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Egyptian Coalition for Human Rights and Development Election Observatory

# (From Chaos to Justice) (The Electoral Process 2010-2020) 

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It is wrong to believe that the general and final results of the national biases of voters during 2020, which resulted in a complete view of the parliamentary composition of the institutions of the Egyptian state with a popular dimension represented in the two houses (The Senate, The Parliament) are the result of direct popular votes deposited by voters (registered on the voters' tables) in the competitive deduction boxes between groups of candidates and representatives of the main political forces in Egyptian society as much as it is an expression of the state of mobility and social and institutional development witnessed by the Egyptian state during the last decade (20102020) with its interaction within it of community mobility and the will to correct the outcomes of popular biases through waves and mass outbursts which were followed by the redevelopment and adjustment of legislative texts represented an inspiring model in the contexts of parliamentary, legislative and community performance that require reading, analysis and extraction of the general determinants of the scene to ensure that its positives and the ability to face its risks are taken advantage of to ensure that the national experience itself is not reversed.

In general, Egypt has implemented a series of democratic processes in its general competitive image associated with the use of popular will biases to determine the components of the authority and its institutions, in addition to establishing the rules of national reference for the distribution of functions, competences and rights between the authorities of society and its citizens amounted to (13) voting through opinion boxes referring to the state of the community and institutional mobility, which varied from processes associated with consensual declarations of (new) constitutional provisions amounting to (2) processes or amendments to existing texts (2) or processes to resolve national biases over the selection and identification of the person of the President of the Republic (3) or those related to the formation of the main legislative chamber, whether the People's Assembly or the House of Representatives (4) or the partner chamber represented in the Shura Council or the Senate (2).

It is therefore important to re-evaluate the national experience and study its developments in the context of progress and in link to the targets of these systems of efficiency of supervisory and legislative performance and the professionalism of the elite and its commitment to standards of integrity, impartiality and transparency in its practices to end with the extent of popular satisfaction
with the public scene in all its details, whether to ensure its participation in the screening processes and bias of those elements or to seek to change them or his confidence in the system and accept it as a means of forming institutions without a desire to deviate from it and nullify its work, similar to what happened through two popular waves, the catalyst and motive for their development was the disruption of those rules and the lust for domination and control that prevailed and overcame the foolish performances of ruling elites and the failure to read the tracks of human history, so they paid a (heavy price) for their crude practices.

## First: Legislative frameworks for electoral processes

The 2010 House of Representatives elections were a crude example of what can be said as an example of nullity, as the constitutional amendments that (the President) addressed the House of Representatives to work on submitting alternative formulations on December 26, 2006, including (34) constitutional articles of which (10) Articles related to parliamentary elections and the chambers of the legislature (62-88-94-115-118-127-133-194-195-205) the constitutional basis for the form and nature of the electoral system, And the nature of the electoral system, which represented one of the main targets that the political system sought to open the file of amendments to the 1971 constitution.

This was a prelude to the chaos of manipulation and the violation of the integrity of electoral processes and the use of the legislative text to ensure the achievement of (predefined) results, where the principles of the articles included emphasizing the possibility of trade-off when holding parliamentary elections between the two systems (individual - parties' lists) with the possibility of combining them with any percentage in the confirmation of a target to ensure the exclusion of the consideration of the system of non-partisan lists to ensure that independents and the unorganized political forces are prevented from establishing special lists in addition to the affirmation of article (62) that the election laws may include a minimum limit for women's representation in legislative and parliamentary councils.

Despite some illuminating flashes through the scene, it was the amendment of the Law regulating the exercise of political rights no. (73) of 1956 by Law No. (18) of 2007, including the formation of a (High Elections Commission) as well as the drafting and approval of the Women's Quota Law No. (149). For the year 2009, however, the legal loophole and tyranny insisted that it be expressed through the provisions of these laws, whether by including the formation of the (Supreme) Committee on (4) those who are defined as (public figures) without a specific or disciplined and precise definition of what the term is and its purposes or by manipulating the division of Women's circles and the selection of elements below the level of suspicion to occupy many of them.

Despite many hopes that accompanied the preparation for the 2011 House of Representatives elections, supported by the momentum that took place on the ground in January 2011, it shows that we are like those who seek protection from the blaze with fire and that the only change achieved by the scene was the transition of attempts at acquisition and domination from a political organization (National Democratic Party) to the empire of mullahs (Iranian fascist) and legions of takfir from political Islamic groups, especially the Muslim Brotherhood, which is inspired by its new slogan (fighting not participation).

Since the very beginning of amending the rules of legislation to manage the transitional phase, the Muslim Brotherhood fought because of the presence of the supporters of the organization and its elements in the drafting committees of proposals to ensure that they came out in their favour and ambitions, which resulted in the conflict processes to agree on a road map to complete the building of the governing institutions or in determining priorities and texts governing the operational processes required to complete the electoral processes, which later appeared to have an impact on the structure of those texts or the shortcomings that resulted from them and caused constitutional provisions to nullify the formation of those councils.

Despite the confirmation of article (39) of the Constitutional Declaration 2011 on correcting the legal loophole the formation of the High Electoral Commission by stipulating that it (with a full judicial composition) shall take over (supervision of the election and referendum from registration of election schedules to the announcement of the result), which necessitated a redrafting of the text

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of article 3 bis (a) of the decree of law 46 of 2011 on the regulation of practising political rights related to the formation and competencies of the committee and the subsequent issuance by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces of Decree-Law No. 108 of 2011 amending the House of Representatives Law No. 38 of 1972 and whose article (first - first paragraph) states that (the House of Representatives consists of (504) members who are chosen by a direct, secret, general election, provided that at least half of them are workers and farmers),

While Article (3) states that (the election of half of the members of the House of Representatives shall be by the individual election system and the other half by the closed party list system. The Arab Republic of Egypt is divided into 126 constituencies designated for individual elections, from each constituency of which two members are to be elected, at least one of whom is workers and peasants.

While (Article Three) states that (two-thirds of the House of Representatives members shall be elected by the closed party list system, and the other third by the individual system, and the number of members represented for each governorate through closed party lists should be equal to two-thirds of the number of seats allocated to the governorate, and the number of members represented for each governorate through closed party lists and members represented by individual election should be equal to one-third of the number of seats allotted to it and the Arab Republic of Egypt shall be divided into (46) constituencies allocated to the electoral system by the list system, and the Republic shall be divided into (83) other constituencies. To vote in the individual system, each district is elected by two members, at least one of whom is a worker and a peasant.

