 2010, raising the percentage of women's representation to 12% out of the 510 member parliament, which did not finish its term due to the outbreak of the January 25, 2011 revolution¹.

IV: The post-revolutionary stage:

After the January 25th revolution the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) issued an amendment to the electoral law number 38/1972 cancelling women's quota. Instead, it required that there should be at least one woman on the electoral lists without determining her position on the list². Consequently, in the light of this law, only 11 women won seats in the House of Representatives; 9 elected and 2 presidential appointees in the 2011-2012 Parliamentary elections³.

Prepared by the Authors based on data collected from the Egyptian Parliament official website⁴

The current status of women evaluated:-

The main characteristic of the current electoral law is the quota for marginalized groups and minorities which was applied as a component of the absolute closed list system. In districts with 15 seats, each list is required to have a minimum of three Christians, two individuals who are either farmers or workers, two youth (those aged 25-35 years old during the candidate registration phase), one person with a disability, and one Egyptian living abroad. While lists competing in districts with 45 seats must include; nine Christians, nine candidates who are workers or farmers, six youths, three handicapped and three Egyptian living abroad. Moreover, the 15 and 45 candidate lists must include at least seven and 21 women respectively, whether they represent minority groups or not. This composition is mandatory to guarantee quota representation due to the absolute closed list which means that the winner-takes-all⁵.

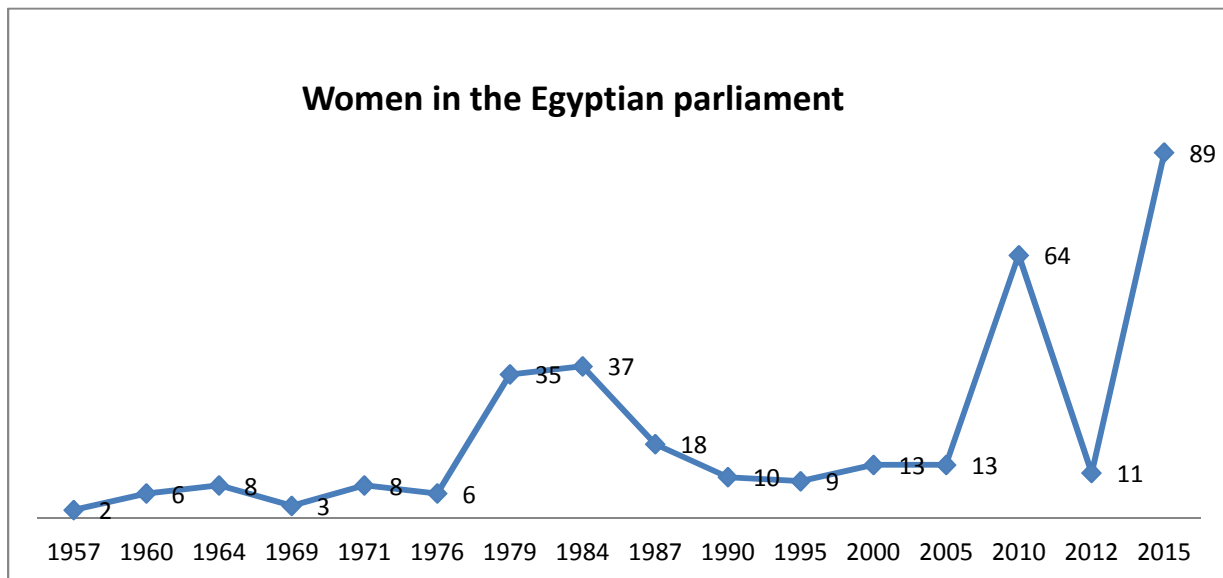
RESULTS

Introduction

This part aims to use statistical methods to evaluate the percentage of representation of Egyptian women in parliament and also seeks to access their performance in the current parliament until now and whether or not they are up to the voter's expectations.

The population and surveyed sample

The Respondents or the population of the study were a random sample of Egyptian citizens who are eligible to vote; they constitute male and female voters from various sectors of the society in the Suez Canal governorates, housewives, employees, academics, students from Canal universities (the researchers find that for better understanding, it is better to find out and examine the level of understanding and awareness of students) as well



¹ Tadros, Mariz. "Quotas: A Highway To Power In Egypt ... But For Which Women?." *IDS Bulletin* 41.5 (2010): 89-99.
² Baradei, L. E., & Wafa, D. (2013). Women in the second Egyptian Parliament post the Arab Spring: do they think they stand a chance?. *Journal Of International Women's Studies*, (3), 42.
³ Aziz, Sahar F. "Revolution Without Reform? A Critique Of Egypt's Election Laws." *George Washington International Law Review* 45.(2013).
⁴ <http://www.parliament.gov.eg/home/>
⁵ Amany Khodair, Reman Abdall, Op.Cit., p.4.

as other citizens of various levels of education and participation.

