

Egypt's 2015 Parliamentary Elections: Assessing the New Electoral System

Amany Ahmed Khodair
Suez Canal University, The British University of Cairo

Reman Abdall
Department of Political Science, Suez Canal University, Ismailia 41112, Egypt

Abstract

After investigating the New Egyptian Mixed (Parallel) Electoral System using both qualitative and quantitative analysis, it was concluded that the system applied for the first time in 2015 has its advantages but needs amendments. These amendments are necessary due to four factors: shortcomings within the electoral list, shortcomings within the constituency divisions, shortcomings within the Egyptian legal framework and shortcomings related to the single-member district (individual candidate) system.

Keywords: Egyptian Electoral System, Two Round System, Party Block vote, quota

Introduction

According to the Constitution, the House of Representatives must be composed of no fewer than 450 members elected by direct secret public ballot. The number of directly elected seats in the House of Representatives is 568, according to law. The President has the authority to appoint additional members, up to 5% (28) of the total number of elected seats in the House of Representatives, following the elections.

Egypt's electoral system is composed of a unique combination of two separate majoritarian electoral components: the first component consists of individual candidates competing for seats (a "two-round system" for 205 single-member districts), while the second component consists of electoral lists competing for 120 seats in four multimember districts. This process is known in Egypt as the "absolute closed list system" or "party block vote".

In the electoral-list system, the country is divided into four districts: two districts have 15 seats each, and two districts have 45 seats each. Lists compete for these seats, and voters must vote for one list on the ballot paper. All seats in the district are allocated to the list that wins the most votes, provided that the list obtains an absolute majority (50% plus one) of valid votes. A 5% threshold must be met.

If no list wins an absolute majority, a run-off election must be held between the two lists with the highest number of valid votes. The defining characteristic of this system is that the winning list wins all of the seats; in theory, a list with 51% of the vote can win all of the seats.

Both political party members and independents can run under either system. The main goal for attaining the newly crafted electoral system is to ensure "adequate representation" for women, youth, Copts, workers and farmers, persons with disabilities, and Egyptians abroad. A type of quota was applied to the four closed lists only, in accordance with the Egyptian constitution.

Methodology:

This study, which generally aims to assess Egypt's electoral system, uses the "participatory approach"¹ as its main theoretical approach, especially when assessing the quota associated with the 120-seat electoral list. Approaching the study from a participatory perspective implies that average people are recognized as researchers themselves, in pursuit of answers to the questions related to their daily struggles and their survival, in addition to engaging individuals in critical analysis and organized action to improve their situations.

Regarding data collection, this study encompasses qualitative and quantitative analyses, depending on primary data collection through interviewing candidates and surveying voters and the target beneficiaries. In addition, academic literature, articles, and reports serve as secondary research sources.

The Egyptian parliamentary system:

I: Historical background

The first elected parliamentary council in Egypt appeared in 1866 during the reign of Khedive Ismail, i.e., the Shura (consular) House of Representatives. The council is considered the first example of modern parliamentary government, broadly defined. It was composed of 75 members, each serving a term of three years².

¹ Bergold, Jarg, & Stefan Thomas. "Participatory Research Methods: A Methodological Approach in Motion." *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* [Online], 13.1 (2012): n. pag. Web. 13 Mar. 2016.

²<http://modernegypt.bibalex.org/Types/Subject/Details.aspx?ID=U9fYsbKC26W4ejtJy9W8QA%3D%3D>

Nevertheless, with the outbreak of the Orabi revolution on 9 September 1881, new elections were held for the Shura House of Representatives. It was subsequently opened under a new name, the "Egyptian House of Representatives", on 26 December 1881. This new popularly elected parliamentary body held the government accountable, with the power to pass legislation and the right to question and interrogate ministers. However, this council lasted only three months due to the British occupation and the lapse of parliamentary rule¹.

In 1883, the parliament was divided into two parts: the Shura Council of Legislation and the General Assembly. The Shura Council of Legislation was composed of 30 members, including 14 appointed members (including the president and a secretary) and 16 elected members (including the second secretary). Terms of six years were chosen for members of this council. The General Assembly comprised 83 members, including 46 elected members; the remaining members were included by virtue of their positions: i.e., members of the Shura Council of Legislations and seven ministers².

The General Assembly was headed by the president of the Shura Council of Legislation. This system continued until 1913, when both the Shura Council of Legislation and the General Assembly were abrogated. Then, the Legislative Assembly was established, which continued until 1915. It comprised 83 members: 66 elected members and 17 appointed members³.

