



EGYPT

A COUNTRY REPORT BASED ON DATA
1900-2014

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Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) is a new approach to the conceptualization and measurement of democracy. It is co-hosted by the University of Gothenburg and University of Notre Dame. With a V-Dem Institute at University of Gothenburg that comprises almost ten staff members, and a project team across the world with four Principal Investigators, fifteen Project Managers, 30+ Regional Managers, 170 Country Coordinators, Research Assistants, and 2,500 Country Experts, the V-Dem project is one of the largest-ever social science research-oriented data collection programs.

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About V-Dem

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) is a new approach to conceptualizing and measuring democracy. V-Dem's multidimensional and disaggregated approach acknowledges the complexity of the concept of democracy. The V-Dem project distinguishes among five high-level principles of democracy: *electoral*, *liberal*, *participatory*, *deliberative*, and *egalitarian*, which are disaggregated into lower-level components and specific indicators.

Key features of V-Dem:

- Provides reliable data on five high-level principles and 39 mid-level indices and components of democracy such as regular elections, judicial independence, direct democracy, and gender equality, consisting of 350+ distinct and precise indicators;
- Covers all countries and dependent territories from 1900 to the present and provides an estimate of measurement reliability for each rating;
- Makes all ratings public, free of charge, through a user-friendly interface.

With four Principal Investigators, two Project Coordinators, fifteen Project Managers, more than thirty Regional Managers, 170 Country Coordinators, several Assistant Researchers, and approximately 2,500 Country Experts, the V-Dem project is one of the largest-ever social science data collection projects with a database of over 15 million data points. The database makes highly detailed analysis of virtually all aspects of democracy in a country, while also allowing for summary comparisons between countries based on aggregated indices for different dimensions of democracy. Users from anywhere are able to use the V-Dem online analysis tools which can be found at the project's website. Governments, development agencies, and NGOs can benefit from the nuanced comparative and historical data when informing critical decisions such as selecting country program priorities, informing program designs and monitoring impact of their programs.

Methodology:

Unlike extant data collection projects, which typically use a small group of experts who rate all countries or ask a single expert to code one country, the V-Dem project has recruited over 2,500 local and cross-national experts to provide judgments on various indicators about democracy. The V-Dem dataset is created by combining factual information from existing data sources about constitutional regulations and de jure situation with expert coding for questions that require evaluation. Experts' ratings are aggregated through an advanced statistical model that takes into account the possibilities that experts may make mistakes and have different scales in mind when coding. In addition, bridge-coders - experts who code multiple countries - are recruited to calibrate the scales of estimates cross-nationally¹.

¹ For further details and information about the V-Dem methodology, see <http://v-dem.net>.

Introduction

Though Egypt's government has had democratic structures in place since the 1920s, common features of a strong and functioning democracy remain largely absent. Mainly controlled by autocratic leaders, degrees of liberalization varied depending on the international pressure, internal political challenges, or, recently, due to popular protests. Therefore, despite periods where Egypt's government appeared to be moving towards true democracy in both political competition and civil liberties, Egypt continuously returned to autocracy. This country report shows certain aspects of democratic development in Egypt from 1900 to 2014, providing a general overview of developments using six key indices from the Varieties of Democracy Project: *electoral democracy index*, *liberal component index*, *deliberative component index*, *egalitarian component index*, *participatory component index*, and *women political empowerment index*. It focuses in particular on the electoral conditions, participatory conditions, and the empowerment of women.

Overview: Egyptian History from Monarchy to Autocracy

British occupation of Egypt began in 1882 in order to protect interests in the Suez Canal and it officially ended in 1922 due to popular uprisings (Goldschmidt 2004). One year later, Egypt created its first constitution. From this point until 1952, four primary groups greatly influenced Egyptian politics: the King, the Wafd party, minority parties, and the British (Botman 1998). Though the British relinquished official control, they continued to exert a great deal of influence over Egyptian politics, since Egypt had a small military and the military, government, and business elites were largely European.

Within Egyptian politics, the major power struggle was between the Wafd Party and King Fuad. The Wafd party was the nationalist party that was supported by a large portion of the Egyptian population and saw itself as the defender of democracy. In contrast, King Fuad wanted Egypt to be more autocratic and resented the constitution, yet, the constitution granted him a great deal of power to block nationalist movements (Goldschmidt 2004). Under his reign, he was able to subvert some constitutional processes by limiting the power of Parliament and outright dissolving the parliament multiple times.

The most notable dissolution occurred in 1930, when Fuad dissolved the Wafd dominated Parliament and essentially turned Egypt into a dictatorship until pressure from

growing internal discontent and from the British forced Fuad to fully reinstate the 1923 constitution (Goldschmidt 2004). The tension between the King and Parliament lessened when Fuad's son, King Farouk, came to power in 1936 at the young age of 16; his youth and inexperience allowed for more outside influence. Britain and Egypt also signed a new treaty in 1936, which reduced Britain's military presence in Egypt as long as the British continued to control the Suez Canal. This was a notable step towards true independence for Egypt.

Despite this promising start, Farouk would prove to be as dictatorial as his father. However, unlike before, the Wafd party, as the major opposition to the Egyptian monarchy's virtual stranglehold on power, was losing influence and support amongst the Egyptian populace. A key event in this decline occurred in 1942, when the Wafd party gained powerful positions in Egyptian government, including Prime Minister, due to the British military pressure on King Farouk, who was responsible for those appointments (Botman 1998). Behavior such as this led to disillusionment with the current parliamentary system and instigated the rise of unofficial, underground political movements that would later prove to be crucial actors in the 1952 revolution.

Accelerating the demise of this regime was the 1948 Israeli War. Egypt suffered a humiliating defeat when it supported Palestine against the new Israeli state (Botman 1998). As a result, many Egyptian officers became bitter towards the King, whom they blamed for their defeat. In 1952, the Free Officers, a secret group of military officers took over the government, effectively ending liberal democracy in Egypt. For the next few years, military officers, led by Gamal Abdel Nasser, moved to consolidate their power. In 1953, political parties and other political groups, including the influential Muslim Brotherhood, were banned in Egypt, cementing military rule (Thornhill 2004).

