



# “Challenges of the Popular Crowded in the Time of Corona”

The Vote of Egyptians Residing Abroad

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In light of unprecedented regional conditions and international challenges with the spread of a disease that has forced humanity to bow before it. In the coming days, the Egyptian state is preparing for a new test of popular will and to clarify its biases in the process of forming parliaments expressing their convictions by voting for the formation of the Senate (2020), which is the first popular test for the amendments made to the texts of the constitution (2014) and included the addition of a chapter (seventh) consisting of (7) articles that restore the existence of a (second) room for Egyptian legislation under the name (the Senates). Voters residing outside the country go to the headquarters of the Egyptian diplomatic missions to cast their votes and choose their representatives for council membership will be held on Sundays and Mondays (9-10) August 2020, before Egyptians vote inside will begin on Tuesdays and Wednesdays (11-12) August 2020.

Despite many challenges facing the Senate's electoral process (2020), which ranged from the acceleration of procedures in a way that the political or societal forces were not qualified for, and also the absence of an effective and influential public cadre in its local environment in a broad sense that is commensurate with the nature and composition of the new electoral districts, to publicity blackmailing campaigns launched by some political groups associated with non-national plans and capabilities to undermine the value of the Council and discredit its hypothetical roles in serving public life, ending the risks and challenges of conducting the electoral process.

In light of the outbreak and spread of an unprecedented disease pandemic at the global level (Covid 19), with the number of people infected with it globally reaching (1691,605), including (663,852) deaths, led to many countries and governments taking exceptional decisions such as travel bans, flights, home isolation and compulsory residence for entire cities before countries expanded to take measures and policies of social separation and to adopt policies for working from home. The Egyptian state with injuries reaching (92947) injured including (4,691) deaths, interacted with that.

The National Elections Authority announced a set of procedures and rules regulating advertising frameworks and operations, including reducing the number and percentage of attendance at mass conferences and expanding indirect and electronic advertising activities, in addition to discussing ways and procedures for protection during voting operations, which included the adoption of the postal voting methodology for Egyptians residing abroad as an alternative to direct voting through embassies and Egyptian consulates, as was the case in previous electoral processes.

In fact, with every new electoral process to renew popular loyalty and measure the extent of satisfaction with the performance of the parliament council performance, the issue of voting for Egyptians living abroad returns to the forefront of the scene as one of the most prominent achievements of the popular and mass movement in the current decade, especially since extracting this electoral gain came with a judicial ruling issued by the Administrative Court in the case No. (347) for the year 12 Judicially, which was submitted by one of the lawyers, Field Marshal Hussein Tantawi, head of the Military Council, the Minister of Justice, the Ministers of Interior and Foreign Affairs, and the Chairman of the Supreme Elections Committee, as they are required to oblige them to vote for workers abroad in the 2011 elections.

The Judicial ruling pointed out that (the former ruling had corrupted political life in Egypt, especially the elections, whether in the People's Assembly and the Shura Council or the main elections, in which the right of the Egyptian citizen to free and direct elections was lost, and the right to vote for Egyptians living and working abroad was denied).

After the January 25 revolution, a new era must begin during which the right to vote for Egyptians abroad in any elections or referendums, especially that the first article of Law No. 73 of 1956 amended by Law No. 46 of 2011 stipulates the eligibility of

every Egyptian who has reached the age of (18 years) (exercise his own political rights, including voting in elections and expressing his opinion in referendums) and the legislator did not specify within the provisions of the law the need for an Egyptian to be residing at home, in addition to the fact that residency abroad is not considered an obstacle to voting. Accordingly, Egyptians abroad must participate in drawing up Egypt's political future and that Egyptians abroad can vote at consulates and embassies and use the passport in the absence of the national number.

This is what the court agreed with as it issued its decision in response to the popular demand to allow Egyptians residing abroad to exercise their right and participate in elections and public referendums.

In the reasons for its ruling obligating the government to allow Egyptians abroad to vote in the elections, the Administrative Court said that the constitutional declaration issued on March 30th stipulated that sovereignty belongs to the people and that the people alone are the source of powers and that citizens are equal before the law and they are equal in rights and duties without discrimination among them. The court also added that (the constitutional declaration is entrusted with the law to determine the provisions of elections and referendums, and that higher committees with judicial formation shall supervise the parliamentary elections in all their stages).

The Administrative Court referred that the law, regulating the exercise of political rights obliged every Egyptian who reached the age of 18 to express his opinion and elect the president of the republic, members of the People's Assembly, the Shura Council, and members of local people's councils, and that there was no indication of depriving Egyptians abroad of their right to exercise the right to vote, as no they are subject to the conditions of deprivation from exercising their voting rights (especially since the Immigration Law, gave the Egyptians the right to emigrate individually and in groups, whether permanent or temporary), provided that their immigration does not prejudice their constitutional or legal rights that they enjoy as Egyptians who retain their Egyptian nationality.