In light of these texts, the country was divided into (46) electoral districts with a list system whose right to present is limited to political parties to compete for (332) seats. Its division was random, lacking justice and objectivity, to the extent that some circles were themselves the circles of the individual system in an unusual or repetitive behaviour in any of the electoral systems according to international standards, which assume that the individual districts are infinitely small compared to the lists that are characterized by large breadth. The strange thing is that this obsession with
domination and greed for power for which the political Islamic groups fought was the main justification on which the Supreme Constitutional Court relied in its decision to nullify the 2011 House of Representatives elections and the consequences it entailed in the rationale of its ruling by stipulating that.

The strange thing is that this obsession with domination and greed for power for which the political Islamic groups fought was the main justification on which the Supreme Constitutional Court relied in its decision to nullify the 2011 House of Representatives elections and the consequences it entailed in the rationale of its ruling by stipulating that. Thus, each of the political party candidates has been given one of two opportunities to win membership in the House of Representatives, one by means of nomination by closed party lists and the second by nomination for the individual system, while the only opportunity available to independent candidates who are not affiliated with those parties is limited to the one-third percentage allocated for election by the individual system, competing with them and crowding them out the candidates who are members of political parties who enjoy material and moral support from the parties to which they belong by harnessing all the possibilities available to them to support them, which is not available to an independent candidate who is not affiliated with any party, which is in violation of Article 38 of the Constitutional Declaration and includes a violation of the right to The candidacy in its content, elements and content, and a distinction between the two categories in the treatment and in the opportunities available for winning membership, without this discrimination in all the aforementioned aspects being justified by an objective rule based on the nature of the right to candidacy and the requirements required for its exercise.

Going to the 2015 House of Representatives elections, which were conducted in accordance with legislation amended in accordance with the 2014 Constitution, which changed the name of the Parliament, the main dilemma was when considering the drafting of the provisions of regulatory legislation for the House of Representatives that ensures that the electoral process of the House of Representatives 2015 is easy in how to achieve the principles of justice, equality and equity when dividing districts or determining the seats allocated to them under constitutional controls that began with article (113) of the 2012 Constitution, which states that (The law sets out the conditions for
other membership, the electoral system and the division of electoral districts, taking into account the fair representation of the population and the provinces.) and it is the same text that has been re-detailed in article (102) of the 2014 Constitution, which stated that (The law sets out other conditions for candidacy, the electoral system and the division of electoral districts, taking into account the fair representation of the population and the provinces and the equal representation of voters.) In addition to the provisions of Article (4) of the House of Representatives Law (46) of 2014 that (A special law specifies the scope and components of each electoral district and the number of seats allocated to it and each province and elects for each district the number of members commensurate with the number of population and voters in order to take into account the fair representation of the population and the provinces)

Since the Constitution of (2014) has taken sides with a new standard in the process of dividing electoral districts in which it relied on the integration of several elements (population- provincesvoters) and it was the result that all provinces of the Republic must be represented according to the total numbers of each of the (voter population) in each province, the legislator developed an objective rule for the distribution of seats in the House of Representatives to the electoral districts derived from the text of the article (102) of the Constitution, which necessitated the division of electoral districts in order to take into account (fair representation of the population and provinces and equal representation of voters) by determining a relative weight for one seat at the republic level represents the overall average population and voters represented by the member of the House of Representatives. However, the application of these texts has raised many differences and controversy over the formulation of the digital equation, which is being adopted as a means of dividing districts and determining the seats allocated to each district, which led to the Supreme Constitutional Court's response to the legislation within the framework of its previous control over legislation (Constitution 2012) before it issued its ruling in a lawsuit No. (26447) for the year (69) judicial unconstitutionality of the Law on the Division of Districts No. (202) of 2014 in individual circles which were based on what is stated in article (3) of the House of Representatives Law 46 of 2014, which states that (The election of the House of Representatives
shall be by (420) seats in the individual system and (120) seats in the system of absolute closed lists and parties and independents are entitled to run in each of them.)

This is because it did not observe the rules of fair and equal representation of the population of voters, which necessitated the re-amendment of the law in accordance with the rules of constitutional rule.

The elected President issued the decision by law No. (92) in 2015 to amend some provisions of the Law of the House of Representatives issued by Law No. (46) in 2014, where article (1) states that (The first House of Representatives is formed after the implementation of the constitution issued on the $18^{\text {th }}$ of January 2014 from (568) members elected by direct secret public ballot.) while Article 3 states that (the election of the House of Representatives should be 448 seats in the individual system and (120) seats in the absolute closed lists system, and parties and independents are entitled to run in each of them.) This was repeated with regard to the district division law issued no. 202 for 2015, and the most prominent amendments came in line with some recommendations of the Council of State, which recommended the inclusion of (Qaft Markaz) to (Qena Markaz) with this district representing (4) seats while keeping (Qus) an independent district represented by (two seats) for the number of districts to become (205) district totally.

The challenges of the public situation continued to be seen during the organizational preparations for the 2020 Parliamentary elections, where the issue of the fairness of the administrative and geographical division of constituencies and the associated fair distribution of parliamentary seats remained one of the major challenges faced by the legal legislature, especially in light of the constitutional amendments 2019 that allocated a percentage of women to not less than ( $25 \%$ ) of the total seats in the House of Representatives (Article 102) and the adoption of the transitional text related to the representation of the priority groups and included in Articles (243-244) permanently and not temporarily, in addition to the controversy and societal disagreement about the nature of the national electoral system and the multiplicity of views among those who calls for

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a (single) system and those who demand a (mixed) system with clear differences about the percentage of each system and the total number of seats that make up the Legislative Council.

Therefore, in the light of the Constitutional Court's interpretation of its concept of electoral justice and equality to which the texts are intended (fair representation of the population means that the deputy is represented in any constituency with the number of voters represented by the rest of the deputies in other constituencies which means that equal representation of voters in parliaments must be taken into account so this principle does not mean that the equality between the numbers represented by the deputy in each district should be absolutely mathematically equal because it is impossible to achieve this in practice, but it is sufficient to achieve this principle that the differences between these numbers and the overall average number of representatives represented by the deputy at the state level are reasonable.)

In light of these regulations and standards, it was important to draft a bill consistent with constitutional principles, to refer to the latest national census of Egypt and establish the rules of dividing electoral districts on the basis of which it committed ('Mn Agl Msr' coalition) which was based on (the latest databases of voters and population) issued by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (2020) provided by the National Elections Authority and by that measure the digital census becomes the overall average number of population and voters (together) is $(81,318,472)$ citizens/voters. This is the number that allows the application of the mathematical equation (equality) between the population and (parity) among voters, considering that the division of electoral districts must be based on the population and the number of voters (together) as the population cannot be relied upon without the number of voters or vice versa.