II: Egypt's First Modern Constitution

After the end of the First World War and the abolition of the British protectorate in 1922, the first constitution of an independent Egypt was adopted on 19 April 1923. The 1923 constitution, considered the best Egyptian constitution, instituted a bicameral system comprising a Senate and a House of Representatives. For the latter, the Constitution states that all members are to be elected, with terms of membership lasting five years. As for the Senate, three-fifths of its members were to be elected, while the remaining two-fifths were to be appointed. This Constitution adopted the principle of equal jurisdiction between the two councils as a general principle, with some exceptions⁴.

Unfortunately, the year 1930 witnessed the release of a new constitution, which remained in effect for five years. This represented a new setback for democratic government until 1935, when the constitution of 1923 was reinstated and remained in force until the outbreak of the Revolution of July, 1952⁵.

III: The 1952 revolution and Nasser's socialist regime:

Until 1956, there was no legislative council; however, with the adoption of the 1956 constitution, a new unicameral parliamentary system was instituted in lieu of the bicameral council. The new parliament was named "The nation's council," or "Majlis Al Oma". The constitution of 1956 provided for the nomination and election of members of the nation's council by the national union; the council comprised 342 members. That council remained in place from 22 July 1956 till 10 February 1958⁶.

The union between Egypt and Syria on 22 February 1958 introduced a new legislative system⁷. On 18 June 1960, a resolution was passed, forming the provisional nation's council. The newly united country's legislature was composed of 600 members (400 from Egypt and 200 from Syria). The legislature remained in place until the dissociation of Syria from Egypt in September 1961. Egypt remained without a parliament until 1964⁸.

On 26 March 1964, the third national council was formed of 350 members, with the allocation of 50% of seats for workers and farmers, in addition to 10 appointed members. This was required by the charter and the election act, by virtue of which the republic was divided into 175 districts. The fourth national council was formed on 20 January 1969 and remained in place until 14 May 1971⁹.

IV: Introducing a multi-party system and including women

On 27 October 1971, during the era of President Anwar El-Sadat, the first parliamentary election was held. The name of the nation's council was modified to "the people's council", or "Majlis Al Shaab", composed of 350 elected members in addition to 10 appointed members. The council remained in place from November 11, 1971 until October 16, 1976. It was the first council to complete its constitutionally mandated five-year term¹⁰.

¹ <http://www.parliament.gov.eg/home/shoraa.aspx>

² http://www.parliament.gov.eg/home/Sura_Laws.aspx

³ http://www.parliament.gov.eg/home/Gamia_Sharia.aspx

⁴ <http://alwafd.org/>

⁵ Ibrahim Shalaby, تطور النظم السياسية, Cairo, Dar Al Nahda Al Arabia, 340-348.

⁶ Aziz, S. F. (2013). REVOLUTION WITHOUT REFORM? A CRITIQUE OF EGYPT'S ELECTION LAWS. *George Washington International Law Review*, p.13.

⁷ Feuille, J. (2011). Reforming Egypt's Constitution: Hope for Egyptian Democracy?. *Texas International Law Journal*, 47237. P.239-240.

⁸ Reid, D. M. (1972), EGYPTIAN HISTORY THROUGH STAMPS: Introduction. *The Muslim World*, 62: 209–229. doi: 10.1111/j.1478-1913.1972.tb03084.x

⁹ <http://www.elfagr.org/1895554#>

¹⁰ Mostafa Kamel Alsayed, 1981-1976 تجربة تعدد الأحزاب, Nahdat Al Shark, p.1986, 199-203.

In 1976, Egypt witnessed a significant political transformation with the establishment of a three-party platform system. The platforms were the Egypt Arab Socialist Organization (Centre); the Liberal Socialist Organization (right); and the National Progressive Unionist assembly (left) within the Socialist Union, part of Sadat's multi-party system¹.

The platforms, along with independent candidates, shared in elections to the people's council held in November 1976, in which the centre was represented by 280 seats, the right by 21 seats, the left by two seats and the independents by 48 seats. In November 1976, during the first meeting of the people's council, it was resolved to convert these platforms into political parties. The Political Parties law was passed in June 1977².

The year 1979 witnessed another substantial change, with the establishment of a consular body (Maglis Al Shoura/Shoura council) and the allocation of 30 seats for women. The number of members of the Shura council was to be determined by law, but was not to total fewer than 132 members. Two thirds of the council were elected by secret, direct ballots cast by the public, provided that at least half of the candidates were workers and farmers. The president appointed the remaining third³.

Elections were held in June 1979 (after the transformation of platforms into parties), and the "National Party" won with 330 seats. The labour party garnered 30 seats, the Liberals three seats, the independents 10 seats and the assembly no seats. That council completed its constitutional term⁴.

