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**Egyptian Coalition for Human Rights and Development Election Observatory**

# **A Reading in General Directions for the Run-off Vote – First Phase (2020 House of Representatives)**

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In a move that resembles the moments of closing the curtain in the great theatrical works with its accompanying enthusiasm and the collective integration and interaction of the audience with the performances, and the great integrations of the actors, as well as the anticipation for the organizers and the management teams, came the technical statement of the "National Election Authority" with the results of the run-off elections for the first phase of the House of Representatives elections 2020, which was held in (13) governorates is (Giza – Fayoum - Beni Suef - Minya - Valley - New valley - Sohag - Qena - Luxor – Aswan – Alexandria - Beheria – Marsa Matrouh) on Saturdays, Sundays, and Mondays (21-23) November 2020 outside Egypt. While elections on Mondays and Tuesdays (23-24) November were inside Egypt within the framework of competitiveness between (220) candidates competing for (110) seats divided between (54) constituencies two of which were partially contested after the deciding part of them through the first round within (16) constituencies, whose results are determined by the investigation of candidates for meeting the requirement contained in the article (23), which stipulates that “In the election under the individual-seat system, the candidate securing the absolute majority of valid votes cast in his/her constituency shall be declared elected. If the majority provided for in the previous clause is not secured by any or some of the candidates, a run-off election shall be held between the two candidates who secured the highest number of valid votes. The number of candidates in the run-off shall be twice the number of seats for which the run-off election is held. In such a case, the number of candidates who have secured the highest number of valid votes, equal to the number of run-off seats, shall be declared elected. In the event that the number of candidates is less than twice the number of seats for which the run-off election is held, the election shall be held among them, and those securing the highest number of valid votes shall be declared elected according to the number of seats”. This is the electoral process, whose steps and procedures have been accompanied by many scenes and details affecting its performance included in the following observations:

**First:** The run-off for the first phase of the House of Representatives Elections has witnessed the conduct of electoral competitiveness within (13) governorates after the electoral process has been decided in the Red Sea governorate within its (three) constituencies from the first round to become the (first and only) governate among all the Egyptian governorates, which announced the winner

candidates for all seats in both the individual and listing systems (existing singles) from the first round and without the need for the run-off round.

**Second:** The electoral process for the Minya governorate was limited to (5) individual constituencies after (freezing) the electoral position of the Deir Mawas constituency, which issued a judicial ruling concerning its individual seat in the original nullity suit No. (1849) of 67 judicial year. At the 10/19/2020 session, by accepting appeal No. (457) for the year 67 judicial year. The consequent effects, most notably the inclusion of Alaa Muhammad Hassanein in the final lists of candidates accepted for the individual seat No. (4) with the implementation of the ruling in its draft and without announcement, which is the ruling that the National Elections Authority committed to issuing its decision No. (73) for the year 2020, including in its first article fulfilling the inclusion of the name of the candidate, while in its second article it stipulates postponing the implementation of the rest of the procedures and dates set for the elections of the House of Representatives in the Sixth Constituency, located in Deir Mawas Center at Minya Governorate, on the individual seat inside and outside Egypt until the decision of the National Elections Authority regulating it.

**Third:** In the first practical application of the package of amendments to the national electoral laws (Law on the exercise of political rights - Law on the House of Representatives - Law of the National Elections Authority), the National Elections Authority has committed itself to implement (3) final provisions including; an amendment to the identification of persons running for run-off elections in the constituencies of the governorates of the first stage, so the National Elections Authority issued Resolution No. (83) for 2020 to implement the ruling issued by the Supreme Administrative Court (First Circuit) in the appeal No. (7062) for the year 67 judiciary listing the name of the candidate Ali Muhanna Massoud Awad (independent), known as Ali Al-Damini, in the run-off round of the fifth constituency based in the Hosh Issa Center at Beheira governorate instead of; the candidate Mohammed Abdul Ghani Abdul Latif Saqr (Nation's Future Party), and resolution No. (84) for 2020 to implement the ruling issued by the Supreme Administrative Court (First Circuit) in appeal No. (7194) for 67 judiciary listing the name of the candidate Ahmed Abdul Hamid Sayed Ahmed (Al-Nour) , known as Ahmed Al-Sharif, in the run-off round of the sixth constituency based in the Department of Dakhla at Alexandria governorate instead of; the candidate Mona Hassan Saad Hassan (independent)

and resolution No. (85) for 2020 to implement the ruling issued by the Supreme Administrative Court (First Circuit) in appeals No. (7072) and (7560) for the year 67 judiciary. Also, listing the name of the candidate Mahmoud Fakhreddin Sobhi Mohammed (independent), known as Bassam Al-Sawaf, in the run-off round in the third constituency based in The Center of Snoures at Fayoum governorate instead of; the candidate Manjood Mohammed Abdul Quwai Abdul Aziz (Republican People), known as Manjood Al-Hawari.