After four years of consolidation, a new constitution was created in 1956. It centralized power under a strong president, Nasser, limited the influence of the Parliament, and officially banned political parties (Goldschmidt 2004). At the same time, it gave women the right to vote and allowed them to hold public office for the first time. The Suez Canal Crisis occurred in 1956 as well. Israel, France, and the United Kingdom invaded Egypt to take control of the Suez Canal, which Nasser had recently nationalized. Though the conflict was resolved due to heavy pressure by the United States and the Soviet Union, Egypt gained a great deal of political respect amongst Arab nations. The forced withdrawal of foreign troops with only Egyptian soldiers on the ground made Egypt appear to have won a spectacular victory over the great Western powers France, and the United Kingdom and the hated Israel. This cemented Nasser's popularity within Egypt as well.

Though a beloved leader, Nasser's rule would be marked by brutality and suppression of civil liberties. As president, he institutionalized torture and political coercion, and imprisoned political opponents, notably communists and, more famously, the Muslim Brotherhood (Wickham 2013). From 1954 to 1970, the Muslim Brotherhood was a prime target of Nasser's state, as thousands were imprisoned and those remaining free were forced underground or into exile. Aside from this harsh military bureaucracy, Nasser's regime was known for its intense control of the media through censorship and for its pathetic human rights record (Osman 2011). Nasser did seek to reform Egypt's economic system, making it more socialist by redistributing wealth, eliminating the landowning elite, and nationalizing many businesses and services.

Following Nasser's death in 1970, there was a power vacuum that Anwar Sadat, a military man with limited influence before Nasser's death, filled. In 1971, Sadat created a new constitution that contained new safeguards for civil liberties and human rights (Dunne and Hamazwy 2008). With this constitution came the process of opening the economy and moving the country away from socialism, which implied that the regime was looking to orient itself towards the West and its democratic and capitalist ideology (Feuille 2011). Unfortunately, the plan was overambitious, and rather than liberalizing the country, it enhanced the power of the regime and created large income gaps. Sadat's cronies and allies were rewarded with economic opportunities, making them more loyal to the regime than the free market (Osman 2011).

Sadat's attempts at liberalization extended to the political arena as well. During the 1970s, political parties were slowly allowed back into existence, though the opposition remained a very tame political force. By 1979, Egypt was considered to have a weak multiparty system. These advances did not, however, extend to the Muslim Brotherhood as the 1977 Political Parties Law forbade the formation of parties on the basis of religion (Wickham 2013). As Sadat's popularity declined due to economic issues and a disliked treaty with Israel, he became increasingly dictatorial, changing the constitution and arresting over a thousand of his critics in 1981 (Feuille 2011). Sadat, however, was assassinated later that same year.

Following Sadat's death, Hosni Mubarak became president. Mubarak, who was Sadat's Vice President at the time of his death, began his presidency in a similar manner to Sadat's, with limited liberalization. He slowly released opposition activists imprisoned by Sadat, and began to allow the formation of more political parties, notably the Muslim Brotherhood in May of 1984 (Wickham 2013). Mubarak also permitted parliamentary elections to be held using a new list system. This system made it possible for opposition parties to gain seats that would otherwise have been distributed the National Democratic Party (NDP) which was Mubarak's party and the majority party. During the 1980s, civil associations proliferated and professional syndicates

played an increasingly visible political role (Goldschmidt 2004). Communication was more open than under Nasser, who routinely opened letters and taped phone calls. Nonetheless, censorship still existed, with the state controlling many media sources and the content of different books, periodicals, and films.

However, the 1990s were a step back for democracy in Egypt. A last minute revision to the electoral law in 1990, with a change in both voting practices, with a two round majority poll versus lists, and a change in electoral districts, resulted in opposition parties boycotting the elections (Kienle 1998). The 1995 parliamentary elections had even more conspicuous erosion of civil liberties, with direct interference by the regime in the elections and electoral fraud. Legal restrictions and harassment of opposition parties were also a problem, in both the 1990 and 1995 parliamentary elections, though it was significantly worse in 1995 (Kienle 1998). Part of this was due to a rise in political violence in the early 1990s, which was largely attributed to Islamist groups. Harsh new government regulations restricted freedom of association and expression and military courts were extensively used for elements of non-violent political opposition and Islamist militants.

Due to international pressure from Western powers, notably the United States, there was greater legitimacy in the 2000 Parliamentary elections, as it was the first one to be supervised by Egyptian judges (Dunne and Hamzawy 2008). Despite voter intimidation and the regime's arrest of opposition candidates, the NDP lost a significant number of seats in Parliament (Mumtaz 2011). However, it did still have the majority. In 2005, the first multicandidate presidential election occurred, and, while Mubarak remained in power, it was the first of any sort of political competition for the presidency. The 2005 Parliamentary Elections were also notable, as the Muslim Brotherhood had the strongest showing by an Egyptian opposition party in half a century when they won 88 seats in Parliament (Mumtaz 2011). However, international pressure started to disappear and in 2007, constitutional amendments were passed curtailing political space for the opposition and removing judges from direct supervision of elections. The 2010 parliamentary elections were considered to be one of the most rigged in the Mubarak regime, with a 21% increase in NDP representation and the Muslim Brotherhood failing to win any seats.

The Arab Spring in 2011 significantly impacted the Egyptian government, at least for a while. On January 25, 2011, thousands began antigovernment protests in Tahrir Square, which the regime attempted to violently suppress with the loyal factions of the police. On February 11, 2011, Mubarak was forced to step down by the Egyptian military (Lesch 2011). The Egyptian army, a respected institution in Egypt, initially appeared to be supportive of Mubarak, a former

military man, or at least indifferent to the growing popular protests. However, concerns over losing popular support and an unwillingness to fire on civilians caused the military to force Mubarak's resignation.