The court affirmed that (the Supreme Elections Committee enjoys, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitutional Declaration and the Law on Exercise of Political Rights, the necessary competence and authority to enable every Egyptian citizen

who has fulfilled the conditions for exercising political rights to exercise his right to participate in referendums and elections conducted by the Egyptian state. In light of that, it falls on the shoulders of the Supreme Elections Committee to take all necessaries and necessary measures to enable citizens abroad and in the countries where they reside to vote in the elections, considering that it is a constitutional and legal obligation on the committee, which it must activate to undertake and do it in the correct manner.

As a result, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces issued a constitutional declaration, published in the Official Gazette, No. 46 (bis) on November 19, 2011. The first article of which stipulated that a new article No. 39 (bis) should be added to the constitutional declaration issued on March 30, 2011 stipulating that (Exception from The provisions of Article (39) of this announcement shall regulate by a special law the provisions for the voting of Egyptians residing abroad in elections and referendums), which was followed by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces by issuing Decree Law No. 130 of 2011 regarding the voting of Egyptians residing abroad in general elections and referendums.

Article (first) stipulates that (the state guarantees to Egyptians residing outside the country to exercise the right to vote in general elections and to express their opinion in the referendum in accordance with the rules and procedures stipulated in this Decree-Law. March 2011 on how Egyptians abroad exercise the right to elect the President of the Republic, and the Supreme Elections Committee stipulated in Article 39 of the same aforementioned announcement supervises how Egyptians living abroad exercise the right to vote and express their opinion in legislative elections and referendums.

In order to regulate the exercise of this right, Article (2) stipulates that "Egyptians outside the country who are registered in the voter database must exercise the right to vote and express their opinion outside the country, express their desire with a request to be submitted to the Consulate of the Arab Republic of Egypt in the country in which they reside. It Includes electronic registration, and the Presidential Elections Committee or the Supreme Elections Committee, according to the circumstances, issues a decision on the dates and procedures for registration, the method for preparing the voter lists, the method of displaying them, and the dates and place of presentation. Article (3) stipulates that (the electoral domicile of an Egyptian residing abroad

is his place of residence inside the Arab Republic of Egypt, which is fixed in the national number card), while Article (4) clarified that (no one is accepted in proving the identity of Egyptian voters residing abroad except the national number card or passport Valid Egyptian travel for those who have previously issued a national ID card.)

Accordingly, the Supreme Judicial Committee for Elections adopted the mail voting mechanism as a means to grant Egyptians residing abroad the right to vote in the legislative elections (2011), whether by sending the envelope to the Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt by mail or going to the headquarters of the Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt to hand over the envelope while giving voters an opportunity to register a request to change the electoral commission outside Egypt until November 19, 2011, despite the fact that the implementation experiences of these rules showed crude interference in the independence and impartiality of the voter's vote. Whether by supporters of a political current buying voting forms for a large number of voters, especially in Arab countries, and blackening them in favor of their lists and candidates in the next parliamentary or presidential elections, or if a number of Egyptians residing abroad register themselves and then refrain from casting their votes, as the numbers indicate that:

in the presidential elections (2012) the number of registered voters reached (586,803), of whom (314,329) voters participated, with a percentage of (53.6%), while in the referendum on the constitution (2012), the number of registered voters reached (586,491) voters, of whom (246407) voters participated. 42%) and in the referendum on the constitution (2014) the number of registered voters reached (681346) voters, of whom (107041) voters participated at a rate of (15.7%) before the judicial committee supervising the elections intervened to confront these abuses and amend the voting rules to oblige the voter to go to the mission headquarters in the Egyptian diplomatic or consulate affiliated to casting his vote directly in front of it according to the same controls applied inside the country.

### **Legislative development of voting for Egyptians residing abroad**

The legislative process regulating the voting processes of Egyptians living abroad showed the development of rules and the accumulation of experiences resulting from the analysis of electoral experiences and learning from the paths of interference and manipulation of the biases of foreign voters in light of the efficiency and discipline of the process of applying the rules of impartiality, integrity and transparency at home.

With the issuance of the constitutional declaration, and after that the law regulating the voting of Egyptians living abroad, the Supreme Judicial Committee for Elections began to activate these texts in a factual manner. Every Egyptian residing abroad who holds a valid national number card or passport who has previously obtained a national number card has the right to exercise his right to vote in the general elections and to express his opinion in the referendum. While Article (2) stipulates that voter data who wishes to exercise the right to vote, expresses his desire to do so, by submitting a request to the Consulate of the Arab Republic of Egypt in the country in which he resides, either by hand or by e-mail. These are the rules that have been applied amid societal anticipation of how the Egyptian communities will exercise the new electoral right and the volume of turnout and voting in embassies and consulates, especially with the presence of numbers of Egyptians residing abroad who can, in case of heavy participation, influence the general results and perhaps change some of them.