The first legislative elections during the era of former President Mubarak were held on 23 June 1983. In accordance with the party-list system, the Republic was divided into 48 districts (448 members), with 31 seats allocated to women. This electoral system was declared unconstitutional by the supreme Constitutional Court in 1987, on the basis of the unconstitutionality of the party-list system⁵.

Accordingly, in April 1987, elections were held in accordance with the proportional-list and single-member systems (400 members recorded in the lists and 48 recorded in the single member system). However, this council, too, did not last long. It was dissolved on 3 October 1990 because of the unconstitutionality of the Electoral Law, which did not give independents rights equal to those of party-list candidates⁶.

V: The pre- and post- Arab spring electoral systems:

In 1990, the parliament reinstated the single member electoral system, requiring an absolute majority vote (50%+1) in a two-round electoral system. This electoral system continued for five parliamentary election cycles from the parliament of 1990 to that of 2010⁷.

2010 witnessed the eruption of the January 25th Revolution, which only lasted for a few months. It ended with the constitutional declaration of 13 February 2011, which effectively voided the constitution in addition to disbanding both the People's Council and the Shura Council⁸.

After the January 25th revolution, parliamentary elections to the people's council were held in three stages between November 28, 2011 and January 11, 2012. The Council convened its first meeting on January 23, 2012; it comprised 508 members, of whom 332 were elected via the party-list system, 166 via the single-member system, and 10 members were appointed⁹. Again, this council was dissolved via a declaration by the supreme constitutional court on June 14, 2012. The court accepted appeals filed against the People's council, thus the council was completely dissolved¹⁰.

The Current Egyptian Electoral system and composition of parliament

Electing a new House of Representatives was the final stage in the three-step roadmap set by the Egyptian people in the aftermath of the June 30, 2013 revolution. The process started with the acceptance of the constitution (January 2014), the election of a new president of the Republic (June 3, 2014), and concluded with this final commitment. In light of the current constitution, instituted in 2014, Egypt returned to the unicameral system, with article 245 abolishing the Shura Council. The legislative power in Egypt has become confined to the House of Representatives, which is composed of elected representatives of the people. Representatives serve

¹ Feuille, J. *op. cit.*, (2011), p.241.

² Thabet, Hala G. "Egyptian Parliamentary Elections: Between Democratisation and Autocracy". *Africa Development / Afrique et Développement* 31.3 (2006), p.12

³ Ali El Deen Hilal, 2005-1805 النظام السياسي في مصر, Center for Political Research and Studies, 2006, p.187-213.

⁴ Ali El Deen Hilal, *النظام السياسي المصري: التغيير والاستمرار*, the 1st annual conference for political research, Cairo university, 1988, p.78-79.

⁵ Ibid, 236-237

⁶ ⁶ Ali El Deen Hilal, 2010-1981 النظام السياسي المصري بين إرث الماضي و آفاق المستقبل, Al Masriah, 2010, p. 189-190.

⁷ KURUN, Í. (2015). Democratisation in Egypt From A Historical Perspective: Problems, Pitfalls and Prospects. *Journal Of Management & Economics*, 22(1), 185.

⁸ NOSSETT, J. M. (2014). Free Exercise After the Arab Spring: Protecting Egypt's Religious Minorities Under the Country's New Constitution. *Indiana Law Journal*, 89(4), p. 1663.

⁹ Elsayyad, M., & Hanafy, S. (2014). Voting Islamist or Voting Secular? An Empirical Analysis of Voting Outcomes in Egypt's 'Arab Spring'. *Public Choice*, 160(1-2), 110.

¹⁰ Egypt 2015 Country Review. *Egypt Country Review* [serial online]. July 2015;:1-361. Available from: Business Source Complete, Ipswich, MA. Accessed March 8, 2016.

terms of five Gregorian years, commencing with the first meeting session¹.

A Higher Elections Committee² was formed on 30/08/2015 for conducting elections in two phases. The first stage started with Egyptians abroad on Saturday and Sunday, 17 & 18 October 2015, then within Egypt on Sunday and Monday, 18 & 19 October 2015. Re-elections of Egyptians abroad were conducted on Monday and Tuesday, 26 & 27 October 2015 and within Egypt on Tuesday and Wednesday, 27 & 28 October 2015. This first phase of elections covered 14 governorates, namely: Giza, Fayum, Beni Suef, Minya, Assiut, New Valley, Sohag, Qena, Luxor, Aswan, the Red Sea, Alexandria, Al Beheira, Giza and Matrouh³.

