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Version 1**



**UDF-EGY-11-437 - Women in Democratic Transition in Egypt**

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## Disclaimer

The views expressed in this report are those of the evaluators. They do not represent those of UNDEF or of any of the institutions referred to in the report.

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## I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This project ran from 1 November 2013 – 31 July 2015 (18 months plus 3 month no-cost extension), with a total grant of USD 225,000. It was implemented by the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights (ECWR). Its target direct beneficiaries were female candidates for political office (Parliament and local municipal councils), decision makers in political parties, women's committees in political parties, parliamentarians, media professionals, journalists, and broadly speaking the women of Egypt. The main thrusts of the project were advocacy related to Parliament and political parties, capacity building for women involved in politics, and media training.

The project was conducted within the sixth funding Round (2011) and was motivated by women's low political representation in the country. Despite women's active participation as voters and change-makers during the Arab Spring, their representation in political bodies deteriorated. Women made up around 12% of the 2010 Parliament, but the 2011/2012 Parliament witnessed a drastic decline following abolition of the quota, so women represented only 2% of seats.

The project built on the recommendations and results of ECWR's previous (2009-11) UNDEF project Women in Democratic Transition: Political Participation Watchdog Unit (UDF-EGY-08-241) and benefited from significant input from UNDEF during formulation.

The main outcomes identified in the Project Document were:

- Policy advocacy -- advocacy and implementation of policies to increase women's representation in Parliament, local councils, and political party leadership.
- Capacity building -- increased leadership capacity of women to strategize, discuss, and react to changes and currents affecting women through political channels.
- Media – creating an informed media presence and voter population through a positive portrayal of women in media, especially in TV representation, as well as through advocacy campaign to support women's rights.

### ***(ii) Findings***

This project's **relevance** is not in question given the under-representation of women, and particularly progressive women, in Egyptian politics. All persons interviewed stated that the underlying reason is the persistence of patriarchal attitudes, including among women themselves. More proximate causes include lack of capacity and resistance on the part of gatekeepers such as political parties. The project in one way or another addressed all these deficits in Egyptian democratic institutions. Relevance also depends in part on coherence with the political context. In part because of widespread reaction against the policy of the Morsi government, women's political rights are an area that is doing well. While Western governments have criticized many aspects of the Sisi government's human rights performance, the rights of women (as well as the disabled) have been a bright spot. The project therefore took advantage of a favorable overall environment.

An impressive number of activities were implemented at a high level of quality, contributing to

**effectiveness** and **efficiency**. A key positive factor was ECWR's dense network of local NGOs outside Cairo, including in under-served areas like Upper Egypt and Sinai. Over the years, ECWR has selected cadres from these NGOs and trained them in Cairo, after which they have returned to their homes to serve as trainers and advocates. So long as training venues were known and secure, and not too far from home, the practical difficulties of obtaining good female participation were not insurmountable, even in traditional areas. Beneficiaries interviewed with the quality of the training received and, based in interviews with trainers themselves, ECWR relied on highly skilled and experienced professionals. Through its in-house training manager, ECWR ensured that curricula were fit for the purpose, the audience, and the location. Sums allocated to each of the three project components were reasonable compared to the outputs produced and staff costs were in line with international standards. There were some delays, but these can largely be attributed to the poor functioning of the public administrative apparatus during these politically troubled times.

At the personal level, all persons who participated in project training and workshops found the experience valuable. A significant proportion of women who received training ran for political office, and a significant proportion of these succeeded, demonstrating concrete project **impact**. Project impact on political parties has two sides. One is that, according to all persons interviewed, including political party members themselves, outside a very few, political parties have not implemented the Code of Ethics in good faith, demonstrating their lack of commitment to women's political participation. Most important, parties do not allocate funds to supporting women's campaigns. However, the other side of the issue of the project's impact on political parties is that the Code has provided ECWR and other activists with a strong advocacy tool, a means of reminding political parties that they are in violation of their commitment. A central impact of the project has been to make women within parties more aware of their rights.

The impact on the 2015 parliamentary elections of the 2014 election law advocated for by ECWR was dramatic. In addition to the 56 party list set-asides for women, 19 women were elected as independents, some from extremely conservative districts. While many other factors were at work, it is safe to say based on figures analyzed here that training made at least some direct contribution to female electoral success. Combining party and individual candidates, the UNDEF project financed the training of 16% of the successful 56 party list candidates and 21% of the 19 successful independent candidates.

Project beneficiaries continue to engage in politics, and the project will have influence on the planned local council elections (tentatively end-2017), in which, due in part to ECWR advocacy, women are constitutionally entitled to 25% of seats. In view of the sheer numbers involved (some 55,000 local council members nationwide), the local council elections may be more important for promoting female democratic participation and forming a cadre of female political operatives familiar with voter needs and priorities than the higher-profile parliamentary races. An unavoidable issue for **sustainability** is the fact that quotas can be removed as easily as they were put in place. Moreover, while quotas can guarantee a head count, they cannot guarantee the political orientation or degree of progressive activism of women elected. Yet, simply considering the numbers, the quotas have taken Egypt from a handful of female parliamentarians to a guaranteed headcount of 70 (at present). This presents groups like ECWR with a critical mass for training, capacity building, and advocacy. The same is true of the 25% local council quota.

**UNDEF value added** in financing this project was observed at several point. The UN brand was reported to have increased the quality of trainees, specifically those proposed by political parties. UNDEF was flexible to work with. Finally, it was willing to develop civil society activities at a time that other democracy supports felt that the political situation was too volatile.

### ***(iii) Conclusions***

- The grantee, and project, benefited from the fact that they worked in a safe haven – women’s rights – in an otherwise troubled human rights situation. Despite delays and difficulties arising from administrative turbulence, the **project was able to capitalize on a political environment reacting against the regressive gender policies of the Morsi government.**

- While the favorable environment helped, the **project made a tangible and significant contribution to impact in the form of advancing women’s democratic rights. Beneficiaries from project training and workshops were well selected** and benefited from increased capacity as well as awareness of their political rights. Most have continued their political involvement, a significant number ran for political office, and more than a handful were successful. **ECWR was a leading force in lobbying for constitutional measures to ensure women’s representation** – unsuccessful in the case of parliament but successful in the case of local councils. It also **took the lead in successfully advocating for the institution of female quotas** on political lists for the 2015 parliamentary elections and the adoption of a political parties’ Code of Ethics regarding women’s democratic participation.

- **The return of a critical mass of progressive women to Parliament as a result of the 2015 elections** can, in the case of Party list candidates, be entirely ascribed to the quota system in the 2014 elections law. However, as indicated by the striking success of women as independent candidates, there have been overall gains in women’s democratic participation. These can in part be ascribed to the activities of groups such as ECWR, and in part to the activities supported by this project.

- **The impact of advocacy within political parties have been mixed. The Code of Ethics provides a useful platform for further advocacy,** essentially of the “name and shame” variety. Most political parties have back-peddled vigorously from the commitments to greater female participation that they made. The key factor here is money, which parties continue to allocate to supporting the campaigns of men or women chosen for reasons other than their progressive orientation and political acumen. The ultimate political fact is that Egyptian power structures remain profoundly patriarchal.

- **This project was able, thanks to ECWR’s dense network of local NGOs and strong capacity in training, to effectively implement activities in the field, even in traditional and remote regions.** By reducing travel costs and enhancing the participation of women at grass-roots level, this contributed to positive findings related to effectiveness, efficiency, and ultimately impact and sustainability.

- **The comparative advantages of ECWR are content development and advocacy.** These are closely related, because it is **the ability of ECWR to develop credible statistics and analysis that allows it to lobby effectively.** The availability of high-quality content also feeds into **effective training activities.** While the media component of the project was successful, its strategic relationship to the policy advocacy and capacity building components could have been more clearly articulated.

- **Women trained have continued to pursue political interests;** there is now a critical mass of progressive women in Parliament and, perhaps most important, women are constitutionally guaranteed one-quarter of the 55,000 local council sets to be filled at the next election (promised for the end of 2017). At the same time, it needs to be kept in mind that the current level of representation of women in parliament is in large part due to quotas that can be removed by parliament as easily as they were put in place.

- **UNDEF added value** in financing this project, largely by **supporting a successful high-profile civil society initiative** at a time when other democracy support institutions were either forced to curtail activities or were reluctant to commit themselves in light of the ongoing political turmoil. UNDEF also contributed significantly to the elaboration of the project document and proved flexible when adjustments were needed in project schedule.

#### ***(iv) Recommendations***

- **UNDEF should continue to work with ECWR. First, there is still work to be done. Second, while the scope for valuable democracy support work in Egypt has been narrowing, women's rights remains an area open to support.** In considering possibilities for further work, UNDEF should consider involving UN Women, which has a very favorable view of ECWR and can offer invaluable local thematic expertise. A strategic advantage for UNDEF is that through ECWR, it can provide support that complements the work of the government-sponsored National Women's Union with that of an independent NGO. This recommendation follows from Conclusion (i).

- **ECWR should continue to concentrate on analysis and content development to support its advocacy and training actions.** With a reasonable number of progressive women now in Parliament and a large number of women slated to be on local councils by the end of next year, **ECWR may wish to target its work less on candidates and more on women actually in office.** It should follow up on its own observation that the greatest opportunity for promoting the sustainability of women's political gains, and achieving further one, may lie at the local council level and not in parliament. At the same time, it may want to look for ways to provide technical backstopping to the nascent Women's Caucus in Parliament. This recommendation follows from Conclusions (ii), (iii), (vi), and (vii).

- **Media outreach and relations at ECWR** are currently handled as a part of one staff member's portfolio of responsibilities. Given the **excellent quality of the content being produced** and steady stream of activities, ECWR should consider whether it is desirable to upgrade media relations to a full-time function or at least consider whether it is currently leveraging its work to the maximum extent possible. This recommendation follows from Conclusion (vii).

- **In considering project proposals that give emphasis to decentralized activities, UNDEF should closely scrutinize the institutional capacity of the grantee to ensure that its local network is both broad enough and strong enough to deliver promised results.** This recommendation follows from Conclusion (v).

- **ECWR has already made up its mind that it will continue to advocate with political parties, using the Code of Ethics as a platform and a tool.** At the same time, it recognizes that the most significant achievement of the 2015 parliamentary elections was in the area of independent candidates. Since the main constraint faced by women both within parties and as independents is **campaign finance, ECWR may want to devote more attention to this subject.** In judging future projects, UNDEF may wish to consider the experience of this project, where the main output of advocating for change in parties was not actual change itself, but rather a commitment that could subsequently be used to lobby for real change. This recommendation follows from Conclusions (ii), (iii), and (iv).