The equation below determine the sample size (Sekaran 1999)

$$n = \frac{z^2 * p(1-p)}{pe^2} \quad n = \frac{1.96^2 * 0.5(1-0.5)}{0.05^2} \approx 384$$

Pilot Test and Survey Respondents:-

324 questionnaires for the survey were returned from the surveyed sample. This represents a 84.4 percent response rate. The goodness and validity of response data is accomplished through conducting reliability Test using the Cronbach's Alpha (Sekaran, 2003).

The SPSS (22) reliability analysis was performed separately for the indicators of each scale (Table 2).

Table (2) – Reliability analysis for surveyed sample

Variable	Number of items	Reliability statistics (Cronbach's Alpha)
Evaluating the percentages of Egyptian women's representation in parliament	7	0.836
Assessing the performance of Egyptian women in the current parliament	7	0.880

Generally, reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.6 or higher are considered adequate (Sekaran, 2003). As illustrated in table (2), since the overall calculated reliability coefficients for Cronbach's alpha values range are between 0.836 and 0.880, so all variables included in the study are reliable.

Data analysis methods

Descriptive analysis

In order to investigate the feel of the measured data, basic descriptive statistics were conducted to ensure that the distortion of the questionnaire responses outputs was negligible. The descriptive analysis results (Table 3) illustrated that the standard deviation is not large which revealed that there is only a weak distortion of the collected data for all variables. These results imply the homogeneity of the surveyed sample.

I: Evaluating the percentages of Egyptian women's representation in parliament:-

84.01% of the respondents support that the current percentages of women in parliament fully represent Egyptian women. And 81.48% consider that parliamentary representation should be on the basis of merit, not gender.

This was asserted by 71.23% who believe that the current women's representation in parliament will have a positive reflection on their representation rates in the next local council elections.

58.46% the representation of women in parliament will increase if the electoral system is changed using only electoral lists. While, 61.79% of respondents strongly agree that the percentage of Women's representation in the current Egyptian parliament is comparable to Arab and international numbers.

II: - Accessing the performance of Egyptian women in the current parliament:-

77.65% of respondents share the opinion that the society perceives women objectively in accordance with its history of struggle. 76.23% and 74.75% think that women in Parliament should give their primarily concern to issues related to health care and education respectively.

62.16% suppose that percentages of women participation would have been higher if the current media environment did not contribute to the formation of an unsupportive public opinion discouraging a wider scale of political participation for Egyptian women.

64.01% and 65.12% of the sample respectively trust that Egyptian women in parliament have succeeded in raising fundamental issues related to women and showed a balanced performance.

- a) A one sample t-test was performed to evaluate the percentages of Egyptian women's representation in parliament, the results are listed below:

Table (3) One-Sample Test for Egyptian women's representation in parliament

	Test Value = 3					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Egyptian women's representation in parliament	15.241	323	.000	.47587	.4144	.5373

Table (3) shows one sample t- test to evaluate the percentages of Egyptian women's representation in parliament.

Since the sig= (0.0) less than $\alpha=0.05$ so we can conclude that there is a significant difference between the mean of agreement and the value three (the median) and the mean difference = 0.47587 it means the studied sample agree with evaluate the percentages of Egyptian women's representation in parliament.

b) A one sample t-test was performed to evaluate the the performance of Egyptian women in the current parliament. (Douglas Lind 2010).the results are listed below:

Table (4) One-Sample Test for the performance of Egyptian women in the current parliament

	Test Value = 3					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Evaluating the performance of Egyptian women in the current parliament	15.351	323	.000	.50206	.4377	.5664

Table (4) shows one sample t- test to evaluate the performance of Egyptian women in the current parliament.