In order to apply these rules to the formation of (the House of Representatives), Article (1) of the Amended Law (140) of 2020 states that (the House of Representatives shall be formed by 568 members, elected by direct, secret, public ballot.) while Article 3 states that (the election of the House of Representatives should be 284 seats in the individual system and (284) seats in the absolute closed lists system.) This makes the fair mathematical quorum of the electoral seat in the Council complete with a total of $(596)$ seats are $(143,166)$ voters while the value of the variable
or numerical deviation $(25 \%)$ is $(35,792)$ voters to be the maximum quorum in the House of Representatives is $(178,958)$ voters while the minimum quorum for a seat is $(107,374)$ voters.

However, it should be noted that these previous rules, despite their constitutional obligation, do not apply to the border provinces (North Sinai, South Sinai, The Red Sea, Marsa Matruh, Aswan, New Valley), as they were excluded (according to an interpretive ruling of the Constitutional Court approved a general principle) starting with this criterion (the mathematical equation of the quorum of the parliamentary seat) with the emphasis that they should be represented in a way that reflects their importance according to the above-mentioned observations without considering the total population of the seat. And its voters, which will not reach the minimum average representation of parliament.

With the success and ability of the electoral system (mixed) to meet the constitutionally prescribed ratios and numbers, it was appropriate to continue to rely on it as a mechanism for the formation of the next parliaments, especially in light of the continuation (and increase) of the ratios allocated to some of these groups, which called for the development of the mixed system to make the allocation of seats equal (50/50) between the two electoral systems (individual absolute closed list).

Article (1) of the House of Representatives Act 46 of 2014, amended by Law 140 of 2020, states that (the House of Representatives shall form (568) members elected by direct, secret, public ballot, with at least ( $25 \%$ ) of the total number of seats allocated to women, and the President of the Republic may appoint a number of members to the House of Representatives not more than (5\%) in accordance with the regulations stated in this law.)

While article 3 states that (the election of the House of Representatives should be 284 seats in the individual system and (284) seats in the absolute closed lists system, and parties and independents are entitled to stand for election in each). This produced a very fair and ideal framework in the processes of dividing the electoral districts and an ideal picture of the competitive scene that the national electoral process had not seen or witnessed before.

## Second: Parliamentary compositions of parliaments

Perhaps if the Mubarak regime's authority wanted to ensure its end and to go into oblivion - in a complete way - it would not have carried out the competitive processes to form the House of Representatives and the Senate in this way. Rather, if it examined (one hundred) scenarios to spoil the general national scene, it would not have achieved the same effect and result that the national competitive process brought it to the formation of legislative and oversight chambers.

This makes the scene major player (Ahmed Ezz) the ideal model - on the educational level - for what a manager shouldn't be like in terms of poor planning, manipulation of rules, falsification and change of wills, an end to acquisition and artificial domination that transcend all value rules of justice and fairness.

The council, which was formed as the first practical application of the package of constitutional amendments (2007), including the abolition of judicial supervision over all the details of the electoral scene and return to the supervision of the executive branch employees - with what they forced from orders to obey, submit to instructions and submit to an authority which was justified by Dr. Muhammad Kamal (Secretary of Education of the ruling party) (that the abolition of judicial supervision of the elections does not affect their integrity and most countries of the world do not have judicial supervision of the elections, however, the elections are fair and impartial.) It turned into a farcical scene in terms of the form of competition or its parliamentary outcomes, which came to justify the behaviour of rejection and stubbornness by the regime's leaders towards the demands of follow-up and supervision of the evaluation of electoral processes. This was expressed by Dr. Mofeed Shehab (Minister of Parliamentary Affairs for the House of Representatives and the Senate) by saying: (The idea of international supervision of elections is humiliating for sovereign states and states that allow interference in their own internal affairs are unstable and lacking sovereignty, and their constitutional and security system is unstable and Egypt has sovereignty that never allows international control over elections, nor do we need an international instrument to prove the integrity of the elections.) This is what Safwat al-Sharif, head of the Senate, expressed by describing the country that accepts
international observance as (Either an emerging state, an unstable state, looking for legitimacy, or its nature is fragile and accepts pressures, or some kind of luxury that has no place.)

The electoral scene came as a picture of a black reality comedy, with the crudeness of interference and the deliberate decline of competitiveness, which prompted many of the forces to stay away from the scene before it began in addition to the withdrawal of the Wafd Party and the Muslim Brotherhood from the run-off as an objection against the interventions that led to a female candidate, affiliated with the National Democratic Party, attacking and insulting the counsellor who supervises the General Committee in Giza Governorate, with the nullification of (1053) ballot boxes in the first round, and the number of (257) ballot boxes in the run-off, in addition to cancelling the results of the electoral process in the Bella constituency in Kafr El-Sheikh governorate.

The same flaw and institutional corruption were repeated with the formation of the House of Representatives in 2011 which Egyptians awaited with hope in its ability to fulfil popular demands and implement the values of justice and fairness that the masses came out demanding and even gave their votes through the ballot boxes. to those they thought were wronged because they share the same demands and goals, but that hope quickly dissipated in light of the formality of the performance and the emptying of parliamentary work of its content in favour of performances that brought the comedy theatre to halls that for decades had been subject to strict parliamentary values and traditions.

The incomplete parliamentary session of the Council of 2012, which lasted for (144) days from the date of the opening session of the Council on January 23, 2012, until the issuance of the ruling of the Supreme Constitutional Court on June 14, 2012, represented a clear example of the desire to possess power and dominate the capabilities of the Legislative Council, turning the slogan of the phase of weakness (participation, not winning) to an obsession with distributing positions and opportunities to its affiliates to an obsession with distributing positions and opportunities to its affiliates without awareness or contemplation to end what the group and its political arm, freedom and justice imagined, a dream into a heavy nightmare in the invalidity of the election law
that the group hastened (as an opportunity) to take advantage of the absence of societal awareness and the childishness of the performance of the so-called revolutionary parties and forces to bring down a parliament initiated by the deputies with a constitutional oath that turned in their hands to a comic pattern of bidding between two teams, the first attached to it (without violation of God's decree) while the second group added (to work to complete the demands of the January $25^{\text {th }}$ revolution and not to waste the right of the revolution's martyrs). Days passed, and Egyptians discovered that this council did not observe God's decree did not complete the demands of the revolution and did not return to the martyrs their rights.

As we coexist with the deputy of the (Al-Asala) party, Mamdouh Ismail, who surprises us by standing and raising the call to prayer for the afternoon prayer inside the hall as a behavioral pattern (bidding) repeated by another deputy who breaks into the legislative debates and dialogues with a sign asking that the Speaker of the Council allow him to use the restroom, which has damaged the image of the Council and its position in front of the citizens who showed happiness by the decision of the constitutional dissolution of the Council continued to the extent that citizens in many cities and governorates distributed ice cream and drinks in celebration of the salvation of an (exceptional) Council that was destined to disappear from the history of parliamentary life without leaving behind evidence of existence to the extent that the Secretary-General For the House of Representatives, Counsellor Sami Mahran raised the issue of naming the legislative chapter in light of the abolition of the 1971 constitution, to request the parliament not to name the legislative chapter and to content itself with writing (Parliament 2012) in an unprecedented precedent throughout parliamentary history.