- UNDEF does not have a position on election quotas, whose impact and sustainability probably vary so much depending on national political context that a overall or blanket position would be substantively, if not institutionally, inappropriate. **In Egypt, ECWR should keep in mind that the existing quotas will need to be backed up with continued advocacy and complemented by on supporting women who are not benefitting from quotas.** In supporting projects in other countries where quotas are in place, UNDEF may wish to advise that grantees follow the example of ECWR by **producing a high quality legal and statistical analysis of precisely how the quota system works.**



## II. INTRODUCTION AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

### ***i. The project and evaluation objectives***

This report contains the evaluation of the project “Women in Democratic Transition in Egypt” which ran from 1 November 2013 – 31 July 2015 (18 months plus 3 month no-cost extension), with a total grant of USD 225,000 out of which UNDEF retained USD 22,500 for monitoring and evaluation. The utilized fund amount was USD 202,500. The project was designed and implemented by the Egyptian Center for Women’s Rights (ECWR). As defined in the Project Document. As such, its objective was to “increase representation of women in the political sphere, including female representatives in the local councils and political party leadership, as well as meaningful inclusion of women’s issues in political party platforms and the media.”

UNDEF and Transtec have agreed on a framework governing the evaluation process, set out in the Operational Manual. According to the manual, the objective of the evaluation is to “undertake in-depth analysis of UNDEF-funded projects to gain a better understanding of what constitutes a successful project which will in turn help UNDEF devise future project strategies. Evaluations also assist stakeholders to determine whether projects have been implemented in accordance with the project document and whether anticipated project outputs have been achieved”.

### ***(ii) Evaluation methodology***

The evaluation was conducted by an international expert, working with two national experts, under the terms of the framework agreement between UNDEF and Transtec. In accordance with the agreed process, the evaluation aimed to answer questions corresponding to the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) criteria of *relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact, and sustainability*, as well as the additional criterion of *UNDEF value added* (see Annex 1). The evaluation took place from April 2016 with the fieldwork in Egypt conducted in May. The evaluators reviewed available project documentation and contextual / background materials prior to going to the field (Annex 2). Project staff interviews and a final debriefing were held at ECWR’s Cairo office. Interviews included project staff, UNDEF HQ staff, and project beneficiaries, i.e. persons who had benefitted from capacity building and workshop participation, trainers, parliamentarians and political party members who were targets of policy advocacy, media representatives, and UN WOMEN staff familiar with the project. The list of people met is presented in annex 3. Security considerations made travel outside Cairo inadvisable, but this did not seriously impede the evaluation mission.

### ***(iii) Political context***

The 2014 Constitution calls for Egypt to have a unicameral parliament in which, according to Article 11, there is appropriate representation of women. Long-awaited parliamentary elections for Egypt’s parliament were conducted in a two-phase process which ended in December 2015. The previous parliament, which was elected in three phases between November 2011 and January 2012, had been dissolved in June 2012 by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) after Egypt’s Supreme Constitutional Court deemed the country’s electoral law unconstitutional. Between June 2012 and the re-convening of current Parliament

in early 2016, the executive authority—during the first period SCAF, then President Mohamed Morsi, followed by interim President Adly Mansour, and now President Abdul-Fattah el-Sisi—issued legislation by presidential decree, with no legislative branch check on its power.

Quotas, while controversial among both political scientists and feminists, have played a major role in promoting female democratic participation in Egypt. During the last years of the Mubarak regime women, benefiting from a law that set aside sixty-four seats for them, represented 12% of representatives in Parliament – the highest level ever in Egypt. The transitional government, led by Egypt’s military, abandoned the reserved seat system applied in the 2010 election. Instead, in the new parallel electoral system, parties were obliged to nominate at least one woman as part of the 46 district candidate lists which they submitted for the 46 districts (electing 332 seats contested through a proportional representation system). As a result, in the November 2011-January 2012 elections to the first post-revolutionary parliament, only 8 women (1.8 percent) were elected. The SCAF appointed an additional 10 MPs, among them two women, bringing women's overall share of seats to 2.2 percent. During deliberations regarding the 2014 Parliamentary Elections law (implemented by presidential decree), ECWR and other groups successfully lobbied for re-instatement of the quota system. The original campaign had been for incorporating a 50 percent representation rule in the Constitution, but this proved impossible to achieve. However, ECWR and others were successful in eliciting from the Mansour administration a 12.5 percent quota incorporated in the Parliamentary Elections Law.<sup>1</sup> As a direct result of the quota, last year’s October – December elections resulted in the election of 73 women out of 568 seats – 56 through the quota system and 17 winning individual seats -- to which President al-Sisi added 14 additional female members (out of 28 reserved for his selection), bringing the total proportion of women to 14.9 percent.

Women’s advocates including ECWR had more success at the constitutional level in imposing a quota system on local councils, which were dissolved following the revolution and for which new elections will likely be held at the end of 2017. In the Constituent Assembly, charged with amending the country’s constitution, it was decided that 25 percent of municipal seats will be reserved for women, a move for which ECWR advocated. The new Constitution was approved by referendum in January 2014. These moves, while not meeting activists’ demands in full, are positive steps towards improving the low political participation of women in the aftermath of Egypt’s revolution. There were other recent signs of progress, as well. In February 2015, the Egyptian judiciary appointed the first female presiding judges after the Supreme Judicial Council approved the appointment of a batch of administrative prosecution members, as well as State Litigation Authority members, as presiding judges in the Criminal Courts, Courts of First Instance and the Cassation Court. This is in conformity with Article 11 of the constitution, which calls on the state to guarantees women's "appointment in judicial bodies and authorities without discrimination." Nineteen women won in the elections of the Higher Authority of the Egyptian Social Democratic Party (ESDP), claiming 44% of the seats, which is unprecedented within Egyptian political parties. However, women's overall share in leadership positions in political parties, whether by election or appointment, does not exceed one-third.

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<sup>1</sup>This was not accomplished directly, but by requirements imposed on Egypt’s complicated electoral list system. See the text box below for details. To summarize, there are four electoral lists in Egypt, two covering aggregations of large, heavily populated regions and two covering aggregations of small, sparsely populated ones. The first two lists contain 45 candidates apiece (distributed over the constituent governorates) while the second two contain 15 candidates apiece. Of the 45 in the first group, 21 at least must be women; of the 15 in the second group, at least 7 must be women. Half of representatives appointed by the President must be women.

## Political Timeline

*In this text box, we provide a breakdown of the key events that occurred during the project:*

- **2013 July** - Army overthrows President Morsi amid mass demonstrations calling on him to quit.

- A **presidential election** in Egypt took place between 26 and 28 May 2014. There were only two candidates, former Egyptian defence minister Abdel Fattah el-Sisi and Egyptian Popular Current candidate Hamdeen Sabahi. The elections came almost a year after the June 2013 protests that led to the overthrow of then-president Mohamed Morsi. The elections showed a turnout of 47.5%, with el-Sisi winning with 96.91%, ten million more votes than former president Mohamed Morsi (who garnered 13 million votes against his opponent in the runoff of the 2012 Egyptian presidential elections).

- In July 2013, after the ousting of former President Mohammed Morsi, the military announced the schedule for the development of the constitution, with the vote to occur around the end of November 2013. The constitution replaces the Egyptian Constitution of 2012 which came into effect under Morsi and was adopted in 2014, like the constitution drafted under Morsi, is based on the Egyptian Constitution of 1971.

**The 2014** New constitution bans parties based on religion and has been criticized by the Revolutionary Socialists and the Road of the Revolution Front for leaving too much power in the hands of the military.

- **Egyptian parliamentary elections** to the House of Representatives were held in two phases, from 17 October to 2 December 2015. The elected parliament will be entrusted with the task of reviewing the laws that were passed while a parliament was not in session. President Sisi made a televised appeal for Egyptians to vote, and in mid-October, public sector employees were given half a day's holiday to encourage them to take part. The strikingly low turnout of around 10 %, with "many angry at the government and its policies", was widely regarded as a set-back for the regime and a success for calls to boycotts from oppositional movements.

- Postponing the **local council elections** to be by end of 2016 or 2017.

### III. PROJECT STRATEGY

#### ***(i) Project strategy and approach***

Founded in 1996, ECWR is an NGO specializing in advocacy and human rights for women. It has long been a leading advocacy organization for political rights; for example, it contributed to the campaign to allow women to vote with only an identity card (as opposed to an electoral card). It has also been active in promoting the rights of women who are victims of rape or sexual harassment. UNDEF had financed a previous ECWR project that ran 2010-12 and was more top-down in orientation. The project here being evaluated had its genesis in a proposal to build a media presence in the form of a website based on the first project, but UNDEF headquarters staff took a strong role in advising and contributing to a substantial revision, resulting in this project.

Quoting the Project Document, the overall objective was stated as to increase representation of women in the political sphere, including female representatives in the local councils, and political party leadership, as well as meaningful inclusion of women's issues in political party platforms and in the media. The project team aspired to work closely with women cadres in the parties and at universities in order to equip them with the needed communication, outreach and negotiation skills in order to be able to partake effectively in the political sphere in this transition period in the countries, as well as providing them with the knowledge needed to monitor elections to ensure their transparency. Prior to formulating this project, ECWR had implemented a UN Trust Fund for Women project focusing on local council elections. When Parliament was dissolved in 2012 (and local councils fell into desuetude) ECWR shifted its focus to preparing women for the next parliamentary elections.

The project based its strategy on three main areas of intervention:

- Policy Advocacy – advocacy and implementation of policies to increase women's representation in Parliament, local councils, and party leadership. In addition to lobbying the partners of the media professionals, CSOs and other stakeholders in order to support this advocacy initiative.
- Capacity building- Increasing leadership capacity in regard to the general skills for effective political participation and increasing leadership capacity, which empowers women particularly to strategize, discuss, lead and react to changes and currents affecting women through political channels.
- Media – creating an informed media presence and voter population through a positive portrayal of women in media, especially in TV representation, newspaper, as well as through advocacy campaigns to support women's rights.