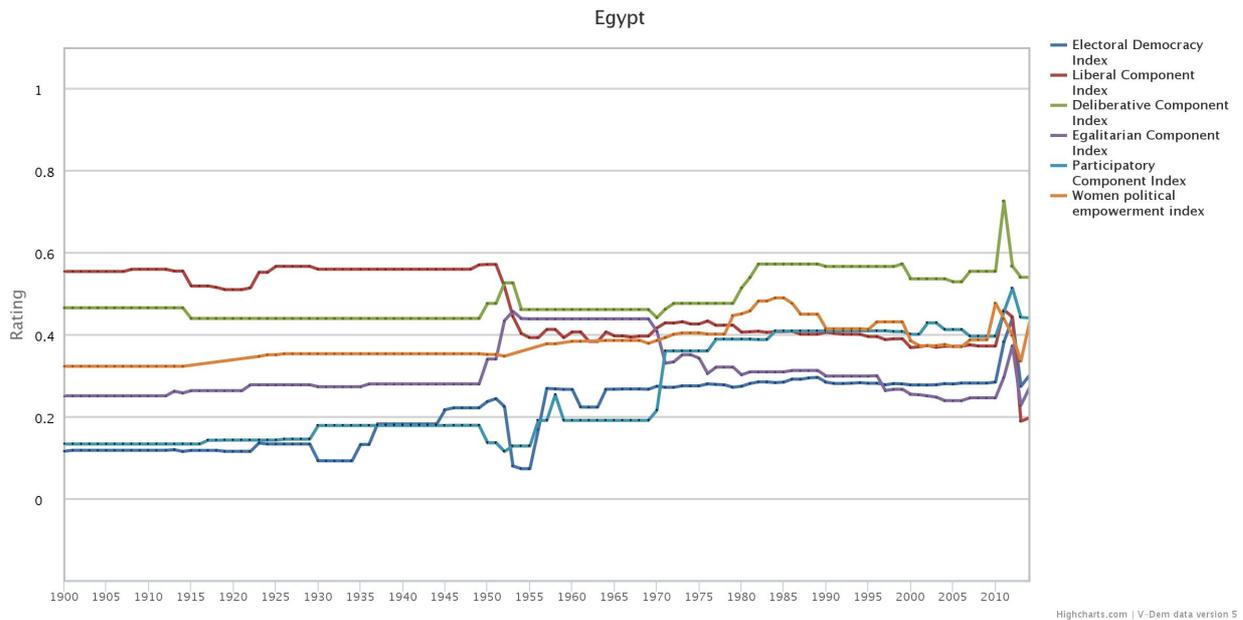
In the aftermath, the military seized control of the transition process, quickly pushing for elections. In 2012, Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood was elected president in free and fair elections and the Muslim Brotherhood gained control of parliament and the constitutional assembly (Brown 2013). The Muslim Brotherhood's strength and organization played a large role in its victory; however, few Egyptians were satisfied with the results, due to distrust of the secretive group and fear of an Islamist majority dominating the constitution process. Because of this concern, the constitution process was fraught with difficulties as disagreements arose over whether groups were being fairly represented. In response, Morsi intervened to ensure the constitutional process went forward and a new constitution was enacted, but the great deal of executive power involved with this action troubled many Egyptians (Brown 2014).

The result was massive protests and widespread dissent. In July 2013, the military, in response to large protests in June, overthrew Morsi and suspended the new constitution. This marked the transition to Egypt's current highly authoritarian military regime, and an end to the democratic progress made in the Arab Spring. In May 2014, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, backed by the military won a tightly controlled presidential election (Saad 2015). Between the presidential and parliamentary elections, Sisi enacted laws restricting NGOs in ways reminiscent of the Mubarak era (Sowers 2015). In late 2015, Egypt had its first parliamentary elections for both houses since 2012; candidates were largely supportive of Sisi and the military, marking the final step in the restoration of an authoritarian Egyptian government (Saad 2015).

Overview: Democracy in Egypt from 1900 to 2014

Figure 1 shows the development of democracy in Egypt since 1900. The six indices included are the *electoral democracy index*, the *liberal component index*, the *deliberative component index*, the *egalitarian component index*, the *participatory component index*, and the *women political empowerment index*. Scores for all these indices range from 0-1, with 0 being the lowest score of that aspect of democracy or human rights.

Figure 1. Development of Democracy in Egypt, 1900-2012



Egypt’s record of democratization and human rights has fluctuated over the years, though it has remained consistently low, as seen in this figure. Until 1952, the functioning of democracy in Egypt remained fairly consistent. King Fuad’s exertion of executive privilege, which essentially eliminated the elected parliament, negatively affected Egypt’s electoral health in the 1930s, as indicated by the *electoral democracy index*. Electoral conditions improved in 1936, however, when the old constitution was restored. The overthrow of the monarchy in 1952 had a negative impact on electoral competition, active participation, and the protection of rights of individuals. The officers responsible for the rebellion began to place supporters in positions of power and limit the ability of those who could present a legitimate alternative to them to do so (Goldschmidt 2004). However, the military coup did improve the distribution of political power due to the overthrow and/or restructuring of the elite class that had governed Egypt for years. Furthermore, the government began to work more for the common good, rather than focusing on advancing the interests of only elites. This caused a more equal distribution of power and wealth, as seen in the rise of the *egalitarian democracy index*, and, to a lesser degree, the *deliberative democracy index*.

After four years of a transitional government, Egypt adopted a new constitution in 1956. Under the new constitution, women gained the right to vote for the first time in Egyptian history increasing their political status, as seen in *women political empowerment index* (Hatem 1994). The expansion of voting rights increased electoral health and provided more citizens the opportunity to directly participate in politics, as reflected in the rise of the *electoral and participatory indices*.