Therefore, it was logical that the party composition of the Council, in light of these final results, would witness a state of lack of logic and efficiency based on the exploitation of the gaps of the legislative rules (which was the reason for the subsequent ruling by the Constitutional Court that the legislative text governing the composition of the Council was unconstitutional, with the consequent nullity of the parliamentary composition of the Council) where Freedom and Justice Party dominated the general composition of the Council with 228 seats ( $45.8 \%$ ) of the total seats, which is in stark contrast to the percentage of actual votes achieved by Popularly; $(10,138,134)$
votes representing $(37.4 \%)$ of the total votes of the voters $(27,065,135)$ but the nature of the electoral system and the method of distributing seats allowed him to harvest seats (free) as a result of discriminatory preferences that deprived civil parties of those seats (in its favour).

This made the council an arena for settling the group's accounts and a tool to achieve its goals and take revenge on its political opponents. Even when it was afraid of the ability of the chances and possibilities of the success of her presidential candidate, as for his opponent in the run-off, he decided to use the council to issue a law to isolate his rivals and deprive them of their political rights (legislation that the constitutional court ruled constitutionally invalid). Also, when it sensed the flaws in the election law that it used to dominate the parliament in its two chambers, it sought - instead of correcting the flaw - to amend the Constitutional Court law to prevent it from ruling its unconstitutionality in a continuous series of contexts of utilitarian use of parliamentary chambers in order to achieve interests and purposes specific to the political organization dominant.

Despite the steps for reform and redrawing the path produced by the 2015 parliament elections with its composition, which is one of the most objective expressions regarding political parties and their presence within the legislative councils - as tools for competing for power - something that was absent - subjectively - from the previous Egyptian legislative chambers.

Considering the political structure as one of the important criteria in analyzing the parliamentary elites, we find that this Council (2015) is the largest in terms of (the number) of parliamentary parties and their intellectual and ideological diversity, which amounted to (20) political parties representing the main tributaries of national thought, with a total of (246) members representing $(41.43 \%)$ of the total parliament seats compared to the number of independent representatives, whose total amounted to (349) deputies representing (58,57\%), which was reflected on the effectiveness of the parliament and the level of discussions within it, whether to issue legislation and laws that meet the needs of society or what is related to the oversight role over the authority and holding officials accountable for their decisions in accordance with the plans and programs announced by the government (which we were not used to from previous councils).

In fact, this parliamentary structure - despite the presence of an apparent majority of independents in it - can be theoretically said that it gives greater vitality and effectiveness to parliamentary performance and allows capabilities to activate and use legislative and oversight tools to serve the parliament's mission and its ability to perform oversight and legislative without fears of recruiting and using (Mechanical majority) in thwarting the supervisory practices, especially in the absence of the dominant party or the one controlling the majority of the parliament's seats.

Similar to the experiences of the National Democratic Party and the Freedom and Justice Party, with all that these experiences included in terms of positions and events that are not appropriate to be associated with the main chambers of national legislation, where (the Free Egyptians Party) came at the forefront of the parties Represented in Parliament with (65) seats, followed by Mustaqbal Watan (56), then Wafd (36) and Hamat al-Watan (18). On the other hand, there were 5 parties represented by a single representative in the parliament (Revolutionary Guards Party, Union Party, The Nasserist Party, Al-Sarh, Reform and Development Party) which necessitated working to form a parliamentary coalition that was later formed under the name (Supporting Egypt) to develop parliamentary practise and organize tools for dealing with it, especially in light of the need for a parliamentary weight capable of organizing a joint effort. At the same time, it is possible to negotiate and reach joint work with the executive authority.

And with the arrival of the 2020 elections, which represented an (exceptional) case in the democratic process for the formation of national legislative chambers, as it began with presidential assurances to stand at the same distance from all competing political and partisan forces, passing through the experience of the coalition and the common influence between a party coalition running in the elections at the level of seats allocated to the list system with a joint list, they agreed on Renaming it (the National List for Egypt) in order to reach an electoral climate characterized by professionalism and skill in managing electoral processes despite the existence of the Covid19 pandemic at the international level that led to the suspension of life in many countries and societies.

The final scene of the elections resulted in the distribution of parliament seats among groups of political forces amounting to (13) political parties, their total harvest amounted to (475) seats, representing ( $83.77 \%$ ) of the total elected seats, in addition to the independents who won (92) seats representing $(16.23 \%)$ to become the direct popular majority in favour of the partisans (for the first time) since the transition from the electoral system by party lists (1987), where the independents continued to represent the dominant majority over the parliament formations during (three) decades - despite the fact that many of them moved to membership in the ruling party voluntarily or involuntarily. The adjective (independent) is one of the magic doors to win the preferences of the Egyptian voter away from the controls and restrictions of partisan commitment, to be in front of a diverse partisan and ideological council that allows for objective discussion and the presence of a plurality of alternative views and policies that are linked to the state's plans and public policies.

## Third: Parties in the Parliamentary Scene

The issue of the 2011 presidential elections occupied the mind of the legislator and organizer of the electoral process for the 2010 House of Representatives, whether in the context of transferring power to a new generation according to the talk about the succession deal or the desire to control its possibilities in a way that satisfies the person of the president who has dominated for decades over the reins of power and its tools, making it difficult to analyze the scene or study its outcomes and the resulting effects (despite the passage of many years, we are still dealing with its repercussions).

Since this Council has become the first crossing point through which presidential candidates will pass, the elections for the selection of its members have become an early arena for preparing for the presidential elections, and the formation of the new People's Assembly became the beginning to map the candidates and determine who is entitled to participate in it and to cut off the way for those who are to be excluded from it. The electoral process was preceded by a set of measures that aroused widespread societal controversy by abolishing judicial supervision, allocating a share
especially for women, and extending the state of emergency for a period of two years to modify and restrict the conditions for candidacy.

What was interesting in the absurd scene is that that the House of Representatives recorded the victory of (6) members, considering that they represented the parliamentary body of the Wafd Party, even though the party (itself) had officially announced, after a meeting of its supreme body, that it withdrew its candidates from the run-off and threatened those who refuse to withdraw and adhere to continuing in the electoral competition by dismissal from party membership in addition to sending a letter to the council announcing the absence of a parliamentary body to represent it, while the scene was different in the case of the National Progressive Unionist Party whose parliamentary share was reduced to (5) seats, one of which was appointed by a decision of the President of the Republic, after the death of MP Mohamed Abdel Aziz Shaaban after announcing his victory, whose presence in the parliament was approved despite the state of anger and rejection in many circles within the partisan organization, leaving the parties' share to be of (4) seats, which were achieved in favor of (4) parties each of them represented by only one member. It was remarkable that these parties are almost unknown in the street and got their seat for the first time in an electoral process surrounded by many suspicions.