Under these three headings, the project implemented a very large number of activities, which are detailed with summary descriptions of the outputs achieved, in Annex 5 (taken in large part from the project Final Narrative Report). To summarize, the main activities were as follows:

The project implemented the following activities under each of these broad areas:

- (1) Policy advocacy:

- A situation analysis and case study for the women political engagement position in the political sphere during the project implementation period.
- A public seminar to present a research paper on women in political parties.
- Formulation of a Code of Ethics regarding women's participation in political parties – essentially a pledge by parties to ensure that 30% of part committee members are women and to put in place a fund to finance female candidates' election campaigns.
- Consultation with 20-30 political parties, agreement of at least twenty, followed by a public seminar.
- Project results dissemination seminar.

(2) Capacity building:

- Two two-day trainings for women in political parties for parliamentary elections.
- Two-day training on political outreach.
- Two-day training on media.
- Seven three-day schools to train women to run for local council elections in order to have an election monitor cadre.
- Three two-day trainings on elections monitoring to enforce the code of ethics.

(3) Media:

- Six one-day orientation meetings with media professionals from several influential media outlets.
- Creation of media platform and watchdog tribune to lobby for women political rights.
- Two one-day media trainings.
- 180 articles produced based on the provided trainings by the trained journalists.

**(ii) Logical framework**

The Project Document translates ECWR's programmatic approach into a structured plan of project activities and intended outcomes, including the achievement of the project's overall and specific objectives. The framework below aims to capture the project logic.

<b>Project Activities and related outputs</b>	<b>Intended Outcomes</b>	<b>Medium-term impacts</b>	<b>Long-term objective</b>
<b>Advocacy for increased women's engagement in political parties:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Research paper on women's situation in political parties, presented during public seminar</li> <li>- Formulation of code of ethics of political parties for women's participation.</li> <li>- Pubic seminars with participation of political parties, civil society organizations, and medi</li> </ul>	Women's political position analyzed  Need for policies to increase women's representation in parliament, local councils and party leadership broadly accepted.	Political parties adopt a unified code of ethics on women's political engagement.	More women are on the parties' electoral list  Number of women standing as independent candidates increased
<b>Trainings:</b>	Increased leadership capacity of women to strategize, discuss and	Women better equipped to run in parliamentary and	Increased and more effective

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Training women from political parties to empower them to be candidates and selected for national parliament.</li> <li>- Training women from political parties on political outreach, internal party structure and women's rights within parties</li> <li>- Training trainings on media: how to communicate the constituencies through media and the media competence for the women to be successful parliamentarians.</li> <li>- Women's cadre school for local council elections aimed at enhancing campaign skills</li> <li>- Female youth training on election monitoring (parliamentary and local council elections)</li> <li>- Female youth training to monitor implementation of the code of ethics</li> </ul>	<p>react to changes affecting women through political channels</p> <p>Increased capacity of cadres inside the political parties.</p> <p>Increased women's awareness of their political rights inside and outside political parties.</p>	<p>local council elections.</p> <p>Female political party members empowered to play an active role and undertake leadership roles</p> <p>Women able to monitor elections and ensure transparency.</p> <p>Women able to monitor Code of ethics and its related action plan</p>	<p>participation of women in elections</p> <p>Enhanced role for women within political parties.   Greater transparency of elections and political party processes. Code of ethics fully implemented</p>
<p><b>Media</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Orientation meetings with media on women's political participation and status</li> <li>- Creation of media platform covering all issues related to women's political participation.</li> <li>- Journalist trainings on women in the political sphere</li> <li>- Mentoring journalists</li> </ul>	<p>Journalists more aware, better informed, and better equipped to handle women's issues, particularly political participation, code of ethics, etc.</p> <p>Journalists trained to produce high-quality media productions</p>	<p>High profile media coverage of women in politics.</p> <p>Communities made aware of issues surrounding equality and the rights of women in the political arena.</p>	<p>Women's contribution to democracy broadly acknowledged in media coverage. Media support women candidates and their roles in political parties and social context in the next years of political transitions.</p>

## IV. EVALUATION FINDINGS

### **(i) Relevance**

Relevance of UNDEF projects to beneficiary needs has almost never been an issue in this series of evaluations, in part because of the call for proposals structure of the funding process. Egypt is a country where, historically, women have not fully participated in political processes. All persons interviewed during this evaluation expressed the view that the underlying reason is traditional patriarchal attitudes, including among women themselves (when a woman ran for Vice President in the current Parliament, only 18 of 89 female parliamentarians voted for her). More proximate causes include lack of capacity – many women do not have the skills necessary to participate or are not fully aware of their political rights – and resistance on the part of gatekeepers such as political parties.

The project in one way or another addressed all of these deficits in Egyptian democratic institutions. All of the beneficiaries interviewed were involved one way or another in politics in more than a passing or nugatory way. Many had run for office or planned to do so; beneficiary journalists had used project benefits to improve their coverage of women in politics. Relevance also depends on the overall political context. In part because of widespread reaction against the policies of the Morsi government, women's political rights are a political area that is doing well. While Western governments have criticized many aspects of the Sisi government's human rights performance, the rights of women (as well as the disabled) have been a bright spot. The project therefore took advantage of a favorable overall environment.

### **(ii) Effectiveness**

ECWR faced a number of problems when formulating the project in 2012. As a result of the revolution, the Egyptian administrative apparatus governing NGOs operating with foreign funds was virtually frozen. ECWR's response was to form a consulting company, ACO, which could legally accept funds to implement projects. This arrangement was discussed with and accepted by UNDEF. ACO and ECWR are, apart from separate legal personality, the same organization and the somewhat unusual institutional setup raises no red flags.



**Some of the participants of the ECWR's forum on the Egyptian women and media**

A key factor promoting the effectiveness of the project was ECWR's dense network of local NGOs outside Cairo, including in under-served areas like Upper Egypt and Sinai. Over the years, ECWR has selected cadres from these NGOs and trained them in Cairo, after which they have returned to their homes to serve as local trainers and advocates. In this way, the project here evaluated was able to project itself into even remote and traditional areas. This complied with a previous recommendation that ECWR conduct more activities in rural and

remote areas in Egypt, since it is not viable for all women of diversified categories to travel to Cairo. Hence, the project enabled rural women to be more politically active and benefit from related capacity building activities.

Asked about the practical difficulties experienced by women in attending events, project staff, trainers, and beneficiaries replied that, so long as the venue was secure and known, as well as close to home, these were not insurmountable. Project leadership expressed the view that the impression that the rest of Egypt is more conservative than Cairo is erroneous. The network also served as an aid in soliciting women to participate in trainings. Political parties were also asked to nominate candidates, and at least two trainees interviewed were heads of the Women's Committee of their respective political parties. ECWR's reputation, in addition to the fact that the activity bore the UN brand, were important factors in upgrading the quality of trainees nominated.

While we are unable to present numbers, attention was given to including disabled women in project activities (and there are a number of disabled women in Parliament). The project reached out to at least some marginalized groups, in particular Nubians, who regard ECWR as one of their strongest advocates. The evaluators did not seek information on the religious, ethnic, and educational backgrounds of beneficiaries.

Training beneficiaries who were interviewed were pleased with the quality of the trainings and, in a number of interviews with trainers, it was evident that ECWR, had been able to draw on highly experienced professionals. When interviewed, these defended the fact that all trainees (except in trainings for media representatives) were women, saying that this is standard in political trainings in Egypt. Through its in-house training manager, ECWR was able to ensure that curricula were fit for the purpose, the audience, and the location. Persons outside ECWR interviewed felt that the organization's comparative advantage, in addition to advocacy, was developing content, including training material. In one case (training on how to lobby for the Code of Ethics), the head trainer was the director of ECWR herself.

The project was widely covered in the most prominent media outlets and venues operating in Egypt. The news and articles related to the project featured the project's photos and female beneficiaries (see above corresponding pictures).



Some of the participants of the parties' meeting held by ECWR





- 1- Veto Egypt news website : Title of the news article: ECWR organized the Forum on Egyptian woman and media on 13/4/2014.
- 2- Gomhuria online [public owned publication] : Title of the news article: Women have to participate in the referendum...The most important recommendations of the meeting held by the ECWR with the Egyptian parties.
- 3- Masriyat media outlet : Title of the news article: ECWR held a workshop enabling women to participate in the municipalities' elections.

### ***(iii) Efficiency***

In-house project staff consisted of a manager (100%), accountant (50%), and administrative assistant (100%). As stated above, Arab Consultancy Office managed the project in terms of administration, financing, and technical matters, with ECWR playing the executive implementation role. Effectively ACO acted as trustee for ECWR. ECWR made no financial contribution, but did make in-kind contributions in terms of staff and meeting venues. The in-kind contribution did not extend to premises; half of ECWR's rent over the project period was financed by the project, but these costs were quite modest.

Of the USD 202,500 available to the project after evaluation costs were deducted, USD 54,500 were allocated to Component 1, policy advocacy; USD 119,000 to Component 2, capacity building, and the remaining USD 29,000 to Component 3, media. These were reasonable sums when compared to the outputs produced. Staff costs were USD 32,400 or about 15% of the total. Meetings and trainings consumed just less than USD 105,000 or roughly half the available budget. When set against the number of trainings, the number of persons trained, and the impacts described below, this represented reasonable value for money.

The project was able to draw on a highly qualified and experienced management staff in Cairo, a set of experienced trainers with ECWR experience, and a strong network both inside and outside Cairo. The most striking example of efficiency was the ability to reach even into traditional and remote districts, a point mentioned above.

UNDEF questioned delays in implementation and reporting. However, with the political situation as context, and in particular the breakdown of the administrative routines in place for NGOs accepting donor support, such delays were not unreasonable. ECWR was entirely satisfied with its working relationship with UNDEF and cited in particular smooth disbursements and the easy arrangement of a no-cost extension to accommodate delays.

### **Project Success Stories**

The project resulted in several success stories reflected in the women parliamentarians and female political party members who were able to secure a prominent leadership position in their parties due to the Parties Compact, or those who were able to run in the last elections in 2015 and obtain a parliamentary seat. Thanks to the activities related to Output 1 and 2, where ECWR framed a platform of understanding and co-operation with the engaged parties in order to free a room for women to be more empowered and accomplish their political aspirations within their parties. For example, Ms. Abdul Azim was one of the participants in the training related to media outreach and advocacy targeted the female parties' members. She applied the training modalities and mechanisms to secure over many male competitors an elected seat on the board of Al Ahram, Egypt's largest newspaper. She also encouraged women in Egyptian Free party "Al Masryeen Al Ahrara" and Democratic Egyptian party "Al Masri Al Democrati" to establish media bureaux at their respective parties by training them on media outreach. Ms. Sohair Al Shalkani was one of the participants in the Code of Ethics advocacy meetings, and is a member of Al Masryeen Al Ahrara party. She recently was appointed as the Women's Unit Secretary of the party in 2015 after being trained by ECWR.

