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The American University in Cairo
School of Global Affairs and Public Policy (GAPP)

WOMEN NGO COALITIONS IN EGYPT POST JANUARY 25, 2011

PRE-REQUISITES FOR ENHANCED EFFECTIVENESS

A Thesis Submitted by

Rana Gamal Korayem

to the Department of Public Policy and Administration

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Master of Public Policy (MPP)

By Rana G. Korayem

Supervised by

Laila M. El Baradei, Ph.D

May, 2013

Acknowledgments

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Last, but greatly valued, I would like to thank all the interviewed participants of this study for their valuable time and contributions. A special thank you as well goes to my colleagues and friends who helped me reach out to the participants. I hope that this research will be a real contribution to the study of coalitions and factors that influence policy making, and that the material presented would be of added value for researchers intending to take it even steps further.

Abstract

In the aftermath of the revolution of the 25th of January, 2011, the Egyptian women's movement has witnessed changes. The changes offered opportunities and challenges, yet with two (2) years after the revolution, the challenges continue to outweigh the opportunities. In spite of having had a newly formed parliament, the naming of a newly elected president from the conservative wing, and the coding of a new constitution, all of which held the slogan of "*freedom, dignity, and social justice*," 48% of the population; Egyptian women, lack clearly recognized rights in the current legal framework, their previously gained rights prior to 2011 may be compromised, and there is enough evidence that signals a perceived risk of a possible backlash on the women's agenda.

Among the indicators that support this interpretation, is the fact that the national women's machinery, which is mandated to advocate for increased women's rights, is being challenged by state and non-state actors. In response, women NGO coalitions and networks were formed to confront threats to women's human rights. There is a dearth of information about women NGO coalitions and networks in Egypt. Only one study in the literature studied three (3) Egyptian NGO Coalitions, taking in to account the data had been collected prior to the revolution. This research is intended to fill this gap in the literature and contribute to the documentation of the history of the Egyptian women's movement.

A literature review was conducted, followed by thirty (30) semi-structured interviews with gender experts and Egyptian women's activists. The researcher was also a participant observer at the 57th United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), based on which a case study was developed to study how the different actors attempted to influence the international policy agenda with regard to violence against women. The social and cultural,

political, economic, and legal contexts for Egyptian women were studied to serve as the foundation of the data analysis upon completion of the data collection.

A mapping of the previous and new actors in the external environment of the women's movement was conducted to support the data analysis. The findings of the study suggest that the new networks and initiatives have a higher potential to become strong coalitions, if compared to large Egyptian NGO coalitions. Advocacy techniques need to take a new shape to better influence public policies for women. The actors need to engage in networking and not networks, new partnerships should be built, and the coalition's constituencies should be widened for enhanced effectiveness. Last, but not least, there is a high need of more evidence based and scientific research, which coalitions should use in framing their messages. The study is concluded by a set of policy recommendations to guide the way forward for Egyptian women.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AAW	Alliance for Arab Women
AC	Agreed Conclusions
ACT	Appropriate Communications Techniques for Development
AUC	American University in Cairo
BPFA	Beijing Platform for Action
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women
CEWLA	Center for Egyptian Women’s Legal Assistance
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
ECWPP	Egyptian Coalition for Women’s Political Participation
ECWR	Egyptian Center for Women’s Rights
EDHR	Egypt Human Development Report
EFU	Egyptian Feminist Union
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
ILO	International Labor Organization
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FJP	Freedom and Justice Party
HEC	High Elections Committee
LWV	League of Women Voters
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MOSA	Ministry of Social Affairs
MB	Muslim Brotherhood
NCW	National Council for Women

NDP	National Democratic Party
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
PSL	Personal Status Laws
PA	People's Assembly
PEC	Presidential Elections Committee
SC	Shura Council
SCC	Supreme Constitutional Court
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SJC	Supreme Judicial Council
SCAF	Supreme Council for Armed Forces
SYPE	Survey of Young People in Egypt
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAW	Violence Against Women

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Chapter 1— Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Women's previously gained rights prior to the revolution of the 25th of January, 2011 are at risk. The first signal to this was the abolishment of the Quota Law of 2009, which guaranteed sixty four (64) seats for women in parliament, and also when women were excluded from the drafting of an interim constitution, when the Supreme Council for Armed Forces (SCAF) was in power. Upon the election of a new parliament, and a new president at a later stage, there were, and still are calls from conservative groups, especially by those who are affiliated to the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and the Salafists, to regress on women's rights issues, labeling them as a western international agenda. One other alarming signal has been the unrecognized social, political and economic rights for women in the new Egyptian Constitution of 2012, having recognized women in only one article (10), within the context of family. The constitution also lacks any commitment to international agreements, as opposed to the constitution of 1971. Furthermore, another pattern of limiting women's participation in the public sphere is systematic violence against women (VAW), which is a major concern specifically after the revolution. All the aforementioned concerns constitute a threat to the realization of women's full and equal participation. A society that does not advance women's rights is one that does not advance human rights at large, since women's rights are human rights.

Policy Relevance of the Issue

This issue is of high policy relevance since it is directly linked to the legal framework of Egypt. The constitution, legislations, policies, and the implementation of these various legal and policy instruments have a direct impact on the lives of citizens of Egypt, women and men, and certainly Egyptian families at large.

Furthermore, the strongest policy initiator and advocate for women's rights in Egypt for the past decade, the National Council for Women (NCW) is being challenged by state and non state actors. It is being challenged by state actors due to the existing tendency and will to replace it with a Family Council, rather than having it as it currently stands, a council that is exclusively for women's issues. On the other hand, some non state actors have reservations on the current leadership of the NCW and are, therefore, directing criticism at it through several communication channels.

In spite of the re-profiling of the NCW early 2012, some still associate it to Suzanne Mubarak, the former First Lady of Egypt, who had the exclusive attention and often the most credit for pioneering women's rights in Egypt. Currently, women NGO coalitions, newly formed networks and initiatives have a wider space to advocate and lobby for maintaining the current legal rights of women, and to ask for more. The newly formed coalitions and networks are practicing collective advocacy in a new way, with the objective of realizing more rights for Egyptian women. It is, therefore, important to explore and analyze their current practices in order to provide constructive critical feedback on "how" things should be done.

This requires that the process of women NGO coalitions in Egypt is thoroughly studied by looking at processes, partnerships, enabling factors, limiting factors, motives, interests, barriers, and opportunities.

Background

Prior to the Egyptian Revolution of 2011, and for almost a decade, women's rights issues in Egypt were high on the policy agenda. This came into effect particularly after the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) of 1995, also referred to as the Fourth World Conference on Women, in which Egypt had taken an active role in the drafting of its final declaration. Following this, Egypt demonstrated a strong political will to advancing the rights of women by issuing a Presidential Decree in the year 2000 to establish the National Council for Women (NCW). The NCW was established with the following mandate: a) to propose public policies for women that ensure women's empowerment and participation in all aspects of political, economic and social spheres; b) to draft a national plan for the advancement of women; c) to monitor and evaluate the implementation of public policies and laws for women and report observations to the relevant bodies; d) to propose relevant laws that pertain to women. Since 2001, and up till January 2011, the President of the NCW was the former First Lady of Egypt, Mrs. Suzanne Mubarak., which gave the NCW a real leverage in influencing laws and policies to realize more rights for women in Egypt.

Throughout this period, several laws were introduced, the most important of which was the *Nationality Law* (2004), which granted Egyptian women the right to pass on their nationality to their children. Not less important, were the *Khul'a Law* (2000), which is a form of divorce under the Islamic Law, by which the wife has the

right to initiate a divorce; the *Child Law* (2008), which criminalized female genital mutilation (FGM), and raised the age of marriage for girls up to eighteen (18), and the *Quota Law* (2010), which had guaranteed sixty four (64) seats for women in parliament, and the *Human Trafficking Law* (2010), which aimed at protecting women and girls victims of trafficking, and a draft law on Criminalizing Sexual Harassment was on its way in the following parliamentary session, which has not taken place as a result of the revolution. This progress in legislations for women were not only the fruit of the efforts of the NCW, but also Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that had an active voice, and that also, repeatedly called for more rights for women on the legislative front. Some of these women NGOs had a good working relationship with the NCW, others did not. Yet, in order to survive, they either took a neutral position towards the NCW, or collaborated with the NCW, although NCW's collaboration with large sized NGOs for women in the past could be described as minimal or limited. Among the characteristics of the external work environment of women NGOs is high competition. Most NGOs compete over donor money and were known to have a strong lack of coordination and a common objective, which should have mainly been to push the women's agenda forward and put more pressure for increased rights for women. The motives were evidently fewer; one possible explanation could be the existence of a political will to advance the rights of women, a welcomed existence by the government of women's rights organizations; in other words, there was not a real threat to push them to come together as a stronger force.

In the aftermath of the revolution of the 25th of January, the external environment of the women's movement witnessed changes. The concepts of networks, movements, and coalitions have been adopted in a wider manner, to also extend beyond the normal work of NGOs and engage in political activities. The term network existed before the revolution, it was not really new, but the term coalition came across to portray a stronger and broader force on the ground. Specific to women's related issues, only two movements existed prior to the revolution. The two movements are "HarassMap" and "*Bussy*." HarassMap is an initiative that started in 2005; one of Egypt's earliest initiatives on sexual harassment, active reporting and volunteer engagement, HarassMap, provides a credible updated database on harassment incidents, awareness sessions, regular reports and events using art, communication and social media to combat harassment in public spaces.

Bussy, which is an Arabic translation of the English verb "look", is a project intended to empower women and raise awareness about women's issues through creative means. *Bussy* started in 2006, when two students of the American University in Cairo (AUC) began directing a performance based on stories of Egyptian women about their memories and experiences of womanhood. The monologues exposed real women's stories and provided a space for free expression on issues that society was failing to address. The performance allows people to write for themselves instead of being written about. Story-collecting happens annually, starting in January and continuing until mid to end of March. The individuals who work on each performance are not professional artists; they are a group of passionate, enthusiastic young people, with strong faith in the value and impact of the project.

The number of networks or movements increased notably from two (2) prior to the revolution more than nineteen (19) after the revolution, also on the issue of sexual harassment. They are: *Nefsi* (I Wish; Human Chains against Sexual Harassment), *Thawret el Banat* (Girls Revolution), *e7miha* (Protect her Campaign) in Menya/Upper Egypt, *Basma* (Imprint), *Noon Neswa* (Graffiti for Women), *Parlaman el Nesa2: Fouada Watch* (Women Parliament), *At3 2idak* (Off with your Hands), *Ana Ragel ded el Ta7arosh el Gensi, e7na asfeen ya Banat* (I am a a Man against Sexual Harassment, we are sorry Ladies), *Banat Masr Khat A7mar* (Egyptian Women are a Redline), *Estargel* (Behave like a Man), *Welad el Balad* (Brave Men and Women of the Country), *Madinet Nasr Bla Ta7arosh* (Nasr City without Sexual Harassment), *Kama Tadin Toda* (What goes around comes around), *Ana mesh haskot 3ala el Taa7rosh* (I will not be silenced on Sexual Harassment), *Al7amla el Sha3beya ded el Ta7arosh* (Popular Campaign against Sexual Harassment), *Etkalemi* (Speak up) in Menoufya.

Some groups went beyond networks or movements to form coalitions, of which two types were formed; the formal, which is established officially through the Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSA), and the informal, underwhich the networks and/or some of the movements would fall. Formal coalitions take longer time to be formed as they require a formal approval from the Ministry. An example of a formal coalition is the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU) that was established to revive the Feminist Union of Hoda Shaarawy, while an example for an informal coalition is the Coalition of Feminist NGOs that is formed of Seventeen (17) women NGOs.