**Fourth:** The electoral process for the run-off has come to confirm the heated competitive struggle, including a continuation of the phenomenon of grievance and legal objection to the processes of collecting and numerical counting of the votes of the candidates before the National Elections Authority, which included the submission of 248 complaints against the results of the first round of the first phase and 245 complaints against the results of the first round of the second stage, as well as (50) complaints against the results of the run-off for the first stage, which are the grievances that the National Elections Authority considered and ended up not accepting some of them in form, and rejecting the subjects of others in a behavior that requires a review of the conduct of the National Elections Authority and its way of dealing with the objections of candidates and their complaints against the performance of the judges of the subcommittees, as well as the results of the votes counting announced by the public committees, especially since some of the grievances that were rejected by the Commission were part of judicial rulings of the Supreme Administrative Court (First Circuit) in which it was dismissed in favor of the candidates.

**Fifth:** Competitiveness declined in the run-off between the main contenders of popularity and electoral experience, which supported their chances of reaching the final station of the scene, which we can be monitored in view of the developments in the numerical position of the competitors, as the total number of candidates reached (3,964), including (3,095) independent candidates and (869) candidates representing their parties in almost absolute dominance of the independents on the competitive scene in terms of limiting party competitiveness to (36) political parties with the absence of (68) parties from the electoral scene completely.

<b>Overall totals of the electoral process</b>		
<b>No</b>	<b>Statement</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Candidates</b>	<b>3964</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>3095</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Partisans</b>	<b>869</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>368</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Christians</b>	<b>145</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Subcommittees</b>	<b>20432</b>

With the implementation and application of the system of dividing the governorates for time stages to meet the electoral performances, these numbers have shrunk to the share of the initial stage of the elections with its 14 governorates comprising (70) electoral constituencies in the individual system (after excluding the Deir Mawas constituency for postponing the elections within it), and (1862) candidates with a percentage of (47%) of the total candidates, including (1401) independent candidates, and (461) partisan candidates.

<b>Electoral process totals (initial phase)</b>		
<b>No</b>	<b>Statement</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Candidates</b>	<b>1862</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Independents</b>	<b>1401</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Partisans</b>	<b>461</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>152</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Christians</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Subcommittees</b>	<b>10240</b>

The procedures of the governorates in those governorates resulted in a complete settlement of competition with of (14) electoral constituencies with a total of (29) seats distributed among (4) governorates, including the (Red Sea) governorate, which deducted all its seats, and additional (3) seats to two constituencies through which partly deducted (3) seats, while the remaining rest of it is for the run-off round (4) seats, while the second round is taking place to deduct (all) seats in (52) constituencies with a total of (106) seats.

<b>Electoral process totals (run-off round)</b>		
<b>No</b>	<b>Statement</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Candidates</b>	<b>220</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Independents</b>	<b>87</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Partisans</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Women</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Christians</b>	<b>7</b>

**Sixth:** The electoral competitiveness has witnessed a medium average of voting participation by the voters for reasons that can be mostly attributed to the modernity of the electoral system and the lack of understanding of the mechanisms of its application or its goals and objectives by large sectors of the voters, as well as its complexities with regard to the mechanism of distributing seats and quotas for each constituency, which differs and varies based on the constituency. This made the process lack general coordination and the possibility of transferring expertise between constituencies and voters, in addition to the existence of a collective position that carries a lot of anger over the executive performance and public policies, and the imbalance in the distribution of burdens among societal sectors, which created a direct reluctance to participate in addition to an angry collective vote whose features appeared in view of the proportions of public participation in the presence of (18,358,895) voters representing (29.05%) of the total registered voters and their number is (63,199,351) voters. Although participation is limited, it carries bright aspects given that it took place amid a viral pandemic

(Covid-19). This percentage, in the numbers associated with it, marked a significant development and increase from numbers and percentages of participation in the 2015 House of Representatives elections.