However, the actual practice showed severe limitations in the registration processes to vote, and even greater limitations in the response and actual voting processes, in addition to the accumulation of interference practices and the violation of the right to free and fair voting, which was evident with the referendum on the texts of the 2012 Constitution, which witnessed a sectarian mobilization and the overthrow of all pillars of the civil state relying on The logic of (dominance) and the ability to mobilize the rules of the Brotherhood organization in Arab capitals and even exploit the needs of citizens and expatriate workers to activate cells to purchase national ID cards and rely on the mail voting mechanism as a means to escape from media control or implement the rules of the electoral management committees at the headquarters of embassies and consulates despite the crudeness of practices and behaviors .

| ٢٠١٢ Constitution Referendum |                             |        |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------|
| ١                            | <b>Number of registered</b> | ٥٨٦٤٩١ |
| ٢                            | <b>Number of Voters</b>     | ٢٤٦٤٠٧ |
| ٣                            | <b>Participation Rate</b>   | % ٤٢   |
| ٤                            | <b>Correct Sounds</b>       | ٢٤٤٤٨١ |
| ٥                            | <b>False Voices</b>         | ١٩٢٦   |
| ٦                            | <b>Agree</b>                | ١٦٠٧٩٥ |
| ٧                            | <b>Not agree</b>            | ٨٣٦٨٦  |

With the start of the electoral process for the presidency of the republic, the Presidential Elections Commission issued Resolution (4) of 2012 regarding the rules and procedures for voting Egyptians living abroad, whose Article No. (2) included the text that (Egyptians residing outside the Arab Republic of Egypt and whose names are listed in the voter database have the



right to vote in presidential elections The Republic in the headquarters indicated in the first article in the country in which they reside) while Article (3) stipulates that (Egyptians residing outside the Arab Republic of Egypt wishing to vote abroad are registered through the website of the Presidential Elections Committee) As for Article (6) it stipulates that (the registers of voters outside the country entails raising his name from the lists of voters inside the Arab Republic of Egypt, and he is not entitled to vote in the 2012 presidential elections except at the headquarters where he registered to vote abroad).

However, the Elections Committee has re-entered an amendment to these rules by Resolution (18) of 2012 amending some provisions of Resolution (4) of 2012 amending Paragraph (II) of Article (9) to stipulate that (the voter has the right to address himself during the days specified for Egyptians to vote in outside to the headquarters of the Egyptian diplomatic mission or consulate before which he is registered to cast his vote, from eight in the morning until eight in the evening. The fund designated for this), which are the rules that were flagrantly violated during the run-off to ensure the provision of an umbrella guaranteeing the victory of the organization's candidate in light of a state of complacency with the support and declared support from the authorities of a number of countries, especially those in which the extremist organization has access and support, which is reflected in the practices of - It reached that one mailbox sent (4) thousands of ballot envelopes - which provoked crises that almost swept the votes of entire embassies as a result of these unacceptable violations.

| ٢٠١٢ Presidential Election |                      |        |
|----------------------------|----------------------|--------|
| ١                          | Number of registered | ٥٨٦٨.٣ |
| ٢                          | Number of Voters     | ٣١٤٣٢٩ |
| ٣                          | Participation Rate   | % ٥٣,٦ |
| ٤                          | Correct Sounds       | ٣١١٨٧٥ |
| ٥                          | False Voices         | ٢٤٥٤   |

Once the terrorist organization's hegemony and control over the reins of power in the Egyptian state was eliminated in response to popular demands and massive public demonstrations - technical history has not witnessed documentation of anything similar to it - despite what it provoked from regional and international reactions that varied between the blurry vision resulting from (industrial dust) raised by the media affiliate or sympathetic to the organization and the shock and anger of countries and governments that tried, through that group, to restore their colonial heritage or to appear in the image of the strong and influential man of the region in the course of events.

Therefore, it was natural for this environment to create an unemotive atmosphere to the participation of the Egyptian communities residing abroad in the following electoral and voting processes, whether by the reluctance of the organization's elements to participate or its pressure on the functional sectors that witness a heavy Egyptian presence to put obstacles in the way of their going to the polling stations in the headquarters of the Egyptian missions, which is what was reflected in the decline in the voter turnout on the 2014 Egyptian constitution, which reached 107,041 out of 681346 voters who registered on the website to show the scene as if they were reluctance and refusal to accept the new form of power in the Egyptian case.

| 2014 Constitution Referendum |                      |        |
|------------------------------|----------------------|--------|
| ١                            | Number of registered | 681346 |
| ٢                            | Number of Voters     | 107041 |
| ٣                            | Participation Rate   | 15,7 % |
| ٤                            | Correct Sounds       | 106541 |
| ٥                            | False Voices         | 500    |
| ٦                            | Agree                | 104464 |
| ٧                            | Not agree            | 2077   |

In light of that experience, it was natural for the bodies entrusted with managing electoral operations to review the form and nature of the procedures for voting Egyptians abroad, so that the Presidential Elections Committee would issue its resolution No.11 in the general elections. Article (1) states that every Egyptian who is outside Egypt on the day the presidential elections take place abroad has the right to vote in the elections whenever his name is registered in the voters' database and holds a valid national number card or passport including the number. The voter must exercise this right himself. While Article (2) stipulates that "the voter's identity proof shall not be taken into account without the original national ID card or the passport with the national number fixed on it.