The call for reviving the Feminist Union of Hoda Shaarawy came after the first Egyptian National Women Convention, which resulted in the announcement of a National Charter (annex 3) that enshrines the social, economic and political rights of Egyptian women. The Charter came as a result of 27 national consultations held all across Egyptian governorates, and included 30,000 participants, who mobilized 500,000 signatures and nominated 3,000 representatives to attend the 4th of June of 2011 meeting on their behalf, the occasion that witnessed the public announcement of these demands. The coalition composed of 500 NGOs. Since its establishment, the EFU has been a vocal advocate for women's rights and has focused particularly on the importance of the values enshrined in the Egyptian Women's Charter. EFU ensured wide dissemination of the charter, and has played an active role in reaching out to more women on the ground. In 2012, EFU's reach out to women has hit 5 million Egyptian women, with an ambitious plan to reach out to more women, and men.

The second type is the informal coalition. Although the descriptive name of "informal" may imply that these coalitions do not have formal existence, it is not the case and they actually do. They are a group of formally established individual NGOs that come together under the name of a coalition. One example, among several others, is the Coalition of Feminist NGOs the advantages of existing in such a form are more flexibility and less bureaucracy as they are usually a less number of NGOs uniting together than those that would come together under a formally established coalition like the EFU. The Egyptian Coalition for Women's Political Participation (ECWPP) is also another active unregistered coalition that is comprised of 450 NGOs. During

the Presidential Elections competition, it issued a statement to the new Egyptian President, entitled: “Rights not Promises” that lists identified demands that were put forward in organized seminars that were attended by seven (7) thousand women (“Rights not promises,” 2012), all of which are from different backgrounds, contexts and governorates.

There are also underlying motives behind the emergence of this trend. One possible reason could be the fact that they are challenged by a regime that seems to be unwelcoming of the women’s rights agenda that was set during Mubarak’s reign. In spite of women’s active participation in the revolution and the several roles they played as activists, supporters, and providers, they were the first to be marginalized. Their representation in the new parliament formed right after the revolution, usually referred to the “parliament of the revolution” was almost two percent (2%) (“Shoura council seizes,” 2013). In the most recent reshuffle of the cabinet of ministers (“Nine new ministers,” 2013), there are still only two (2) ministers currently appointed, out of the thirty six (36) ministries. Women were also absent from the drafting of the interim constitution, and according to the President of the National Council for Women, Mervat Al Tallawy, there was no fair representation of women in the Constitution (Tallawy, 2013).

The current constitution, which has been adopted after a national referendum, is gender blind, Al Tallawy states that it is a constitution that ignores the social, economic and political rights of women (Tallawy, 2013). It does not guarantee Egyptian women the “freedom, dignity, and social justice” that they aspired to in

January 2011. In response to the challenges, civil society NGOs, the media, among other actors, have been shedding light on the risked rights of women that are expected to be forgone. The phenomenon of interest groups and coalitions was introduced to the operations of civil society and women NGOs domain in Egypt right after the revolution.

The purpose of this research is to learn about the motives behind the formation of women NGO coalitions and the extent to which they are able to influence decision and policy making for women's issues. Based on the findings of the research, concluding recommendations for enhanced effectiveness for women NGO coalitions in Egypt will be proposed.

Research Question

The general research question that the paper will address is:

- How can women NGO coalitions in Egypt effectively influence public policies for women?

Some specific questions are:

- What were the different motives for women NGOs in Egypt to engage in coalition building?
- Have women NGOs in Egypt engaged in coalition building before the revolution of the 25th of January, 2011?
- Is there any notable difference in how women NGOs in Egypt are operating after the revolution?
- To what extent were women NGOs able to influence public policies for women and push the women's agenda forward prior to the revolution?

- What are the international experiences with NGO coalitions and what are the lessons that could be learned from other country experiences that have well established coalitions?
- What are the public policy issues of concern to women in Egypt?
- What do women NGO coalitions in Egypt need to do to increase and strengthen their presence as effective actors in influencing public policies for women?

Chapter 2— Conceptual Framework & Methodology

1. Conceptual Framework

Effectively influencing public policies for women would mean to “result in gender sensitive policies that account for the rights, needs and interests of women.” An example of an effective policy would be legislations that protect women from all forms of violence, which are associated with appropriate measures to apply these legislations. Another example would be gender sensitive labor laws and policies. The term coalition is conceptually sophisticated. To start with, it should be defined and differentiated among other terms that may be regarded by some or many as synonyms at the first glance, whereas in reality they are not. In fact, the term coalition is often confused with other terms like networks, alliances, or interest groups. Advocacy, for example, entails arguing for, or taking a certain position, and mobilizing support for a specific issue or cause, which includes awareness, escalating the knowledge of community members or the public at large the issue. Lobbying and pressuring is forming groups to push for a certain policy direction or action. Networking has more to do with widening the base of their partnership and network with other entities to better serve their cause. These concepts will be discussed more thoroughly in the section on literature review.

In order to reach a more solid analysis of the subject that is under study, it is important to take note of such distinctions. Questions like, what are the characteristics of a coalition? How are they managed? What makes them effective? What are the characteristics of interest groups and advocacy networks, and what are

the differences between all three, should all be answered before we start the analysis of the subject.

Berry (1977: p. 254) defines coalitions as: “*an explicit working relationship among groups for the purpose of achieving a public policy goal,*” while Terry and Rosenthal (2001) define it as “*an organization or organizations whose members commit to an agreed-on purpose and shared decision making to influence an external institution or target, while each member organization maintains its own autonomy.*” For the purpose of this research, I abide to Berry’s definition, since it is broad enough to include the several types of coalitions and networks that may exist in Egypt, as they vary in structure, size, among other characteristics.

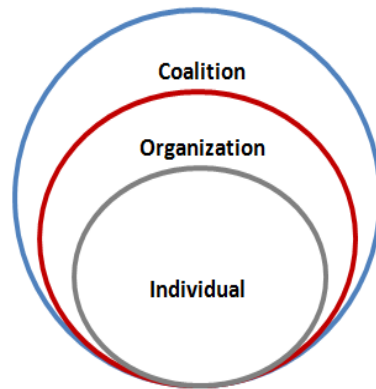
Given the above definition and the distinctions highlighted earlier, it could be argued that the concept of coalitions among women’s NGOs in Egypt has not yet taken a strong shape to form the basis of an influential coalition. Some also call themselves coalitions but by definition, they are not.

A) Defining a coalition

Upon review of the available literature on coalitions, it was noted that there were similarities and slight differences. Most of them were close in meaning, yet some scholars added or pointed out to the distinctions that should be made when defining coalitions, in order to differentiate them from other terms, as defined below in point D. Leftwich and Hogg (2009:4) stipulate that “a coalition is best thought of as an association of groups and organizations working to resolve specific problems or to achieve specific goals that are beyond the capacity of any individual member of the coalition to resolve or achieve on their own.” Mizrahi, Terry and Beth B. Rosenthal

(2001) define coalitions as “an organization or organizations whose members commit to an agreed-on purpose and shared decision making to influence an external institution or target, while each member organization maintains its own autonomy.” Paul Sabatier et. al developed a series of articles and book chapters on *advocacy coalitions*. Sabatier (1988, 139) defined an advocacy coalition as “people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers, etc.) who share a particular belief system--- for example, a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions--- and who show a nontrivial degree of coordinated activity over time.” Bunn and Ayer (2004) introduce coalitions in a series of educational publications on advocacy, developed by the Advocacy and Policy Program at Pact Cambodia. “Coalitions are groups of people or organizations working together to pursue a single goal. In coalitions, all members make a long-term commitment to share responsibilities and resources. Berry (1977: p. 254) defines coalitions as: “an explicit working relationship among groups for the purpose of achieving a public policy goal.” Yanacopulos (2005) described coalitions as ones that have “more permanent links than single issue thematic transnational advocacy networks.” Raynor (2011) adopted Mizrahi, Terry and Beth B. Rosenthal’s (2001) definition of coalitions but developed it and took a step further to identify its types, relationships, working mechanisms and more. According to Raynor, the coalition is first comprised of an individual, which grows into an organization, on the basis of which relationships are created and coalitions are formed (see figure 1 below).

What is a Coalition?



Adapted from Raynor (2011), "What Makes an Effective Coalition?"

Figure 1: What is a Coalition?

B) Types of coalitions

Formal

Formal coalitions are ones that have legal existence and are officially recognized as coalitions. In Egypt, for example, formal coalitions should be established and registered through the Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSA). Formal coalitions involve a higher commitment and take longer time to be formed.

Informal

Although the descriptive name of "informal" may imply that these coalitions do not have formal existence, it is not the case and they actually do. They are a group of formally established individual NGOs that come together under the name of a coalition.

Dependent coalitions

Dependent coalitions are dominated by a single group in the level of participation, commitment of resources and decision making. They are joined by other groups to lobby on the issue, but these groups are secondary participants. Dependent coalitions may result when members believe that they are obliged to join

because of peer pressure, although they have few intentions to devote many resources to the joint endeavor. Given the lack of member commitment, dependent coalitions either find outside resources to maintain themselves or fade.

Participatory coalitions

The participatory coalition has no dominant group except perhaps a coordinator. At least two groups are highly active and committed, and nominal members are unlikely to join. However, these coalitions tend to be ad hoc, temporary alliances that are dedicated to immediate need and urgent causes

Independent coalitions

Independent coalitions are different in that they tend to be permanent, separate organizations in themselves. They have paid staff and identities distinct from the member organizations. Independent coalitions are the hardest to form, given the need for more commitment and resources from member organizations, while participatory may be the easiest to form because they tend to be temporary (Berry, 1977: p. 260).

C) The distinctions

For the purpose of this research, it is important to note the following distinction by definition. According to Bunn and Ayer (2004), *alliances* are “based on short term relationships between people or organizations to achieve narrowly focused objectives. Limits on time and responsibilities make alliances less demanding than coalitions on their members.” *Networks* are “people or organizations with similar interests or concerns who share information and ideas. Each person or organization remains independent.” And, Sikkink (1998), defines *transnational advocacy networks* as “a broad term used to describe an activist network that transcends national

boundaries and that consists of members motivated by shared values rather than professional or material concerns. While the level of cohesion between members of transnational networks varies, as does their organizational appearance, they have some similarities. They are typically comprised of non-state actors, they share information on issues and are generally focused on a specific area”