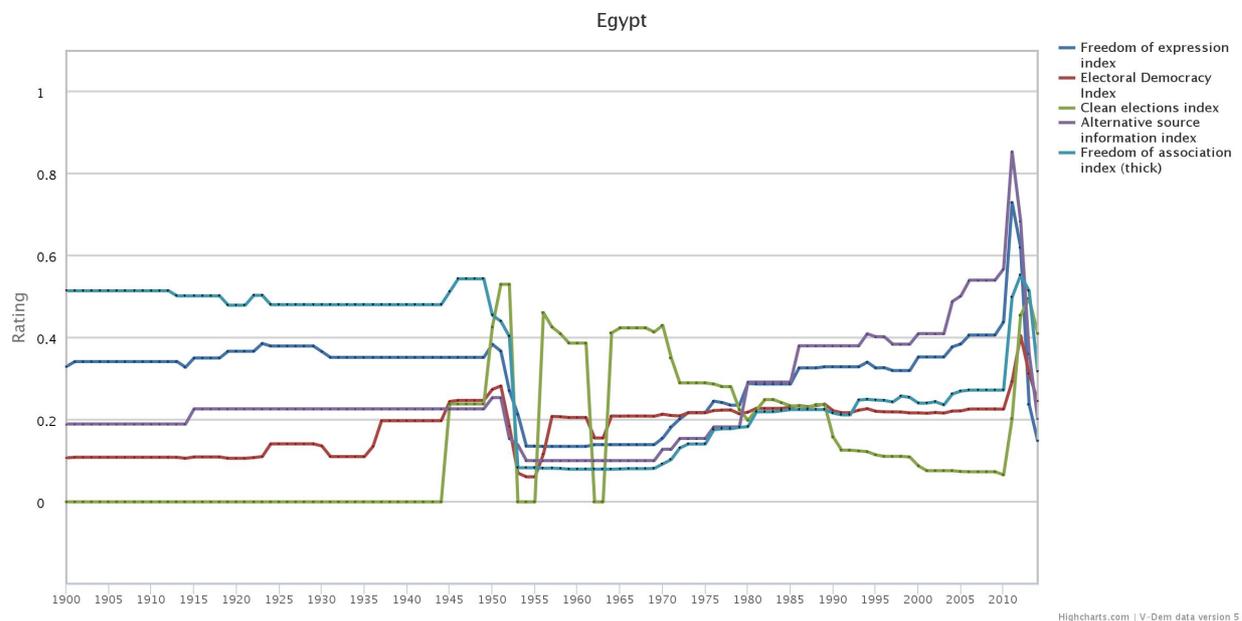
Improvements in Egypt's democracy occurred in 1970, when Sadat came to power. The relaxation of restrictions on political parties and some opposition groups allowed for greater participation in the political system, as seen in the *participatory component index*. However, plans to create a more capitalist system resulted in a concentration of wealth in the hands of regime supporters. This increased class divisions and created a more divided political system, with the wealthy and powerful having greater opportunities to influence the political decisions, as reflected in the decrease in the *egalitarian component index* (Osman 2011).

Mubarak began his rule in the 1980s by relaxing restrictions on civil discourse, allowing for more public debate and reasoning, as seen in the rise of the *deliberative component index*. Due to laws reforming personal status laws and the government setting aside more seats for women in Parliament in the early 1980s, female participation in political processes increased at this time, reflected in the *women political empowerment index* (Hartem 1994). However, the court system struck down these laws in the late 1980s, ending improvements in female political rights. The overthrow of the autocratic Mubarak regime in 2011 and the creation of a new government and constitution rooted in democratic principles and ideals increased all aspects of democracy in Egypt, as is echoed in the dramatic increase in all indices following 2011. However, the military uprising in 2013 that overthrew Morsi, the first freely elected president of Egypt, and the restrictions on civil liberties put in place by the new military government caused all areas of democracy to dramatically decrease after 2013, as seen in the indices in Figure 1.

The Health of Egypt's Electoral System

In general, democratic success is related to the health of its electoral system, and the same can be said for Egypt. The great deal of variability over the years in its electoral health, as seen Figure 1's *electoral democracy index*, has significantly influenced levels of democracy within Egypt. Figure 2 provides a more detailed look at the components of the *electoral democracy index*, centering on four important components: the *freedom of expression index*, the *clean elections index*, the *alternative source of information index* and the *freedom of association index*. The *electoral democracy index* is included as well as a point of reference. Scores for all these indices range from 0-1, with 0 being the lowest possible score.

Figure 2. Development of the components for the Electoral democracy index for Egypt, 1900-2012



Since the overthrow of the Egyptian monarchy in 1952, freedom of expression has been generally low, though it has been on a slow but steady rise in recent years, as seen in the trend of the *freedom of expression index* in Figure 1. Nasser was infamous for his heavy-handed censorship and restrictions on free speech, severely limiting the ability of Egyptians to openly discuss politics and possible disagreements with the government; this is reflected in the rapid decline of the *freedom of expression index* in the 1950s and the consistently low levels until his death in 1970 (Osman 2011). Sadat and Mubarak instituted some limited reforms that allowed for more free speech and opportunities to openly discuss policies counter to government plans, which is seen in a gradual positive trend from 1970 onward. The revolution in 2011 was itself an outpouring of discontent and its aftermath led to more opportunities to speak freely than ever before due to democratic reforms. The subsequent overthrow of the democratically elected government in 2013 caused a harsh retraction of these newly gained rights, as the new regime sought to repress and consolidate power, as seen in the decline in the *freedom of expression index*.

Most, if not all, elections in Egypt have been filled with fraud, as reflected in the consistently low scores in the *clean elections index*. As Sadat and Mubarak opened the political system and allowed more opposition parties to compete, electoral fraud worsened. This was largely due to an increased need for the regime to manipulate elections in order to maintain power, resulting in fewer clean elections following 1970. Prior to that, Nasser had a virtual

stranglehold on power, explaining why, in the years elections were held, the clean elections scores tended to be higher. The elections that followed the 2011 revolution were deemed free and fair by international observers. While not perfect, they marked a significant improvement from previous elections in Egypt. In the aftermath of the 2013 coup, the military regime sought to consolidate power through highly regulated elections that were not clean as indicated by the decrease in the *clean elections index*.

With Nasser's rise to power in 1952 came a crackdown on media opposed to his new regime, reflected in a sharp decline in the *alternative source of information index*. Nasser was known for heavy censorship in the press as well as the suppression of political opposition parties, hence the amount of information opposing the government or governmental reports remained very low during his regime (Osman 2011). Following his death in 1970, censorship rules were relaxed, allowing for a very slow rise in the variety of opinions. However, government regulations were still in place and self-censorship was encouraged. The 2011 uprising was partially spurred by the spread of opposition information, and the push for democracy following the successful revolution further encouraged the spread of diverse opinions. When the military took control in 2013, they harshly repressed dissenting outlets, and by the time of Sisi's election, most news sources were pro-military.