<b>Totals of General Indicators</b>				
<b>No</b>	<b>Statement</b>	<b>First stage</b>	<b>Phase II</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Number of Registered Voters</b>	<b>31,719,224</b>	<b>31,480,127</b>	<b>63,199,351</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>9,069,729</b>	<b>9,289,166</b>	<b>18,358,895</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Participation Rate</b>	<b>28,06 %</b>	<b>29,5 %</b>	<b>29,05 %</b>

**Seventh:** The map of the candidates who qualified for the run-off round showed a remarkable diversity in a variety of fields, which makes that sample a model for the gains and advantages of the electoral scene, starting with the geographical diversity of candidates, as the run-off round takes place on all seats in (10) governorates, led by Al-Buhaira governorate with (36) candidates competing for (18) seats, followed by Minya (30) and Sohag (28), while the least number of candidates was in Matrouh and New Valley governorates with (4) candidates in each. In turn, the run-off round was partially conducted in (3) governorates with Alexandria having the highest number of candidates with (26) candidates after the deduction (3) seats and Fayoum with (14) candidates after the deduction of (3) seats. As for Giza, the run-off round includes (4) candidates competing for (two seats) after the deduction of 21 seats in the first round.

On the other hand, the candidates of the run-off varied according to previous parliamentary experiences, as the share of the current parliamentarians in the run-off was limited to (55) candidates at (25%) of the total contestants, compared to (165) new candidates who show the punitive behaviour of MPs for their limited performances and their failure to fulfil the duties and to meet the services of their voters in behaviour close to a clear electoral inclination and influential in its orientation towards the party as an alternative to voting for independents who dominated the electoral scene for long periods previously made them the most influential bloc in performance Parliamentary as revealed by the figures and statistics related to the formations of popularly elected councils.

**A geographical analysis of run-off candidates**

No	Province	Total	Deputy	renew	independent	parties
1	Alexandria	26	11	15	11	15
2	Beheira	36	10	27	18	18
3	Matrouh	4	1	3	-	4
4	Giza	4	-	4	2	2
5	Fayoum	14	7	7	6	8
6	Beni Suef	16	4	12	7	9
7	Al Minya	30	10	20	9	21
8	Assiut	24	5	19	11	13
9	New Valley	4	-	4	2	2
10	Sohag	28	6	22	12	16
11	Qena	18	1	17	3	15
12	Luxor	6	-	6	3	3
13	Aswan	10	1	9	3	7
<b>Total</b>		<b>220</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>133</b>

**Eighth:** The results of the first round carried a major and very important political variable related to the voting trends expressed by the voters through the ballot boxes represented in preferences directed to the representatives of political parties and the candidates in their names as an alternative to the independents who dominated the scene in previous periods. The electoral results of the past polling rounds witnessed progress towards the completion of the party scene, starting from the first round, which saw the initial phase of the deduction of the number (32) seats among them (29) in favour of party representatives, while the second phase saw the deduction of (41) seats, 37 of which were for party representatives. What was repeated in the run-off in which the quota of independents to compete was limited to (87) candidates for the independents, including two candidates who were



added based on the provisions of the Supreme Administrative Court, compared to (133) candidates for the parties, excluding two candidates from the party (Nation's Future Party - Republican People's Party), and including a candidate for Al-Nour Party.

The representatives of the parties in the run-off round were distributed among (11) political parties representing (37.9%) of the (29) participating parties in the first stage, led by the Nation's Future Party representing the largest percentage (63,9%) of the total party candidates with (85) candidates followed by the Republican People's Party with (18) candidates, Humat alWatan party (10), and Al-Nour (7), while the share of (3) parties stopped, with one candidate for each (National Progressive Unionist Party - Al-Wafd - Modern Egypt Party).

<b>Political analysis of the run-off</b>			
<b>No</b>	<b>Political Party</b>	<b>Run-off</b>	<b>Victory</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>the Nation's Future Party</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Republican People's Party</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Humat alWatan Party</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>alNour Party</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Conference Party</b>	<b>3</b>	
<b>6</b>	<b>Reform and Development Party</b>	<b>3</b>	
<b>7</b>	<b>Freedom</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>Egyptian Social Democratic Party</b>	<b>2</b>	
<b>9</b>	<b>National Progressive Unionist Party</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>10</b>	<b>Al-Wafd</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>11</b>	<b>Modern Egypt Party</b>	<b>1</b>	
<b>Total</b>		<b>133</b>	<b>83</b>