The project received extensive media coverage of Code of Ethics, media, and Cadre School activities and clips indicate active participation of the trainees. The picture below shows one workshop held within the Cadre School and extracted from Al Bawaba News outlet in June 2014. The workshop addressed the municipality management, decentralization and the general framework of the local municipalities. The workshops resulted in several recommendations including pushing for women leadership in the municipalities' elections to occupy seats as decision-makers in this domain. Under the project, ECWR also released a document titled "Women's Demands to the New President", the activity which was on the margin of the conducted trainings and received a positive media feedback. In May 2014, Watani Net media outlet featured this document, which was released in co-operation with UN Women in Egypt. The attendants called for the President to include each woman in the country in the health insurance system, ensure women's political participation, establish the Quota system and eliminate violence



#### ***(iv) Impact***

At the personal level, all persons who participated in project training and workshops found the experience valuable. To give an example, one woman who eventually ran for local council office used the phrases "very helpful in practical life" and "excellent for networking." Campaign skills she learned included how to create women's support groups, how decisions are made within political party structures, techniques of teamwork, and media outreach (e.g., how to organize a media event or press conferences). Many trainings included basics like the role of local councils, the role of political parties, the Constitution, etc. Trainings related to elections

monitoring covered the role of monitors, the process and procedures of monitors, how to spot violations, how to report them, etc. One trainee interviewed had acted as a monitor in the 2015 parliamentary election.

Project impact on political parties has two sides. One is that, according to all persons interviewed, including most political party members themselves, outside of a very few, parties have not implemented the Code of Ethics in good faith, demonstrating their lack of commitment to women's democratic participation. No party exceeded the statutory requirement for women on party lists, and many failed to nominate women, or nominated only a handful, to run for individual sets where there was no quota in effect. The principal justification given is that there are not enough qualified women to run. The 30% commitment to representation at high levels that parties signed is not legally binding; it is only a moral commitment. Women, and in particular activist women, remain rare in leadership posts. Most important, according to party members interviewed, parties do not allocate funds to supporting women's campaigns – "The real problem," said one woman interviewed, "is money." With the cost of a parliamentary campaign running to EP 200,000 and a local council campaign costing perhaps EP100,000 lack of party financial support effectively bars many women from standing for election. Particularly disappointing, liberal political parties have performed worse than conservative ones, as have parties with deep pockets who could easily afford to support female candidates. Most female candidates and political activists interviewed during the evaluation preferred to pursue their political careers as independents despite the lack of party logistical support. However, the other side of the issue of the Code of Ethics' impact is that the Code has provided ECWR and other activists with a strong advocacy tool; a means of reminding political parties that they are in violation of their commitment (see text box). According to project beneficiaries who participated in drafting the Code, a central achievement

### **Egypt's Parliamentary Quota System And the 2015 Parliamentary Election Results**

According the Law 46/2014, Parliament shall consist of 596 members, chosen as follows:

- 120 elected from political party lists. There are four lists, each corresponding to an amalgamated region of Egypt:
  - Cairo, South, and Middle Delta ... 6 governates, 45 MPs allocated, at least 21 women
  - North, Middle, and South of Upper Epyt ...11 governates, 45 MPs allocated, at least 21 women
  - East Delta ... 7 governates, 15 MPs allocated, at least 7 women
  - West Delta ... 3 governates, 15 MPs allocated, at least 7 women
- 448 elected from among independent candidates
- 28 appointed by the President (at least 14 women)

The law distributed 56 seats to women on party lists and stipulated that half of all members appointed by the President must be female. Thus, the Parliamentary quota system guarantees women a minimum of 70 seats or 12.5%. Women represented 276 out of 5,420 individual candidates (5.9%), so the 19 non-party list (i.e., non-quota protected) female winners represented about 7 percent of all women who stood for election as individuals.

of the associated training and advocacy was to make women within political parties more aware of their rights as party members and better equipped to claim them.

When considering impact mediated through political parties, it is important to keep the overall context in mind. Almost all political parties – there are now over 90 – are brand new. Only a handful of established parties have real critical mass. Most political parties are remarkably apolitical; with no real program or agenda, often organized around a well-known individual, family, or business.

The political environment has affected impact in a complicated fashion. Activists interviewed saw the current President's commitment to women in democratic governance as extremely thin. Women are greatly under-represented among Cabinet ministers and governors, a problem that could be easily rectified. At the same time, the present government has been vocal in its public support for women's rights, in part to distance itself from the discredited Muslim Brotherhood government. Estimating what share of the project's success was due to favorable conditions and what share was due to high project quality would be a largely subjective exercise. Suffice it to say that the project obviously made a significant contribution during a time of overall progress.

#### **The Political Party Code of Ethics: Two Success Stories**

While there was general dissatisfaction at the compliance of political parties with the agreed Code of Ethics, there are examples of successful advocacy within parties, as well. Ms. Zainab Ahmed- Member of Al Wafd Party (whose expedience with ECWR trainings went back to the first UNDEF-financed project in 2010) stated that after attending the current projects trainings on capacity building to advocate for the Code, and Al Wafd's adoption of the Code, she has been fully engaged in the party's decision making process. She is now Chairwoman of the Al Omrania District Committee at the party. She is the first woman occupying this post in the party, having beaten two male candidates. Ms. Heba Al Awadi, Secretary of the Women's Committee of the National Movement Party attended ECWR training workshops and supervised the process by which her party adopted the Code. She was able to transfer the lessons and knowledge obtained to the other members of the party, so she was able to build the capacities of other members, introduce them to the Code convention and motivate them to champion for its implementation.

Beneficiaries from media actions included journalists active in all forms of media (including cartoonists) as well as employees of political parties' media departments. One party actually formed a media department after a party member participated in a training. Media actions, both trainings and general outreach, covered all forms of media (including cartoons) and had a range of identifiable impacts. One, not surprising, as reported by participants was that their awareness of women's issues was raised and that, subject to editors' decisions, they were able to translate this into articles, web posts, etc. One pair of journalists trained went too far as to open a women's information portal. A magazine editor felt that the training contributed to journalists' stoking popular outrage over sexual assaults in Tahrir Square. One media event helped to raise journalists' awareness of sexual harassment in educational institutions, a perennial problem that was not in the public eye even as sexual harassment on the street was being reported.

The impact on the 2015 parliamentary elections of the 2014 election law quota system advocated for by ECWR was dramatic. As shown in the accompanying text box, in addition to the 56 party list set-asides for female candidates, 19 women were elected as independents, some from extremely conservative districts. With no set-aside system in place for individual seats, this indicates real grass-roots progress for women in Egyptian politics.<sup>2</sup> All the experts interviewed expressed the opinion that the performance of women standing as individuals in 2015 was altogether a more positive sign for women’s democratic participation than that of women standing as party candidates.

The following table gives an idea of the impact of the ECWR project by going down the “cascade” from candidatures to victories to number of victors who had received UNDEF-financed training. While many other factors were at work, it is safe to say that the ECWR training made at least some contribution to female electoral success. Combining party and individual candidates, the UNDEF project financed the training of 71 women, 12.4% of the 652 who ran in total, of whom 13, about 20%, were victorious –16.0% of those who ran as party list members and 21.0% of those who ran as individuals.

<b>Candidates for party lists</b>	<b>780</b>			
<b>Of which women</b>	376 (58.2%)	<b>Of which successful</b>	56 (14.9%)	
		<b>Of which trained by ECWR</b>		9 (16.0%)
<b>Candidates running as individuals</b>	5,420			
<b>Of which women</b>	276 (5.9%)	<b>Of which successful</b>	19 (6.8%)	
		<b>Of which trained by ECWR</b>		4 (21.0%)
<b>Table 1: Successful female candidates trained by ECWR</b>				

While the media component of the project was successful judged on its own, it appears to be something of a strategic appendage. Media training and outreach could perhaps have been better mainstreamed into the first (policy advocacy) or second (capacity building) components, or treated as an entirely separate project. That said, the meetings with journalists made clear that there had been positive impact on journalists involved and there were linkages with the first to components.

### **(v) Sustainability**

A great deal of work, both in this project and in its predecessor, has gone into building women’s capacity to run in local council elections – elections that have been delayed and are still only hypothetically scheduled to take place at the end of 2017. At least based on the training beneficiaries interviewed, the ambition to run and the skills acquired have not depreciated. Many are preparing themselves to stand for office and have prepared campaign plans. In view of the sheer numbers involved (some 55,000 local council members nationwide), the local council elections, with the Constitutional provision that at least 25% of members must be female, may be more important for promoting female democratic participation and forming a

<sup>2</sup> In 2010, 64 individual seats were set aside for women (i.e., only women were eligible to compete for them) and one woman won a non-allocated female seat, bringing the number of women in Parliament to 65 out of 518 (a bit over 12%). In 2011, after the set aside system had been lifted, not a single woman was elected as an individual.

cadre of female political operatives familiar with voter needs and priorities, than the higher-profile parliamentary races – a view endorsed by some parliamentarians themselves. One trainer estimated that about two-thirds of the women he trained will eventually run for local council.

An important factor for sustainability is that ECWR is, in effect, a going concern with relatively well-assured funding. Its goal of strengthening women's rights is in tune with the present government's orientation and there is no indication that, unlike some other NGOs that are publically out of line with the government, they are being harassed into non-existence. While it is dependent on donor funding, it is not in a position so precarious that the loss of one grant would spell disaster. By the time the UNDEF project ended in 2015, ECWR was already implementing a UN Gender Equality Trust Fund project "Wave of Women's Voices" complementing and building on the UNDEF project by a stress on lobbying.

All women interviewed were of the view that, without quotas, there would have been no progress for women on electoral lists. However, an unavoidable issue for sustainability is the fact that quotas may be reversed as easily as they were imposed. Moreover, while quotas can guarantee a head count, they can do nothing to guarantee the political orientation or degree of progressive activism of the women on the lists. In grudgingly meeting the legal requirement to select women for their political lists, parties tended to gravitate towards women with public reputations or prominent tribal or family connections. Yet, simply considering the numbers, the quotas have taken Egypt from a handful of female parliamentarians to a guaranteed headcount of 70 (at present). This presents groups like ECWR with a critical mass for training, capacity building, and advocacy in a way that was impossible prior to the 2014 Parliamentary Election Law, which was, in turn, heavily influenced by ECWR lobbying. The same is true of the constitutional stipulation that 25% of local council seats must be held by women.