The most important amendment came within Article (3), which stipulated that voting shall take place at the headquarters of the Egyptian consulate or mission or any of the headquarters specified by a decision of the High Elections Committee after taking the opinion of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In addition to this amendment the national situation that saw the support and support of the candidate Abdel-Fattah El-Sisi: Acknowledgment and recognition of the support for the path and the steps taken to get rid of the terrorist organization, and to show popular approval and approval for all the steps that have been taken, even though they are issued by citizens residing outside the borders of the state (and this may have been the most telling significance) to witness a clear turnout and festive and festive appearances in front of all embassies and consulates Determined by the Judicial Committee for the voting of Egyptians residing abroad.

| 2014 Presidential Elections |                        |        |
|-----------------------------|------------------------|--------|
| 1                           | Voters Number          | ٣١٨.٣٣ |
| 2                           | Correct Votes          | ٣١٣٨٣٥ |
| 3                           | False Votes            | ٤١٩٨   |
| 4                           | Abd El-Fattah El-Sissi | ٢٩٦٦٢٨ |

|   |               |       |
|---|---------------|-------|
| 5 | Hamden Sabahi | ١٧٢٠٧ |
|---|---------------|-------|

With the state heading towards restructuring the House of Representatives (2015) and taking executive steps to organize the electoral process, the Supreme Judicial Committee for Elections issued Resolution (73) for the year 2015 regulating the voting of Egyptians living abroad in the 2015 House of Representatives elections, whose Article No. (1) states that (for every Egyptian A resident outside Egypt has the right to vote - to choose candidates in his constituency - in the 2015 House of Representatives elections whenever his name is registered in the voter database and holds a national number card indicating his address in Egypt or a valid passport including the national number and his address in Egypt and submitted a declaration stating that he is a resident Abroad and a document evidencing residency, which the committee supervising elections in the diplomatic mission accepts as evidence of residency abroad, and the voter must exercise this right himself.

With the emphasis of Article (3) that (the casting of the vote shall take place at the headquarters of the Egyptian mission or consulate or any of the headquarters specified by a decision of the Supreme Elections Committee after consulting the opinion of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and this is the path that the National Elections Authority reconfirmed with its call for presidential elections. 2018), which witnessed an apparent decline in the number of Egyptians residing abroad voting despite the high rates of domestic voter turnout, a behavior that can be explained by the reduced sense of real competition between the president who enjoys overwhelming support (Sisi) and his rival (Moussa).

| 2018 Presidential Elections |                |        |
|-----------------------------|----------------|--------|
| ١                           | Voters Number  | ١٥٧.٦. |
| ٢                           | Correct Voices | ١٥٣٢٥. |
| ٣                           | False Voters   | ٣٨١.   |

|   |                        |        |
|---|------------------------|--------|
| ٤ | Abd El-Fattah El-Sissi | ١٥١٣٣١ |
| ٥ | Moussa Mostafa Moussa  | ١٩١٩   |

### Egyptian Votes in Western Countries

Despite the presence of Egyptian communities residing almost stable in Western societies, and even the presence of focal points with heavy relative weights from families, the turnout and voting rates in the general elections among them were very limited, in a behavior that is difficult to find convincing justification for, especially since many sectors of them suffered from the challenges of the sectarian scene Which was the reason for the departure of most of them, and even their ability to appear as a pressure center capable of negotiating and extracting gains in favor of its interest groups, especially as it coincided with an electoral process that witnessed a sectarian mobilization in addition to the momentum after the mass movement on January 25. This is what those communities failed to exploit or benefit from to the extent that the highest voter turnout in the 2012 presidential elections, which was presented by the London Embassy, stood at (3,938) voters, followed by New York (3,697) and Washington (2,961) voters, figures that make it closer to the voting of local polling stations Including votes for embassies that include nationals of tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of Egyptians residing abroad.

| Western Embassies (Presidency 2012) |                    |                 |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Number                              | Embassy/ Consulate | Number of Votes |
| ١                                   | London             | ٣٩٣٨            |
| ٢                                   | New York           | ٣٦٩٧            |
| ٣                                   | Washington         | ٢٩٦١            |

|    |            |      |
|----|------------|------|
| ٤  | Paris      | ٢٩٤٥ |
| ٥  | Los Anglos | ٢٨٥٨ |
| ٦  | Ottawa     | ٢٨٢٨ |
| ٧  | Montreal   | ٢٨.٢ |
| ٨  | Milan      | ٢٦١٨ |
| ٩  | Melbourne  | ١٩٣٥ |
| ١٠ | Germany    | ١٦٤٤ |