**Ninth:** The general trends of participation shows a clear change from the first round of voting, represented by a decline in the number of voters registered to vote in the run-off from (31,719,224) voters in the first round to (25,239,393) voters in the run-off, as a direct result of the decrease in the number of public committees and

individual constituencies in which competition takes place from (71) individual constituencies comprising (14) geographical governorates to (56) constituencies comprising (13) governorates, which reflected on the number of participants and their participation rates compared to the numbers of registered voters, where the number of voters decreased from (9,069,729) voters by (28.06%) to (5,051,004) voters by (20.01%), a decline that can be explained in light of the sharp voting declines for constituencies with high population densities, which have seen a significant decline in the number of voters. The votes of the first constituency at Alexandria governorate, located in Montazah, is an example of this phenomenon, for which the legislator allocated (4) parliamentary seats to a vote of (43,341) voters representing (3.9%) of the total (1,108,034) voters registered in the constituency. This was repeated with Al-Raml constituency, in which the number of voters reached (52,057) voters, at a rate of (7.4%) of the total number of voters registered in the constituency, which numbered (704,146) voters, in a manner that calls for the need to review the rules and standards for the mechanisms of dividing electoral districts and allocating seats allocated to them according to the rule (Fair representation of the population and governorates) stipulated in the 2014 Constitution.

<b>Run-off Totals (General Indicators)</b>		
<b>No</b>	<b>Statement</b>	<b>Number</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Number of Electors</b>	<b>25,239,393</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Number of Voters</b>	<b>5,051,004</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Participation Rate</b>	<b>20,01 %</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Number of Valid Votes</b>	<b>4,728,300</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Number of Invalid Votes</b>	<b>322,704</b>

### **Categorical Competitive Analysis of Seats and Winners**

Among the 54 constituencies that witnessed the run-off round for the governorates of the first stage, there were 52 constituencies in which the decisive competition was conducted on (all) the seats allocated to them in



accordance with the Electoral Division Law No. for 2020, While the two constituencies (Dekheila - Badrashin) witnessed a (partial) run-off of several seats allocated in their favour, after the deduction of candidates for the competition for their seats from the first round by achieving an absolute majority of the correct votes of voters (50% + 1).

Based on these numbers, the competitiveness map was distributed according to the qualitative classification of the nature of candidacy based on political affiliation, so the competition in (11) electoral districts was limited to representatives of parties exclusively and without competition from independents, including two constituencies (Matrouh - Al-Hamam), in which competition was limited to representatives of the (Nation's Future Party), while the (ISNA) constituency witnessed the limitation of competition for candidates of the Republican People's Party only.

On the other hand, the independents took over (6) constituencies completely, which guaranteed them the victory of (7) seats allocated to those constituencies without competition from representatives of the political parties (Housh Eissa - Ad Dilinjat - Abu Qurqas - Al Minshah – Luxor - Nasr Nuba) to keep (37) constituencies Electoral elections in which the competition varied in a mixed manner between the representatives of the parties and the independents without any of the parties being singled out on the scene in those districts.

As for the level of the final results of those constituencies, the parties' ability to win all the seats in a (complete) manner was clearly demonstrated in (30) electoral constituencies, including (11) constituencies where the competition was limited to party candidates, in addition to (19) mixed districts, while independents also won seats in (12) constituencies, including (6) constituencies, in which competition was limited to independents, and (6) mixed districts, leaving (12) districts in which candidates from both parties and independents can win, and that is among (37) mixed competitive constituencies, after the parties' candidates extracted from it (19) constituencies, and the independents (6) constituencies.

<b>Analysis of competitiveness of constituencies</b>			
<b>Statement</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Competitive Nature</b>	<b>Number</b>

<b>Competitiveness</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Party constituencies</b>	<b>11</b>
	<b>2</b>	<b>Independent constituencies</b>	<b>6</b>
	<b>3</b>	<b>Mixed constituencies</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Winners</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>30</b>
	<b>2</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>12</b>
	<b>3</b>	<b>Mixed</b>	<b>12</b>

There is an indicator that has a very important indication of the form and nature of the competitive system and its relationship to the geography of the administrative division of electoral constituencies, Al-Nour party was able to settle the competition for (two seats) in the Dekheila constituency in favour of its candidates, and in the face of competitors representing Nation's Future Party, which was able to dominate (all) seats in (12) constituencies (Al Montazah - Moharam Bek - Damanhour - Badrshein - Atsa - Minya - Samalut - Al Qusiyyah - Akhmim - Al Balyana – Qena – Edfu) with a total of (30) seats and in direct confrontations with (6) competing political forces (independents - Republican People's Party - Humat alWatan Party - Reform and Development Party - Conference Party - National Progressive Unionist)