The second phase of elections was conducted for Egyptians abroad on Saturday and Sunday, 21 & 22 November 2015 and within Egypt on Sunday and Monday, 22 & 23 November 2015. Re-elections for Egyptians abroad were conducted on Monday and Tuesday, 30 November and 1 December 2015 and within Egypt on Tuesday and Wednesday, 1 and 2 December 2015. This phase covered 13 governorates, namely: Cairo, Qaliubiya, Dakahlia, Menufia, Gharbia, Kafr El Sheikh, Sharkia, Damietta, Port Said, Ismailia, Suez, North Sinai and South Sinai⁴.

The current House of Representatives is composed of 596 members, including 568 elected members (electoral-list candidates and single members); the number of seats allocated to candidates elected through the single-member system is 448, and 120 seats were allocated to electoral-list candidates. The president of the republic has appointed 28 members (5% of elected members)⁵.

Egypt, under the current electoral system, is divided into 205 single-member/individual-constituency districts, with four districts to use the electoral-list system; two of these districts will be allocated 15 seats each, while the other two will be allocated 45 seats each⁶.

The 2014 constitution and the current electoral law (#46/2014) provided affirmative action for protecting the representation rights of six segments of Egyptian society: workers, farmers, youth, Christians, disabled persons, and Egyptians abroad. Each list of a 15-seat constituency should include three Christian candidates, two workers (designation as a worker depends mainly on working at a handcraft and not possessing a higher degree of education) or farmers (a farmer is defined as a person whose only job for the last ten years and main source of income is agriculture, and whose owned land should not exceed 10 feddans), two youths (under 35), one person with a disability, and a candidate drawn from Egyptians living abroad (for more than 10 years prior to nomination). Additionally, there must be at least seven female candidates among those in these categories. Furthermore, each list of a 45-seat constituency should include nine Christian candidates, six candidates who are workers or farmers, six youths, three people with disabilities and three candidates from the population of Egyptians living abroad. At least twenty-one of these candidates must be female⁷.

Results of the 2015 elections show that political parties still lag behind in introducing candidates; 57.2% (325) of those elected were independent representatives, while only 43.8% (243) were affiliated with 19 political parties⁸.

Sixty-five seats were won by The Free Egyptians Party, a secular/liberal party founded in 2011, while the Nation's Future party (a populist party) came in 2nd with 53 seats, followed by the New Wafd (36 seats). The Protectors of the Homeland Party gained 18 seats, 13 were won by the Republican people's party, 12 by the Conference party and only 11 by the Salafi Islamist party al-Nour.

The Conservative and Nationalist Democratic Peace parties secured only six and five seats, respectively. Whereas three parties, the Egyptian Social Democratic Party, the Egyptian Patriotic Movement and the Modern Egypt party, won four seats each. While the Reform and Development party, the Freedom Party and the My Homeland Egypt Party attained three seats each. The National Progressive Unionist Party won two seats, while the Arab Democratic Nasserist party, the Revolutionary Guards party and the Free Egyptian Building Party only earned one seat each.

¹ <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/142022.aspx>

² <https://www.elections.eg/en/>

³ <http://www.mei.edu/content/article/egyptian-parliamentary-elections-101>

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ <http://www.sis.gov.eg/newvt//parliament.pdf>

⁶ Osama Kamel, *تقسيم حدود الدوائر الانتخابية، بين المعايير الدولية و قانون تقسيم الدوائر الانتخابية في مصر*, Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, April 2015. eipr.org/.../pdf/analysis_of_redistricting_process_of_drawing_electoral

⁷ https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Egypt_2014.pdf?lang=ar