However, the votes of Egyptians residing in Western societies have witnessed a clear numerical boom represented in the doubling of the number of voters as a direct result of the organized work of the Egyptian committees abroad and the dialogues and meetings that took place with those communities to explain the conditions and challenges in Egypt that require popular support and support for the presidential election process (2014) as a guarantee to highlight the scene. The National Assembly, expressing real satisfaction with the nature of the authority and in support of its path that desires to give independence to the national decision and diversify its sources of power, as well as the efforts of the organizing committees in providing transportation and facilitating efforts for those wishing to participate, bringing the number of voters in New York to (9417), followed by Milan (9095) and Paris ( 6421) and New York (5905) voters

| Western Embassies (Presidency 2014) |                    |                 |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Number                              | Embassy/ Consulate | Number of Votes |
| ١                                   | New York           | ٩٤١٧            |

|    |             |      |
|----|-------------|------|
| ٢  | Milan       | ٩.٩٥ |
| ٣  | Paris       | ٦٤٢١ |
| ٤  | Los Angeles | ٥٩.٥ |
| ٥  | London      | ٤٦٣٤ |
| ٦  | Montreal    | ٣١٢١ |
| ٧  | Sydney      | ٢٧٩. |
| ٨  | Washington  | ٢٦١٨ |
| ٩  | Rome        | ٢٤٢٣ |
| ١٠ | Athens      | ٢٤.٢ |

In the presidential elections (2018), the voter turnout in Western capitals decreased again due to the state of societal stability and the absence of real competition in front of President (Sisi), which may call for a sense of danger that attracts a supportive voting crowd through the ballot boxes to find that the votes of voters in Western capitals are declining affected by the competitive situation and the inability of the electoral battle It should evoke the feelings and desires of participation in light of the difficulties of transportation and the distances between the places of work and residence of the communities and between the consular headquarters in which the votes are cast directly in front of it.

| Western Embassies (Presidency 2014) |                    |                 |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Number                              | Embassy/ Consulate | Number of Votes |
| ١                                   | Milan              | ٥.٥.            |

|    |                    |      |
|----|--------------------|------|
| ٢  | <b>New York</b>    | ٣٢٣١ |
| ٣  | <b>Paris</b>       | ٣١٧٩ |
| ٤  | <b>London</b>      | ٢١٤١ |
| ٥  | <b>Los Angeles</b> | ١٩٤١ |
| ٦  | <b>Athens</b>      | ١٨٨٧ |
| ٧  | <b>Sydney</b>      | ١٥٩٩ |
| ٨  | <b>Rome</b>        | ١٥٢٤ |
| ٩  | <b>The Hague</b>   | ١٢٠٨ |
| ١٠ | <b>Melbourne</b>   | ١١٧١ |

The observer of the development of the voting process in the major Western capitals will clearly discover the extent to which the voting crowd of Egyptians residing abroad is related to the nature of power inside the country, especially their positions on religious freedoms and freedom of belief. Attempts to break away from the electoral situation and its repercussions, in contrast to the scenes reported by the media and the coexistences carried out by many civil and official institutions, to restore a sense of belonging and flaunt the Egyptian flag, and to line up in front of polling stations in national embassies and consulates from various cities and in various Western capitals.



| Evolution of voting for western capitals |                     |                 |                 |                 |
|--|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Number                                   | Embassy / Consulate | 2012 Presidency | 2014 Presidency | 2018 Presidency |
| ١  | New York            | ٣٦٩٧            | ٩٤١٧            | ٣٢٣١            |
| ٢  | Milan               | ٢٦١٨            | ٩.٩٥            | ٥.٥٠            |
| ٣  | Paris               | ٢٩٤٥            | ٦٤٢١            | ٣١٧٩            |
| ٤  | London              | ٣٩٣٨            | ٤٦٣٤            | ٢١٤١            |
| ٥  | Montreal            | ٢٨.٢            | ٣١٢١            | ١١.٥            |

### Egyptians vote in Arab countries

The votes of Egyptians residing in the Arab countries represent an important number in the Egyptian electoral equation for various reasons, perhaps the most prominent of which is that these Egyptians have temporary residence and are contingent on job opportunities and the resulting high income with close communication and connection with the internal Egyptian affairs and tracking its developments, unlike the situation for Egyptians residing in Western countries who moved there for the purposes of Migration or permanent settlement without tracking or interfering in the course of events except to the extent that it affects their lives and the lives of their extended families who are still living inside.

Secondly, because the Egyptian situation and for considerations of weight, history and status represents a (political tsunami) whose effects will not stop at the borders of the Egyptian state, but will go beyond it to the various surrounding countries and countries that have interests and also interventions in the Egyptian affairs through which it seeks to settle a situation that benefits interests, as the employment paper represents The Egyptian, with its density and voting trends, is an active element in the scene and its repercussions.