Since the sig= (0.0) less than $\alpha=0.05$ so we can conclude that there is a significant difference between the mean of agreement and the value three (the median) and the mean difference = 0.50206 it means the studied sample agree with the high performance of Egyptian women in the current parliament.

c) **Comparison between the participation in elections categories with Egyptian women's representation in parliament**

One way analysis of variance ANOVA was performed to test the difference between the participation in elections categories with Egyptian women's representation in parliament (Douglas Lind 2010).the results are listed below:

Table (5) ANOVA for Egyptian women's representation in parliament

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3.405	3	1.135	3.684	.012
Within Groups	98.612	320	.308		
Total	102.018	323			

Since the sig= (0.012) less than $\alpha=0.05$ so we can conclude that there is a significant difference between the different categories Egyptian women's representation in parliament. To determine the category (ies) that caused the difference, least significant difference (LSD) was performed and the results are listed as:

Table (6) LSD test for Egyptian women's representation in parliament (Voting in elections)

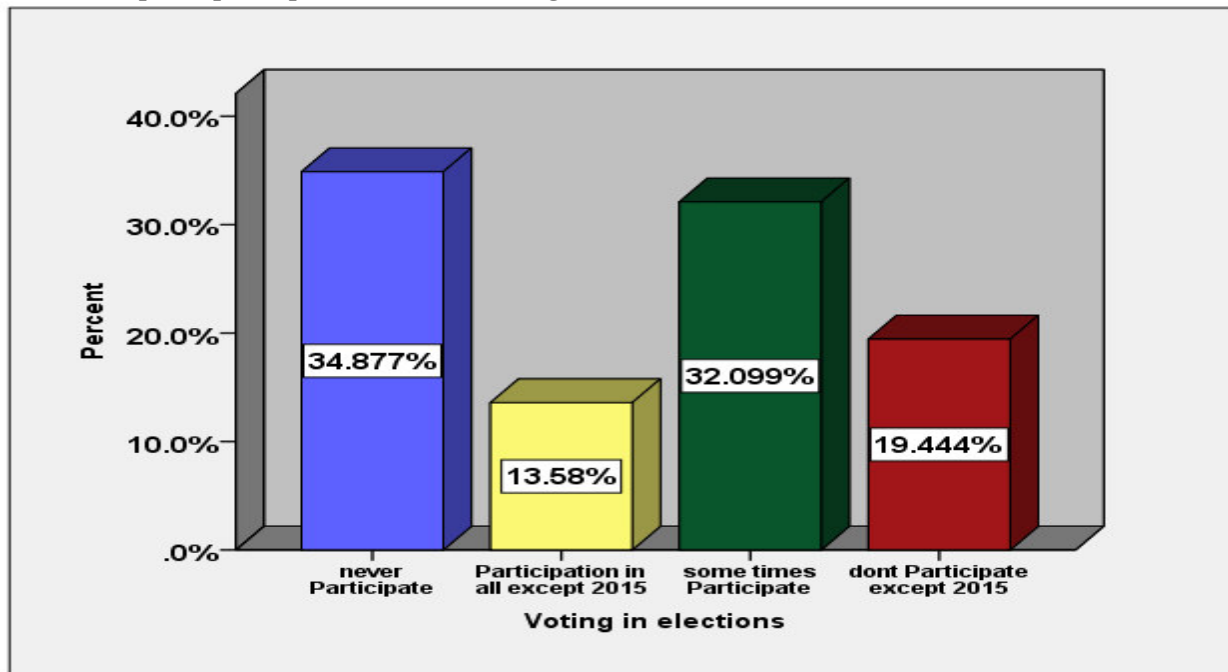
(I) Voting in elections	(J) Voting in elections	Mean Difference (I-J)	Sig.
never Participate	Participation in all except 2015	-.15395	.120
	sometimes Participate	-.19655*	.010
	don't Participate except 2015	-.25693*	.003
Participation in all except 2015	never Participate	.15395	.120
	sometimes Participate	-.04259	.670
	don't Participate except 2015	-.10298	.346
sometimes Participate	never Participate	.19655*	.010
	Participation in all except 2015	.04259	.670
	don't Participate except 2015	-.06038	.496

* Significant at $\alpha=0.05$

Table (6) illustrated the following:

- 1- There was a significant difference between whom they are never participating and who they are sometimes participating.
- 2- There was a significant difference between who they are never participating and whom they are don't participate except 2015.
- 3- There no significant difference between whom they are never participating and whom they are participating in all except 2015.
- 4- There no significant difference between whom they are participating in all except 2015 and whom they are sometimes participate.
- 5- There no significant difference between whom they are participating in all except 2015 and whom they are don't participating except 2015.
- 6- There no significant difference between whom they are sometimes participating and who they are don't participating except 2015.