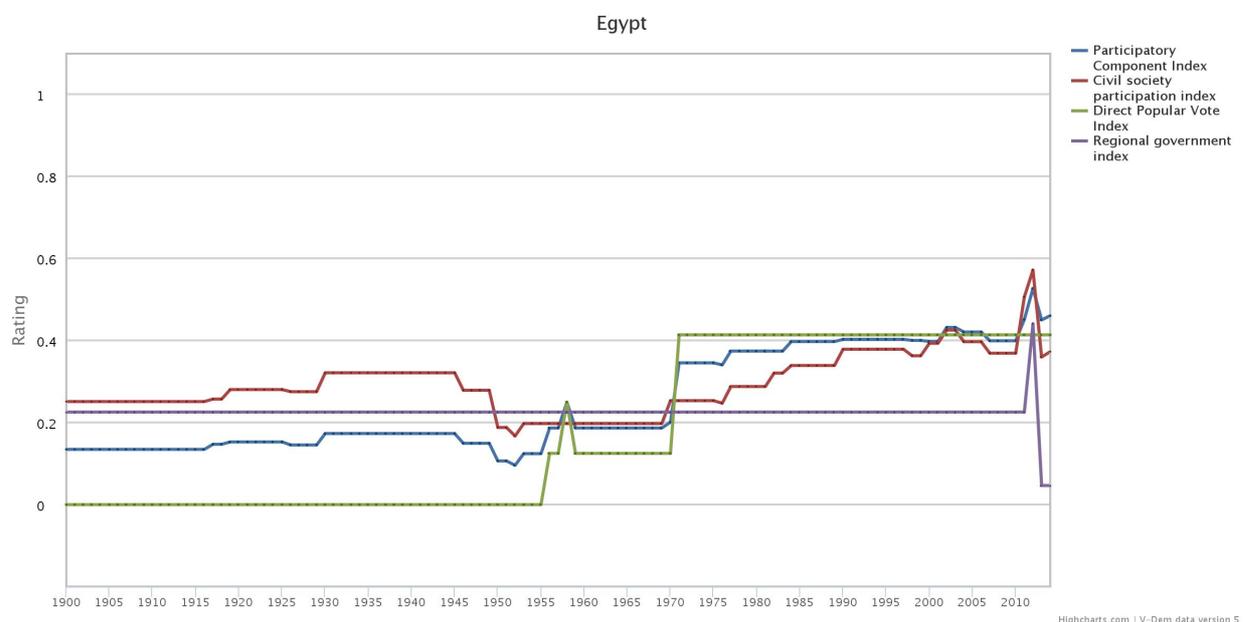
Heavy limitations placed on groups opposed to government policies and regulations on civil society limited the ability for political parties and civil society organizations to function freely, as seen by the very low scores in the *freedom of association index*. Up until 1952, civil societies and opposition groups were functioning fairly well, though there was a prevalence of secret societies. Following 1952, Nasser imprisoned political opponents and nationalized civil society organizations, like trade unions, causing a decline in the ability of civil society organizations to operate without regime interference (Wickham 2013). In the 1970s, slow and limited liberalization under the Sadat and Mubarak regimes allowed for some improvements. Sadat freed many of Nasser's political opponents and began to allow for very weak political parties (Osman 2011). Mubarak expanded upon this when he came to power, as indicated in the slight upward trend in the *freedom of association index* in 1980. The Arab Spring in 2011 resulted in the creation of a new constitution and the expansion of political parties. However, when the military removed Morsi from power they also imprisoned much of the Muslim Brotherhood leadership. The Muslim Brotherhood was the main opponent to Sisi, as other political organizations were much newer and weaker. The fear and relative disorganization of these smaller, less well-organized parties limited their ability to oppose the new regime.

Overall, Figure 2 exemplifies Egypt’s rocky relationship with democracy in the areas that allow elections to truly work: freedom of speech, fair elections, access to alternative views and the ability to form opposition groups.

The Average Egyptian’s Ability to Participate

The ability of the populace to participate politically significantly impacts the credibility of any democracy, as is the case in Egypt. As in the previous index discussed above, the opportunity of the average Egyptian to participate has varied over the years, as reflected in the *participatory democracy index*. The following figure focuses on the components of the *regional government index*, the *civil society participation index*, and the *popular vote index*, the three key indices that provide a more detailed look at the functioning of the participatory aspect of democracy in Egypt. Also included is the overall *participatory democracy index* for reference. Scores for all these indices range from 0-1, with 0 being the lowest possible score.

Figure 3. Development of the participatory aspect of democracy for Egypt, 1900-2012



For the majority of Egypt’s history, both before and after Nasser, political power was centralized in the national government, and regional governments operated with a great deal of oversight, hence the consistently low score in the *regional government index*. In 2011, governmental authority

became less centrally concentrated in the wake of the Arab Spring, when the national government broke down. However, when the military overthrew Morsi, they quickly tightened their grip on power, severely curtailing the small gains that regional governments had made. Traditionally, though, power is largely centralized in Egypt, causing very limited power for regional governments.

While Egypt did hold elections for Parliament from 1923 to 1952, interventions by the King in the manner of dissolving the Parliament made the meaningfulness of these elections low, as seen in the *direct popular vote index* (Goldschmidt 2004). The new constitution in 1956 allowed women to vote for the first time. Though a positive step in allowing more people to vote, ultimately the one party state made votes irrelevant, hence the score remained low. In 1971, a new constitution was written and oppositional voices were allowed for the first time, giving voters a genuine choice when they went to the polls. However, firm control by the President made their votes somewhat inconsequential, as oppositional parties would never be able to gain the majority in Parliament. These new constitutions in 1956 and 1971 also called for a popular referendum, meaning people voted directly to legitimize the constitution.