The representation in the membership of this council was looked at as a disgrace that followed the political parties and the political force and everyone knew that the scene was fully present and everyone participated in the totality of evaluation criteria and comparison to win its seats despite their withdrawal from it in light of the waves of popular anger that demanded its dissolution after less than two months of its formation.

As for the 2011 House of Representatives, although it witnessed a historically unprecedented popular vote and participation amounting to $(27,851,070)$ voters from the total number of registered voters, it witnessed the marginalization of many political and popular forces that failed to achieve the requirements of winning parliamentary seats through a mixed voting system which relied on allocating (two-thirds) of the seats with (332) seats distributed among (46) electoral
districts for competition through the (proportional lists) system, in addition to allocating (onethird) of the seats with (166) seats distributed among (83) districts through (the individual system)

Despite the cheering of the electoral system by proportional lists and talking about its ability to support partisan life and enable parties and forces to ensure popular representation, the final results showed the extent of (deception) that accompanied the propaganda operations for this type of election pattern through multi-candidate lists in a way that makes it necessary to re-discuss and evaluate the electoral experiments according to their objectives and the results that resulted from them, considering that it is the real and actual indicator for measuring popular and objective satisfaction with the various electoral processes, out of (36) electoral parties and coalitions that participated in the electoral competitions, only (13) of them were able to win parliamentary seats, according to the rule of popular representation determined by the Supreme Committee supervising the electoral process, with $(139,255)$ voters for each seat. It was even strange that some parties such as (Conservatives Party - Justice Party) succeeded in harvesting popular votes that exceed that threshold, and despite that, they were unable to win any seat in addition to the success of parties in winning more seats than competing parties and lists that achieved a greater number of popular votes. It became clear that the biggest and first beneficiary of the limitation of the adoption of this system is the religious current parties that won a number of seats exceeding the percentage of their popular vote.

The final result and outcome of the representation of political forces in a parliament that some call the revolution parliament limited parliamentary representation of lists to (13) lists, at a rate of ( $36.1 \%$ ) of the total number of (36) competing lists, of which (2) lists achieved the representation threshold yet they were not represented. While (21) lists failed to reach the threshold, and therefore their votes went in favour of the Freedom and Justice and Al-Noor lists, leaving only one party (Justice Party) able to gain membership in the Council through individual seats despite the failure of its lists.

However, the assessment of this council and the understanding of the causes of the popular rejection of it and the campaigns of ridicule and mockery of its members will not be complete
without talking about the immoral incidents and manipulation in which the representatives of the currents (claiming righteousness and adhering to the faith), one of the most prominent facts of which was related to Al-Nour party deputy, Ali Al-Bulkaimi, who claimed to have been in a car accident, hinted that it was intentional, especially with the loss of a bag (money) he was carrying with him before the investigations exposed his lie and showed the community - who was watching the results - that the deputy had performed plastic surgery on his face to treat his large size nose (in one of the private clinics) as a condition for one of the women's approval to marry him and that he wanted to use it to cover up his keeping partisan funds that were with him to record the scandal as the case No. 2900 of 2012 against the deputy of the Qanater facility and No. 158 of 2012 examination of the technical office.

While the most heated and controversial incident (or scandal) was the arrest of one of the representatives who ran for the lists of the (Al-Nour Coalition) from the Virtue Party, Sheikh Ali Wanis, in a disgraceful situation with one of the girls in a car on the agricultural road, as Major Ahmed Bahaa and the members of the force supporting him indicated they saw a car parked in a dark area and when they went to investigate the matter, they were surprised by a man and a woman in a disruptive situation and when caught, they learned that the man is Ali Wanis, a member of the House of Representatives and the girl is a student at the Faculty of Specific Education, called Nasreen MA (23 years), despite the attempts of the deputy to claim that she is his fiancée before backing off and claiming to be his sister's daughter.

However, the strangest thing about the MP's behaviour was the justification attempts led by the parliament's deputies and leaders of the Salafi movement to justify the MP's behaviour, starting with the claim that the Ministry of the Interior replaced the MP's niece with another girl, passing by his supporters making human chains around his house to prevent the execution of an order to arrest him and bring him to the end by announcing one of the Al-Nour MPs that (Religion commands us to verify any accusation of adultery by the presence of 4 just witnesses who have seen the incident with their own eyes) emphasizing that they will ask Wanis (if he denies the incident, he has been truthful, there are no (4) trustworthy witnesses to his $\sin$ ).

The successive societal developments have allowed correcting the general scene and its electoral outcomes through the formation of the House of Representatives 2015, whereby parties and political forces were able to make great strides towards political empowerment and an effective institutional role in the framework of the struggle for power or an equal consensus with its multiple parties through its success in winning many seats. Directly through clear party banners, they were a central propaganda basis for candidates who competed in highlighting their party affiliations in front of their voters, without waiting to buy or attract deputies who won their seats in other capacities, as was done previously, January 25.

Despite what we have already mentioned about the existence of an elitist and academic discourse that is hostile to parties and seeks what it believes to be "retribution" sometimes in the context of hostility to intellectual and ideological forces or "attracting" at other times to the votes and preferences of voters, the black propaganda operations against the parties and their principles (and the most dangerous) against their candidates have been frequent. Until it came to attacking the idea of partisanship during the polling operations and the voter's resolution of his voting biases by many channels and the main talk shows in satellite channels, in a defect, there is no justification for the silence of the media oversight bodies of the High Elections Committee about him, even if those campaigns sometimes turned as directed against certain parties or parties and in favour of competing parties.

Thus, the total representation of independents became (349) representatives, at a rate of (58.65 \%), in continuation of their overwhelming dominance over electoral performances and the composition of numerical councils, compared to the representation of parties with (246) representatives, at a rate of $(41.35 \%)$, distributed among (20) political parties - in a numerical representation, which is the largest of the political forces within the National Legislative Council and this scene plays into the state of fluidity and instability of many MPs and political forces that witnessed seasons of migration and movement between parties according to direct interest readings, which made it difficult to measure the performance of MPs according to the visions and programs of the parties they represent.

The matter is that many of them move between parties and their presence within the party formations and bodies of parties other than the ones they represent under the dome of the Council in a behaviour that requires review and reconsideration of the legislative formulations regulating it.