In this context, we can read the massive voting scene in Arab capitals during the initial voting operations after the popular wave in January, which was driven by the ambitions and desires of change and reform, in addition to the activity of groups in registering their members and followers through the postal voting base. Al Gharbia combined, followed by Kuwait (58826), Jeddah (26934), Dubai (21312) and Doha (19164) voters.

| Arab Embassies (Presidency 2012) |                     |              |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Number                           | Embassy / Consulate | Votes Number |
| ١                                | Riyadh              | ٨٤.٠٥        |
| ٢                                | Kuwait              | ٥٨٨٢٦        |
| ٣                                | grandmother         | ٢٦٩٣٤        |
| ٤                                | Dubai               | ٢١٣١٢        |
| ٥                                | Doha                | ١٩١٦٤        |
| ٦                                | Abu Dhabi           | ١٥٢٣٤        |
| ٧                                | Muscat              | ٥٦.٤         |
| ٨                                | the two seas        | ٣٩١٥         |
| ٩                                | Jordan              | ١٤٣١         |
| ١٠                               | Sudan               | ٦.١          |

Despite the successive Egyptian events and the mobilization of Egyptians in a historical scene to demand salvation from the sectarian and tyrannical rule of the group, which culminated in the demonstrations of June 30 and July 3, which state institutions sided with in support and support, and the accompanying hard international positions accompanied by an incendiary media

discourse led by the Qatari channel group (Al Jazeera). The Egyptians residing in those countries take a national and historical position by lining up in unprecedented numbers in front of polling stations abroad, carrying Egyptian flags and pictures, and singing national songs and anthems, so that the number of voters in the Egyptian presidential elections (2014) exceeded the total of their previous votes, especially in the main Arab capitals, which announced from the first moment their support and support. For the Egyptian Will (Saudi Arabia - UAE - Kuwait).

| Arab Embassies (Presidency 2014) |                     |              |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Number                           | Embassy / Consulate | Votes Number |
| ١                                | Kuwait              | ٦٥٣٣.        |
| ٢                                | Riyadh              | ٣٩٥١٩        |
| ٣                                | grandmother         | ٣٧.٩.        |
| ٤                                | Dubai               | ٢٨٦٤٥        |
| ٥                                | Abu Dhabi           | ٢٣٦١١        |
| ٦                                | Doha                | ٢١٢٣٧        |
| ٧                                | Oman                | ١.٨٩٩        |
| ٨                                | Manama              | ٦.٢٥         |
| ٩                                | Muscat              | ٥٢٩٩         |
| ١٠                               | Beirut              | ٤٧٣٦         |

In the presidential elections (2018), the voting index took a relative regression curve, affected by the nature of the electoral practice, whether the stability of the international situation, the overwhelming popularity of the president, or the weakness of his opponent, which severely affected the turnout of Egyptians residing in Arab countries to leave their workplaces and head towards the polling stations.

| Arab Embassies (Presidency 2018) |                     |              |
|----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Number                           | Embassy / Consulate | Votes Number |
| ١                                | Kuwait              | ٣٥١٦٥        |
| ٢                                | Jeddah              | ١٨٤٦٤        |
| ٣                                | Riyadh              | ١٦٤٠٥        |
| ٤                                | Dubai               | ١٣٧١٠        |
| ٥                                | Abu Dhabi           | ١٣٣٧٧        |
| ٦                                | Oman                | ٥٧٨٠         |
| ٧                                | Doha                | ٥٣٦٧         |
| ٨                                | Muscat              | ٣٥٣٥         |
| ٩                                | Manama              | ٣٤٢٣         |
| ١٠                               | Beirut              | ٢٢١٦         |

In fact, reading the development of the processes of casting the votes of Egyptians residing in Arab countries in the general elections clearly reveals the dominance of the voters from (Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Emirates, Qatar) on the Arab scene in a behavior that is due to the high volume of Egyptian labor in those countries in addition to the relationship of their respective

governments with the structure of the Egyptian authority. whether In a positive and supportive way, guarantees and facilities for casting votes are well available to the Egyptian workers inside it (Saudi Arabia, the Emirates, Kuwait) or the hostile stance dependent on regional agendas by the Qatari government, which has turned into a media machine and financier for terrorist operations and the diaspora of the opposition (the puppet) to distort the Egyptian scene, creating a catalyst Especially with the Egyptian workers residing in it to defend themselves and create a clear distinction between their presence associated with job duties and their biases linked to national agendas, which appeared like me through the ballot boxes in all successive electoral processes.

| The evolution of the voting of Arab capitals |                     |                 |                 |                 |
|--|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Number                                       | Embassy / Consulate | 2012 Presidency | 2014 Presidency | 2018 Presidency |
| ١  | <b>Kuwait</b>       | ٥٨٨٢٦           | ٦٥٣٣.           | ٣٥١٦٥           |
| ٢  | <b>Riyadh</b>       | ٨٤.٠٥           | ٣٩٥١٩           | ١٦٤.٥           |
| ٣  | <b>Jeddah</b>       | ٢٦٩٣٤           | ٣٧.٩.           | ١٨٤٦٤           |
| ٤  | <b>Dubai</b>        | ٢١٣١٢           | ٢٨٦٤٥           | ١٣٧١.           |
| ٥  | <b>Doha</b>         | ١٩١٦٤           | ٢١٢٣٧           | ١٣٣٧٧           |