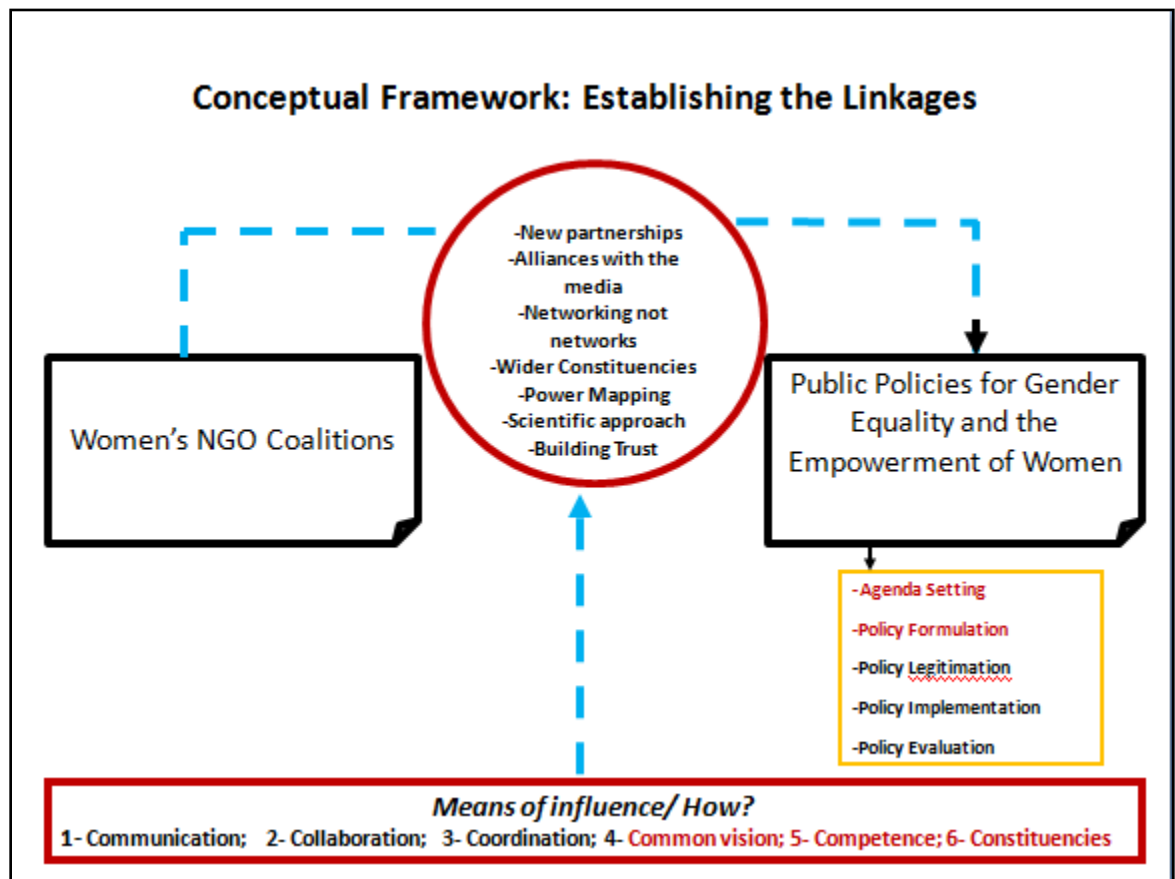


Figure 2: Means of Influence of Policy Making

2. Methodology

The nature of the topic under study is highly qualitative and differs from one context to the other. For this reason, and in order to present accurate information that takes into consideration all possible aspects, it is not only necessary to consult the available scholarly writings on the topic, but also the various other sources that provide direct or indirect information about the topic. These sources include social media platforms (Facebook, twitter, and blogs, among other) that tell us more about women activism, in its new form after the revolution. Other sources are conference proceedings, press releases or statements issued by women NGOs, networks, or coalitions, news paper articles, audio and visual documentation of events on YouTube, blogs and websites. Another very important source of data collection is the first hand data collection from activists, leaders of women NGOs, parliamentarians, officials, among other. This data will be collected through semi structured interviews that will have a conversational nature to allow for more probing to obtain deeper insights and information.

Description of the Data Collected and Limitations

A. Secondary research:

Secondary data and existing publications will also be consulted on the relevant available scholarly literature on the topics of coalition building, interest group formation and behavior, as well as women NGO coalitions in other countries, primarily to explore similarities and differences and what could possibly be learned for Egypt from these several experiences. Knowledge products and manuals produced by civil society NGOs or research centers on coalition building will also be consulted.

B. Empirical research (primary data):

The tools used to conduct this qualitative research will be mainly in-depth interviews with leaders of women NGOs in Egypt, leaders of coalitions outside of Egypt who can provide their insights and lessons learned about forming coalitions and interest groups, members of Women NGO coalitions in Egypt, NGOs that are not members of NGOs, youth activists, women activists, members of the donor community, members of governmental organizations. Among my objectives was to speak and bond with members of the Muslim Sisterhood, as well as grass-rooted members of the sisterhood that are not popular or known to the public. The approximate number of interviews is thirty (30), some of which will be more structured, such as the ones with prominent leaders or officials due to the expected challenge of time limit.

The interviews will be particularly conducted in order to find out about the motives behind forming women coalitions, the challenges, the obstacles, the opportunities and the threats that they foresee, as well as the reason behind why would they work with other groups or coalitions and why would they not?

This method allows the researcher/interviewer to understand and learn more about the respondent's views, which is highly needed in knowing more about how the new coalitions are functioning in Egypt. Complex issues and questions can be discussed and clarified in more depth and the researcher/interviewer has more room to probe areas suggested by the respondent's answer. However, this method needs to be applied carefully provided that the interviewer is skilled and is able to build rapport

with the respondents and requires an ability to handle sensitive questions and answers, due to the position of the interviewees/respondents (public figures mostly).

C. Participant observation

The researcher is also part of the data. The 57th Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) was held in the United Nations Head Quarters in New York during the period 4-15 March, 2013. The theme of the CSW this year was “Elimination and Prevention of all forms of Violence against Women and Girls.” The proceedings of the CSW serve as a case study on how Egyptian women NGO coalitions joined efforts with the national machinery to lobby and pressure for a particular international policy direction by pushing for the adoption of the agreed conclusions. All the details are provided in a case study, followed by analysis and conclusions.

D. Validity and reliability

Based on my knowledge about research methods, qualitative research would not rank high on reliability because the chances of getting the same responses from the respondents of the research when repeated again are low. With regards to validity, the chances are that the data obtained and the information presented in this research is valid to a great extent, since it is first hand information that is obtained from the participants with several factors taken into consideration. There was no pressure on the participants to take part in the study; there is not further interest that will be affected as a result of what they say, there are no previous threats like the dominant culture of fear prior to the revolution. The respondents are all experts on the topic so the interviews are measuring what they are supposed to measure.

E. Research Limitations

I did my best to ensure the highest possible objectivity was accounted for. The approach followed here was to include more women or men who would talk more about the perspective of the Muslim Sisterhood, or people who are also critical of the women's movement. However, it was not easy to reach people who would talk genuinely about the activities of the sisterhood and how do they operate from within. Also, the fact that my dress code does not identify with more conservative groups, may be a factor; my professional background may also be another, since I work for the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), and many of the interviewed people are partners to the organization I work for, or have already formed perceptions about my way of thinking, given that I work for a UN organization. Another limiting factor is the fact that people are very cautious or careful with what they say and the statements they make and do not want to reveal their real position on some issues because they do not want to be labeled or attacked, since some of them were meeting me for the first time. To overcome this limitation, I said more about myself, what I do, and I stressed on the fact that I am an Egyptian who cares about the interest of my country as a top priority. The fact that the research itself is qualitative and that the data is collected through interviews makes it harder to derive answers and link the different ideas that people spoke about during the interviews, given that I purposely selected people who have completely different views and represent different generations.

F. Ethical Considerations

In the design of this study, special attention was given to ethical considerations, particularly because the cost of the harm would be reputation, since most of the

interviewees are well known people in the field of women activism. The research was conducted on the basis of the following three (3) principles:

- 1- Voluntary participation
- 2- No harm to respondents
- 3- Confidentiality and anonymity, if the interviewed person opted for this option prior to conducting the interview

A process was followed to ensure that the above three (3) principles are adhered to. A sample of the interview questions and a consent form was submitted to the International Research Board (IRB) of the American University in Cairo (AUC). Clearance was granted indicating that appropriate measures to minimize risks were taken, along with the adequate provisions for confidentiality and data anonymity of participants if they request to hide their identity or keep any of what they state during the interview confidential. The interviewing process began with an explanation of what the study was about, why it was being conducted, why their participation and the information they provide is valuable, and how this information will be used. This was followed by a verbal explanation of the content of the consent form to ensure that they understand everything in the form on which they place their signature, and that they have the option of withdrawing from participation without any penalties or embarrassment.

Chapter 3— Literature Review

Introduction

Much has been written in the literature about coalitions, networking, alliances, and interest group behavior. With regards to coalitions, some authors wrote about political coalitions, community coalitions, NGO coalitions, among other types of coalitions. This section aims at providing a selective review of the relevant literature, the different theories that were presented and the points of differences that were highlighted. The information on the dynamics of women NGO coalitions in the Middle East generally, and in Egypt in particular, is minimal; the purpose of this study is to fill this gap in the literature.

Understanding Coalitions

Elliott- Teague (2008) pointed out to the fact that there is very little written about interest group behavior and coalition building in developing countries, resulting in a gap in the existing knowledge on this subject outside the US and Europe. Elliott- Teague's research adopts Berry's definition of coalitions that was mentioned earlier in section III of this document. The research demonstrates two important theories of coalition building; the first is *population ecology* and the second is the *resource dependency theory*. The former was introduced by Gray and Lowery (1998), in an attempt to explain coalition formation, which stipulates that the environment is a crucial factor or determinant of whether organizational survival in the times of high uncertainty will be constrained or enhanced. The latter is the perspective that proposes that the scarcity of resources brings organizations together, and more or less constitutes a good reason why they strategically manage their relationships. Elliott- Teague links between both theories and states that

both theories recognize the importance of the environmental context as an influential variable that directly impacts group behavior. Her work also references figures from Berry's survey on interest group behavior, published in 1977. The findings of the study revealed that "76% of respondents said that they believed coordinated activity with other organizations was important or very important" Another study by Gray and Lowery (1998: p.15) similarly reveals that "72% of organizations of various types consult, communicate or cooperate with other organizations during lobbying activities." Other writers like Roberts-DeGennaro (1986) points that coalition formation is strongly encouraged in the U.S., in order to more effectively lobby national and state officials. Coming to the benefits of coalitions, Berry (1977) notes that costs are good reason why coalitions are formed. "Coalitions allow groups to share advocacy costs, especially when otherwise a group would not be able to engage the government for lack of resources." "Additionally, it is a way to mitigate some of their weaknesses, especially size, although size may not be a limiting factor (P.255)"

Zakocs and Edwards (2006) have conducted an extensive literature review on the reasons why community coalitions can be effective or ineffective. The objective of the coalitions under study was to promote health, and coalitions were seen as one vehicle to achieving this objective. "The study's aim was to identify coalition- building factors related to indicators of coalition effectiveness through a review of empirical literature." In this review, Zacoks and Edwards identified 1168 citations and narrowed them down to 145 "unique full articles" (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006). They further developed selection criteria to select the appropriate studies that would enrich their research. Based on this selection criteria, 26 studies were used, which yielded 55 indicators of coalition building

factors and coalition effectiveness. In five or more of the reviewed studies, “six (6) coalition building factors were found to be associated with indicators of effectiveness.” The indicators are: “1- formalization of rules and procedures; 2- leadership style; 3- member participation; 4- membership diversity; 5- agency collaboration; 6- group cohesion.” Furthermore, Zakos and Edwards (2006) raise a very important point about the types of generated research on coalition- building factors that are important determinants of coalition effectiveness. They indicate that there are two (2) types of research, the first being *experimental study designs* that assess whether coalitions are able to bring about changes in the community or not; and the second being *individual case studies* that document lessons learned about “how to build effective coalitions” (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006). They explain further that most of the literature is based on the latter form of research, which is mainly “built on controversial wisdom and lessons learned from individual case studies of a single coalition.” They add that “what remains missing is a list of evidence- based coalition building factors that have been empirically linked to indicators of coalition effectiveness” (Zakocs and Edwards, 2006).

Hula (1999, 7) argues that coalitions “happen to be the best way to study *how* lobbyists make strategic decisions in a competitive environment,” besides being a good way to examine lobbying in a general sense. Hula (1999, 97) also argues that “advocacy for policy outcomes on the same issues is too far removed from the awareness of members to influence the coalition decisions of lobbyists” (Holyoke, 2009). After a thorough analysis of what writers like Hula and others said, Holyoke (2009) summarizes it as follows: “a model of strategic lobbying in a competitive environment not only rests on the notion of competition as differences in member-derived preferences for policy

outcomes, but it must also embrace the possibility that lobbyists for competing groups can become coalition partners.” Hula’s point particularly held true in the Egyptian case, when a wide group of NGOs in Egypt, who were usually in competition with the National Council for Women (NCW), sided with the NCW at a time of high threat to their agenda after the revolution of 2011.

Raynor (2011) made a significant contribution to the study of coalitions and what makes them effective. The study “draws on broad multi-disciplinary review of academic literature, both theory and applied research, regarding the “conclusive” components of effective coalitions.” Raynor adopts Terry and Rosenthal’s definition of a coalition. Raynor explores the characteristics of effective coalitions and discusses three (3) areas. The first is the capacity of the organization itself to act as a good coalition member; the second is the capacity of a coalition, which is formed of more than one organization, and last, but not least, is assessing the impact of the coalition’s work. Raynor (2011) provides evidence based indicators that make coalitions succeed. Not only does he provide indicators, but also a checklist to assess the capacities of effective coalition members. Raynor’s indicators, together with the checklist, will be used in this research to assess the extent to which Egyptian women NGO coalitions are successful; besides, a quick assessment of their capacities will be conducted based on Raynor’s checklist.