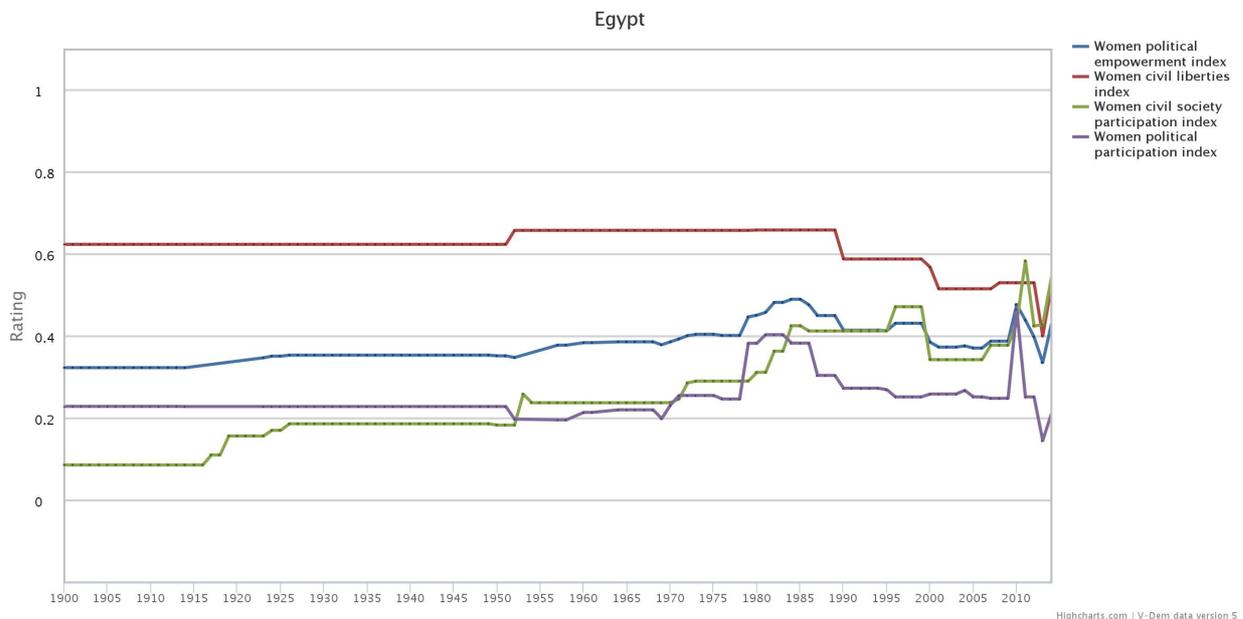
Egypt's authoritarian regime focused heavily on limiting civil society, as reflected in the low scores of the *civil society participation index*. Nasser nationalized unions and imprisoned and banned other civil groups, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, that threatened his power (Wickham 2013). From 1970 onward, the policies of Sadat and Mubarak generally allowed civil society organizations to function with less interference and censorship. One exception to this occurred in the late 1970s, when Sadat became more paranoid due to unrest over economic issues and strong opposition to his treaty with Israel, that he began to crackdown on the opposition and arrested numerous political rivals and dissidents (Feuille 2011). Another exception occurred in the mid-1990s, when political violence increased due to some extreme Islamist groups, resulting in Mubarak suppressing all opposition parties. Following the Muslim Brotherhood's surprising success in the 2005 parliamentary elections, Mubarak arrested Muslim Brotherhood leaders and members of other oppositional groups, limiting the ability of civil societies to function effectively. Civil society flourished in the wake of the 2011 revolution, but the military severely restricted it again following their takeover in 2013.

Key to the success of a democracy is the ability of the people to participate. As this figure and analysis show, the average Egyptian's ability to participate has been incredibly low throughout history, both in direct elections, on a regional level, and in civil society organizations.

The Role of Women in Egyptian Politics

As women's rights continue to be a significant topic in the Middle East, it is important to address their role in Egypt, thus the *women's political empowerment index* is essential to focus on. Figure 4 contains three important components of the *women's political empowerment index*, namely the *women civil liberties index*, the *women civil society participation index* and the *women political participation index*. It also includes the *women's political empowerment index* as a point of comparison. Scores for all these indices range from 0-1, with 0 being the lowest score possible.

Figure 4. Development of Women's political empowerment index for Egypt, 1900-2012



The 1980s marked the strong return of Islamist groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood. In response to this, secularists began a slow retreat away from supporting women's rights in order to cement their alliance with Islamists, which is reflected in the decline in the *women civil liberties index* (Hamat 1994). The High Constitutional Court also reversed decrees at the end of the 1980s that had reserved seats for women in Parliament and had challenged personal status laws that supported male privilege. Combined, these factors caused a sharp decline in what had been a relatively high and stable level of female political empowerment

For the majority of the 20th century, it appeared as if the women's participation in political activities and expression of their political opinions was increasing, as supported by the

steady increase of the *women civil participation index*. As political groups and institutions opened up in the 1970s, there was a push for separate organizational categories within them that included a place for women (Hamat 1994). While present, these groups, and in particular their female sections were highly controlled by the state. Women could not form independent associations either. In the late 1990s, there was a general curtail of freedom to assemble, affecting women and men alike (Dunne and Hamazaway 2008). In 2011, civil society participation increased, as indicated by changes in the *women civil participation index*, due to the Arab Spring, where women protested with men through both writing inflammatory articles and social media posts and by demonstrating in the streets (Tadros 2014).

Overall, female political participation is low in Egypt, as seen in this figure, with occasional increases in participation from the 1980s onward. At the end of the 1970s, and in the early 1980s, Parliament began to reserve seats for women, as political leaders focused on the political disadvantages associated with being a woman (Hamat 1994). However, this brief period of improvement ended when the High Constitutional Court rejected changes in the mid-1980s that increased the quotas for women. The NDP's lack of response showed a lack of interest in supporting its own women, and the representation of women in Congress was effectively halved at this time (Hamat 1994). This lack of response was likely due to the growing influence of Islamist groups like the Muslim Brotherhood, who were against many of the changes in favor of women that had occurred in the recent years. In 2009, immediately before the regime collapsed, Mubarak's wife helped institute a quota giving additional seats to women in Parliament, causing a brief improvement in female political participation (Tardos 2014). But following the 2011 revolution, weaker gender quotas were put in place, causing less representation for women, and thus a decline in female political participation (Tardos 2014).

Though the role of women in Egyptian political life appears to be reasonably high, especially in relation to Egypt's overall democratization trends, a lot of this is because women were used as a political tool. The trend downward in the 1980s for women, when other areas of democratization such as free speech and the growth of civil society, began to increase could mean that women's political rights were more regime driven rather than a societal trend. When other areas began to be freer, there was no more need to use women to show "democratic" gain to foreign powers, especially as rising opposition groups like the Muslim Brotherhood opposed such trends. The continual trend downward since the 1980s is another indication that democracy is not fairing well in Egypt, as true democracy should represent all peoples, not just one gender.