Although this parliament represents one of the most objective expressions of political parties and their presence in the legislative councils, it was not able to provide a distinct performance compared to independents or in its expression of the intellectual and ideological differentiation of each of them, which increases confidence in party life and supports the trend towards an electoral system where party competition is allowed. Bills submitted in the name of partisan parliamentary bodies were absent, and performance relied on the pattern of parliamentary individualism. Rather, the hall witnessed in many influential positions contradictions in the voting of parliamentary bodies and the tendency of each deputy towards his interests despite the presence of partisan statements that spoke of decisive reference positions towards legislation and decisions before the Parliament (for example, the formation of the government - the maritime border demarcation agreement (Tiran and Sanafir) - the general budget - the International Monetary Fund loan - the constitutional amendments) until the embarrassment of one of those parties reached the interrogation of a party deputy and his dismissal from the party's membership and his parliamentary body, due to the difference in its votes with partisan decisions, which other parliamentary party entities did not dare to do, even though its deputies' violations was more and a lot clearer.

The picture has changed dramatically with the formation of the Legislation and Oversight Chambers 2020, where the electoral process benefited from the harvest of the outcomes and interactions of the public scene during the past years as a unique experience in the Egyptian case in which the head of the executive authority (the President of the Republic) stands neutral by all competing parties and forces despite several pressures accompanied the scene and sought either to transform an existing entity to be the president's tool or to create a new entity to be his means of popular and societal communication and his public arm in promoting and publicizing his achievements and vision.

However, over the past years, the presidential institution was able to maintain a single distance from all the partisan forces that sided in favour of the national state and at the same time adopt a supportive discourse and supportive of the partisan experience by sponsoring dialogues with parties and political forces or ensuring their appearance as a major contributor in all activities and events to reach the role of the Presidency in supporting the experience of The Coordination's Committee of Party's Youth Leaders and Politicians, which provided a model for joint youth and partisan work, which was reflected on the partisan experience and created a positive public opinion towards those parties and the forces that gave them momentum and strength before the start of the electoral processes of the competitive and parliamentary scene.

It has contributed to the parties' harvest of unprecedented institutional results - in terms of the number of seats that were achieved for those forces or their possession of a dominant and ruling majority of the public scene - the state of consensus established by the (United National List for Egypt) as a result of the joint dialogue between 10 political parties, which Nation's Future Party invited the convening of its sessions in order to agree on a common vision on the laws regulating the electoral process, one of the results of which was to reach the draft bill, which resulted in two bills of the Senate and amendments to Parliament Laws 46 of 2014 and the exercise of political rights 45 of 2014 and the National Elections Authority 198 for the year 2017, which was later issued under the numbers 140 / 141 for the year 2020 to serve as a basis for conducting electoral operations.

This dialogue developed to later turn into an electoral coalition through the formation of a joint national list under the name ( Mn Agl Masr), which was able to present its lists of candidates in the four electoral districts designated for the list system, with success that was not achieved for its competitors whose abilities ranged between presenting lists in only two districts such as what happened with (Nidaa Masr) or in one constituency, such as (Alliance of Independents - Abnaa Masr).

The channels for the political forces to reach Parliament varied according to the nature of the electoral system through which the representation came, as the Nour Party was the only one whose
representation came through (the individual system) and even through a single round of voting (the run-off for the first stage) in an electoral and voting behaviour that needs to be reviewed. While four political parties (Reform and Development Party - Egyptian Social Democratic Party - Justice Party - Eradet Gel Party) were represented through (the list system) which shows the importance, influence and need for the electoral list system, including the opportunities and guarantees it provides for the representation of political forces that are difficult to ensure their access without the capabilities of alliance and support and in light of the emergence of influential roles which shows the importance, influence and need for the electoral list system, with the opportunities and guarantees it provides for the representation of political forces that are difficult to guarantee their access without the capabilities of alliance and support. Moreover in light of the emergence of influential roles for capital and clans and their ability to influence the general results of individual constituencies to keep (9) political forces that include next to the independents a number (8) political parties (Nation's Future Party - Republican People's Party - al Wafd - Humat al Watan - Modern Egypt Party - the Conference Party - Freedom Party - National Progressive Unionist Party) were able to achieve their parliamentary seats through the two voting systems (lists - individual) in behaviour that expresses the potential of the masses and a real presence among the sectors of the electorate has enhanced their chances of winning seats and being present in the parliament.

## Fourth: Women in the Electoral Scene

The major problem facing the national legislator in drafting electoral laws was his ability to jump over the restrictions and obstacles of appropriate representation of women in parliaments in light of the low and declining presence in successive councils since the adoption and implementation of the Law regulating political rights 73 of 1956, which was the threshold crossed by Rawia Attia and Amina Shukri for the membership of the House of Representatives.

Even when Egypt approved an amendment to the People's Assembly Law No. 38 of 1972 by Law No. 21 of 1979, the first article of which stipulates that the Arab Republic of Egypt shall be divided
into one hundred and seventy-six electoral districts, and electoral districts shall be defined by law, and for each electoral district (two members) shall be elected in the House of Representatives shall be at least one of the workers and peasants, with the exception of (thirty) constituencies indicated in a table attached to the law defining the electoral districts for electing members of the House of Representatives, and taking into account the provisions of Article 16 of this law, each of them shall be elected in addition to the two members (a third member) from women. The Minister of Interior then decides the rules regulating nomination and election in these constituencies. The Constitutional Court came out in 1986 to invalidate the formation of the 1984 House of Representatives due to the unconstitutionality of the text of this amendment.

Despite the value and positivity of the quota law and its impact on creating relative justice in favour of women, the partisan distribution of those seats lacked the same positivity and even showed the formality of the practice with the affirmations of reality that made this number of seats (calculated automatically) within the outcome of the seats that the ruling National Democratic Party which acquired (54) seats out of the electoral allocated for women, except (8) seats, of which independent women won (7) seats, in addition to one seat in favour of a defector from the alWafd Party in Ismailia governorate.

The same behaviour was repeated in the 2011 House of Representatives elections, where the electoral practices of religious parties, starting with the Freedom and Justice Party and Al-Nour Alliance and their allies, towards women, were a clear and obvious example of arrogance and hostility to all civil values and progress, beginning with circumvention of Article (3) of the Constitution. The House of Representatives Law obligated not to accept any list unless it included at least a female candidate. It relied upon these organizations, when formulating their lists, to manipulate the location and arrangement of female candidates within the list - to ensure that they would not win - by blocking their images from advertising banners and replacing them with images of (her husband - flowers - the electoral symbol) to the call of the voters not to continue voting for the list so that the candidate does not win it, which was reflected in the limited number of women who won membership in the 2011 House of Representatives.

Of the (984) female candidates competing to win within (46) list constituencies and (83) individual constituencies, only (10) female deputies were able to achieve victory within the lists, including (5) female deputies from the lists of freedom and justice, while the results of (Al-Nour) were free of any female candidate victory in addition to the failure of all-female candidates in the individual lists (repeated scenario from the 2010 elections) so that the total number of women's seats in the current council will be (12) seats, including two female deputies by appointment, which made the percentage of women (2.3\%).