Foster and Wolff (1993), document lessons from the field in Massachusetts, USA, on building coalitions that work. From ten (10) years of work experience on the subject, they consider aspects of coalition development. They explain that there are four (4) basic assumptions to coalition building, which they summarize as follows:

- 1- **Ecological approach:** individuals are understood in the broadest context of their environment
- 2- **Social change:** coalitions are committed to addressing those components of society that require change as opposed to simply improve ways to adapt to society's ills
- 3- **Multisectoral-multicultural approaches:** coalitions need to be open to everyone in a community. The coalition's basic principles must celebrate diversity and must value the multicultural characteristics of their communities. Institutional racism needs to be identified and addressed. In communities of color, empowerment within their own community may need to precede multicultural efforts.
- 4- **Capacity approach:** coalitions focus on their communities' capacities and strengths as well as their deficits and problems. They focus on individuals as citizens rather than, or as well as, clients.

Foster and Wolff (1993) also stress on the importance of the having a clearly defined mission and goals for coalitions to realize any success. They state that “coalition members must clearly define their shared mission/goals and assure that the identified goals incorporate the self-interests of various constituencies, plus something larger than those self-interests. Coalition building requires both a realistic understanding that addressing the self-interests of participants is crucial, and a willingness to set aside personal agendas for a common good.” They also

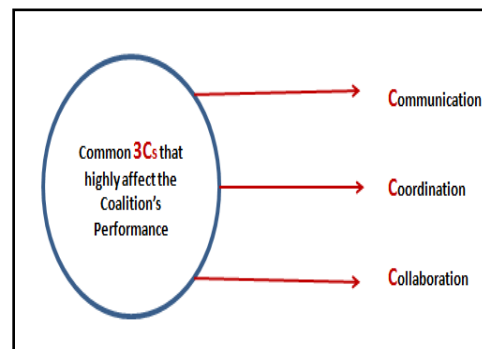


Figure 3: Foster and Wolff's 3Cs

point out to the three (3) important Cs that highly affect *a coalition's* overall performance:

1- *Communication*

2- *Coordination*

3- *Collaboration*

Inclusive membership is one other factor they discuss, which in their view, will only occur when the two (2) power extremes are actively recruited into the coalition, i.e. the most powerful and the least powerful. Furthermore, organizational competence is key to a coalition's success, which according to Foster and Wolff (1993), is achieved by building *new leadership* within the coalition, a clear, *democratic decision making process*, active and effective *communication* among members of the coalition, *mobilization of resources* from within and outside of the coalition, and ensuring adequate *staffing*, all of which are essential for enhanced organizational competence. They also stress on the fact that without good *planning*, it is unlikely for the coalition to achieve its intended objectives, "there must be a rudimentary system for ongoing planning" (Foster and Wolff, 1993). Equally important is that coalitions "take actions that are doable and thus prove their effectiveness to themselves and their communities through concrete results." Coalitions and their target audience should recognize and know that they are not expected to bring about significant changes over a short timeframe. Leaders of coalitions should also "promote the hope and accomplishments of the coalition," which helps noticeably in enhancing the morale its morale. There is a need to factor the element of *time* and recognize the importance of *persistence*, which are both needed for the achievement of longer term goals. Last, but not least, Foster and Wolff (1993) believe that "while the

literature can provide us with some direction, each coalition's efforts must be guided by its own internal review and evaluation process," "an effective coalition needs to have the capacity to learn from its successes and disappointments, for it will surely have both."

Egan (1995) described the added value of working with others, making a distinction between the shared and the perceived values of the involved parties. Here Egan describes the *fundamental difference* between networks and coalitions. *Coalitions create a greater value and commitment together. While networking is an important part of coalition building, networks can exist without coalitions.* Increased communication and information sharing are common in coalitions; however, the other areas of 'value added' in coalitions come from sharing resources, decreasing costs through group specialization, and increasing legitimacy and power by speaking with one voice." Flower (1997) provided the best definition of "coalitions of development NGOs," Flower defines them as "groupings that are both short or long term and that comprise national, continental and/or global associations of NGOs. They come together to promote mutual interests, creating a distinct entity for such a purpose, which may or may not formally register as a separate legal body. They are established around specific development issues rather than the concerns of the NGO sector"; Gray (1996) provided a thorough discussion of the drivers of coalition building. He gets into the drivers of coalition building and notes that the most important driver is "strategy." Gray explains that coalitions "develop meta-strategies – shared visions or desires that motivate the NGOs to work together; this allows for 'collective strategies [which] involve reaching agreement about how to implement a shared vision'" (Gray 1996: 59). Pfeffer and Salancik (1997) introduced the

resource dependency theory that attempts to explain how organizations respond to changes in their surrounding environments.

Hatch (1997) discussed perspectives on organization theory and its relevance to resource dependency or independency. Hudock (1999) discussed the manner by which NGOs are analyzed as strategic organizations; Yanacopulos (2005) examined NGOs as strategic organizations that form coalitions in order to influence other actors. Hajer (1995) explored the politics of environmental discourse and described how is it less or more easy to collaborate for the purpose of advocacy, concluding that work that is based on shared values bring members together and involve less risks. Higgott et. al (2000), explored non state actors and the extent to which they are able to create influence. Keck and Sikkink (1998) explained “transnational advocacy networks” and define it as ones that goes beyond national boundaries and are mainly made up of members who share similar values rather than professional or material concerns; Florini (1999) discussed the rise of the transnational civil society, all of which tell us more about how coalitions, networks, pressure groups, and advocacy networks function outside of Egypt.

Tadros (2011) completed a piece of research on the structure and agency of women NGO coalitions in Egypt and Jordan. The main question of her study was: “how can the international community advance gender equality in politically closed and socially conservative contexts through effective support to women’s coalitions? She studies six (6) coalitions, three (3) of which are Egyptian NGO coalitions, in accordance with Leftwich’s definition of coalitions that she adopts in her research. The findings of the study identified overarching themes regarding women’s coalitions in socially conservative and politically closed systems; factors that facilitate the formation of

coalitions; factors that facilitate the relative success of women’s coalitions; coalition strategies for greater influence; what donors should avoid doing; and, the key elements for effective donor support. The table below lists the important factors that facilitate the relative success of women’s coalitions, and coalition strategies for greater influence as presented in Tadros’s

(2001) work.

<p>Factors that facilitate the relative success of women’s coalitions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A legal umbrella: crucial for of the viability of a coalition’s organizational form and continuation of activities - Cultural and national authenticity - Official and unofficial support - Framing or avoiding sexuality - Internal consensus building 	<p>Coalitions strategies for greater influence:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Action should be tailored from within and according to the local context - Strategies based on international blueprints are awkward to implement and sometimes backfire. - Framing the issue and finding an appropriate way to represent the cause - Securing effective engagement with the media 	<p>Co mp ara tive exp erie nce</p>
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Figure 4: Adopted from Mariz Tadros’s study entitled: “Working Politically Behind Red Lines: Structure and agency in a comparative study of women’s coalitions in Egypt and Jordan, published in February 2011

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are comparative experiences of coalitions in Indonesia, India, the Philippines, Brazil and Bangladesh, all of which engaged in advocacy to demand and secure all kinds of political, social and economic freedoms (Cohen, de la Vega and Watson, 2001; Miller 1994, Samuel 2007). The one common feature in all of the above case studies is that advocacy was initiated in countries in democratic transition or already enjoying some level of democracy. They seized the opportunity of change to put forward their demands

for the cause they advocated for. Furthermore, Mariz Tadros, looked at three (3) case studies of union coalitions in Australia, Canada and the US. From her review, she notes that a coalitions' success in eliciting positive policy outcomes was also determined by structural factor beyond their control, such as the degree of state openness (Tattersall, 2010: 151-152). The more politically closed, the more difficult it is to effect change. Gaventa and McGee's review (2010:3) of campaigns in eight countries (South Africa, Philippines, Mexico, Chile, India, Brazil, Morocco, and Turkey also reaches the same conclusions: "each has at least a modicum of democratic space which is a prerequisite for citizen engagement on national policy issues" In development practice and feminist activism as well, there has been a tendency to try and convert the best practices from these particular country contexts into universal recipes to be followed.

Chapter 4— The Context for Egyptian Women

Introduction

This chapter provides information about the context of Egyptian women. It is divided into four (4) sections. The first is the social and cultural context of Egyptian women, taking into account changes that were witnessed in Egyptian society after the year 2011; specifically the rising conservatism or what could be described as Islamic fundamentalism. The second section provides information about the political context for Egyptian women as candidates and voters, followed by a third section on the economic context for Egyptian women. Not less important is the last and fourth section of this chapter that outlines the legal context for Egyptian women and the challenges which they are confronted with, which have not improved after the Egyptian revolution of 2011.

I. The Social and Cultural Context

“Middle Eastern women are generally deprived of their rights, and how women are treated in Arab cultures today has much to do with customs and traditions, that are not Islamic, and women should revolt against these customs and traditions” — Grand Sheikh of Al Azhar, Ahmed Al Tayyeb, February 2013

Vast evidence reveals that Egyptian women suffer disadvantages and discrimination disproportionately. Gender discrimination and prevailing cultural norms have hampered the realization and advancement of women’s rights. The concepts that are upheld by a patriarchal social system stereotypes limits the role of women to private life. According to the Survey of Young People in Egypt (SYPE) of 2010, 86% of surveyed young men and the majority of young women agreed that a woman must obtain her husband’s permission in most affairs. Also, a percentage exceeding 70% of the surveyed

young men believed that a girl should obey her brother, even if younger, and 40% of young women supported the same statement (Population Council, 2010). Moreover, gender based violence is underreported but existent in Egyptian society. Forms of this violence include, but are not limited to, wife battering, marital rape, female genital mutilation, and sexual harassment in the public sphere. 38% of the surveyed males and 34% of females (Population Council, 2010) believe that it is acceptable for a husband to beat his wife should she refuse to have sex with him. Additionally, illiteracy rates are high among women, exceeding 40% (Egypt State Information Service), which constitutes not only a social challenge, but also a barrier to their economic and political engagement. Women also quite often do not have the right of choosing the husband, although this completely contradicts the principle of marriage in Islam, which is based on willingness and acceptance from both the woman and the man equally and otherwise is not recognized as a marriage before God. Inheritance is another issue; despite the fact that inheritance laws are clearly defined in the Quran, women until today may not get their entitlements in some parts of Egypt, especially if she inherits land, because neither she nor her children will carry the family name, and the husband might take control. The Islamic Sharia set clear order for believers to not inherit women's property forcibly, and to not take back anything that was given to them. This is clear in the following Quranic verse:

“O you who have believed, it is not lawful for you to inherit women by compulsion. And do not make difficulties for them in order to take [back] part of what you gave them unless they commit a clear immorality. And live with them in kindness. For if you dislike them - perhaps you dislike a thing and Allah makes therein much good (4:19)”

Furthermore, Islam repeatedly commends women; this is particularly manifested and emphasized in the two (2) highest sources of Sharia: the Holy *Qur'an* and the *Sunnah*. The Holy Qur'an has two (2) *Surahs* (plural of *Surah*¹) explicitly on women's rights. The *Sunnah* says more about how the Prophet Muhammad PBUH honored women during his lifetime, with his last message to humanity being “*be kind to women.*” Believers are addressed as men and women in the Quran (in feminine and masculine pronouns in the Arabic language): “*Indeed, the Muslim men and Muslim women, the believing men and believing women, the obedient men and obedient women, the truthful men and truthful women, the patient men and patient women, the humble men and humble women, the charitable men and charitable women, the fasting men and fasting women, the men who guard their private parts and the women who do so, and the men who remember Allah often and the women who do so - for them Allah has prepared forgiveness and a great reward (33:35).*”

*“And whoever does righteous deeds, whether **male or female**, while being a believer - those will enter Paradise and will not be wronged, [even as much as] the speck on a date seed (4:124)”*

In spite of the clear position of Islam on women's rights, the challenge has become even harder after the revolution of 2011, with higher conservative voices calling for more regression on the rights of women. The trend of excessive conservatism is taking the shape of a growing curve and continues to attribute and promote religious misconceptions about women's participation and how should a woman be like in general.