Graph (1) participation in elections categories



d) Comparison between the participation in elections categories with Egyptian women's representation in parliament

One way analysis of variance ANOVA was performed to test the difference between the participation in elections categories with evaluating the performance of Egyptian women in the current parliament. (Douglas Lind 2010).the results are listed below:

Table (7) ANOVA for evaluating the performance of Egyptian women in the current parliament

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	2.432	3	.811	2.368	.071
Within Groups	109.512	320	.342		
Total	111.943	323			

Since the sig= (0.071) more than $\alpha=0.05$ so we can conclude that there is no significant difference between the different categories of participation in elections with evaluating the performance of Egyptian women in the current parliament.

Conclusion and Recommendations

After examining the increase in women representation through the one time quota system applied to protected sections of the society including women using both qualitative and quantitative analysis; one can conclude the following:-

1. Enforcing a quota raises the awareness of societies in a way that may encourage the inclusion of women; numbers show that women representation was not confined only to quota. 19 women broke the token representation taboo by winning 3.3% of parliamentary seats (a significant percentage when compared with previous elections) via the single member district (individual system) contradicting the notion that women cannot win seats on their own.
2. This type of quota raises a question around is it giving privilege for men as women still bear the representation of all other marginalized groups and minorities.
3. The popular perception of women representation as comparable to Arab and international numbers in reality is not true; nations like Algeria, Iraq, Tunisia and south Sudan have higher representation rates for women.

The authors of this paper conclude that the positive results of these procedures to empower women in Egypt, may not be persistent, thus their recommendations is to continue this quota system for one/two times or at least consider revising it in a way that would keep the momentum and ensure the steadfastness of these outcomes.

References

1. Ahmed Ghoneim, Egyptian Women: To Whom Girls Owe their education, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Planetarium Science Center, SPRING 2015 | Year 8, Issue 2.
2. Amany Khodair, Bassant Hassib, Women's Political Participation in Egypt: the Role of the National Council for Women, International Journal of Political Science and Development , Vol. 3(7), pp. 326–338, July, 2015.
3. Amany Khodair, Empowering Women under Socialist Regimes: The case of China, Conference proceedings, the Egyptian-Sino relations, Suez Canal University, March 2014.
4. Amany Khodair, Reman Abdall, Egypt's 2015 Parliamentary Elections: Assessing the New Electoral System, International Affairs and Global Strategy, Vol. 44 (1-10), 2016, p.1.
5. Amany Khodair, Reman Abdall, Op.Cit., p.4.
6. Aziz, Sahar F. "Revolution Without Reform? A Critique Of Egypt's Election Laws." *George Washington International Law Review* 45.(2013).
7. Baradei, L. E., & Wafa, D. (2013). Women in the second Egyptian Parliament post the Arab Spring: do they think they stand a chance?. *Journal Of International Women's Studies*, (3), 42.
8. Bier, Laura. *Revolutionary Womanhood : Feminisms, Modernity, And The State In Nasser's Egypt*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2011.
9. Blydes, Lisa, and Sainaz El Tarouty. "Women's Electoral Participation In Egypt: The Implications Of Gender For Voter Recruitment And Mobilization." *Middle East Journal* 63.3 (2009): 364-380.
10. <http://data.albankaldawli.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.FE.ZS>
11. <http://wlahawogohokhra.org/home/3173/1985>
12. <http://www.cabinet.gov.eg/Cabinet/Cabinet.aspx>
13. http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2097_05.htm
14. http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2097_95.htm
15. <http://www.opemam.org/node/2362?language=en>
- 16.
17. <http://www.parliament.gov.eg/home/>
18. ISTRATE, Ligia. "The Contemporary Egyptian Woman In Islamic Background Perception And Self Perception." *Scientific Journal Of Humanistic Studies* 4.7 (2012): 7-14.
19. Johnson, Darin E. W. "Beyond Constituent Assemblies And Referenda: Assessing The Legitimacy Of The Arab Spring Constitutions In Egypt And Tunisia." *Wake Forest Law Review* 50.4 (2015)