### Voting challenges in the Senate elections (2020)

Within the framework of its role and competence stipulated in Article (209) of the Constitution and also Clause No. (10) of Article (3) by Law (198) of 2017, which makes the National Elections Authority competent to set (the rules regulating the procedures for the voting process of Egyptians residing abroad in referendums and elections in accordance with and their specific situations, determining the locations and number of these committees, and those in charge of them, all with the

provision of guarantees that guarantee the integrity and impartiality of the referendum or election process. On July 20, 2020, the Authority issued its decision No. (44) of 2020 regulating voting procedures for Egyptians abroad, including in Article No. (1) that (every Egyptian residing abroad has the right to vote in the Senate elections whenever his name is registered in the voter database and holds a card. A national ID number or a valid passport, including the national number). While Article (2) stipulates that "Senate elections for Egyptians residing abroad shall be conducted by mail for each voter separately, and the ballot papers shall be sent to the election committees indicated by the decision of the National Elections Authority organizing this during the days of Sunday and Monday corresponding to August 9-10, 2020. In the case of a return during the days of on Sunday and Monday, September 6-7, 2020, the committees start their work from nine in the morning until nine in the evening to receive the voting letters from Sunday, August 9, 2020 until Wednesday, August 12, 2020.

In the case of return, starting from Sunday, September 6 2020 to Wednesday, September 9, 2020 according to the local time of the mission in which the polling takes place. It is a voting method developed by the commission as an alternative to direct voting by voters inside the polling committee headquarters located in embassies and consulates in implementation of the recommendations of the World Health Organization and in line with the decisions and controls set by the countries of the world to contain the virus and limit the chances of its spread.

Within the framework of regulating the exercise of this voting right and to ensure that a protective umbrella is provided for the benefit of the voters and that their rights are not violated, Article (3) stipulates that (every voter residing outside Egypt must register his data and the Egyptian diplomatic mission to which he resides abroad through the official website of the National Elections Authority as of Saturday Corresponding to July 25, 2020 until Friday, July 31, 2020, and the registration number is shown to the voter if it is proven that his name has been registered in the voter database, and the number is kept without anyone knowing about it until the end of the electoral process.)

Article (4) supplemented the organizing rules and executive steps guaranteeing voting by stipulating that (all constituencies' ballot papers for the individual and list systems are available on the authority's official website during the two election days abroad, taking into account the timing of each country and obtained by those who previously registered their data in accordance with the previous article in accordance with the previous article for the constituency of his place of residence using the registration number for one time. He prints it and expresses his opinion on it by choosing a number of candidates for the individual system equal to the number of seats designated for the constituency and choosing one of the lists with the card designated for the list system. A photocopy of the valid national number card or passport, including the national number, the residence document in the country where the vote is issued, and the voting declaration attached to this decision, full data and signed by the voter personally inside an envelope that suffices those documents, and on which his data and the address of the electoral committee of the diplomatic mission to which he is sent are proven from abroad, then sends the papers Committee by express mail.)

**Despite the value and importance of these rules and procedures adopted by the National Elections Authority to activate the participation of Egyptians residing abroad in the Egyptian elections, whether in preserving the life and health of voters, or in line with the rules of maintaining public health pursued by governments and international organizations, or facilitating the means to vote and vote in front of the voter, which may enhance the chances of increasing the rates of participation of Egyptians abroad in the elections, but the voter turnout rates and trends will continue to be accompanied by a number of challenges and controls that we can summarize as follows:**

**First:** the position of the governments or countries that will witness voting operations from the Egyptian electoral practice in light of their adoption of the policies of distancing and reducing the operations of presence or gathering in a closed place, which requires seeking alternatives and policies commensurate with the nature of the situation without affecting the impartiality and integrity of the electoral practice.

**Second:** the absence of seats allocated to represent Egyptians residing abroad from the composition of the Senate according to the constitutional text (the 2019 amendments) or the Senate Law (141) for the year 2020, similar to what is in the composition of the House of Representatives, which makes the association of communities with the Council or their interest in its performance very limited.

**Third:** the absence of mechanisms and tools for communication and popular interdependence between residents abroad or internal institutions, which made large sectors of Egyptians living abroad reluctant to participate or pay attention to the details and interactions of internal affairs, which may require a review of performance and the adoption of alternative national policies.

**Fourth:** Egyptians residing abroad do not feel the importance and impact of the Egyptian parliaments on their lives or enhance their position in the alternative societies in which they live in a way that may create a link of interest that enhances opportunities for participation and attention.

**Fifth:** financial cost associated with participation operations, which collides with convictions established among many communities living abroad that the goal of existence and enduring hardships is to accumulate and hoard money, which makes him think a lot before undertaking any activity that may require more expenses.

**Sixth:** the lack of awareness of large sectors of the Egyptian labor force with limited culture or literacy in the ways and tools of remote voting as a result of the lack of awareness campaigns and the weak activity of national political groups among them (an issue that needs review and discussion).

**Seventh:** the complete absence of competing political parties and forces at home from the non-internal scene and the absence of coordinators for them between the functional sectors abroad. They practice propaganda and mobilize voters in successive electoral processes, which clearly reveals the dilemma of the parties and political forces in their communication with the popular backer or their ability to direct him or benefiting from it despite the passage of many years since the court's ruling granting Egyptians residing abroad the right to vote.