¹ Surah: a group of verses in the Holy Qur'an under a certain title or subject

II. The Political Context

As noted earlier in the introduction, women's political representation in parliament, the cabinet, and in local councils are low. This is mainly due to the fact that the political environment could be described as unfriendly to women and unwelcoming of their participation. A number of issues make the political environment as such for women. When describing women's political participation, it is important to distinct between women as voters and women as candidates.

a. Women as candidates

There are several challenges that women parliamentary candidates are confronted with. They can be summarized as follows: firstly, the issue of political violence during the parliamentary elections. Previous reports or testimonials reveal that there were candidates who received anonymous threats because they made a decision to run in the elections. The threats were mainly related to spreading rumors that would ruin their reputation, others about harming their children or any of their family members, or violent acts against them themselves. The second challenge is the issue of campaigning. Women have less access to financial resources than men, which is crucial for promoting their visibility and their campaigns. Also, as important, is that women candidates do not get enough space on the media as men generally would, taking into consideration that men candidates are usually a lot more. Noting that, however, the media does not allocate a certain percentile of coverage to women's issues, particularly those with a political basis. A third issue concerns capacity development and training programs offered to women candidates. Women are often not given an equal chance to practice leadership in society at large, or even within their institutions, or if they are running on a party list. Political

parties also do not put women on the top of their party lists, which is another reason why women seldom make it to parliament. The most recently adopted Electoral Law of 2013 is not gender sensitive, and does not take any appropriate measures for affirmative action, like the Quota Law of 2009. Last, but not least are the existing stereotypes about women's roles, as also one of the reasons why the society tends to not support women's political participation. More attention and efforts need to be concentrated on civic and political engagement of female leaders, whom should be given increased opportunities to speak with their representatives and voice their opinions and concerns.

b. Women as voters

In all post-revolutionary elections, women had the highest voter turnout, according to the figures announced by the Higher Elections Council (HEC), as well as the Presidential Elections Council (PEC). Despite the fact that women comprise a strong force as voters, this power is not directed towards where women's interests will be best served. This is primarily because of the high illiteracy rate and also "voter illiteracy" about the elections process at large. It is hard to claim that the majority of Egyptians understand the content of the electoral laws that were enforced in 2011 and 2012, before the adoption of the most recent Electoral Law of 2013. The laws are not easy or simple to understand and often have implications that the average citizen would not comprehend. Voter education about the electoral law and the process itself needs more attention and action. The main problem lies in the fact that voter education campaigns take place only a few weeks before the elections and is not well thought out at earlier stages to provide time for people to comprehend the whole process. Geographical location is another important factor. The polling stations are often too crowded that women, including the

elderly, have to stand for more than an hour that sometimes is also exceeded just to vote. All these are factors that challenge women's political participation.

III. The Economic Context

Egypt has one of the largest male/female unemployment ratios at about 4:1. In 2008, according to MDG Report 2010 the unemployment rate for Women stood at 22.4% Women aged 15-24 compared to 6% for men (UNDP, 2010, P.53). Against this backdrop of high unemployment and low participation rates for Women, the public sector is undergoing significant restructuring in Egypt thus posing a special risk for Women because this is a sector in which Women have had more participation. The relatively inhospitable employment climate for Women in the private sector and the gender gap in wages coupled with the existing limited job opportunities for Women in the private sector, as female wage workers are distributed in very few economic activities such as textile in the manufacturing sector and the education and health sectors, are discouraging these Women from looking beyond the government sector for employment.

In spite of its rapid growth over the past ten years, the private sector has not provided a significant outlet for female employment, with only 16% of private sector jobs being filled by Women nationwide. Additionally, since the Egyptian labor law gives Women workers various rights, many private sector owners and managers are reluctant to hire female wage-workers as they consider their employment to be a costly venture. Because of the limited opportunities available to Women in the private formal sectors, female workers resort to finding jobs in the informal sector.

IV. The Legal Context

A) International Conventions

Egypt ratified all international instruments and conventions, with reservations made on some articles listed in specific conventions, upon ratification. In 1981, Egypt ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women, widely known as CEDAW, or women's human rights bill. Upon ratification, Egypt expressed its reservation on articles 2, 9 (2), 16, and 29 pledging compliance provided that it does not run counter to Islamic *Shari'a*. Article 2 is central to the ultimate purpose of the convention, which states the following ("Convention on the,"):

“ States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake:

(a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle;

(b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;

(c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;

(d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;

(e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise;

(f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;

(g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.”

Article 9 (2) calls on states to grant women equal rights as men concerning passing on the nationality to their children. Egypt has lifted this reservation and adopted a new legislation that recognizes this right for women in the year 2004. The subject of article 16 is marriage arrangements and family matters, on which Egypt expressed reservation as it follows the Sharia law, which arranges family matters and issues relating to child custody, divorce, and other relevant matters. Article 29 provides provisions regarding conflict between state parties in the application of the convention, commitment to the convention, and reservations. There is also an optional protocol, which Egypt has not ratified. Concerning child rights, Egypt was among the first twenty (20) countries that ratified the convention in 1990. Changes in legislation came into effect in the year 2008, when the child law was adopted by parliament as indicated earlier.

B) The Egyptian Constitution

- *The 2012 Constitution*

The revolution of the 25th of January called for “freedom, dignity, and social justice.” On the top of the demands that were put forward at the time, was coding a new constitution that guarantees these three (3) principles that will be the starting point for paving the way for a new, civil democracy in Egypt. The young people of Egypt aspired to a new country that fosters a culture of non discrimination based on gender, religion, age, or any other form of discrimination. For this reason, women and men, Muslims and Christians, young and old, all participated in the revolution. They all thought they had a place and a heard voice now that is no longer oppressed by fear. Their dream did not last for long, especially that of Egyptian women. Women were marginalized or poorly

represented in any of the decision making bodies, negotiations or committees. With specific focus on the process of coding the new Egyptian constitution, women were marginalized from day one, starting with drafting the proposed amendments of the interim constitution, to the drafting of the constitution of 2012 that was adopted in referendum. Representation of Egyptian women in the constitutional committee that was mandated to draft the new Egyptian constitution was extremely poor, seven (7) out of one hundred (100). When compared to the constitution of 1971, the new constitution is a step backward for Egyptian women. The 2012 constitution does not state explicit and specific rights for women and does not include any article on prohibiting discrimination based on gender. On the contrary, women are only mentioned in only one article of the constitution, article 10. Article 10 recognizes women as wives, widowers, or female heads of households. The following is a non official translation of the article:

“Family is the basis of society; its foundations are religion, manners, and patriotism. The state and society are keen on committing to the authenticity of the Egyptian family, its coherence and stability, and deepening its moral values and protecting it, and this is as regulated by law. The state guarantees free motherhood and childhood services and matching women’s duties toward her family with public work. The state provides care and special protection to female heads of households, divorced women and widows.”

Moreover, articles that reaffirm Egypt’s commitments to international treaties and conventions that it had ratified are completely absent. This is seen as an act that undermines its commitment to the Beijing Declaration or the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), for example. There is concern also on Article 219 that defines the principle of Shari’a as “rules of jurisprudence assets” which would impact women’s rights, and may be used as a

justification for retaining the current legislation, which discriminates against women in relation to marriage, divorce, and family life, since conservative groups interpret Islam in their own, uninformed, and unjustified, and often extreme way, which has no relation to Islam. Vague terms were also used in articles that pertain to citizenship, and the definition of citizenship was not defined as guaranteeing equal citizenship rights for both men and women and non discrimination before the law. It stated that all citizens are equal in duties and rights, without having mentioned specific provisions to the protection of women, the disabled, and the marginalized groups. With all of the above stated, it could be implied that there is a clear direction to marginalize and undermine the rights of Egyptian women, even though statements from the presidency state the opposite, but the practice and the reality on the ground translates to a totally different and contradicting truth.

- *Earlier Status of Women in the Egyptian Constitution*

Egypt's National constitution of 1956 prohibited discrimination based upon gender and guaranteed equality to all its citizens. Before 1956, gender equality was barely taken into consideration and women were denied any fundamental civil and political rights. According to Article No.1 of the Constitution, women were allowed full suffrage; all Egyptians, aged 18 were given the right to vote in the referenda for President and in parliamentary and local council elections. The part 3 of the Constitution issued in 1971 entitled "Public Freedoms, Rights and Duties" provided equality between men and women in all fields, whether political, social or economic. Article No.8 guaranteed the parity of chances between all citizens stipulating that "*the State shall ensure equal opportunities for all citizens.*"

Article No.40 was more explicit saying that "*Citizens are equal before the law; they have equal rights and duties without distinction regardless of their sex, origin, language, religion or belief.*" The Article also stated that no distinction should be made between citizens on the basis of gender, origin, language, religion or faith. Therefore, women were granted the same rights to education, voting and standing for elections, and joining trade unions on equal footing with men. They were also granted the same public duties as paying taxes, and participation in public life.

Under Article 11, the Egyptian State also assumed the charge of protecting the family life, providing women with an equal treatment in the political, social, cultural and economic spheres and by reconciling these rights with women's duties in society without prejudice to the rulings of the *Shari'ah*. However, Article 11 contained a potentially self-restricting clause to women rights since it recognized gender equality to the extent consistent with Islamic law. Although at legal level nothing states that Islam limits women's equality or rights, nevertheless, the equality provisions as stated in the Article 11 remained ambiguous.

In the previous constitution equal opportunity and equality before the law are provided in the areas of the right to work, the right to education, political rights, social insurance, ownership of property and the right to obtain bank loans.

C) Legislations

In the presence of a gender blind constitution, more regression is expected on the front of legislations with regards to women. Several laws continue to be problematic, discriminatory or absent. An example of a problematic existing law is the personal status law, which is currently being revisited. Discriminatory laws also exist like the Egyptian

Penal Code of 1937, namely article 237 that discriminates against men and women, by imposing harsher penalties for women committing adultery than men. Last but not least is an example of absent laws, like a law on ending violence against women that criminalizes domestic violence, marital rape, and sexual harassment, all of which are not defined by law.

Application of the Law

One of the main problems is with the application of the law. Access to justice is a problem for many Women, and the cost of hiring lawyers is high, the time spent in court long, and there are many cultural loopholes with regard to the implementation of laws. The majority of judges are men although thirty Women judges were recently appointed in addition to the one at the Supreme Constitutional Court (SCC). Men also dominate the police force. Provisions of the Penal Code also discriminate against Women. Egyptian law (Article 237 of the Penal Code of 1937) imposes harsher penalties for Women committing adultery than men. A wife is penalized for two years, whereas a husband is penalized for no more than six months. In addition, while a wife is penalized for committing adultery anywhere, a husband must do so in the marital home in order for such an act to be considered adulterous. The murder of a wife (but not a husband) in the act of committing adultery is considered an extenuating circumstance, thereby commuting the crime of murder to the level of a misdemeanour.

Chapter 5—The Actors in the External Environment of the Women’s Movement

Introduction

This chapter provides information about the actors in the external environment of the women’s movement. Its objective is to present the recent developments to support an analysis about how each of the actors had or still has a direct or indirect influence on policy and decision making for women. Figure 5 also visually summarizes the main actors. It is important to note that the networks and initiatives in Egypt are not only limited to what is included in the list, as more are formed every day.

Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Authorities

In order to succeed in adopting gender sensitive policies, it is important to learn more about the mandates of the executive, legislative and judicial authorities, and how can each of them have an impact on the realization of this objective. Understanding each of the three authorities, will help women NGO coalitions and networks better strategize in their planning processes, formation of alliances, and advocacy. This is also specifically important given the coding of a new constitution, which defines the roles of these authorities within the new context of post revolution.