The Brotherhood Council's vision for women was reflected in discriminatory legislation whose texts derive from medieval jurisprudence. Representative Muhammad al-Umda submitted a bill to abolish Article 20 of Law 1 of 2000 regarding the regulation of some litigation conditions and procedures in personal status matters, which gives women the right to file a divorce suit before the judiciary to divorce whose procedures differ from the divorce case, as it is characterized by the speed of adjudication in it. Representative Hamada Muhammad Suleiman (Al-Nour) submitted a bill to amend the age of custody, calling for reducing the age of custody to 7 years for a boy and 9 years for a girl, while the tragedy came with Representative Azza Al-Garf (Freedom and Justice Party) with a draft law to amend Article 242 II of the Penal Code, which pertains to the criminalization of female genital mutilation requesting that the law stipulates only the prohibition of female genital mutilation outside hospitals and the requirement of specialized medical advice stating the female's need for it, in addition to a proposal to abolish the law of sexual harassment, reasoning that women are the cause of harassment because of their nudity, and therefore the harasser is not mistaken. In fact, one of al-Nour Party's representatives came to demand a lowering of the age of marriage, citing the desire of citizens in remote places to marry off their daughters at a young age which the legislature must respect.

As for the 2015 elections, the issue of supporting the access of the most favoured groups especially women - to parliamentary representation appeared, one of the most prominent dilemmas of the electoral process, and among the most important concerns of the legislature and the parliamentary elite, which led to the inevitability of reconsidering and drafting the constitutional text to allow this discrimination whether through (selection) an electoral system that allows access
to these societal sectors for membership in Parliament or by expressly providing for the allocation of a percentage (number) of seats in their favour to be achieved, which was achieved in the 2014 constitution, which sought to ensure undeniable representation for the benefit of women, youth, Christians, workers, farmers, people with disabilities and the Egyptians abroad.

The clear legal texts regarding women's political empowerment were reflected through Law 45 of 2014 and made the acceptance of competing lists subject to the fulfilment of the specified numbers for categories of positive discrimination, particularly women who were allocated 21 seats for each list consisting of (45) seats and (7) seats in each list consisting of (15) seats - based on its general results, through which it achieved unprecedented success to apply for candidacy for direct (individual) competition seats (283) candidates, including (112) female candidates during the (first stage) and also (171) candidates during (the second stage).

Thus, the total number of women's seats in the Council will be (90) seats at a rate of (15\%), distributing (56) lists, (20) individual seats and (14) female appointees, representing the largest number since Egypt knew the parliamentary elections in the mid-nineteenth century, and the number of individual elected female representatives becomes is the largest in direct competition without legal support since it was granted its political rights and participated in the parliamentary elections in 1957.

The mechanism for women's representation in the 2020 elections relied on the same (organizational system) that was adopted as a national electoral system that combines the two systems (individuals - lists) equally in the number of seats to meet the quotas stipulated for seats in Articles (102-243-244) of The 2014 constitution and its 2019 amendments, which included a representation that the legislator turned to a numerical figure within the articles of the House of Representatives law allocating at least $25 \%$ of the elected seats in favor of women - set by law with (142) seats - in addition to a number representing half of the appointed by a decision of the President of the Republic.

The legislator interacted with these goals by formulating and amending House of Representatives Law 46 of 2014, which was issued in No. 140 of 2020, including a specific number of seats
allocated to the list system (284) seats and allocated half of them to women with a minimum of (142) seats distributed among the competition constituencies so that it is the minimum limit for their presence in the districts allocated to her is (100) with no less than (50) female candidates in each district, with (42) seats in the districts allocated to them. So that the number is not less than (21) female candidates in each district, and lists that do not have this quorum are excluded from candidacy.

With the final announcement of the lists of candidates to compete for individual seats, the percentages of women candidates clearly decreased and were absent from the nominations of the parties - especially the main ones - as a direct result of directing their cadres to complete the allocations and percentages of representation of the list system, bringing the total number of female candidates to (368) female candidates at a rate of (9.3\%). Of the total nominations, 152 of them participated in the first phase, distributed among 44 electoral districts, while women were absent from (27) constituencies, while 216 women participated in the electoral process in the second phase, distributed among (59) electoral districts, while women were absent from (13) districts.

To reflect the scene on the size of the individual victory, which declined to stand at only 6 seats, including one whose owner(Nashwa Al-Deeb) succeeded in winning it from the first round of voting in the Imbaba constituency, in addition to 5 seats in the run-off rounds, including two seats in Beheira Governorate and 3 seats in Al-Sharqiya Governorate, in addition to the failure of 5 female candidates to win the run-off rounds, including 3 in Alexandria and one in each of Cairo and Al-Sharqiya.

However, this (individual) decline cannot be measured by the size of the development and total representation in favour of women, which has been achieved by representation processes across all components of the electoral system, whether through the (142) seats in the list system (it will increase by a seat after the replacement of the reserve member for a deceased candidate in Dakahlia Governorate) and the individual system with (6) seats and at least 14 female members appointed by decision of the President of the Republic representing half of those appointed by the decision of the President of the Republic with a percentage of (5\%) of the total membership of the Council,
bringing the total (actual) number of women's representation to (163) as the largest and best representation for Egyptian women through its competitive history and as a prelude to more bias and institutional presence of women in decision-making circles, which is one of the main objectives of Egypt's 2030strategic vision.

## Fifth: Copts in the Electoral Scene

The suffering of Coptic representation in parliaments remained one of the major challenges facing the political decision-maker, which represented one of the main demands of the political reform forces, which believed that the regime was not serious in the pursuit of justice and political equality or empowering groups that suffer from discriminatory and sectarian behaviour when engaging in popular competitions, especially women and the Copts are evidence of the regime's silence, and even the practice of some of its institutions of discriminatory behaviour to ensure the victory of its candidates, as was the case in the 2010 elections in the Waili district, with the aim of dropping alWafd Party symbol, Munir Fakhry Abdel Nour, in favour of the national candidate Sherine Ahmed Fouad, and as it was repeatedly against the National Progressive Unionist Party candidate, Dr. Wajih Shoukry, in the Bandar Minya district.