Trainings contributed to forming durable networks among politically active women. A specific example was given by a parliamentarian who stated that, during the course of a training event, she and other female parliamentarians taking part agreed to take steps to form a women's caucus, which is currently in its early stages. After main training events, there was follow-up in the form of mini-meetings and Facebook posts, in addition to which, all participants were on the ECWR mailing list to receive supplementary materials.

A final sustainability point relates to the media co-operation framework and engagement of media professions. While media beneficiaries interviewed had continued to cover women's issues, it was not clear that there was a formal framework for continued ECWR contact and support.

#### ***(vi) UNDEF Value Added***

A concrete example of UNDEF value added was provided by a political party member interviewed who stated that the party's decision to send her to an ECWR training was facilitated by the fact that the activity bore the UN brand. As developed in other evaluations, the UN brand has allowed UNDEF to operate in political contexts where bilateral and major international NGO democracy supporters have essentially been forced out. It is not evident that other donors would have been willing to work with the innovative institutional arrangement that allowed ECWR to accept funding through what is essentially a shell entity. UNDEF was

also able to effectively complement the support of UN Women, which is more or less constrained to work largely with the practically governmental National Union of Women. UNDEF was also able to develop civil society activities, in the form of this project, at a time when UNDP reportedly felt that the political situation was too volatile for this. In view of the UNDEF value added it is unfortunate that there was relatively little UNDEF visibility in regard to the publications, images and photos published by media outlets covering the project.

## V. CONCLUSIONS

*(i)* This project again demonstrated that it is possible to achieve success even in a difficult political environment. In this case, the grantee, and project, benefited from the fact that they worked in something of a safe haven – women’s rights – in an otherwise troubled human rights situation. Despite delays and difficulties arising from administrative turbulence, the project was able to capitalize on a political environment reacting against the regressive gender policies of the Morsi government. This conclusion follows from the findings on relevance and effectiveness.

*(ii)* While the favorable environment helped, the project made a tangible and significant contribution to impact in the form of advancing women’s democratic rights. At the individual level, beneficiaries from project training and workshops were well selected and benefited from increased capacity as well as awareness of their political rights. Results show that most have continued their political involvement, a significant number ran for political office, and more than a handful were successful. ECWR was a leading force in lobbying for constitutional measures to ensure women’s representation – unsuccessful in the case of parliament but successful in the case of local councils. It also took the lead in successfully advocating for the institution of female quotas on political lists for the 2015 parliamentary elections and the adoption of a political parties’ Code of Ethics regarding women’s democratic participation. This conclusion follows from findings on impact and sustainability.

*(iii)* The return of a critical mass of progressive women to Parliament as a result of the 2015 elections can, in the case of Party list candidates, be entirely ascribed to the quota system in the 2014 elections law. No party went beyond what was legally required of them. However, as indicated by the striking success of women as independent candidates, there have been overall gains in women’s democratic participation. These can in part be ascribed to the activities of groups such as ECWR, and in part to the activities supported by this project. The conclusion follows from the finding on impact.

*(iv)* The impact of advocacy within political parties have been mixed. The Code of Ethics provides a useful platform for further advocacy, essentially of the “name and shame” variety. Most political parties have back-peddled vigorously from the commitments to greater female participation that they made. The key factor here is money, which parties continue to allocate to supporting the campaigns of men or women chosen for reasons other than their progressive orientation and political acumen. The ultimate political fact is that Egyptian power structures remain profoundly patriarchal. This conclusion follows from the conclusion on impact.

*(v)* This project was able, thanks to ECWR’s dense network of local NGOs and strong capacity in training, to effectively implement activities in the field, even in traditional and remote regions. By reducing travel costs and enhancing the participation of women at



grass-roots level, this contributed to positive findings above related to effectiveness, efficiency, and ultimately impact and sustainability.

**(vi)** Apart from its reach, the comparative advantages of ECWR appear to be content development and advocacy. These are closely related, because it is the ability of ECWR to develop credible statistics and analysis that allows it to lobby effectively. The availability of high-quality content also feeds into effective training activities. While the media component of the project was successful, its strategic relationship to the policy advocacy and capacity building components could have been more clearly articulated. This conclusion follows from findings on effectiveness and impact.

**(vii)** In ordinary project terms, sustainability appears to be relatively well assured good here. Women trained have continued to pursue political interests; there is now a critical mass of progressive women in Parliament and, perhaps most important, women are constitutionally guaranteed one-quarter of the 55,000 local council sets to be filled at the next election (promised for the end of 2017). At the same time, it needs to be kept in mind that the current level of representation of women in parliament is in large part due to quotas that can be removed by parliament as easily as they were put in place. This conclusion follows from findings on impact and sustainability.

**(viii)** UNDEF added considerable value in financing this project, largely by supporting a successful high-profile civil society initiative at a time when other democracy support institutions were either forced to curtail activities or were reluctant to commit themselves in light of the ongoing political turmoil. UNDEF also contributed significantly to the elaboration of the project document and proved flexible when adjustments were needed in project schedule.

## VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

*(i)* UNDEF should continue to work with ECWR, for several reasons. First, there is still work to be done. Second, while the scope for valuable democracy support work in Egypt has been narrowing, women's rights remains an area open to support. In considering possibilities for further work, UNDEF should consider involving UN Women, which has a very favorable view of ECWR and can offer invaluable local thematic expertise. A strategic advantage for UNDEF is that through ECW, it can provide support that complements the work of the government-sponsored National Women's Union with that of an independent NGO. This recommendation follows from Conclusion (i).

*(ii)* ECWR should continue to concentrate on analysis and content development to support its advocacy and training actions. With a reasonable number of progressive women now in Parliament and a large number of women slated to be on local councils by the end of next year, ECWR may wish to target its work less on candidates and more on women actually in office. It should follow up on its own observation that the greatest opportunity for promoting the sustainability of women's political gains, and achieving further ones, may lie at the local council level and not in parliament. At the same time, it may want to look for ways to provide technical backstopping to the nascent Women's Caucus in Parliament. This recommendation follows from Conclusions (ii), (iii), (vi), and (vii).

*(iii)* Media outreach and relations at ECWR are currently handled as a part of one staff member's portfolio of responsibilities. Given the excellent quality of the content being produced and steady stream of activities, ECWR should consider whether it is desirable to upgrade media relations to a full-time function or at least consider whether it is currently leveraging its work to the maximum extent possible. This recommendation follows from Conclusion (vi).

*(iv)* In considering project proposals that give emphasis to decentralized activities, UNDEF should closely scrutinize the institutional capacity of the grantee to ensure that its local network is both broad enough and strong enough to deliver promised results. This recommendation follows from Conclusion (v).

*(v)* ECWR has already made up its mind that it will continue to advocate with political parties, using the Code of Ethics as a platform and a tool. At the same time, it recognizes that the most significant achievement of the 2015 parliamentary elections was in the area of independent candidates. Since the main constraint faced by women both within parties and as independents is campaign finance, ECWR may want to devote more attention to this subject. In judging future projects, UNDEF may wish to consider the experience of this project, where the main output of advocating for change in parties was not actual change itself, but rather a commitment that could subsequently be used to lobby for real change. This recommendation follows from Conclusions (ii), (iii), and (iv).

(vi) UNDEF does not have a position on election quotas, whose impact and sustainability probably vary so much depending on national political context that a overall or blanket position would be substantively, if not institutionally, inappropriate. In Egypt, ECWR should keep in mind that the existing quotas will need to be backed up with continued advocacy and complemented by on supporting women who are not benefitting from quotas. In supporting projects in other countries where quotas are in place, UNDEF may wish to advise that grantees follow the example of ECWR by producing a high quality legal and statistical analysis of precisely how the quota system works.

## ANNEX 1: EVALUATION QUESTIONS

DAC criterion	Evaluation Question	Related sub-questions
Relevance	To what extent was the project, as designed and implemented, suited to context and needs at the beneficiary, local, and national levels?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Were the objectives of the project in line with the needs and priorities for democratic development, given the context?</li> <li>▪ Should another project strategy have been preferred rather than the one implemented to better reflect those needs, priorities, and context? Why?</li> <li>▪ Were risks appropriately identified by the projects? How appropriate are/were the strategies developed to deal with identified risks? Was the project overly risk-averse?</li> </ul>
Effectiveness	To what extent was the project, as implemented, able to achieve objectives and goals?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ To what extent have the project's objectives been reached?</li> <li>▪ To what extent was the project implemented as envisaged by the project document? If not, why not?</li> <li>▪ Were the project activities adequate to make progress towards the project objectives?</li> <li>▪ What has the project achieved? Where it failed to meet the outputs identified in the project document, why was this?</li> </ul>
Efficiency	To what extent was there a reasonable relationship between resources expended and project impacts?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Was there a reasonable relationship between project inputs and project outputs?</li> <li>▪ Did institutional arrangements promote cost-effectiveness and accountability?</li> <li>▪ Was the budget designed, and then implemented, in a way that enabled the project to meet its objectives?</li> </ul>
Impact	To what extent has the project put in place processes and procedures supporting the role of civil society in contributing to democratization, or to direct promotion of democracy?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ To what extent has/have the realization of the project objective(s) and project outcomes had an impact on the specific problem the project aimed to address?</li> <li>▪ Have the targeted beneficiaries experienced tangible impacts? Which were positive; which were negative?</li> <li>▪ To what extent has the project caused changes and effects, positive and negative, foreseen and unforeseen, on democratization?</li> <li>▪ Is the project likely to have a catalytic effect? How? Why? Examples?</li> </ul>
Sustainability	To what extent has the project, as designed and implemented, created what is likely to be a continuing impetus towards democratic development?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ To what extent has the project established processes and systems that are likely to support continued impact?</li> <li>▪ Are the involved parties willing and able to continue the project activities on their own (where applicable)?</li> </ul>
UNDEF value-added	To what extent was UNDEF able to take advantage of its unique position and comparative advantage to achieve results that could not have been achieved had support come from other donors?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ What was UNDEF able to accomplish, through the project, that could not as well have been achieved by alternative projects, other donors, or other stakeholders (Government, NGOs, etc).</li> <li>▪ Did project design and implementing modalities exploit UNDEF's comparative advantage in the form of an explicit mandate to focus on democratization issues?</li> </ul>