The Executive authority

The role of the executive branch is defined in the 2012 constitution. According to article 139, the president of the state is the head of the executive authority and is elected for a four (4) years period, and may be re-elected for one (1) additional term. The president appoints the prime minister, who is assigned to appoint the government. The government shall present its program to the people’s assembly (PA) in a month’s time. If the program does not meet the approval of the PA, the president appoints a new prime

minister from the majority represented party in PA. If the similar situation happens, the PA chooses another prime minister, if nothing meets the approval of the PA, the president of the state dissolves the parliament and a new parliamentary election would be held in two (2) months time. Article 159 defines the terms of reference of the government, which are summarized as follows:

1. Joint development of the general policy of the state and oversee its implementation
2. Guide the work of ministries, affiliated public bodies, coordinate among and follow up on these bodies
3. Prepare draft laws and decrees
4. Issue administrative decisions, in accordance with the law, and monitor their implementation
5. Prepare the national budget
6. Prepare the national plan
7. Loan granting in accordance with the constitution
8. Monitor the implementation of laws, maintain state security, protect citizen's rights, and the interest of the state

Furthermore, each minister is responsible for the development of the general policy for his or her ministry, guides and monitors its implementation, in accordance with the general policy of the state.

The Legislative authority

According to article 82 of the 2012 constitution, the legislative authority is comprised of the PA and the Shura Council. The PA is elected by the citizens for a five

(5) years term and is comprised of at least three hundred and fifty (350) elected members. Article 115 of the 2012 constitution states that the PA is mandated to formally adopt and approve legislations, public policies, the national socio-economic development plan, the national budget, and monitor and question the executive branch. Moreover, according to article 127, the president of the state does not have the authority to dissolve the PA, unless there is a strong reason to do so, and only after a national referendum. The Shura Council (SC) is comprised of one hundred and fifty (150) elected members for a six (6) years term, and the president of the state has the authority to appoint maximum of (10) of its members. In the event that the PA is inexistent, the SC assumes the legislative duties of the PA.

The Judicial authority

The 2012 constitution states that the judiciary is independent and its powers are defined by the law. Moreover, judges are independent and cannot be expelled, and the procedures of their appointment are also defined by the law. Article 173 states that the general prosecution is part and parcel of the judiciary, and the general prosecutor is appointed by a presidential decree, based on the choice of the Supreme Judicial Council (SJC), for a four (4) years term. The Supreme Constitutional Court (SCC) is also part of the judiciary and according to article 176 it is comprised of a president and ten (10) member judges. The law defines the entities and the judicial bodies that nominates them, appoints them, and the eligibility criteria that must be met, and are then appointed by a presidential decree. Article 177 stipulates that the President or the PA shall present draft legislations that pertain to political rights, local, parliamentary, and presidential elections

to the SCC to review the extent to which they are in line with the constitutional principles.

The National Council for Women (NCW)

As highlighted in the background section, the NCW had a strong political role and was an effective arm in advancing the rights of women prior to the revolution of 2011.

The role of the NCW was extremely weakened after the revolution due to the absence of the leadership that gave it such leverage. Even when a strong leader like Mervat Al Tallawy was appointed to lead and assume the role of the former first lady, the council's performance was not as strong as it was for several reasons, which affected how it is being perceived by other stakeholders. One strong reason was the fact that the NCW's premise was burned down during the revolution, resulting in a complete loss of its institutional memory, its space and location. This had implications, which was coupled with a strong political turmoil, and the introduction of a new culture that was unwelcoming of women's empowerment. The second reason was the fact that the NCW was strongly associated to the former first lady of Egypt, which was a reason why its presence was unwelcomed. Thirdly, the council was sometimes referred to as the "council of the elite," mainly because the people who represented the council were of high social standards, and would not to a great extent identify with the average or poor Egyptian woman. Fourthly, civil society organizations working on women's issues were not completely supportive of the NCW, mainly due to the fact that their evaluation of the former NCW's working relationship with civil society was not positive. One other important reason is that the NCW was associated to the presidential office, and the current leadership of the NCW is not on good terms with the new presidential leadership,

which is also another challenge. All these factors together hindered the ability of the NCW to come back as a strong institution and influential advocate for women's issues. On another aspect, donors who used to support the NCW continued to support its existence but would not provide technical or financial assistance since the future of the NCW still remains ambiguous, with calls being made from the conservatives to have it replaced with a family council.

Following exactly one year of the Former President's step down, Field Marshal, Hussein Tantawi announced the Order 77 for 2012 concerning the reshuffle of the NCW. The announcement was followed by a press conference held by H.E. Minister Fayza Aboul Naga, Minister of International Cooperation at the time, in which she asserted that the newly composed NCW will be balanced to ensure as wide representation of all streams in the Egyptian society as possible, taking into consideration regional diversity. The names of the thirty members of the NCW, from which ten percent (10%) are men, were announced.

In response to SCAF's decree regarding the reshuffle of the NCW, the Muslim Brotherhood led party, the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) issued a statement in which they conveyed their strong opposition to SCAF's order. FJP justified its position by emphasizing that SCAF's decision to reshuffle the council came without prior consultations with the present political parties, among other political actors. They perceive the NCW as a key national institution, which was used by the old regime to "weaken and destroy Egyptian families," and described SCAF's action to reshuffle in such a manner as "unacceptable." The party further added to the statement that the

current structure will lead to an ineffective NCW that does not achieve the nation's best interest, in addition to the objectives of the revolution with regards to women.

The FJP also believes that NCW's mandate should be revisited, noting that if the current structure remains, the result will be an adopted "western agenda," based on which the NCW was founded. In that light, the FJP objects to being part of the NCW, only to protect the future of the Egyptian family. FJP also objects to the manner in which the new appointments were made, in addition to the timing of the issuance of the order itself.

Political Parties

Prior to the revolution, the political environment was dominated by one political party, despite the fact that the state and the law encouraged a multi-party system, the National Democratic Party (NDP). The party has been established in 1978 by President Anwar Al Sadat, and was later headed by the Former President Hosny Mubarak since he assumed his position. The NDP maintained an overriding majority in the Egyptian parliament for years, which gave it the power to govern the state for long. In the aftermath of the revolution of 2011, the premise of the NDP was burned down by protestors; and later on the Supreme Administrative Court issued an order to dissolve the NDP for having a major role in corrupting the political life in Egypt. As there was surely going to be a newly elected parliament after the revolution, and with the overwhelming enthusiasm and aspirations that Egyptians had in 2011, new political parties were formed, some of which formed coalitions prior to the elections. Of these coalitions are the Egyptian Bloc (Al Kotla Al Masreya) that united the liberals, namely the Free Egyptians Party and the Social Democrats (Tagamoal' Party and the Social Democratic Party). Another was the Alliance of Freedom and Justice, a coalition that was mainly lead and

controlled by the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) of the Muslim Brotherhood. A coalition named the “Revolution Continues,” mainly included the leftists and parties such as the Popular Social Coalition, Equality and Development, Freedom Egypt, and coalitions of the Youth of the Revolution. Other party lists included the following:

- 1) **Al Nur Party:** the Islamist Salafist Party established after the revolution by Al-Da‘wa Al-Salafiyya, “The Salafist Call”, Egypt’s largest Salafist group which enjoys considerable following.
- 2) **Al Wafd:** Al-Wafd Party is one of Egypt’s oldest liberal parties that is competing on 80% of the Parliament and previously formed an alliance with the FJP but broke it before the Elections
- 3) **Al- Wasat:** a moderate Islamist Party portrayed as an Alternative of the Muslim Brotherhood

The alliances that got the least support as per the elections results were Reform and Development, Freedom, Egyptian Citizen, Nationalist Egypt, Awareness, Modern Egypt, the Conservatives, Democratic Peace, the Popular Democratic Alliance, and the Union

The birth of these new parties, the alliances and the coalitions they formed gave hope and a new picture to the party life in Egypt. However, Egypt ended up with another one dominant party system, which was that of the FJP and the salafists, with a 75% Islamic parliament, the parliament of the revolution.

The Role of AL Azhar

Al Azhar is one of the most important, renowned Islamic institutions worldwide. It is known for its sound and solid knowledge, and the opinions of Al Azhar about

modern issues in relation to Islam are widely respected. Religious scholars study at Al Azhar, which has a comprehensive schooling system that starts from elementary school, to graduate studies at Al Azhar University. Al Azhar acts as a reference on Islamic affairs, and is known for its objective and moderate position, as it represents the Sunni school of Islam. With the rise of conservatism, the many have been counting on Al Azhar's support in becoming a forefront to defend women's rights, to say its clear cut position on social, economic, and political rights for women within the context of Islam. By virtue of article 4 of the 2012 constitution, Al Azhar is an independent authority that promotes Islam and religious studies in Egypt and worldwide. The state adopts the opinions of the Senior Scholars Authority (SSA) on Shari'a related matters. The state is committed to allocating the appropriate financial resources for Al Azhar to fulfill its mission. The Grand Sheikh of Al Azhar is elected by the SSA, as regulated by law.

Al Azhar's Bill of women's rights

In response to the efforts that were made by different actors to challenge women's rights after the revolution, some of whom were members of the parliament of the revolution, or other public figures who frequently appear on the media, and who are from the conservative groups, Al Azhar announced that it will soon adopt a bill defining women's rights in Islam. The bill outlines the social, economic, and political rights of women within the context of Islam, to reassure that women should not be deprived of enjoying any of these rights and should be treated as equal citizens. The Grand Sheikh of Al Azhar convened two (2) meetings, one in December 2012 with a diverse group of representatives from the government, civil society, writers, thinkers, religious scholars, development practitioners, human rights activists, among other. The second meeting was

with Egyptian women, of almost all age groups to discuss the proposed draft bill, which is expected to be formally adopted in the coming few months. It is worth noting that the Muslim Brotherhood and the Advisor to the President of Egypt on Women's Affairs have welcomed the proposed bill by Al Azhar in announcement made to the media and through the Muslim Brotherhood's Arabic website. The bill will serve as a strong reference and a strong tool to lobby for increased rights for women.

Women NGO Coalitions

1. The Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU)

The first Egyptian National Women Convention took place in 2011. The convention resulted in the announcement of a ***National Charter*** that enshrines the social, economic and political rights of Egyptian women (see annex 3). The Charter was developed based on the results of ***27 national consultations*** held all across Egyptian governorates, and included ***30,000 participants***, who mobilized ***500,000 signatures*** and ***nominated 3,000 representatives*** to attend the 4th of June meeting on their behalf, the occasion that witnessed the public announcement of these demands.

Another important outcome of this meeting was the call for the *establishment of the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU)*, a coalition *composed of 500 NGOs*. Since its establishment, the EFU has been a vocal advocate for women's rights and has focused particularly on the importance of the values enshrined in the Egyptian Women's Charter. EFU ensured wide dissemination of the charter, and has played an active role in reaching out to more women on the ground. In 2012, EFU's reach out to women has hit *5 million Egyptian women*, with an ambitious plan to reach out to more women, and men. EFU's efforts were extended to lobbying for equal rights for women and men in the new

constitution. A document based on popular consultation on (27) local consultation on all the Egyptian Governorates, “*Equal Rights and Freedoms for Women,*” focused on equal rights for all citizens and the provision of specific articles and recommendations for Egyptian women, referencing other constitutions in the Arab region was developed. The document was seen as a tool to advise the constituent assembly, comprised of one hundred members (7 of which were only women at the time) to include articles that address equal citizenship rights for men and women, all of which were indeed ignored.