<https://www.elections.eg/images/pdfs/laws/HouseOfRepresentatives2014-46.pdf>

⁸ <https://www.elections.eg/results/detailed-results>

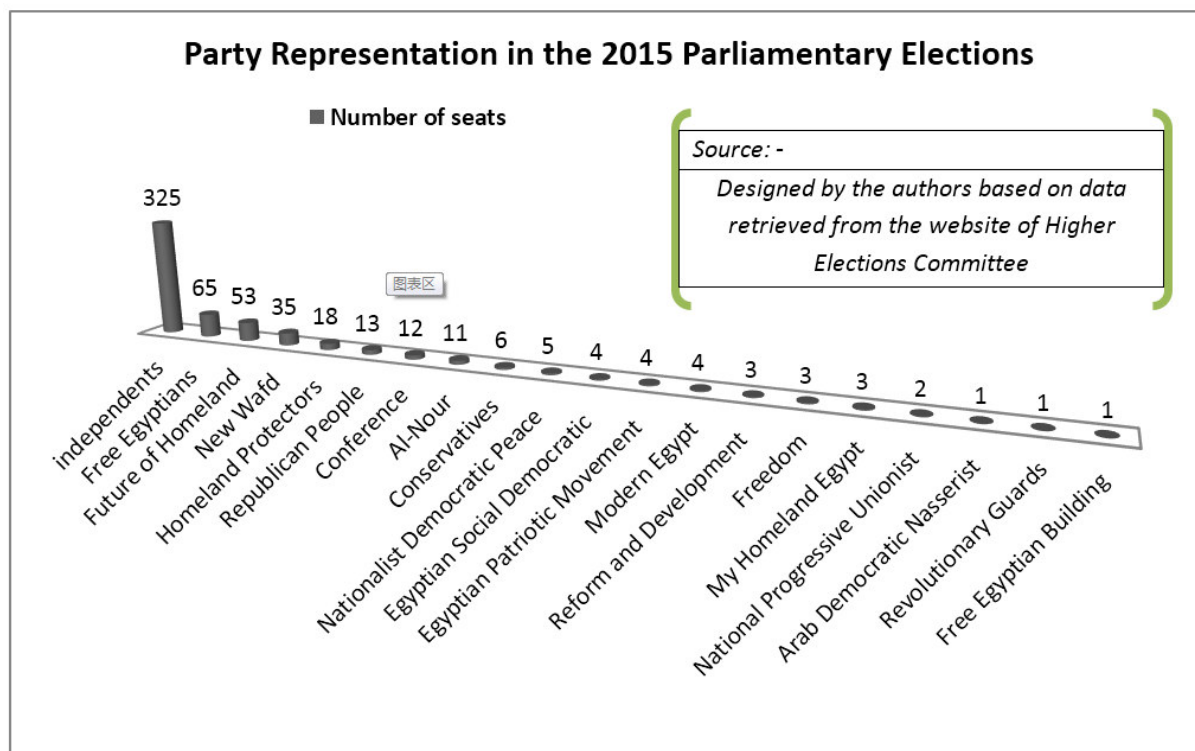


Figure 1:- the distribution of party seats in the 2015 Parliament

It is quite clear that the current composition of parliament was highly influenced by the affirmative action used in the newly crafted electoral system, which aims to ensure “adequate representation” for women, youth, Copts, workers and farmers, persons with disabilities, and Egyptians abroad through the closed list.

Women have gained 13% (89 seats) of parliamentary seats. In addition to the 56 quota seats in the electoral list, women won 19 seats in the single-member system – a great success¹. Additionally, women’s representation was reinforced by the 14 seats, among the 28 appointed members, granted to women by the president².

Regarding the representation of youth, 54 members are less than 35 years old, but the majority of members (192) lie between 46 and 55. An additional 122 of the parliament's members are between 36 and 45 and only 88 are older than 60. The number of young people elected, being far more than what the quota requires, indicates that youth do not really need affirmative action, as they already constitute a majority of members.

Copts won 39 seats: 12 through the two-round single-member system, 24 through the electoral list, and three appointed by the president. Workers and farmers, persons with disabilities, and Egyptians abroad were limited only to the seats provided by affirmative action in the electoral list.

One virtue of the current parliament composition is the level of education that members hold: 455 hold bachelor degrees, 28 hold Ph.Ds., and 10 members have achieved a master's degree, while only 82 received an intermediate certificate, and 30 acquired a primary education only.

One of the main characteristics of the current Egyptian parliament, which is also considered one of its shortcomings, is that the list known as "in love of Egypt" or “fee hob Misr” attained all 120 list seats, including both independent and party candidates³.

Quantitative Analysis:

RESULTS

Introduction

This part aims to analyse the current electoral system in Egypt, which is considered a mixed parallel system. It combines the absolute closed electoral list with the two-round single-member district system, known in Egypt as the individual system, which was put to use for the first time in the 2015 parliamentary elections.

The population and surveyed sample

The Respondents, or the population of the study, were a random sample of Egyptian citizens who are eligible to vote; they comprise male and female voters from various sectors of society in the Suez Canal governorates, housewives, employees, academics, students from Canal universities (the researchers find that for context, it is

¹ <http://ecwronline.org/?p=6788>
² http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2097_e.htm
³ http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2097_e.htm

best to examine students' levels of understanding and awareness), as well as other citizens of various levels of education and participation.

The equation below describes the sample size (Sekaran 1999)

$$n = \frac{z^2 * p(1-p)}{pe^2} \quad n = \frac{1.96^2 * 0.5(1-0.5)}{0.05^2} \approx 384$$

Pilot Test and Survey Respondents

The surveyed sample returned 330 questionnaires. This represents an 85.9% response rate. The quality and validity of response data are established through conducting a reliability test using Cronbach's Alpha (Sekaran, 2003). The SPSS (22) reliability analysis was performed separately for the indicators of each scale (Table 1).