## ANNEX 2: DOCUMENTS REVIEWED

No.	Document provider	Document	Notes
1	UNDEF	EGY-11-437 FNR, Report August 2015	Project Final Narrative Report provided by ECWR
2	UNDEF	UDF-EGY-11-437-Final PD	Final project proposal submitted to UNDEF from ECWR
3	ECWR	Lists of participants	Related to Output 1, 2 and 3
4	ECWR	Media coverage for the project	A document sent by ECWR including the media articles and news reported by newspapers and online media outlets in regard to the project activities.
5	ECWR	List of the parties	List including the engaged parties which participated in project activities.
6	ECWR	List of attendants of the parties representatives, who signed the parties' code of ethics	Related to output 1
7	ECWR	List of the media outlets, which participated in the project	Related to Output 2
8	ECWR	A document "steps to achieve quota in 2015 parliament"	Related to output 3
9	ECWR	Names of trainers of the Cadre School	Related to output 3
10	ECWR	CVs of the trainees of the Cadre School	Related to output 3
11	ECWR	Report monitoring the Parties' Signed Code of Ethics and its impact in the political life and women engagement in parties	
12	ECWR	Success stories of the beneficiaries	
13	ECWR	Workshop agenda and photos	
14	ECWR	Women in political parties programs (Analysis by Dr. Amani Eltaweel, El Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies)	
15	ECWR	Fighter on the individual system, warriors on the electoral lists (Analysis of 2015 parliamentary elections by Nahad Abol-Komsan, ECWR Chairwoman)	

## ANNEX 3: LIST OF PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

8th of May 2016	
Meeting	Interviewees Names
Team work of the project, including:	Nehad Abul Komsan Sahar Salah Ghada Lotfi Noha Farag
Focus group meeting with the beneficiaries of the first output:	Nagla Abu Majd Hala Ammar Suhair Shalkani Dina Al Gendi
2 trainees from the Cadre School	Gomhoria Abdul Raheem Gihan Abdul Moneim
9th of May 2016	
One trainer of the Cadre School	Ihab Radi
Meeting with a media trainer who was engaged in the media professionals training	Mohamed Rabie
Trainer from the Cadre School	Walaa Gad
Researcher of the women in political parties study :	Islam Hashem
Meeting with some female parliamentarians. Trainees from Cadre school, including:	Maisa Atwa Amal Zakria Mona Moneir
10th of May 2016	
3 trainees from several parties	Sobhia Ahmed Doaa Al Ajouz
3 trainees from the media training for political awareness provided to women party members	Nancy Shaker Hoda Al Badr Zeinab Abdul Rahman
2 trainers from Cadre School	Hani Sayed Fardous Ahmed
11 <sup>th</sup> of May 2016	
3 trainees of the elections monitoring training sessions	Mai Waleed Nermin Michael Sawsan Ata Walaa Mohamed
3 trainees from the parties pact	Heba Al Awadi Saida Abul Fotouh Dalia Khaled Lamis Mohamed
Meetings with media professionals	Azza Kaoud Hoda Rashwan Hala Al Sayed

Meeting with several trained journalists:	Doaa Abdul Aziz Nermin Gamal Hiam Nicola Fatma Al Zahraa Mohamed Al Dawi Fawzi Morsi
<b>12<sup>th</sup> of May 2016</b>	
	UN Women meeting.
Meetings with 3 trained media professionals	Ahme Kamal Sameer Ali Fatma Sarhan

# ANNEX 4: LIST OF ACRONYMS

CSO	Civil Society Organization
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
ECWR	Egyptian Center for Women's Rights
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SCAF	Supreme Council of the Armed Forces
UNDEF	United Nations Democracy Fund
USD	United States Dollar



## ANNEX 5: PROJECT ACTIVITIES AND OUTPUTS

Activities	Notes
<p>-Research Paper on women's situation in political parties and quota in political parties to be presented during the Public Seminar 1 (one day-venue: hotel - 45 participants from Cairo). The research paper on women's situation in the political parties was issued in Arabic and English languages and showcased in public seminar.</p> <p>- A seminar for the political parties' representatives on women rights and entitlements in the new constitution was conducted.</p>	<p>As per ECWR's staff members and relevant interviewees, ECWR held a public seminar titled "Women in the New Egypt's Constitution" on December 10<sup>th</sup>, 2013 in Pyramisa Hotel, Isis Hall, El Dokki district, Giza. The 48 attendees included heads of political parties, representatives from Women's Committees of the political parties in addition to representatives from 21 political parties including ( Arab Democratic Nasserist Party, Egyptian Social Democratic Party, El-Tagamou Party, Democratic Front Party, Egyptian Arab Socialist Party, Human Rights and Citizenship Party, Political Democratic Egyptian Party, Revolution party, National Egypt's party, Revolutionary Guards Party, Egyptian national Movement Party , Free Egyptians Party, Union Democratic Party, El-Karama Party, Socialist labor Party, Egypt's Revolution party, Egypt's Eyes Party, Awareness party, Constitution Party, and Justice Party).</p> <p>The seminar aimed to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Present the articles and clauses related to women mentioned in the newly drafted in 2013, and duly adopted according to a referendum held in 2014, and compare them with the women's articles from 2012 constitution.</li> <li>• Develop a future action plan to raise women's awareness of the articles related to women's rights in the constitution.</li> <li>• Discuss with the political parties on women's status within the political parties.</li> <li>• Develop a plan to provide support to women's participation in the upcoming parliamentary and local elections.</li> <li>• Develop a plan for political parties support to women in order to be nominated on their lists.</li> </ul>
<p>-Public Seminar "2" on code of ethics for women's participation and an agreement among political parties on supporting women's political engagement. The seminar was carried out for 22 political parties on the code of ethics. -5 meetings with the political parties were held on the code of ethics</p> <p>-An advocacy meeting with the Minister of Transitional Justice on women's representation in the upcoming parliamentary election was held.</p> <p>-A Seminar on the code of ethics was conducted with the political parties and the code of ethics is agreed upon form all political parties attended the seminar and ratified the code.</p>	<p>The second seminar on code of ethics (25 representatives of political parties) in order to present and discuss the code of ethics among the political parties. ECWR held the second seminar on April 23, 2014 titled "Code of Ethics to Support women's Participation: A step for real women's participation in the upcoming parliamentary and local councils' elections" at Pyramisa Hotel, Isis hall.</p> <p>37 heads of political parties and women's committees' representatives in the political parties including: Egypt's Revolution party, El-Tagamaou Party, Egyptian Social Democratic Party, the Justice Party, Free Egyptians Party, the Socialist labor Party, Human Rights and Citizenship Party, Continuous Revolution, the Political Democratic Egyptian Party, Revolutionary Guards Party, Al-Ahrrar Party , Al-Wafd Party, Union Democratic Party, the National Egypt's party, Arab Democratic Nasserist Party.</p> <p>The speakers were: Ms. Nehad Abou elKomsan, ECWR's chairwoman, Ms. Ghada Lotfy, ECWR's Training Consultant, Dr. Amany El-Taweel, Women's Program Manager at Al-Ahram Strategic Center, and Mr. Islam Hashem, a lawyer and legal expert.</p> <p>A new law for House of Representatives was passed. This law obligates all the Egyptian political parties to apply the code of ethics.</p>
<p>-Public Seminar 3 on the presentation of the project achievements; advancing the</p>	<p>ECWR held a seminar titled "The Egyptian women situation in the political participation" on March 8<sup>th</sup>, 2015. 141 participants attended the seminar including journalists, representatives from political parties and representatives of NGOs.</p> <p>The seminar contributed in two issues:</p>

<p>women's political representation. A seminar was held and attended by 141 participants and addressed the project results, as well as the Egyptian Women's Status in 2014.</p>	<p>1) Lobby and support women's participation 2) Preparing a database of qualified women for political participation challenging political powers claims on the inexistence of qualified women</p> <p>ECWR director welcomed the attendances and presented a summary on the project and its goal that focuses on increasing women's representation in the political arena. Then she elaborated on the project results, and the most important of these results are the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Push for amending the parliamentary law, to make sure that around 45% of party lists are secured for women.</li> <li>-Increase women participation on parties' lists as well as independent candidates.</li> </ul> <p>The first draft of the law included eight lists for political parties given that each list includes three women. This resulted in only 24 seats for women in the parties' lists. ECWR along with ACO, women's rights coalitions and leaders pushed for modifying the law, through a proposal for amending the law of the exercise of political rights. This proposal guarantees a quota of at least 30% seats for women in the electoral lists of political parties. The proposal is explained further in detail as follows;</p> <p>On the electoral list level: The percentage of women's representation in the parliament cannot be below 30% and rotation between male and female members has to be ensured, guaranteeing that the 30% is the minimum. Electoral lists that do not abide by these conditions should be rejected.</p> <p>On the individual level: Seats should be granted for women on the constituency and district level, to ensure that each constituency/district has three members, two males and one female. The current constituencies should be re-distributed to be larger than the current single-member constituencies. The new division of constituencies should be proportional to the geography, electoral environment, and division of the governorate. These factors should be put into consideration while setting the administrative electoral borders.</p> <p>In addition to the meeting with the Committee responsible for legislative reform headed by the Minister of Transitional Justice, this meeting tackled the division of the electoral districts and the representation of women. The result of the lobbying was the amendment of the Parliamentary elections law to guarantee around 45% from the party lists for women which constitute 20 % of the upcoming elections. This is a great opportunity for women who look out for support from political parties. Nomination of a list for women qualified to run for the Parliamentary elections Throughout the trainings provided by ECWR to the female members of political parties or independent women who do not belong to political parties and through the continuous communication with women committees in political parties and women leaders in different governorates and feminist alliances, ECWR selected the most qualified trained women to run for the Parliamentary elections. In fact, one of the electoral alliances named "Sahwt Masr" asked ECWR to assist them with selection and nomination of the qualified women to run for parliamentary elections in various governorates. Formulating the seminar and the project reports. The seminar contributed in two issues: 1) Support and lobby for women's participation; 2) Preparing a database of qualified women for political participation challenging political parties' claims on the inexistence of qualified women.</p>
<p>-Two 2-day trainings for women in political parties for parliamentary election with participants from Cairo and 15 from other governorates). 52 women became aware of political outreach and its skills.</p>	<p>-Two days training on political outreach. The training was held in Cairo and attended by 25 beneficiaries from Cairo and other governorates.</p> <p>ECWR held the first training on May 13-14, 2014 at the ACO hall. 25 participants were attended including women's representatives from different political parties and different governorates; "Cairo, Giza, Qaliyoubiya, Aswan, Qena, Al-Sharqya, Dakahlaya, Sohag, and Asuit." The training started with an introduction about the weakness of women's political participation especially in the political parties. Then, Mr. Ramy Mohsen, parliamentary trainer and lawyer, divided the participants into three subgroups to answer "Why women are not represented in the political parties?"</p>