2. *Egyptian Coalition for Women’s Political Participation (ECWPP)*

The Egyptian Coalition for Women’s Political Participation includes four hundred and fifty (450) non-governmental organizations (NGOs), led by one of the most vocal women NGOs, the Egyptian Center for Women’s Rights (ECWR). The coalition is an informal coalition, in the sense that it is not registered through the MoSA, unlike the EFU. In the aftermath of the revolution, the coalition swung into action as a watchdog for the transition process. Its members met with newspapers editors to advocate the importance of putting women's rights high on new political agendas, and presented monitoring reports chronicling cases of gender disparities and discrimination, which cut much deeper than many Egyptians popularly assume. This prompted journalists to write stories highlighting gender gaps, and civil society movements, including youth groups, to begin campaigning for awareness and action across Egyptian society. When conservative forces persuaded the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) to issue an order on exploring the cancellation of a series of laws upholding gender equality, the coalition led a vocal counter campaign through the media, pointing out errors in information that led even Al Azhar to support the order. As pressure grew, the ministry canceled it, leaving in place

laws that protect women's political and citizenship rights, among others. At a later stage, during the period of the presidential elections, including the campaigning period, the coalition released a statement entitled “Rights not promises.”

The statement lays out a set of rights that the new president should ensure for women. It goes beyond listing the rights by also indicating the necessary measures needed to escalate the realization of these rights. All types of women’s rights were somewhere included in the statement. The demands were identified based on fifty four (54) seminars that were held by the ECWR). According to ECWR, about seven thousand (7000) women attended these seminars, representing women from different backgrounds, contexts and governorates.

These rights are classified as political, economic, educational, legal, media, religious, and rights for Egyptian women abroad. A glimpse of these rights are as follows: on the political level, the statement highlights the importance of women’s participation in the constitutional committee by no less than thirty five percent (35%), emphasizing as well the importance of the electoral system, which should ensure no less than 35% of representation on proportional party lists and women being appropriately represented as such, including women in elected councils. On the economic level, point out to women’s participation in the economy, the provision of health care and insurance, as well as adopting the necessary measures to ensure that women occupy positions on the basis of the principles of equal citizenship, participation and professionalism, noting that discriminatory practices should be abandoned by promoting equal opportunities in the work place, among other.

On the educational level, the document stresses on the importance of incorporating the concepts of human rights and gender responsiveness in the curricula to portray female role models who are actively engaged in public participation, among other forms. On the legal level, filtering the laws from all forms of violence and discrimination against women came on the top of the list. This was followed by the need to modify the personal status law and family law to ensure it abides to the principles of Sharia, equality and justice, reforming the family court, in addition to the necessary measures needed to enacting and implementing laws.

On the media level, the document expresses the need to have in place a strategic work plan on women's issues that shall influence and challenge cultural stereotypes and discrimination against women to make the media effective enough in improving the image of women in the media overall, by focusing and shedding light on active and positive women role models who exist in society.

On the religious level, the document draws attention to the importance of emphasizing the role of the moderate/modern religious discourse that would appropriately address current social challenges that affect women. It also points out to the importance of reforming the already existing religious discourse by supporting positive religious ethics and emphasizing values of respect.

Last but not least are the rights and not promises for Egyptian women living abroad. It calls for activating the role of embassies, consulates, to specifically protect women and Egyptians in general. Also, qualifying working women before travelling would be necessary to assure that they commit to contract that provide safe working conditions.

3. The Coalition of Feminist NGOs

The coalition of Feminist NGOs was formed right after the revolution. It is an informal coalition, comprised of seventeen (17) NGOs, according to Azza Kamel, a women's rights activist, and director of ACT Egypt, and one of the founding members of the coalition. The coalition's legal existence stems from the legal existence of the member NGOs, but it is classified as an informal coalition. The member NGOs are: the Alliance for Arab Women (AAW), Appropriate Communications for Development (ACT), the Women and Memory Forum, the New Woman Foundation, Al Nadim Center for Psychological Rehabilitation of Victims of Violence, the Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance (CEWLA), Nazra for Feminist Studies, the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, Egyptian Family Development Association, Helwan Bashayer Center, Cairo Center for Development, Daughter of the Land "Bent Al Ard" NGO, the Legal Society for Family Protection, Egyptian Family Development, Promoting Community Participation, Ummi for Rights and Development.

They advocate for women's inclusion in the transition process and called for a strong stand against the exclusion and marginalization of women from the public sphere. Two member organizations of the coalitions conducted a polling survey in different governorates and villages on what they want in the constitution in general and for women in specific. The coalition drafted a bill on women's constitutional rights and shared it with the constitutional assembly for reconsideration. Moreover, the coalition provided a list of one hundred (100) women to the former parliament from which to select women members for the constitutional committee, to also reiterate and stress on the fact that there are excellent calibers of women who would be eligible to be in this committee. The

coalition is also very focused on the issue of violence against women in the public sphere, leads and initiates campaigns or what Azza Kamel describes as a “battle” against sexual harassment that women and girls suffer even more from after the revolution.

4. The Muslim Sisterhood

The Muslim Sisterhood is part of the larger umbrella of the Muslim brotherhood (MB). They are listed as a coalition for more than one reason. Firstly, according to Berry’s definition of coalitions that was introduced earlier in the introduction, the Sisterhood is a group that works collectively to influence a public policy goal. Secondly, the type of activities they engage in are comparable to Raynor’s (2011) indicators for evaluating effective coalitions, as well as the 5Cs that were introduced earlier. They existed since the year 1932, and share the same ideology of the MB that was introduced in the 1920s by Sheikh Hassan Al Banna. Not much has been written about the activities of the Muslim Sisterhood. For the past thirty (30) years, since they were also part of a banned organization by law, they worked behind the scenes. Parallel to the MB, the Sisterhood plays an active role in their communities. Taking one example, Azza Al Garf is an active member of the Sisterhood since thirty five (35) years back. She is a current member of the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), a former member of parliament in the dissolved parliament of 2011, or the “parliament of the revolution,” a member of the Constitutional Committee that was mandated to draft Egypt’s post-revolution constitution, that has been adopted in the last quarter of the year 2012.

In a personal interview with Al Garf, which was conducted at the premise of the FJP in April 2013, Al Garf explained that the Sisterhood has always been closely linked to the grassroots level. They longed to work in the light, under the umbrella of the former

regime, which she describes as coercive, for having always refused to accept them and include them. They had to work under stress and behind the scenes. The security under Mubarak's regime used to complicate the process, although we were offering the aspirations and the needs that the system or the government itself cannot offer to citizens, "we are helping them," Al Garf said. She added that even when the Muslim Sisters wanted to take advantage of positive discrimination before the revolution, not a single one of the thirteen (13) women that were affiliated to the MB, were appointed in parliament under the women's quota. Women enjoy a great and strong presence in the MB; Al Garf claims that they have the highest representation, if compared to any other party or organization in Egypt.

Their work is of a social and service oriented nature. They work with students and other groups in a very organized manner through a system that they have established. Throughout the 35 years that she spent in this system, she assumed several leadership positions, from one age group to the other. This, in her view, makes her more understanding of women's needs at all life stages, that she has lived with them. They have their own educational and social curricula, which they promote through mosques, social clubs, homes, and streets. After the revolution, the Sisterhood's activities have expanded since they are able to conduct more workshops, symposiums, among other activities. They engage in symposiums that aim at developing the capacities of women from all aspects, like: human development, morals and manners, cooking, new marriages, life stages, teenage, marriage problems, among other, explained Al Garf. "We are no longer chased by security," she said. When asked about the factors that make them successful as an effective group on the ground she said, firstly, "we are driven by a

project on not by people.” Our project is about a new Egypt, that is a strong and civil state; that enjoys sound knowledge, economy, health, all of which should be in line with a moderate Islamic ideology. She added that even if the highest person in the organization, the *Murshid*, leaves for any reason, the project will remain the main objective, regardless of who comes and who goes. We are a strongly bonded group that shares the same ideology and the same project. She described the group as one that is diverse in nature, but they know how to take advantage of the diversity to add to the group’s advantage overall. She added that what makes them successful is their strong presence on the ground.

Networks and Initiatives

Networks and initiatives have existed prior to the revolution but have increased notably after then to become more vocal and demonstrate strong presence on social media and on Egyptian streets. Most of the networks are cause driven, focused on one or two specific issues with regards to women’s rights. Some have a structure and a vision, others are ad hoc. The main issues that these networks are focused on are citizenship rights and the inclusion of women in the transition phase, sexual harassment, and the personal status law. These networks are informal, most of which do not have an official website that explains the details of their activity. They invest more in their presence on social media platforms, namely Facebook and Twitter, where they are able to reach out to more people, mobilize more support, make their cause visible, organize and call for participation for their events, all with the least possible costs. One other advantage of social media is that it allows these networks to interact with wide spectrum of audience, test the momentum, and engage in dialogue about the cause, which is an educational

aspect for the networks itself, as it helps them learn more about public perceptions and serve as an indicator as to how their messages will be received, all of which are useful in future position and strategic planning processes. Not to mention that social media involves less costs, especially that traditional media platforms have become a lot more expensive over the past years. In this chapter, several of the existing networks and initiatives are listed with a short brief about they type of activities they engage in. Some more networks and initiatives are not included in the listing due to the lack of published information about them on official and unofficial websites. It should also be noted that additional information was obtained through interviews with founders or members of these networks and were incorporated below.

1- Baheya Ya Masr

Baheya Ya Masr ("Baheya ya masr," 2012) is a popular movement that enjoys and encourages diverse membership from all spectrums of Egyptian society. The movement was established with the aim of linking more with the general public, establishing presence and awareness on the streets, and mobilizing wider and stronger support to promote the full citizenship rights for Egyptian women. Baheya ya Masr promotes human rights values that preserve the dignity of women, safeguard their rights, and recognizes the right to life, belief, freedom of expressions, equal opportunities and citizenship.

The objectives of the movement are to:

- Monitor the performance of the government and follow up on policies and decisions that pertain to women's rights

- Monitor the performance of the Upper and Lower houses with regards to legislations that pertain to women's rights
- Discuss national budgets and assess the extent to which they are gender responsive
- Put pressure on decision makers to realize the objectives of the revolution and the empowerment of women
- Widen the space for women's political participation and raise awareness about the importance of their role as a powerful force that is able to contribute to comprehensive development
- Raise awareness about the importance of preserving and safeguarding the rights of women as an integral part of citizenship rights at large

Thirteen (13) Campaigns were launched, supporting political, constitutional and citizenship rights of women. Examples of these campaigns are “Fad Beya ya Baheya” (I have had enough, Egypt), which is an interactive popular campaign that encouraged Egyptians to take a photo and hold a sign that states the main challenges they face. The objective of the campaign was to represent the needs of Egyptian youth, in a new, simple and innovative way. One other impactful campaign is “El Set” (the Woman), which is a campaign that focuses on showing the role of Egyptian women in the society on a non-political level. They quoted figures like “Um Kulthum” a legendary Egyptian singer, among other historical names. To complement this, they designed accessories, t-shirts, bags, notebooks and slogans to distribute among the public. *Baheya ya Masr* is followed by more than 5,000 on social media platforms and has the capacity to mobilize more than

10,000 citizens on the ground. Furthermore, the movement conducted needs assessment field visits in slums areas of Cairo to improve women's awareness on their constitutional rights. The initiative has been covered by 23 newspapers and channels in addition to 8 online channels, covering women's constitutional rights. Nevertheless, the initiative established a platform with around 100 volunteers to do community outreach on women's political rights.

2- "Banat Masr Khat A7mar"

Established after the revolution of the 25th of January, *Banat Masr Khat A7mar* (Samir, 2012) is a movement that defends the rights of women and girls to dignity, public safety, and freedom. It translates to "Egyptian Women are a Red Line." They established a virtual group on Facebook, which is followed by about ten thousand (10,000) members, young men and women. Its objective is to bridge the gap between opinions in society with regards to women's rights issues and to protect the rights of women, in conformity with culture and tradition. One of the movement's most popular and effective initiatives is the one it launched on sexual harassment. The movement defines sexual harassment on their Facebook page as "any behavior that is sexual in nature and results in a feeling of discomfort and creates a sense of insecurity, and may take several other forms, all of which are violations to the rights of women and girls." The movement further adopted a working strategy that is based on positive action and movement in the street to reject sexual harassment. The strategy is summarized in the following points ("Banat masr khat," 2011):

- Send messages through various media platforms to correct misconceptions about sexual harassment among harassers, like: “respectful women are never harassed,” and among victims: “I should not report.”
- Strong presence on the ground to create and raise awareness and create a safe, free of sexual harassment areas or zones.
- Train volunteers on basic skills to promote the objectives of the initiative.
- Contribute to the amendment and activation of the sexual harassment law.
- Offer psychological and legal support services to victims of sexual harassment by referring them to the specialized entities.
- The group considers young boys who engage in harassment activities as victims as they grow up in a society that welcomes such acts, hence much work needs to be done to correct their misconceptions, behaviors and principles.