### **Political Biases for the Winners of the Run-off**

The run-off witnessed a continuation of partisan dominance over the competitive scene in return for the accumulation of losses and setbacks for the independents who failed to maintain their seats or restore the percentages of their presence that were achieved in the 2015 Parliament, influenced by the performances and seats that were harvested mainly in favor of the (Nation's Future Party) and behind it a number of forces associated with it or allied with it in an extraordinary scene that brought it to the fore in the election performances, many of which came in violation of the rules and legislative texts regulating the management of the electoral process (and even included) these texts included deterrent penalties for its practitioners in the general competitive scene, in addition to electoral engineering and the method of formulating and drawing technical rules for dividing electoral constituencies, which gave



impetus and exceptional and additional opportunities for the benefit of political organizations and parties that preempted the executive scene by concluding alliances and electoral ties to compete through electoral lists. A joint venture that guaranteed the acquisition of half the seats in Parliament designated for elections by the closed lists system.

Digitally, during the runoff round, the political parties captured 83 competitive seats representing (75.4%) of the round seats, which were distributed among (6) parties (Nation's Future Party - the Republican People's Party - alNour – Humat alWatan - Freedom - alWafd) representing (54,54) 5% of the parties running in the run-off compared to independents whose harvest stopped at (27) seats representing (24.6%) after (5) political parties left empty-handed from the run-off (the Conference Party – Reform and Development Party - National Progressive Unionist Party - Egyptian Social Democratic Party - Modern Egypt Party).

Despite the great digital successes that were achieved in favour of Nation's Future Party by winning 58 seats, equivalent to (52.7) of the total seats in the run-off and then the independents with (27) seats, and the Republican people with (11) seats, as well as the parties (al-Nour – Freedom - Al Wafd) have achieved a very important digital achievement despite the small number of candidates represented in the victory of all their candidates who reached the run-off by (100%), al-Nour won (7) seats, Freedom (two seats), al-Wafd (one seat).

<b>Political Analysis of the Winners</b>			
<b>No</b>	<b>Round</b>	<b>Run-off</b>	<b>Won</b>

<b>1</b>	<b>Independent</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>Political Parties</b>			
<b>2</b>	<b>Nation's Future Party</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>The Republican People's Party</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>al-Nour</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Humat alWatan</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Freedom</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>al-Wafd</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>210</b>	<b>110</b>

### **Women (Controlling Lists and Individual's Alarm Sounds)**

Despite the positivity of the organizational system that was adopted as a national electoral system that combines the two systems (individuals - lists) equally in the number of seats in order to meet the quotas of seats that stipulates in Articles (102 - 243 - 244) of the 2014 Constitution and in 2019 amendments, which ensured representation around it by the legislator for several articles of the Law of the House of Representatives by setting quotas not less than those categories and submitted by women allocated (25%) at least 25% of the elected seats specified by law by the number (142) seats In addition to the number of (half) appointed by decision of the President of the Republic

With the final announcement of the lists of candidates to compete for individual seats, concerns were confirmed as the percentage of female candidates for individual competition declined and their absence clearly from the nominations of the main parties, especially the main ones, the total number of female candidates (368) candidates by (9.3%) of the total nominations, of which the first round (152) candidates were distributed to (44) constituencies while women missed the number of (27) constituencies.

In fact, many concerns have accompanied the discussions and dialogues that accompanied the consensus and the adoption of these rules, the most prominent of which was related to the electoral performance of parties and voters in the context of the allocation of these numbers, and will it affect the decision of the political forces to push female candidates from these groups on individual seats or will it be satisfied with what is allocated on the lists, which is related to the temperament and biases of voters and will the process of supporting women that emerged clearly in the 2015 elections, which was given to women (20) individual seats continue

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Although the governorates of the first phase (Alexandria – Assiut – Qena - Aswan) have seen a presence of women candidates in all its constituencies, the final results of the first round of voting have come to sound the alarm about the decline in direct popular support for women on individual seats by limiting their share of the victory to a single seat in Giza governorate, which was achieved by MP (Nashwi Al Deeb) in addition to reaching the run-off with only 6 female candidates, including (4) candidates in Alexandria and (two candidates) in the Beheira. It was interesting that they were among them a single party member candidate (Sanaa Burgash) in favour of the Party (Nation's Future Party), while the rest of the candidates are entering the competitive process under the status of (independents), which has been reduced as a result of the supreme administrative rule by excluding the candidate (Mona Hassan) from the run-off in favour of the candidate of the Nour Party (Ahmed Al-Sharif) as a result of an error in the counting and collecting the votes of the candidates in the first round.