**Eighth:** the absence of the electoral discourse directed to the Egyptian communities abroad and the absence of their demands and problems from the electoral programs of potential candidates, which made the citizen not find himself or feel his value in making this elite or supporting the presence of its elements, which can be clearly monitored when analyzing the intellectual content of the electoral programs of the candidates.

### Expected Voting Trends

The developments the world is witnessing against the background of the Corona pandemic and its repercussions on the political climate reveal several possible trends for Egyptians abroad to vote in the Senate elections, which can be stated as follows:

**The government's response to Corona reinforces a kind of political bias:** a sector of Egyptians abroad is likely to view positively the Egyptian state's response to the conditions of Egyptians who have been affected by the Corona pandemic, and the conduct of procedures for those stranded abroad, which may prompt more voters who support the Egyptian state to engage in Voting process with taking a greater number of health precautions. In fact, a segment of Egyptians abroad received the Egyptian government's comments towards the returning and stranded Egyptians with more enthusiasm and support for the state's directions. For example, the Minister of Planning and Economic Development said that Egyptians returning from abroad represent a number of different governorates, which can be invested in benefiting from their energies. and their skills in a set of programs that help comprehensive development.

The efforts of the Egyptian state were not limited to the above. The state has adopted new mechanisms to help Egyptians abroad to vote. It announced, through the National Elections Authority, that the voting process will take place through a new mechanism, which is express mail, to prevent gatherings in front of embassies in light of the emerging Corona virus crisis.

**Variation in Voting Ratios:** The turnout of Egyptians abroad is expected to vary widely at the polls in the Senate elections; Where less participation is expected in countries that still impose restrictions on gatherings, as well as in countries that have witnessed significant deaths from the Corona virus, and this trend increased in particular after the imposition of a curfew. Many countries of the world have warned of the dangers of an outbreak of the "Corona" virus if the safety rules imposed by the authorities are not adhered to. Therefore, there is a possibility of a decline in participation rates among Egyptians abroad, and despite the interest of significant sectors of Egyptians in the Egyptian interior, the conditions of closure in a large number of

countries in the world against the background of the Corona pandemic, may push many to refrain from participating for fear of gatherings and mixing, which provides a fertile environment for the spread of Corona epidemic. Also, the high levels of mortality in countries where the Egyptian expatriate population is present, may prompt older voters to change their minds about participating in the electoral movement for the Senate.

On the other hand, participation rates are expected to decrease in countries that terminated some Egyptians' work contracts, as well as countries where Egyptian labor suffers from complicated situations. He also expected a relative participation in some countries that eased the ban measures, especially in European countries that began easing closures and returning things to normal.

**Consolidating the boycott in the countries incubating Islamists:** It is expected that Egyptians residing in countries such as Turkey and Qatar will refrain from participating in the electoral process, or participate by passive voting without choosing any of the participating lists. This is due to the presence of the current of political Islam in these countries, and some of the political currents loyal to them, and may play a role in influencing the Egyptians not to participate. This is revealed by the media aura and the remarkable activity in the Brotherhood's channels -Al Sharq, Mukameleen and Watan- in addition to the electronic space through social networking sites for calls aimed at reducing the political weight of the Senate, and that the Council is nothing more than a democratic decor that the regime employs to beautify its image. The Brotherhood in countries that oppose the Egyptian state, and that represent a safe haven for political Islam currents, may play a role in mobilization operations in the interest of boycotting the electoral process for the Senate, given their ability to deal with Egyptian gatherings in these countries, and their ability to influence voting trends.

**Societal forces abroad that may prompt non-participation:** The spread of the "Corona" disease has contributed to the growing fears of societal forces among Egyptians abroad, in many ways, most notably the possibility of spreading the epidemic more widely due to the lack of commitment to social separation. In addition, the fear of the spread of infection stopped the agents of the candidates in the Senate elections or the supporters of the political forces participating in the entitlement of the Senate, regardless of their orientations and orientations, from practicing electoral propaganda among the Egyptian communities.

**Declining fortunes for small parties:** Although participation rates are expected to decrease in the Senate vote, the percentage expected to contribute to the voting process, whether by going to electoral headquarters or voting by mail, may tend to choose personalities more capable of leading the country in light of the current crisis that is facing the world is experiencing it against the background of the Corona pandemic. Therefore, Egyptian voters abroad are likely to move away from small parties such as the Gathering, Leadership, Union, Human Rights and Citizenship, the Constitutional Liberals, and the Voice of the People, due



to their weak presence in Egyptian political life, as they seem closer to seasonal parties floating on the surface of the political arena. Election times.

**In conclusion**, it can be said that the elections for the Senate, although it is the first of its kind after the return of the Shura Council in a new dress, and with clear and specific powers, the political participation of Egyptians abroad is expected to be at a minimum due to the Corona pandemic, and the return of large sectors of Egyptians abroad in addition to Many countries have strong fears of electoral rallies, which prompted the Supreme Elections Committee in Egypt to introduce postal voting.