20. Lanfranchi, Sania Sharawi., John Keith King, and ebrary Academic Complete. *Casting Off the Veil: The Life of Huda Shaarawi, Egypt's First Feminist*. London: I.B.Tauris, 2012.
21. Makram-Ebeid, Mona. "Egypt's 2000 parliamentary elections." *Middle East Policy* 8.2 (2001): 32.
22. Mariscotti, Cathlyn. *Gender and Class in the Egyptian Women's Movement, 1925-1939: Changing Perspectives*. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 2008.
23. Mona Lena Krook. Reforming Representation: The Diffusion of Candidate Gender Quotas Worldwide. *Politics & Gender*, (2006) , pp. 303-327.
24. Nadje S. Ali-Ali, *The Women's Movement in Egypt, With Selected References to Turkey*, Perpustakaan Nasional RI, 2002.
25. Ramdani, Nabila. "Women In The 1919 Egyptian Revolution: From Feminist Awakening To Nationalist Political Activism." *Journal Of International Women's Studies* 2 (2013): 39.
26. Tadros, Mariz. "Quotas: A Highway To Power In Egypt ... But For Which Women?." *IDS Bulletin* 41.5 (2010): 89-99.
27. Talhami, Ghada Hashem. *The Mobilization of Muslim Women in Egypt*. Gainesville, FL: UP of Florida, 1996, p.21.

Appendix

I: - Evaluating the percentages of Egyptian women's representation in parliament

#	Statement	mean	standard deviation	cv%	agreement rate %	rank
1	I fully support the current percentages of women representation in parliament	4.201	1.1430	27.21 %	84.01 %	1
2	parliamentary representation should be on the basis of merit , not gender	4.074	1.1406	28.00 %	81.48 %	2
3	The number of seats that the Egyptian woman filled in the 2015 Parliamentary elections is sufficient	3.244	1.1615	35.81 %	64.88 %	8
4	Number of women in the parliaments specialized committees is currently appropriate	3.466	1.1248	32.45 %	69.32 %	7
5	Number of women in the parliaments specialized committees should be increased	3.478	1.2074	34.71 %	69.57 %	6
6	The percentage of Women's representation in the current Egyptian parliament is comparable to Arab and international numbers	3.090	1.2644	40.93 %	61.79 %	10
7	Representation of women in parliament, despite recently increased, did not yet reach the desired proportions.	3.562	1.1535	32.39 %	70.49 %	4
8	The representation of women in parliament will increase if the electoral system is changed using only the individual system	3.191	1.1936	37.40 %	63.83 %	9
9	The representation of women in parliament will increase if the electoral system is changed using only electoral lists	2.923	1.1817	40.43 %	58.46 %	11
10	The current women's representation in parliament will have a positive reflection on their representation rates in the next local council elections.	3.525	1.2649	35.89 %	71.23 %	3
11	The current women's representation in parliament will have a positive effect on the performance of women in their political parties	3.481	1.4433	41.46 %	69.63 %	5

II: - Evaluating the performance of Egyptian women in the current parliament

#	Statement	mean	standard deviation	cv %	agreement rate %	rank
1	In my opinion the society perceives women objectively in accordance with its history of struggle.	3.883	1.2210	31.45%	77.65%	1
2	The acceptance of women's participation in both politics and parliament came as a reflection of significant roles played by women during the Egyptian revolution	3.682	1.1515	31.27%	73.64%	4
3	So far Egyptian women in parliament have showed a balanced performance	3.256	1.2212	37.51%	65.12%	10
4	So far Egyptian women in parliament have succeeded in raising fundamental issues related to women	3.201	1.2366	38.64%	64.01%	11
5	Women in Parliament must first give their attention to women's issues	3.444	1.3284	38.57%	68.89%	7
6	Women in Parliament must first give their attention to the issues pertaining to development regardless of the recipient of the service (male/female)	3.565	1.2237	34.33%	71.30%	5
7	Women in Parliament should give their primarily concern to issues related to education	3.738	1.2550	33.58%	74.75%	3
8	Women in Parliament should give their primarily concern to issues related to health care	3.812	1.1718	30.74%	76.23%	2
9	Women in Parliament should give their primarily concern to issues related to industry	3.395	1.2583	37.06%	67.90%	9
10	Women in Parliament should give their primarily concern to issues related to the economy	3.537	1.1915	33.69%	70.74%	6
11	The current media environment positively contributed to the formation of a supportive public opinion encouraging a wider scale of political participation for Egyptian women	3.404	1.3238	38.89%	68.09%	8
12	The current media environment contributed to an unsupportive public opinion discouraging a wider scale of political participation for Egyptian women	3.108	1.4155	45.54%	62.16%	12