The run-off reveals the achievement of (two candidates) to win the districts (Damanhour - Kafr Al-Dwar) in EL-Beheira Governorate, while the candidates of Alexandria failed to win any seat in the (Montaza - El Raml ) constituencies to stop the share of women from the first stage seats allocated to the individual system (142) seats on (3) seats with (2.1%) in a position that calls for reviewing and

evaluating the performance and attitudes of women in the national electoral system and within the political parties.

<b>Women in the first stage (general indicators)</b>					
<b>No</b>	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Governorate</b>	<b>Constituency</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>	<b>Result</b>
<b>1</b>	Nashwa Hassan Abdel Aal AlDeeb	Giza	Imbaba	Independent	Victory
<b>Runoff</b>					
<b>2</b>	Sanaa Anwar Burgsh	Beheira	Damanhour	Nation's Future Party	Victory
<b>3</b>	Sahar Bashir Matouk	Beheira	Kafr Al Dawar	Independent	Victory
<b>4</b>	Mai Mahmoud Ahmed Abdullah	Alexandria	alMontazah	Independent	Loss
<b>5</b>	Marwa Mustafa AlTouni	Alexandria	alMontazah	Independent	Loss
<b>6</b>	Ilham Khamis AlManshawi	Alexandria	alRaml	Independent	Loss

### **Copts between List Boosters and Individual Challenges**

When drafting and designing the digital form of the list system, the legislator was keen to allocate for Christians (24) seats distributed among the (four) constituencies, as it stipulates that the acceptance of competing lists in the (first - second) constituencies shall include (9) Christians at least, while the (third - fourth) constituencies, each of them must include at least (3) Christians, which are the texts used by the National List for Egypt to ensure victory through it in favour of (28) Christian candidates with an increase of (4) seats than what stipulates in the legal text in a very important and positive feature in the representation of the primary care groups.

But at the level of seats allocated to the individual system, the same positivity has not been achieved in the general scene with regard to the participation and representation of Christians. Among the (1862) candidates running in the first phase elections, the number of Christian candidates stopped at (73) candidates representing (3.9%) of the total candidates distributed among (35) electoral constituencies



compared to (36) in constituencies which no Christian could run. It was strange that there were (4) complete governorates among them (Aswan - New Valley - Red Sea - Marsa Matrouh).

With the announcement of the voting results for the first round of the first phase, the crisis emerged with the inability of any Christian candidate to win a seat in his constituency and go to the run-off with 7 candidates belonging to 3 governorates (Minya - Assiut - Qena) and distributed among 3 political categories (independents – Nation's Future Party – Republican People's Party), as they included 3 current deputies in addition to 4 new contenders, which gave some hope in the possibility of correcting the scene and raising the percentage of Christian representation in the parliament to a number close to the percentage of their representation in the 2015 parliament, during which they won (37) seats in a total for the lists and the individual, but the final results of the run-off brought the crisis back to square zero as only one candidate won in that round, who is the current MP / Majdi Malak in exchange for a loss of (6) candidates, including two (deputies) who lost their seats in the current council.

<b>Copts in the Run-off – First Phase</b>					
<b>No</b>	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Governorate</b>	<b>Constituency</b>		<b>Result</b>
<b>1</b>	Majdi Mlak Maximus	Al Minya	Smalot	Nation's Future Party	Victory
<b>2</b>	Androa Sami Mahrous Abu Belatos	Al Minya	Al Minya	Independent	Loss
<b>3</b>	Haitham Najib Barsom	Al Minya	Abu Qurqas	Independent	Loss
<b>4</b>	Helaslasy Ghani Michael	Al Minya	contorted	Republican People's Party	Loss
<b>5</b>	Tadros Kaldus Tadros	Assiut	Assiut	Independent	Loss
<b>6</b>	Amir Benjamin Louise Hanna	Assiut	Al Qussia	Independent	Loss
<b>7</b>	Majid Adeeb Fahim Tubia	Qena	Naga Hammadi	Independent	Loss

### **Votes and How Seats are Made**

Although the Egyptian Constitution, in its implementation of the rules of justice when allocating parliamentary seats, relied on the criterion of population justice as a condition for distributing seats in accordance with the text of Article (102) by stipulating and dividing electoral constituencies in a



manner that takes into account the equitable representation of the population and governorates, which is what the legislator committed to when drafting the law of division 174 electoral constituencies for the year 2020 by dividing Egypt into 4 constituencies with a closed list system allotted to them (284) parliamentary seats, as well as dividing the state to (143) individual districts allocated to them (284) parliamentary seats as well.