<p>57 women's leaders became aware of the skills of the media work and how to use it.</p>	<p>-ECWR held the second training for the women's cadres titled "<i>Political Awareness for Women in the Political Parties</i>". The training was held on May 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>, 2015. It was attended by 27 women leaders from 12 governorates including "Cairo, Giza, Qaliyoubiya, Alexandria, Qena, Al-Gharbaya, Suez, Dakahlia, El-Minya, Port Said, El-Menofia, and Al-Sharqiya" as well as representatives from 13 political parties including "Revolutionary Guards Party, Socialist Popular Alliance Party, Republican People Party, National Movement party, El-Wafd, Protractor of the Homeland party, Al-Dostor, Fih Hob Masr (translated as National Bloc for Love in Egypt), Human Rights and Citizenship Party, Egypt's party, Egyptian Social Democratic Party, Al-Saareh Party."</p> <p>Women Cadres training addressed the following topics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women's participation in the political practice;</li> <li>• International conventions ensuring and affirming women's political participation and women's rights in decision making process;</li> <li>• Women's political rights in the 2014 ratified constitution;</li> <li>• Women's situation inside the political parties;</li> <li>• Women's roles in the political parties' committees;</li> <li>• Barriers facing women in the public sphere.</li> </ul> <p>The training's conclusion in order to support women in the election were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The necessity of existing women's quota as women are allocated a specific percentage in the parties' lists</li> <li>- ECWR should and shall support the female candidates through providing them with proper publicity and shedding the light on them through the different media outlets.</li> <li>- ECWR shall prepare booklets including successful role models of women</li> </ul> <p>Intended 2.1.2 Two Days Training on media (Venue: Cairo-10 participants from Cairo &amp; 15 participants from different governorates).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Therefore, the First training was held titled "How Women's in the Political Parties Communicate with the Media" from June 20- 21, 2014 in Swiss Inn Hotel, Giza. 32 women's leaders represented from political parties from different governorates including El-Fayoum, Alexandria, Behairasmaliya, Menofiya, El-Sharkaya, Bani-Swif, El-Arish, Qena, Cairo, and Aswan. The training addressed the advantages and disadvantages of the media tools, the electoral campaign, how to organize a campaign, and the tools of persuasion.</li> <li>• The Second training was held titled "How Women's in the Political Parties Communicate with the Media" from August 26- 27, 2014 in Pyramisa Hotel, El Dokki, Giza. 25 participants represented from 11 political parties. The training addressed the types of media tools, how to select the target groups for the media campaigns, how to give a speech, the media tools, the media campaign and how to plan for it , how to write a press release, the convenient time of publishing it . One of the positive outcomes is the trainee "Sherein Abdel Azeem". She ran for the election of the General Assembly of Al-Ahram Newspapers and she won and had a seat in the general assembly of Al-Ahram Newspaper. Also, the trainer agreed with one of the journalists in 'Al-Bawabah news' to videotape the candidates for campaigning on news websites: <a href="http://www.albawabhnews.com/769054">http://www.albawabhnews.com/769054</a>.</li> </ul>
<p>- Two 2-day trainings for women in political parties for parliamentary election women's leaders are aware of the skills of the media work and how to use it</p> <p>52 women became aware of political outreach and its skills.</p> <p>57 women's leaders became aware of the skills of the media and outreach possibilities and tools and how to use them.</p>	<p>- Two Days Training on media (Venue: Cairo-10 participants from Cairo &amp; 15 participants from different governorates).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The First training was held titled "How Women's in the Political Parties Communicate with the Media" from June 20- 21, 2014 in Swiss Inn Hotel, Giza. 32 women's leaders represented political parties from different governorates including El-Fayoum, Alexandria, Behaira, Ismaliya, Menofiya, El-Sharkaya, Bani-Swif, El-Arish, Qena, Cairo, and Aswan. The training addressed the advantages and disadvantages of the media tools, the electoral campaign, how to organize a campaign, and the tools of persuasion.</li> <li>• The Second training was held titled "How Women's in the Political Parties Communicate with the Media" from August 26- 27, 2014 in Pyramisa Hotel, El Dokki, Giza.</li> <li>• 25 participants represented from 11 political parties. The training addressed the types of media tools, how to select the target groups for the media campaigns, how to give a speech, the media tools, the media campaign and how to plan for it , how to write a press release, the convenient time of publishing it . One of the positive outcomes is the trainee "Sherein Abdel Azeem". She ran for the election of the General Assembly of Al-Ahram Newspapers and she</li> </ul>

won and had a seat in the general assembly of Al-Ahram Newspaper. Also, the trainer agreed with one of the journalists in 'Al-Bawabah news' to videotape the candidates for campaigning on news websites:<http://www.albawabhnews.com/769054>.

Women's Cadre School for local council elections. 377 young women activists are qualified for running for the upcoming local councils

- Two Preparatory Meetings (before the cadre school): (75 women each-one in Sakeyt El Sawi in Cairo and the other in an upper Egyptian governorate (rented hall). In cooperation with the Ministry of Youth and Sports, six trainings of Women's Cadre School were held. In this frame, ECWR communicated via phone with the responsible of the Ministry in October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2014. A meetings was held in October 27<sup>th</sup>, 2014 between the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights and the Ministry of Youth & Sports to discuss the plan of cooperation with the Ministry's initiative "Local Councils for Youth" aiming to prepare women cadres of young people in the frame of the cadre school activity. The discussion addressed the coordination between the objectives of the Ministry's initiative and cadre school as well as the ways of common coordination, work plan and agenda. ECWR agreed to work with young female through coordination with the Youth administrations in the following governorates: Cairo, Giza, Alexandria, Isma'liya, Fayoum, and BaniSwif

Seven 3-day workshops (Cadre School) for the women in political parties (women's units) who are running for local council seats (30 women per training -210 total). M3:Seventh workshop

- Develop criteria for selecting the participants. The criteria for selecting the female participants were:
  - Age between 21 to 35 years old;
  - Active within her governorate;
  - Planning to run for the upcoming local councils election.

Seven workshop trainings for Cadre School were held in 7 different governorates; each training lasting for two days except the seventh training lasting for three days as follows:

Governorate	Date
Beni Seuf	January 26 – 27, 2015
Al-Fayoum	January 28 – 29, 2015
Isma'liya	January 31 - February 1, 2015
Alexandria	February 4 – 5, 2015
Cairo	February 10- 11, 2015
Giza	February 8 -9 , 2015
Cairo (This training targeted the upper Egypt governorates: Aswan, Souhag, Qena, New Valley, Asuit, El-Minya, and the Red Sea)	June 7-9, 2015

377 female trainees became qualified for running for the upcoming local council's election through raising their awareness. The six trainings that were held in cooperation with the Ministry of Youth and Sports included the following topics:

- The importance of political participation (Concept- Importance- Level of participation)
- Human rights in 2014 constitution and the importance of participation in the local councils and the seats of women and youth
- The necessary skills of women's cadres "community outreach, manage dialogue, and the teamwork"
- The importance of upcoming election and the concept of monitoring the election and the role of local observers

The recommendations were:

- ECWR to provide the female candidates in the local councils with tailored trainings on the election campaigns and community outreach to best serve the need of the communities.
- Provide a training on the laws of the local administration after it is published.

The seventh training addressed the following topics:

1. The system of the local administration

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Framework of the local administration in Egypt</li> <li>3. Decentralization and good local governance</li> <li>4. The tools of the local councils cadres to improve the platforms</li> <li>5. The phases of preparing active electoral campaign &amp; preparing for the Campaign's Message</li> <li>6. How to organize the human and financial resources for the electoral campaign</li> <li>7. How to communicate with voters (voters' mobilization)</li> </ol> <p>The recommendations of the workshop were as below:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The need for networking among the women leaders from different governorates in order to run for the local election.</li> <li>• ECWR to provide other trainings on the monitoring tools related to the local council.</li> <li>• ECWR to provide technical support for the female candidates through consultations related to their election campaigns.</li> </ul> <p>-Screening and filtering the received CVs. The Ministry of Youth &amp; Sports selected the targeted women in the first 6 trainings. ECWR selected the targeted women in the seventh one according to the governorates that were not covered in the previous trainings and recruited women candidates.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop a training manual (ACO)</li> </ul> <p>A training manual for local councils was developed and included the following topics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The concept of local administration and its bases and purposes</li> <li>• The Local Good Governance</li> <li>• The concept of decentralization</li> <li>• The local council</li> <li>• The legislative frames that control the work of the local councils</li> <li>• The people who are banned from running the local councils elections</li> <li>• The relationship of the local administrations units with each other</li> <li>• How to prepare for an election campaign for the local councils election</li> <li>• Formatting the election platform</li> <li>• The operations room components and how to manage it.</li> <li>• The public outreach for the female candidates</li> </ul> <p>-Print the training manual:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5000 copies of the training manual of the local councils for female candidates</li> </ul>
<p>- Three 2-day trainings on elections monitoring and Three 2-day trainings on monitoring the implementation of the code of ethics.</p> <p>-50 female youth were trained on monitoring the election from gender perspective. The trainees had a common recommendation which is they need more trainings on the political awareness</p> <p>-82 female youth were trained on monitoring the implementation of the Code of Ethics within the political parties. They recommended to be provided with technical support through trainings include how to form a women's lobby within the</p>	<p>-Three 2-day female Youth training on election monitoring (parliamentary and local council elections) (Venue: Cairo-participants from Cairo governorate).</p> <p>-Three training workshops for female youth on election monitoring were held as follows: <u>First training:</u> ECWR held a 2-day training workshop on March 24-25, 2015 in Omayya Hotel in Cairo for 15 young women who are participants in the electoral campaigns of the female candidates.</p> <p><u>The second training:</u> ECWR held the second training workshop on monitoring the election from gender perspective on April 6-7, 2015 in Pyramisa Hotel, El Dokki, Giza for 14 young women. The two training workshops addressed the following topics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monitoring elections (meaning, importance and legitimacy);</li> <li>• Legislative climate of the upcoming Egyptian parliamentary election 2015 (the House of Representatives' law and the Law on the Exercising of Political Rights) ;</li> <li>• International criteria for the election;</li> <li>• Electoral offenses and electoral crimes;</li> <li>• Monitoring, its tools and importance of using the new technologies in monitoring.</li> </ul> <p>-The trainees were divided into subgroups and some short videos were showed on the constitution, monitoring and the civil and political rights.</p> <p>The recommendations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> training workshop were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ECWR to provide more training workshop on political awareness and the political parties' life.</li> </ul>