Despite the high rate of Coptic participation in the 2010 elections, where 139 candidates ran amid high hopes for the possibility of them obtaining a satisfactory percentage of seats, compared to the 2005 Council, which included only one Christian, Minister of Finance Boutros Ghali, who is counted more on the government than on the Copts. The final results are frustrating and angry by announcing that the number of winning seats for Coptic candidates has stopped at (3) only (Youssef Boutros Ghali - Khaled Al-Assiouti - Suleiman Sobhi Suleiman), in addition to (2) within the women's quota (Suad Israel and Salwa Al-Nakhili), which was described by the human rights activist Mamdouh Ramzy that it exposes the falsehood and lies of the government horns that have long accused the Copts of negativity and withdrawal from the public arena despite attempts to correct by appointing (7) members (Edwar Ghali Boutros Al-Dhahabi - Counsellor / Iskandar Gerges Ghattas - Counsellor / Intisar Naseem Hanna - Raouf Adly Saad - Amir Jamil - Michael Boutros - George Youssef Abdel Shahid - Jamal Asaad Abdel Malak)

With the advent of the 2011 elections, the religious forces and parties (and their takfiri tributaries) dealt with the issue of Coptic candidacy as a (challenge) that must be confronted and suppressed, even if it leads to igniting sectarian incidents that contribute to fueling intolerance on the basis of religious affiliation. As for the polls, Gaza requires the boxes to speak in support of religion, and it came to the point that one of the major newspapers spoke about Copts running against the candidates of the Islamic Revolution, and even the hostility increased with the growing sense of the Christian vote's support for the lists of civil forces in the face of religious parties, especially with the presence of Coptic candidates on their lists, while the Freedom and Justice lists ignored their candidacy, which increased the chances of success for a number of them, and reached the supporters of the Freedom and Justice Party to smash the ballot boxes and tear up the sorting papers to prevent and announce the progress of the candidates of the Egyptian bloc in Shubra constituency, according to the preliminary counting indicators that appeared, which caused the reelection in the constituency amid a crowd and mobilization for elements of the organization from all governorates of the Delta.

These sectarian behaviours hostile to the principles of citizenship were reflected in the general results of the elections. Although (177) Coptic candidates ran, including (112) for individual seats and (65) for lists, only (9) candidates representing (7) governorates won. A third of them are from Cairo, while (20) governorates lacked any Coptic success, although voting indicators and trends indicated an effective influence of Christian votes in many constituencies, and with the Military Council keen to appoint (5) Copts as an attempt to improve the scene, their total number was (14) deputies. With a rate of ( $2.7 \%$ ), it remained an unacceptable representation in a parliamentary composition that is being promoted as a reflection of a revolutionary situation that defends the rights of the people and its citizens.

Therefore, the electoral process of the 2015 House of Representatives (regarding Christians) appeared to be a rewriting of the history of participation in public life, especially with regard to political practice, which for long periods of time suffered from a state of manipulation of religious feelings and their use in a way that contradicts all values and pillars of citizenship, which led to Coptic withdrawal and permanent hesitation in the progression towards a societal scene which was
assumed to be inclusive and define identity and affiliation due to partisan practices and sometimes desires led by currents within society wishing to control the nature and formation of the dynamic forces within society or the makers of elites and ruling systems for the benefit of specific factions within it.

Despite the strangeness of the scene and the ambiguity of the competing forces, the turnout of Christians to run for individual seats is surprising, especially with the calculations of (the bitterness of the past) recently, or the legislator's keenness to put them in the most favoured categories where (206) individual candidates applied for candidacy, including (91) candidates during the first stage and (115) candidates during the second stage. However, with the start of the advertising and voting processes, a sense of confidence appeared in the ability to compete and even progress to win over the competing candidates as shown in the turnout of the Christian electorate as an influential factor in the equation despite the pressures and attacks through which some tried to fabricate a sectarian scene that might be used in their favour. However, the final result of the first stage witnessed the arrival of (23) Christian candidates for the run-off and the winning of (4) candidates for parliamentary seats.

Although some wished for it as a recurring scene in the second stage and sought in return for what appears to be a phenomenon, the second stage came, which witnessed (115) Christian candidates distributed over (10) governorates. From a Christian candidate in (5) districts with a run-off, which mobilized reactionary electoral forces to try to use the religious identity in deciding or gaining electoral opportunities. A party candidate conducted black propaganda on a sectarian basis against his party colleague in the same district. The round ended with the success of an unprecedented number of 9 Christian representatives, including (4) representatives from the two constituencies (Ain Shams - Shubra and Rawd al-Faraj), with two deputies for each constituency, in addition to the presence of a deputy who managed to settle his seat without reaching the run-off (Samir Ghattas), bringing the total of Christian deputies to the individual seats to 13 deputies, which is the largest representation through direct competition for individual seats in the history of Christian candidates since 1924, which raised the total seats in their favour, after adding the 24 seats allocated to the list system to the 37 seats for Christian deputies, a number equivalent to the total

Christian deputies obtained by-election during 47 years from 1964 until 2011 as a unique and unprecedented achievement.

With the 2020 election season approaching, the legislator was keen when drafting and designing the digital form of the list system (as the national tool to ensure the representation of the most cared societal groups) in accordance with the text of Law 46 of 2014 and its amendments by Law 140 of 2020, provided that (24) seats are allocated to Christians distributed among (four) districts and stipulates to accept the competing lists in the (first - second) constituencies with each including at least (9) Christians, and the (third-fourth) including at least (3) Christians each, which are the texts used by the National List (Mn Agl Masr) to ensure victory through it in favour of (28) Christian candidates, with an increase of (4) seats than stipulated in the legal text, in a positive and extremely important aspect in representing the most favoured groups.

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

With the announcement of the voting results for the first round of the first phase, the crisis became evident in 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) categories. Political (independents - Nation's Future Party - Republican People's Party), as there were (3) current MPs 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, in which they won (37) seats in total for the lists and the individual. However, the final results of the run-off round returned the crisis to square zero with the achievement of a single candidate to win
in that round, which is the current deputy / Majdi Malak, in exchange for the loss of (6) candidates, including two deputies who lost their seats in the current council.

As for the second stage, which witnessed the nomination of (72) Christians, a great achievement was achieved by winning (2) candidates from the first round without being re-elected, one of them (Abanoub Ezzat Aziz) ran in a single-seat constituency (Al-Sahel) and was able to win. On the other hand, (Safwat Massad Qalini) won in a multi-seat constituency (Ain Shams), although the most prominent negative feature in this scene is the absence of any additional candidate for the run-off that (200) candidates are running in an electoral behaviour that needs review and study, especially in light of the decline in the rates and percentages of the presence of Copts candidates on the lists of political parties' nominations, which were limited to (9) candidates belonging to (5) parties (Nation's Future Party - National Party of Egypt - Humat alWatan - alWafd - Egyptian Patriotic Movement), while the rest of the 63 candidates submitted as independents.

The total harvest of Coptic seats through the electoral competitions for the 2020 House of Representatives reached (31) seats distributed between the two voting systems with (28) deputies for the lists system and (3) deputies for individuals, in addition to the elements likely to reach the parliament by appointment (the president appointed two Christian members in the 2015 Parliament) in a number that many scholars and those interested in Coptic affairs see as distinct matter - despite its numerical retreat from the previous squad - as it has been achieved in favour of elements that have a mass ground and a real popular connection who are active in public work, enabling them to provide highly efficient performances that represent a lever for participation and influence in parliamentary work.