To ensure adherence to the principle of equality and justice in the division, some administrative components were included or individualized within the electoral constituencies to ensure the allocation of seats in their favour in a manner equal to their numbers and not violating the constitutional text, which may open the door to the nullification of the electoral process, as the individual constituencies were divided into (44) districts with a single-seat, (62) constituencies with two seats, (32) constituencies with (3) seats, and (5) constituencies, each of which was allocated (4) seats, with its effects reflected on the level of competitiveness and the behaviour of voters in dealing with their electoral preferences

Out of 220 candidates running in the run-off, or out of 110 candidates who were able to decide the competition and win a parliamentary seat, (5) candidates managed to achieve voting numbers that exceeded 100 thousand votes for each of them in a criterion of popularity and differentiation and a clear popular bias in favour of each of them. They were distributed among (3) governorates (Bani Suef – Minya - Assiut), led by Nation's Future Party candidates in the district of (Baba Center) in the Beni Suef governorate, and then came the Nour Party candidate in the (Nasser Center) constituency in the Beni Suef governorate (the governorate acquired the three most popular voting positions), followed by two candidates for Nation's Future Party in the governorates of Minya and Assiut.

It was remarkable in this high voter turnout in favour of these candidates, as it was limited to representatives of political parties without competition from independents, which may indicate the direct effects of the influential geographical spread in favour of the party bases of those forces, in addition to the fact that they were all concentrated in the Upper Egypt sector, with the incentives for participation in the tribal and tribal areas. The presence in the parliamentary scene, especially since among them (3) members of the current House of Representatives (Hossam Al-Omda - Abdel Hakim Masoud - Ibrahim Abdel Nazeer), with what this represents in terms of linking with the popular sectors

and fulfilling the basic services of the departments and the actual presence within them, which may enhance the chances of winning for some deputies or justify defeats and losses and losing the seat to other representatives.

<b>Top Winning Candidates</b>				
<b>No</b>	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Constituency</b>	<b>Votes</b>
1	Taha alNazer	Nation's Future Party	Beba	106,591
2	Hossam alOmda	Nation's Future Party	Beba	106,163
3	Abdel Hakim Masoud	aL Nour	Nasser	104,953
4	Mohamed Nashat alOmda	Nation's Future Party Watan	Smalot	103,704
5	Ibrahim Abdel Nazeer	Nation's Future Party	Al Qussia	101,809

On the other hand, some candidates won their seats with very limited votes as a direct result of the decrease in the number of voters registered in their districts - especially with regard to the border constituencies and governorates - or for reasons related to limited voting and the mass turnout to go to the polls, which requires reviewing this phenomenon and looking for ways to address it, especially what is linked to constituencies with multiple seats in which the winner reaps the outcomes of population densities whose effects are not reflected or produced in the ballot boxes.

The least (five) winners of seats in the run-off through the voting harvest were distributed among 4 governorates (Alexandria - Matrouh - Aswan - New Valley), while they were distributed in terms of political affiliation among independents with (3) and Nation's Future Party with (2) was the least of them in terms of votes. The candidate Ahmed Al-Aqati (independent) from the Kharga constituency with (12,844) votes was the one with the least votes, followed by the candidate Ahmed Awad Al-Masry (Nation's Future Party) from the Sidi Gaber constituency with (14,428) votes, and Rizk Gali Nasrallah (Nation's Future Party) with (15,218) votes from ElHammam constituency.

<b>Winning Candidates with the Least Votes</b>				
<b>No</b>	<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Constituency</b>	<b>Votes</b>
<b>1</b>	Ahmed Al Aqati	Independent	Kharga	12,844
<b>2</b>	Ahmed Awad Al Masri	Nation's Future Party	Sidi Jabir	14,428
<b>3</b>	Rizk Gali Nasrallah	Nation's Future Party	El-Hammam	15,218
<b>4</b>	Hamdi Suleiman	Independent	alDakhla	16,522
<b>5</b>	Mohamed Fouad Ezzat	Independent	Nasr alNuba	17,242

### **Deputies in the Run-off (Accountability Wins)**

The current electoral cycle carried a clear implementation of the rules of accountability and the popular question of the representatives for their parliamentary performance during the elapsed legislative term. Its features and effects appeared in the results of the popular vote that granted some deputies their seats from the first round (as a reward) for them for a performance that the popular base saw as sufficient to trust them and renew the covenant with them in exchange for deputies whose exercise of clear popular acceptance, who was taken by the electoral process to the run-off as a lesson on the value and importance of the popular vote and satisfaction with their parliamentary exercise, while the clear and severe punishment of other MPs for their isolation and forgetting the demands of their constituencies for basic services.