Table (1) – Reliability analysis for surveyed sample

Variable	Number of items	Reliability statistic (Cronbach's Alpha)
Assessing the Electoral List exercised in the 2015 parliamentary elections	7	0.753
Assessing the single member district (individual candidate) system used in the 2015 parliamentary elections	7	0.757
Evaluating the 2015 parliament	7	0.747

Generally, reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.6 or higher are considered adequate (Sekaran, 2003). As illustrated in table (1) and table (2), the overall calculated reliability coefficients for Cronbach's alpha values range between 0.747 and 0.757, so all variables included in the study are reliable.

Data analysis methods

Descriptive analysis

To investigate the feel of the measured data, basic descriptive statistics were analysed to ensure that the distortion of the questionnaire response outputs was negligible. The descriptive analysis results (Table 3) illustrated that the standard deviation is not large, revealing that there is only a weak distortion of the collected data for all variables. These results imply the homogeneity of the surveyed sample.

1: Assessing the Electoral List employed in the 2015 parliamentary elections:

There was overall agreement that the current electoral list system should be revised, as 77.64% of the sample strongly agrees that in the next elections, the closed list should be replaced by the PR list system. Additionally, 77.39% reported that the existing closed-list system should be abolished due to the absence of a strong party system. Furthermore, 70.06% believe that the reserve condition (providing a whole list of 45 or 15 candidates as a reserve) should be cancelled, as it impedes a broader scope of party participation.

2: Assessing the single-member district (individual candidate) system used in the 2015 parliamentary elections

A total of 78.30% of the respondents think that the major defect of the current single-member district (individual candidate) system is that it opens the way for voters to be manipulated through money, although the small size of the constituencies in this system enables voters to know their candidates closely and directly (77.94%).

On the other hand, 58.24% believe that the single-member district (individual candidate) system should be abandoned and that all parliamentary seats should be filled by party lists. According to 70.85% of respondents, the large number of seats (448) filled by the single-member district (individual candidate) system hinders party system development.

3: Evaluating the 2015 parliament

A total of 76.00% of respondents consider the number of constituencies in the electoral list system to be too low and agree that it should be increased to eight to fit Egypt's territorial divisions. The same percentage, 76.00%, believes that the mixed electoral system combined the advantages of both the individual and list systems. Further, 74.00% judged the participation in elections to be weak due to the complexity of the electoral system, which requires that voters have a high level of political awareness

However, 56.79% believed that the number of presidential appointees should be increased, enabling him to balance the composition of the parliament, and 62.42% believe that the new electoral system led to a parliament that fully represents the population.

a) A one-sample t-test was performed to evaluate the current list system used in the 2015 parliamentary elections. (Douglas Lind 2010). The results are listed below:

Table (2) One-Sample Test for List Electoral System

	Test Value = 3					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
List Electoral System	24.117	329	.000	.70779	.6501	.7655

Table (2) shows a one sample t-test evaluating the current list system used in the 2015 parliamentary elections.

Because the sig= (0.0) is less than $\alpha=0.05$, we can conclude that there is a significant difference between the mean of agreement, the value three (the median), and the mean difference = 0.70779. This means that the studied sample agrees with the current list system used in the 2015 parliamentary elections.

b) A one-sample t-test was performed to evaluate the current individual system (single candidate) used in the 2015 parliamentary elections (Douglas Lind 2010). The results are listed below:

Table (3) One-Sample Test for the individual system

	Test Value = 3					
	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
individual system	21.619	329	.000	.65584	.5962	.7155

Table (3) shows a one-sample t-test used to evaluate the current individual system (single candidate) used in the 2015 parliamentary elections.

Because the sig= (0.0) is less than $\alpha=0.05$, we can conclude that there is a significant difference between the mean of agreement, the value three (the median), and the mean difference = 0.65584. This means that the studied sample agrees with the current individual system (single candidate) used in the 2015 parliamentary elections.

c) A one-sample t-test was performed to evaluate the overall 2015 parliament system. (Douglas Lind 2010). The results are listed below:

Table (4) One-Sample Test for 2015 parliament system

	Test Value = 3					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Evaluating the 2015 parliament	14.605	329	.000	.46797	.4049	.5310

Table (4) shows a one-sample t-test used to evaluate the 2015 parliament system, representing a combination of the list in the current electoral system and the individual system (single candidate).

Because the sig= (0.0) is less than $\alpha=0.05$, we can conclude that there is a significant difference between the mean of agreement, the value three (the median), and the mean difference = 0.46797. This means that the studied sample agrees with the overall 2015 parliament system.

d) Comparison of the list in the current electoral system and the individual system:

A two-independent-sample t-test was performed to test the difference between the current list and individual systems. (Douglas Lind 2010). The results are listed below:

Table (5) Levene's Test for Equality of Variances

F	Sig.
0.415	0.520

Table (5) shows the equality of variance test (Levene)

Because the sig> $\alpha=0.05$, we can use the t-test in case of equal variance.