Conclusion

Since 1900, Egypt's levels of democratization have fluctuated slightly under autocratic regimes. However, its history does show periods of liberalization, mostly as a tool to manage the populace's feelings towards the authoritarian ruler. Overall, though, Egypt, despite some tendencies towards liberalization has always fallen back on its autocratic past, as is the case in 2016. After gains made in 2011, following a popular uprising that caused the overthrow of Mubarak, Egypt has slipped back into authoritarianism due to a military coup of the democratically elected government. This troubling trend in one way seems to speak to the difficulty of establishing a democracy in Egypt. Despite this, the uprising in 2011 demonstrates that Egyptians want a democratic system. However, as this report shows, escaping from decades of authoritarianism and a strong military proves to be more difficult than perhaps the Egyptians first believed, and it may take a while for their desires to turn into reality.

Appendix

Indicators included in Figure 1

Women Political Empowerment Index

Question: How politically empowered are women?

Clarifications: Women's political empowerment is defined as a process of increasing capacity for women, leading to greater choice, agency, and participation in societal decision-making. It is understood to incorporate three equally-weighted dimensions: fundamental civil liberties, women's open discussion of political issues and participation in civil society organizations, and the descriptive representation of women in formal political positions.

Aggregation: The index is formed by taking the point estimates from a Bayesian factor analysis model of the indicators for CSO women's participation (v2csgender), female journalists (v2mefemjrn), freedom of domestic movement for women (v2cldmovew), freedom of discussion for women (v2cldiscw), freedom from forced labor for women (v2clslavef), property rights for women (v2clprptyw), access to justice for women (v2clacjstw), and power distributed by gender (v2pepwrngen).

Participatory component Index

Question: To what extent is the participatory principle achieved?

Clarification: The participatory principle of democracy emphasizes active participation by citizens in all political processes, electoral and non-electoral. It is motivated by uneasiness about a bedrock practice of electoral democracy: delegating authority to representatives. Thus, direct rule by citizens is preferred, wherever practicable. This model of democracy thus takes suffrage for granted, emphasizing engagement in civil society organizations, direct democracy, and subnational elected bodies.

Aggregation: This index is formed by averaging the following indices: civil society participation, direct popular vote (v2xdd_dd), elected local government power (v2xel_locelec), and elected regional government power (v2xel_regelec).

Egalitarian Component Index

Question: To what extent is the egalitarian principle achieved?

Clarifications: The egalitarian principle of democracy addresses the distribution of political power across social groups, i.e., groups defined by class, sex, religion, and ethnicity. This perspective on

democracy emphasizes that a formal guarantee of political rights and civil liberties are not always sufficient for political equality. Ideally, all social groups should have approximately equal participation, representation, agenda-setting power, protection under the law, and influence over policymaking and policy implementation. If such equality does not exist, the state ought to seek to redistribute socio-economic resources, education, and health so as to enhance political equality.

Aggregation: The index is formed by point estimates drawn from a Bayesian factor analysis model including indicators of power distribution according to socioeconomic position (v2pepwrse), power distribution according to social group (v2pepwrso), social group equality in respect for civil liberties (v2clsocgrp), equal access to justice (v2clacjust), equal access to education (v2peedueq), equal access to health (v2pehealth), power distribution according to gender (v2pepwrge), share of budget allocated to public/common goods (v2dlencmps), and the share of welfare programs that provide universal rather than means-tested benefits (v2dlunivl).

Liberal Component Index

Question: To what extent is the liberal principle of democracy achieved?

Clarification: The liberal principle of democracy emphasizes the importance of protecting individual and minority rights against the tyranny of the state and the tyranny of the majority. The liberal model takes a “negative” view of political power insofar as it judges the quality of democracy by the limits placed on government. This is achieved by constitutionally protected civil liberties, strong rule of law, an independent judiciary, and effective checks and balances that, together, limit the exercise of executive power.

Aggregation: This index is formed by averaging the following indices: equality before the law and individual liberties (v2xcl_rol), judicial constraints on the executive (v2x_jucon), and legislative constraints on the executive (v2xlg_legcon).

Electoral Democracy Index

Question: To what extent is the ideal of electoral democracy in its fullest sense achieved?

Clarification: The electoral principle of democracy seeks to embody the core value of making rulers responsive to citizens, achieved through electoral competition for the electorate’s approval under circumstances when suffrage is extensive; political and civil society organizations can operate freely; elections are clean and not marred by fraud or systematic irregularities; and elections affect the composition of the chief executive of the country. In between elections, there is freedom of expression and an independent media capable of presenting alternative views

on matters of political relevance. In the V-Dem conceptual scheme, electoral democracy is understood as an essential element of any other conception of (representative) democracy – liberal, participatory, deliberative, egalitarian, or some other.

Aggregation The index is formed by taking the average of, on the one hand, the weighted average of the indices measuring freedom of association (thick) (v2x_frassoc_thick), suffrage (v2x_suffr), clean elections (v2xel_frefair), elected executive (v2x_accex) and freedom of expression (v2x_freexp_thick); and, on the other, the five-way multiplicative interaction between those indices. This is half way between a straight average and strict multiplication, meaning the average of the two. It is thus a compromise between the two most well known aggregation formulas in the literature, both allowing (partial) "compensation" in one sub-component for lack of polyarchy in the others, but also punishing countries not strong in one sub-component according to the "weakest link" argument. The aggregation is done at the level of Dahls sub-components (with the one exception of the non-electoral component). Note that data release 6 suggests an updated formula to create this index (release 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 used a different, preliminary aggregation formula).

Deliberative Component Index

Question: To what extent is the deliberative principle of democracy achieved?

Clarification: The deliberative principle of democracy focuses on the process by which decisions are reached in a polity. A deliberative process is one in which public reasoning focused on the common good motivates political decisions as contrasted with emotional appeals, solidary attachments, parochial interests, or coercion. According to this principle, democracy requires more than an aggregation of existing preferences. There should also be respectful dialogue at all levels from preference formation to final decision among informed and competent participants who are open to persuasion. To measure these features of a polity we try to determine the extent to which political elites give public justifications for their positions on matters of public policy, justify their positions in terms of the public good, acknowledge and respect counter-arguments; and how wide the range of consultation is at elite levels.

Indicators for Figure 2

Electoral Democracy Index

Question: To what extent is the ideal of electoral democracy in its fullest sense achieved?