The results of the popular vote for the first round of the first phase showed that the current deputies won a direct victory with (9) seats compared to (23) new candidates, representing (28.1%) of the total winners, while (55) current MPs went to (165) for the run-off for a new candidate with a percentage of (25%) with their absence (completely) from the run-off in (3) governorates (Giza - Luxor - New Valley) in a clear expression of the state of popular anger and dissatisfaction with the overall performance of the Council, whether public policies or as implementation of the rules of accounting and control over executive power for the benefit of the citizens, which was consecrated during the run-off, during which these representatives won (29) seats, distributed among (9) governorates, topped by

Minya governorate with (6) winners, followed by Alexandria (5), Beheira (4), and Sohag (4), in exchange for their loss of (26) seats distributed among (9) governorates, topped by Alexandria (6), Beheira (4), and Minya (4), in a behavior that requires review and analysis of the nature of the variables in the performance of voters.

<b>The Deputies in the Run-off</b>				
<b>No</b>	<b>Governorate</b>	<b>Winners</b>	<b>Losers</b>	<b>Total</b>
1	Alexandria	5	6	11
2	Beheira	4	4	8
3	Marsa Matrouh	1	-	1
4	Fayoum	3	3	6
5	Beni Suef	2	2	4
6	Al Minya	6	4	10
7	Assiut	3	2	5
8	Sohag	4	3	7
9	Qena	1	1	2
10	Aswan	-	1	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>29</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>55</b>

### Analysis of the Near-Complete Scene of the Winners

A few meters away from the conclusions of the electoral scene, and with the end of (3) popular voting rounds, to complete the structure of the scene for the House of Representatives 2020 elections, a last round of run-offs is related to the second stage, in addition to implementing the suspended electoral

process on the only seat of Deir Mawas constituency at Minya Governorate. The total seats will in which the competition ended became (467) parliamentary seats at a rate of (82.2%) of the total seats allocated to the popular vote distributed among the total seats of the list system with (284) seats. There were (32) winning seats from the initial voting round for the first stage and (41) for the second stage. The seats for the run-off round for the first stage were (110) seats in such a way to make it possible to approximately analyze the numerical and political scene of the next council.

The settled seats were distributed among (14) political forces, including independents, and (13) political parties, led by (Nation's Future Party) with (262) parliamentary seats in almost complete domination of the parliamentary scene. The party had 23 seats left to achieve a parliamentary majority. It was followed by independents with (56) seats, then the Republican People’s Party with (45), Al-Wafd with (24) and Humat alWatan with (23).

At the level of the parties, the 411 seats in the political parties were distributed among 13 parties, including Al-Nour party as the only party which achieved all of its seats through the individual system only, followed by (7) parties that won all their seats through the list system with their presence within the (National List for Egypt), which are (Modern Egypt Party - Reform and Development Party – The Conference Party – The Egyptian Social Democratic Party – The National Progressive Unionist Party - Justice Party – Eradet Gel Party), while (5) parties distinguished themselves by harvesting their share of parliamentary seats through the two voting systems (individual and lists), which are (Nation's Future Party – the Republican People's Party – al Wafd – Humat alWatan - Freedom)

Seat Analysis (Victory)							
No.	Political Current	First Round		Lists	The Run-off		Total
		First	Second		First	Second	

1	Independent	3	4	22	27		56
<b>Political Parties</b>							
2	The Nation's Future Party	25	34	145	58		262
3	The Republican People's Party	4	2	28	11		45
4	Humat alWatan Party			19	4		23
5	The Wafd Party		1	22	1		24
6	The Modern Egypt Party			12			12
7	The Reform and Development Party			9			9
8	The Conference Party			7			7
9	Egyptian Social Democratic Party			7			7
10	al-Nour Party				7		7
11	The Freedom Party			5	2		7
12	National Progressive Unionist Party			5			5
13	The Justice Party			2			2
14	Eradet Gel Party			1			1
<b>Totals</b>		<b>32</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>110</b>		<b>467</b>