Table (6) independent samples t-test

t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference
1.231	658	0.219	0.05195	0.04221

Table (6) shows the t-test, illustrating the difference between the list in the current electoral system and the individual system in the 2015 parliamentary elections.

Because the $\text{sig} = (0.219) > \alpha = 0.05$, we can conclude that there is no significant difference between the list in the current electoral system and the individual system in the 2015 parliamentary elections.

Conclusion and Recommendations

After investigating the New Egyptian Mixed (Parallel) Electoral System using both qualitative and quantitative analysis, one can conclude that the system employed in 2015 has its advantages and disadvantages but is in need of serious amendments.

These amendments are necessary due to four factors: shortcomings within the electoral list, shortcomings within the constituency divisions, shortcomings within the Egyptian legal framework and shortcomings related to the single-member district (individual candidate) system.

First, with regard to the electoral list, the absolute closed list should be changed into proportional representation (PR). Further, the reserve list, which requires providing a whole list as a reserve (45 or 15 candidates), should be abolished because it narrows the scope of party participation.

Second, with regard to shortcomings within the constituency divisions, Egypt is currently divided into 205 divisions for the single-member district (individual candidate) system and into only four for the electoral-list system, which is a broad constituency that is very difficult to win. This led to the winning of all four divisions by a single platform (in love of Egypt or fee hob Misr). The number of constituencies for the electoral-list system should be raised to eight, reflecting Egypt's territorial divisions.

Third, with regard to shortcomings within the Egyptian legal framework, legislation should be introduced confining nominations to the electoral lists to only political parties, coalitions or platforms (excluding independents).

Fourth, with regard to shortcomings related to the single-member district (individual candidate) system, only independents should be allowed to nominate themselves via the single-member district (individual candidate) system. In the case of a party member resigning from their political party to enter the competition for independent seats, they should not be allowed to return to their previous affiliation. Additionally, the number of seats awarded to the single-member district (individual candidate) system (448 versus only 120 for the electoral list) should be reduced.

References

- Ali El Deen Hilal, 2005-1805 تطور النظام السياسي في مصر, Center for Political Research and Studies, 2006.
- Ali El Deen Hilal, *النظام السياسي المصري: التغيير والاستمرار*, the 1st annual conference for political research, Cairo university, 1988.
- Ali El Deen Hilal, 2010-1981 النظام السياسي المصري بين ارث الماضي و آفاق المستقبل, Al Masriah, 2010.
- Aziz, S. F. (2013). REVOLUTION WITHOUT REFORM? A CRITIQUE OF EGYPT'S ELECTION LAWS. *George Washington International Law Review*
- Bergold, Jarg, & Stefan Thomas. "Participatory Research Methods: A Methodological Approach in Motion." *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* [Online], 13.1 (2012): n. pag. Web. 13 Mar. 2016..
- Egypt 2015 Country Review. *Egypt Country Review* [serial online]. July 2015;:1-361. Available from: Business Source Complete, Ipswich, MA. Accessed March 8, 2016.
- Elsayyad, M., & Hanafy, S. (2014). Voting Islamist or Voting Secular? An Empirical Analysis of Voting Outcomes in Egypt's 'Arab Spring'. *Public Choice*, 160(1-2), 110.
- Feuille, J. (2011). Reforming Egypt's Constitution: Hope for Egyptian Democracy?. *Texas International Law Journal*, 47237. P.239-240.
- Ibrahim Shalaby, تطور النظم السياسية, Cairo, Dar Al Nahda Al Arabia, 340-348.
- KURUN, İ. (2015). Democratization in Egypt From A Historical Perspective: Problems, Pitfalls and Prospects. *Journal Of Management & Economics*, 22(1), 185.
- Mostafa Kamel Alsayed, 1981-1976 تقييم تجربة تعدد الأحزاب, Nahdat Al Shark, p.1986.
- NOSSETT, J. M. (2014). Free Exercise After the Arab Spring: Protecting Egypt's Religious Minorities Under the Country's New Constitution. *Indiana Law Journal*, 89(4).
- Osama Kamel, *تقسيم حدود الدوائر الانتخابية، بين المعايير الدولية و قانون تقسيم الدوائر الانتخابية في مصر*, Egyptian Initiative for