<p>political parties and how to solve the problems their face within the political parties</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ECWR to provide trainings on communication.</li> </ul> <p><u>The Third Training:</u> ECWR held the third training workshop on April 8-9, 2015 in Pyramisa hotel for 21 female trainees from political parties including Free Egyptians Party, Egyptian Socialist, Democratic Union, Al-Nasserist Party, Awareness Party, Egyptian Social Democratic party. The training addressed the following topics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The definition of election</li> <li>• The importance of election</li> <li>• The concept of monitoring election</li> <li>• The difference between local monitoring and international monitoring for election</li> <li>• The legal reference of the election monitoring</li> <li>• Who monitors the election</li> <li>• How we monitor the election</li> <li>• What should be monitored in election</li> </ul> <p>The recommendations: The participants asked ECWR for providing more political awareness trainings</p>
<p>-Six orientation meetings with media. 20 media kits ( press releases and articles) were issued on women's political participation</p> <p>-A memorandum was issued titled "ECWR Demands a fair participation of women in the Parliament"</p> <p>187 media professionals participated in 6 orientation meetings.</p>	<p>-Holding the orientation meetings (Six orientation meetings at ECWR's office). <u>First meeting:</u> ECWR held the first meeting titled "The Important issues and the successes and failures of the Egyptian Women" on February 15<sup>th</sup>, 2014 at ECWR. 34 journalists were invited but only 9 of them attended the meeting and represented El-Shoruk, Akedaty, Bawabt Al-Gomhouriya, Sada El-Balad Magazine, Zahrat Al-Khaleg, Feto, Rose Al-Youssif , Spanish Radio, and Radio Sawa.</p> <p>The meeting aimed at presenting the initiative of the Egyptian Women &amp;Media and discussing the important issues in the political scene and related to women such as the paternity proof, and the punishment of 'Execution' for the children Ms. Nehad Abou elKomsan facilitated the dialogue through presenting the ECWR's Annual report 2013 "Out of the Powder Keg" that includes the overall state of the Egyptian women in 2013. The meeting also covered the United Nation Commission of Women's Status (CSW) and focused its discussion on the CSW 58 and its themes.</p> <p>Outcomes: The journalists agreed to meet monthly with a planned agenda. Each meeting will have its own theme as each month has its highlights including national and internationals events. The purpose of that meeting is to be up-to-date through raising all the debated issues and analyze data and statistics.</p> <p><u>Second meeting:</u> It was held, titled "Orientation Meeting With Media" on April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2014 in Pyramisa Hotel, El Dokki. 15 journalists attended from different newspapers including Al-Youm El-Sabea, Al-Watan, Bawabt Al-Gomhuraya, Feto Newspaper and Online Website, Al-Ahram, Dot Masr Website, Al-Massa, Al-Sadda, the New Gate, Aqedaty, the Civil Society Magazine. The speakers were Ms. Nehad Abou elKomsan, ECWR's Chairwoman, and Ms. Amina Shafeek, Journalist. The meeting addressed the following topics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Policies of confronting sexual harassment in the Education institutions and workplaces</li> <li>• Profession safety for media workers</li> <li>• Compatible system for providing protection to the media workers</li> <li>• Insurance system for media workers</li> <li>• Provide training courses for media workers &amp; journalists who cover the dangerous events.</li> </ul> <p><u>Third meeting:</u> It was held on May 18, 2014 titled "Rights No Promises... Women's Demands from the upcoming President" at Marriot Hotel, Zamalek, Cairo. The meeting was attended by 60 participants including media professionals and public figures as it was held in cooperation with a number of civil society organizations and initiatives including: ACTCenter, Bahya Ya Misr Institution, Women's Coordination for Mass Action, The Egyptian Coalition for Civil Education and Women's Participation,</p>

I Saw Harassment (Shoft Taharosh), and Women's Parliament for Defending Women's Rights. It was held as a pressure tool in order to present women's demands from the upcoming president.

Fourth meeting: It was held on June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2014 titled "Weakness Circles... Analytical Study of the Constitution from Gender Perspective" in Marriot Hotel, Zamalek, Cairo. The meeting was attended by 35 journalists, media professionals, heads of political parties and some public figures.

Ms. Nehad Abou elKomsan, ECWR's Chairwoman, monitored the discussion with the attendances. She mentioned that she had a great chance to go through very important papers due to her position in the 50 Member Constitutional Committee that were tasked to amend the 2012 Egypt constitution. Some of these important papers were submitted as proposals by the NGOs to the 50-Member Committee to study them in depth and benefit from them in analyzing the constitution.

Abou elKomsan discussed that the aim of the study is documenting the constitution from a gender sensitive perspective. She also tackled the weak aspects of the constitution as follows:

- 1- The low representation of women in the Constitutional Committee of 10 or the Committee of Experts: there were no female constitutional experts or law professor although we have a lot of professional Egyptian female judges in addition to the great number of female professors at the Law Faculties.
- 2- The representation of women in the Constitutional Committee of 50: Women only constituted 12% of the Committee. All the bodies required to nominate women in the Committee, did not recommend except the minimum. Al-Azhar nominated only one woman, which was disappointing. The Church didn't nominate any women, and the cultural bodies didn't also nominate women neither from the syndicates nor the unions except from the Industrial Union which nominated Ms. Abla Abdel Latif. This was also the case with the political trends, except for the left trend that nominated one woman.  
The representation of women in the sub-committees was also very low, which affected their contribution in the sub-committees and generally in the Committee of 50. Women's representation was rather symbolic during the discussions within the Committee.

Fifth meeting: ECWR held the fifth meeting on March 8<sup>th</sup>, 2015 in Pyramisa Hotel titled "Women's Human Rights" for 22 media outlets' representatives from " El-Masry El-Youm newspaper, Al-Gomhorya newspaper's website, CBC TV Channel, AkhbarAlyoum newspaper's website, Al-Waten newspaper, Yaqeen news network, SawtAlOma, Laha (for her)magazine, Aqeedaty magazine , Sada El-Balad TV channel, Al- Ahram Al Youm newspaper, Labor magazine, Sons Agency." The meeting addressed the political rights of Egyptian women over the past year and their status progress or deterioration from previous years. Ms. NehadAboulKomsan, ECWR's chairwoman& a moderator of the meeting, stated that the political and civil rights of women have witnessed a serious deterioration in 2014. Egypt ranked 134 in the women political empowerment index according to the Gender Gap report of the World Economic Forum in 2014. There was a clear decline on the level of women's access to the position of senior staff and managers as Egypt ranked 116 according to this report.

Nevertheless, there were some signs of hope whereas a female activist 'HalaShukrallah' was elected as a head of the Constitution Party becoming the first Egyptian woman elected as head of a political party.

Recommendations:

- To make sure of the electoral system ensures women's representation of at least 35% in the party lists and as individual candidates in all the elected councils to guarantee effective women representation.
- To empower the female leaders in the political parties as their representation is not limited to a committee, secretariat or a position. The political parties should work effectively on a top down approach to ensure women's participation at all levels. They also should commit to nominate women as each political party should submit at least 35% of its female members on the elected councils.
- To support the young female leaders in running for the election and providing trainings for them.

	<p><u>Sixth meeting:</u> Under the title "Women's Economic Rights", ECWR held the sixth meeting on March 8th, 2015 in Pyramisa hotel. 21 media specialists attended including "Al-Watan newspaper, RozelYoussif, Dot Com website, News gate, October magazine, Spanish radio station, Al-Hayat channel TV, CBC channel TV, Al-Fagr newspaper, Al-Hayat TV, Veto website, Middle East, Tahrir website, the Arab news network, Al- Gomhuraya newspaper, The World TV, Masrayat website, Geater Cairo radio.</p> <p>Dr. Salwa El-Antrary was the moderator of that meeting. She started the discussion with the increase of women's contribution in the economic activity is a main condition to increase their participation in decision making at the political level, or the work association or within the family. The meeting addressed the following topics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women's situation in Egypt through opportunities and work conditions</li> <li>• Women's situation in Egypt through the loans</li> <li>• Women's situation in Egypt through the appreciation of unpaid work at home</li> <li>• Women's contribution in the economic activity</li> </ul> <p>Recommendations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To study and evaluate women's contribution in the economy and formal and informal labor market as well as to evaluate the housewives' contribution in the economy (the unpaid work) and the medical and social insurance for them.</li> <li>• To ensure that procedures are undertaken to guarantee women's appointment in all the positions based on efficiency and professionalism guaranteeing equal citizenship and participation.</li> <li>• To eliminate the discrimination against women in the labor market and provide work opportunities and trainings equally.</li> <li>• To pay attention and empower the household women though small projects taking in to account exemption taxes as men</li> </ul> <p>To provide supportive social services for working women such as good nurseries, protecting the reproductive role of working women.</p>
<p>- Two 1-day Media training. 51 journalists and media workers were trained on</p>	<p>Conducting the trainings (2 trainings) ECWR held two training workshops; the first one was held on April 29, 2015 and the second one was held on May 13, 2015.</p> <p>The workshops concluded with the recommendations to improve women's image as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To present positive role model of women instead of focusing on negative models</li> <li>• To not publish the photos of female victims</li> <li>• To be more accurate in the news</li> <li>• To be accurate in publishing photos</li> <li>• To give feedback on the team work</li> <li>• At the mention of incidents that are committed by women, we should not write it is an individual case nor present the news as generalization</li> <li>• To make sure of the information source before publishing the news</li> <li>• To not focus personally on racial issues</li> <li>• The need to pay attention to the individual and collective sports for women</li> <li>• To recognize women's problems</li> <li>• To not be bias to men's issues – patriarchal society – and to not focus on the negative side</li> <li>• To acknowledge mistakes and articulate a clear language</li> <li>• To prioritize women's issues in an attractive way for the media</li> </ul>