Clarification: The electoral principle of democracy seeks to embody the core value of making rulers responsive to citizens, achieved through electoral competition for the electorate's approval under circumstances when suffrage is extensive; political and civil society organizations can operate freely; elections are clean and not marred by fraud or systematic irregularities; and elections affect the composition of the chief executive of the country. In between elections, there is freedom of expression and an independent media capable of presenting alternative views on matters of political relevance. In the V-Dem conceptual scheme, electoral democracy is understood as an essential element of any other conception of (representative) democracy – liberal, participatory, deliberative, egalitarian, or some other.

Aggregation The index is formed by taking the average of, on the one hand, the weighted average of the indices measuring freedom of association (thick) (v2x_frassoc_thick), suffrage (v2x_suffr), clean elections (v2xel_frefair), elected executive (v2x_accex) and freedom of expression (v2x_freexp_thick); and, on the other, the five-way multiplicative interaction between those indices. This is half way between a straight average and strict multiplication, meaning the average of the two. It is thus a compromise between the two most well known aggregation formulas in the literature, both allowing (partial) "compensation" in one sub-component for lack of polyarchy in the others, but also punishing countries not strong in one sub-component according to the "weakest link" argument. The aggregation is done at the level of Dahls sub-components (with the one exception of the non-electoral component). Note that data release 6 suggests an updated formula to create this index (release 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 used a different, preliminary aggregation formula).

Freedom of Expression Index

Question: To what extent does government respect press & media freedom, the freedom of ordinary people to discuss political matters at home and in the public sphere, as well as the freedom of academic and cultural expression?

Clean Elections Index

Question: To what extent are elections free and fair?

Clarifications: Free and fair connotes an absence of registration fraud, systematic irregularities, government intimidation of the opposition, vote buying, and election violence.

Alternative Source Information Index

Question: To what extent is the media (a) un-biased in their coverage (or lack of coverage) of the opposition, (b) allowed to be critical of the regime, and (c) representative of a wide array of political perspectives?

Freedom of Association Index (thick)

Question: To what extent are parties, including opposition parties, allowed to form and to participate in elections, and to what extent are civil society organizations able to form and to operate freely?

Indicators for Figure 3

Participatory Component Index

Question: To what extent is the participatory principle achieved?

Clarification: The participatory principle of democracy emphasizes active participation by citizens in all political processes, electoral and non-electoral. It is motivated by uneasiness about a bedrock practice of electoral democracy: delegating authority to representatives. Thus, direct rule by citizens is preferred, wherever practicable. This model of democracy thus takes suffrage for granted, emphasizing engagement in civil society organizations, direct democracy, and subnational elected bodies.

Aggregation: This index is formed by averaging the following indices: civil society participation, direct popular vote (v2xdd_dd), elected local government power (v2xel_locelec), and elected regional government power (v2xel_regelec).

Civil Society Participation Index

Question: Are major CSOs routinely consulted by policymaker; how large is the involvement of people in CSOs; are women prevented from participating; and is legislative candidate nomination within party organization highly decentralized or made through party primaries?

Clarification: The sphere of civil society lies in the public space between the private sphere and the state. Here, citizens organize in groups to pursue their collective interests and ideals. We call these groups civil society organizations (CSOs). CSOs include, but are by no means limited to, interest groups, labor unions, spiritual organizations (if they are engaged in civic or political activities), social movements, professional associations, charities, and other non-governmental organizations. The core civil society index (CCSI) is designed to provide a measure of a robust

civil society, understood as one that enjoys autonomy from the state and in which citizens freely and actively pursue their political and civic goals, however conceived.

Direct Popular Vote Index

Question: To what extent is the ideal of direct democracy achieved?

Clarification: Direct popular voting refers here to an institutionalized process by which citizens of a region or country register their choice or opinion on specific issues through a ballot. It is intended to embrace initiatives, referendums, and plebiscites, as those terms are usually understood. It captures some aspects of the more general concept of direct democracy. The term does not encompass recall elections, deliberative assemblies, or settings in which the vote is not secret or the purview is restricted. Likewise, it does not apply to elections for representatives. This index measures how easy it is to initiate and approve a direct popular vote and how consequential that vote is (if approved)? Ease of initiation is measured by (a) the existence of a direct democracy process, (b) the number of signatures needed, (c) time-limits to circulate the signatures, and (d) the level of government (national and/or subnational). Ease of approval is measured by quorums pertaining to (a) participation and (b) approval. Consequences are measured by (a) the legal status of the decision made by citizens (binding or merely consultative), and (b) the frequency with which direct popular votes have been approved in the past.

Regional Government Index

Question: Are there elected regional governments, and if so to what extent can they operate without interference from unelected bodies at the regional level?

Clarification: The lowest score would be reserved for a country that has no elected regional governments. A medium score would be accorded a country that has elected regional governments but where those governments are subordinate to unelected officials at the regional level (perhaps appointed by a higher-level body). A high score would be accorded to a country in which regional governments are elected and able to operate without restrictions from unelected actors at the regional level (with the exception of judicial bodies). (Naturally, regional governments remain subordinate to the national government.)

Indicators for Figure 4

Women Political Empowerment Index

Question: How politically empowered are women?

Clarifications: Women's political empowerment is defined as a process of increasing capacity for women, leading to greater choice, agency, and participation in societal decision-making. It is understood to incorporate three equally-weighted dimensions: fundamental civil liberties, women's open discussion of political issues and participation in civil society organizations, and the descriptive representation of women in formal political positions.

Aggregation: The index is formed by taking the point estimates from a Bayesian factor analysis model of the indicators for CSO women's participation (v2csgender), female journalists (v2mefemjrn), freedom of domestic movement for women (v2cldmovew), freedom of discussion for women (v2cldiscw), freedom from forced labor for women (v2clslavef), property rights for women (v2clprptyw), access to justice for women (v2clacjstw), and power distributed by gender (v2pepwrgen).

Women Civil Liberties Index

Question: Do women have the ability to make meaningful decisions in key areas of their lives?

Clarifications: Women's civil liberties are understood to include freedom of domestic movement, the right to private property, freedom from forced labor, and access to justice.

Women Civil Society Participation Index

Question: Do women have the ability to express themselves and to form and participate in groups?

Clarifications: Women's civil society participation is understood to include open discussion of political issues, participation in civil society organizations, and representation in the ranks of journalists.

Women Political Participation Index

Question: Are women descriptively represented in formal political positions?

Clarifications: Women's political participation is understood to include women's descriptive representation in the legislature and an equal share in the overall distribution of power.

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