Personal Rights, April 2015. eipr.org/.../pdf/analysis_of_redistricting_process_of_drawing_electoral
 Reid, D. M. (1972), EGYPTIAN HISTORY THROUGH STAMPS: Introduction. *The Muslim World*, 62: 209–229. doi: 10.1111/j.1478-1913.1972.tb03084.x
 Thabet, Hala G. “Egyptian Parliamentary Elections: Between Democratisation and Autocracy”. *Africa Development / Afrique et Développement* 31.3 (2006).
<http://modernegypt.bibalex.org/Types/Subject/Details.aspx?ID=U9fYsbKC26W4ejtJy9W8QA%3D%3D>
<http://www.parliament.gov.eg/home/shoraa.aspx>
http://www.parliament.gov.eg/home/Sura_Laws.aspx
http://www.parliament.gov.eg/home/Gamia_Sharia.aspx
<http://alwafd.org/>
<http://www.elfagr.org/1895554#>
<http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/142022.aspx>
<https://www.elections.eg/en/>
<http://www.mei.edu/content/article/egyptian-parliamentary-elections-101>
<http://www.sis.gov.eg/newvr/parliament.pdf>
<https://www.elections.eg/results/detailed-results>
<http://ecwronline.org/?p=6788>
http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2097_e.htm
https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Egypt_2014.pdf?lang=ar
<http://www.sis.gov.eg/newvr/parliament.pdf>
<https://www.elections.eg/images/pdfs/laws/HouseOfRepresentatives2014-46.pdf>
<https://www.elections.eg/results/detailed-results>

Appendix I

I: Assessing the Electoral List employed in the 2015 parliamentary elections

#	Statement	mean	standard deviation	cv%	agreement rate %	rank
1	The defect of the currently applied list is that it is a closed list in which the winner acquires all seats.	3.670	1.1499	31.33%	73.39%	5
2	In the next elections, the closed list should be replaced by the PR list system	3.882	.8185	21.08%	77.64%	1
3	The existing closed list system should be abolished due to the absence of a strong party system	3.870	.9914	25.62%	77.39%	2
4	Another deficiency in the current party list system is that it opens the door for non-partisans to join a party's list if it fails to nominate enough party member candidates	3.800	.9875	25.99%	76.00%	3
5	The current list system reveals the parties' failure to compose lists of sole member candidates that are able to reflect party standpoint and principles	3.703	.9968	26.92%	74.06%	4
6	The most important drawback of the current electoral system list is dividing Egypt into only four constituencies	3.527	1.1382	32.27%	70.55%	6
7	The reserve condition (providing a whole list as a reserve - 45 or 15 candidates) should be cancelled, as it impedes a broader scope of party participation	3.503	1.1466	32.73%	70.06%	7

II: Assessing the single-member district (individual candidate) system used in the 2015 parliamentary elections

#	Statement	Mean	standard deviation	cv%	agreement rate %	rank
1	The defect of the currently applied individual system is that it opens the way for money manipulation of voters	3.915	1.1213	28.64%	78.30%	1
2	Another deficiency in the current individual electoral system is that it allows room for tribal and ethnic control of votes	3.712	1.0397	28.01%	74.24%	5
3	The large number of seats (448) filled by the individual system hinders party system development	3.542	1.0313	29.11%	70.85%	6
4	The large number of seats (448) filled by the individual system leads to personal choices versus party programs and ideas	3.824	.9089	23.77%	76.48%	3
5	The individual system should be cancelled and all parliamentary seats should be filled by party lists	2.912	1.1958	41.06%	58.24%	7
6	The small size of the constituencies in the individual system enabled voters to know their candidates closely and directly	3.897	.9364	24.03%	77.94%	2
7	And the expansion of the list constituencies also led the voters to making their decisions on individual basis not party platforms	3.788	1.0361	27.35%	75.76%	4

III: Evaluating the 2015 parliament

#	Statement	mean	standard deviation	cv%	agreement rate %	rank
1	The mixed electoral system combined advantages of both the individual and list systems	3.800	1.1757	30.94%	76.00%	2
2	The new electoral system led to a parliament that fully represents the population	3.121	1.2143	38.91%	62.42%	6
3	The current electoral system should be changed in a way in which individual and list seats are equal	3.479	1.0495	30.17%	69.58%	5
4	Weak participation was evident due to the complexity of the electoral system which requires a high level of political awareness	3.700	1.1154	30.15%	74.00%	3
5	Number of constituencies in the list should be increased to eight to fit Egypt's territorial divisions	3.800	1.0472	27.56%	76.00%	1
6	Seats appointed by the president should be eliminated as it is considered an intrusion by the executive branch in the parliament	3.536	1.2930	36.56%	70.73%	4
7	The number of appointees by the president should be increased enabling him to balance the composition of the parliament	2.839	1.3733	48.37%	56.79%	7