3- Nefsy “I wish”

Nefsy is the Arabic word of “I wish.” It is an initiative organized by a group of young activists to stop sexual harassment against women and girls. The group organized the first human chain on sexual harassment in Egypt to send direct and visible messages to the public (“Nefsi mubadra ded,” 2012). They peacefully organized a chain on one of Egypt’s busy streets, holding signs that read with all their “wishes”. Messages such as “I want to stop hating being a girl,” “I want to ride a bus without being touched,” “I wish you would understand that the street is for both you and I,” drew substantial attention on social networks and the media alike, sparking the interest of widely known media figures.

Nefsy's first human chain has attracted 50,000 Facebook users, and through comments, shares and clicks, engaged at least 45,000. The ongoing fans of the group are approximately four thousand (4,000), as of the 2nd of May, 2013 ("Nefsi mubadra ded," 2012).

Nefsy has been a channel for many women who want to express their daily struggles to the rest of Egyptians with no interference from Media. 40% of supporters are men who have shown strong support to these chains and this has inspired many other men to join "Nefsy" and other civil society movements.

4- "At3 idak"

Following the experience of *Nefsy*, Sherine Thabet launched a campaign, also against sexual harassment, called *At3 idak*, which closely translates to "Off with your Hand." The initiative shares the same objective of *Nefsy*, to have safer streets for women and girls ("At3 eidak (off," 2012). Through their interactive Facebook and Twitter pages, they shared posts that portrayed horrifying incidents of sexual harassment in Egypt. Their Facebook page exceeded 30,500 likes.

5- Welad El Balad

Welad El Balad translates literally to "the Country's Sons." It is an old Egyptian expression used to imply good qualities of manhood, bravery, politeness, helpfulness, generosity, among other qualities that Egyptian men were characterized with. There was a similar term used for women "*Bent balad*", also meaning "the Country's Daughter." The group as it describes itself on its Facebook page ("Welad el balad," 2011) is diverse and inclusive to have members who have a different ideology, religion, education, social

class and gender. What brings the group together is their belief in a common, authentic Egyptian culture of “*welad el balad.*” Their clear objective is to promote this culture and portray it in a positive way and use it as means to offer practical solutions to societal problems through wisdom, social responsibility, among other values that the term “*welad el balad*” entails. On the top, and the most important of societal problems are sexual harassment and bullying. The group offers trainings to its members to equip them with the necessary knowledge and information about the topics they discuss with their target audience. The group was successful in making their cause and themselves visible at the neighborhoods they worked in. They wore similar t-shirts with the motto of the campaign and engaged in other advocacy activities. They were mentioned on TV channels and in local newspapers that enjoy wide readership (Fayed, 2012)

6- “*Shuft Ta7araosh*”

Shuft Ta7arosh translates to “I Saw Harassment,” a pressure group that is followed by six thousand and four hundred (6,400) members on Facebook (“Suft ta7arosh,” 2012). The group established a hotline to report and document harassment incidents. It defines harassment as one form of physical and psychological violence that women and girls are subjected to, and also children, on streets, at school, university, or at work. The group believes that official authorities and policy and decision makers are turning a blind eye on the issue. The group’s working strategies are mobilizing and increasing their outreach through social media; volunteering and participation; and offering free legal assistance to victims. The group is formed of a coalition of five (5) other networks.

7- “Teh Marbuta” Campaign

Teh Marbuta is a letter in the Arabic alphabet for feminine words. Launched by the EFU in 2011, the objective of the campaign is to reaffirm the social, economic and political rights of women, and to abide to the rights that women are entitled to by virtue of law and international agreements, and to recognize the historical roles of Egyptian women ("Teh marbuta," 2011). The campaign was launched through Facebook and Twitter. They also produced stickers that can be placed on cars, laptops and other personal belongings. Leaflets that include information about the history of Egyptian women were also developed and disseminated. Ten (10) symposiums and five (5) trainings for girls aged 16-21 to raise awareness in their communities were held as part of the campaign. In several sit-ins in Tahrir square, the organizers placed a tent to participate and voice their opinion on recent developments such as the proposal of the constitution at the time.

8- “Basma” “Imprint”

Basma is the Arabic word for Imprint. Established by a group of volunteers, Basma's areas of interest are culture, education, human and personal development, and societal issues at large ("Imprint,"). The group aspires to creating a cadre of new, young leaders that are equipped with knowledge and awareness about their surrounding issues. The group published a vision statement on their official website, which states that the group aims at activating and empowering young people, initiating dialogue around societal issues and proposing solutions that address the root causes of these problems in

the Arab and the African World. The group also believes in forming smart partnerships that will contribute to the realization of its objectives. Finally, Basma aspires to an inclusive form of membership that allows any person, regardless of their educational level to put a meaningful imprint in any area of expertise. The group identified eight (8) objectives, one of which is paying attention to women's and children's issues. In their first orientation session, the group focused the discussion on the issue of sexual harassment, its dimensions and proposed actions to combat the phenomenon.

9- Parlaman El Nesa2 "Women's Parliament"

Parlaman El Nesa2 is the Arabic translation of "Women's Parliament." Established with two (2) primary objectives, the initiative aims at realizing the following:

- Women's empowerment and their inclusion in decision making
- Women's active participation in building a civic and democratic nation

Moreover, the group engages in several activities, among which are the following:

- Train women candidates on managing elections campaigns
- Hold workshops on gender and women's rights issues for members of the parliament and the Shura Council
- Propose draft laws that support equality and non discrimination against women or men
- Hold workshops on the role of legislative councils in ensuring gender responsive budgeting are applied
- Hold workshops on accountability measures, specifically with regards to women's rights

- Develop guidelines for civil society activists on how to point out gender issues and petitions for submission to parliamentary committees
- Establish a media forum to engage more effectively with the media
- Establish a database that includes information on women members of parliament, as well as local councils
- Organize field visits to the parliament and the Shura Council to follow up and learn about their latest developments with regards to women's issues
- Develop advocacy tools and publications that support the women's cause at large
- Launch initiatives to combat sexual harassment and violence against women

Fouada Watch and the above mentioned “*Shuft Ta7arush*” are two of the initiatives launched by *Parlaman Al Nesa2* ("Actegypt.org,").

10- Fouada Watch

Fouada Watch was established to monitor and evaluate the performance of the new President, Mohamed Morsy. Given that he is affiliated to a conservative group, Fouada Watch believes that there will freedoms as well as the rights of women are expected to be challenged. The group mandated itself to ("Fouada watch," 2012):

- Monitor and evaluate statements, decrees and decisions issued by the Presidential Office
- Monitor and evaluate what legislative authorities issue
- Monitor print and visual media, namely Al Ahram national news paper, three (3) other private ones: Al Shorouq, Al Masry Al Youm, and the FJP news paper.

11- “Graffiti for Women” “Noon Neswa”

Launched in 2011 by a group of women rights advocates and artists, Egypt’s first graffiti and street art campaign to portray declined or lacking women’s rights in society. Art was used as a tool to express and link the struggle of Egyptian women throughout history with the current context, especially violence against women and girls. In May 2012, the campaign travelled to an industrial city, Al Mahallah, to support the women workers, on Labor Day, in their struggle for equality in public spaces and labor market. Their work has attracted several initiatives that adopted the methodology of using art in the form of graffiti to combat sexual harassment.

12- “Ana ragel ded el ta7arosh el gensi, e7na asfeen ya banat”

The title translates to “*I Am a Man Against Sexual Harassment, we are Sorry Ladies*”). Launched in August 2012, this initiative focuses on the positive role of men and boys in protecting women in public space from sexual assault and harassment. By promoting positive images of men responding to harassers, their objective is to encourage the public to support the victim and thus decrease the phenomena in the streets of Egypt. Through their Facebook page, the administrators are pushing for a strong public reaction in several areas in Cairo against harassers, capturing violent harassment incidents to demonstrate the cruelty of the situation women in Egypt face every day.

13- Estargel “Behave like a man”:

This campaign was launched in July 2012 to stop the rising problem of men riding in the women-only carriage in the Cairo underground metro is also working on fighting sexual harassment. *Estargel* launched door-knocking campaigns in downtown Cairo to stir discussion on sexual harassment. "The fact that society has started to realize the

problem and talk about is in itself a good milestone," Badr explained. *Estargel* campaign is also keen on enforcing positive values through doing sketches that would tackle the issue in a comic, light way.

14- *Madinet Nasr Bla Ta7arosh*

"Nasr City without Sexual Harassment" was launched by Nasr City Cultural Salon, this initiative comes under the wider efforts of the former parliamentarian Mostafa Al Naggar, a revolutionary young politician who succeeded in 2011 parliamentary elections. His campaign entitled "the Campaign of Nasr City and new Cairo against sexual harassment" is an educational initiative aiming to provide the public with information on combating sexual harassment, specially women and girls. Their 1st public engagement took place on 5th of September 2012, in Genena Mall in Nasr City, one of Cairo's biggest commercial spots and currently a harassment haven. The volunteers dressed in bright orange vests engaged in live discussions with the public on street harassment, how to combat and respond, reporting places and support for victims.

15- *Kama Tadin Todan*

The name is the translation of (*What Goes Around Comes Around*). It is another initiative addressing sexual harassment in Egypt launched in 2012, using educational flyers, posters and messages the campaign address the public on the issue insisting on the moral and social values "what goes around, comes around"

16- *Ana Mesh Haskot 3ala El Ta7rosh*

"*I will Not be Silenced on Sexual Harassment,*" is a campaign launched in February 2011 to address sexual harassment from a psychological dimension. By recruiting volunteers the campaign is organizing orientation and educational sessions in

Cairo and Alexandria with a non political and non religious dimension to address sexual harassment.

Using their facebook page as an open platform for discussion with facebook users, sharing videos, media links, daily newspapers articles, reporting techniques is a successful fast tool to reach the audience.

17- Al 7amla el sha3beya ded el ta7arosh

The name is a translation of “*Popular campaign against sexual harassment*, it is an initiative that unifies the work and activities of over 8 several initiatives and campaigns addressing sexual harassment in Egypt: Banat Masr Khat A7mar, welad el balad, estargel, Basma, kama tadin todan, Coalition of Nubian Youth, I will not be silenced on harassment, Women cargos in Egyptian trains. Throughout September the campaign will be working on the following activities:

1. Organizing a series of awareness and educational meetings aiming to reduce the statistics on harassment in few months according to their time plan
2. Training the volunteers and members on best practices to respond to harassers
3. Educational sessions on forms of street harassment ; motives and types of victims and survivors
4. Peaceful methods to respond to street harassment
5. Capacity development and communication skills between working group and the street
6. Communication with the media

18- Etkalemi (Speak up) in Menoufya:

The first of its kind in one of Egypt's delta governorate, Menoufya, this campaign is aiming at encouraging girls and women to speak up against sexual harassment. As a first step in addressing the issue is to turn it into a public affair, in September 2012 the campaign organized its 1st human chains with 25 participants from the community. Already their facebook page has around 300 members and is hopeful to join efforts with the rest of the local movements and initiatives combating sexual harassment across Egypt.

19- The Network of Women's Rights Organizations (NWROs)

The Network of Women's Rights Organization (NWRO) is comprised of ten (10) local NGOs who work collectively on women's rights issues in general, and their specific focus is the topic of personal status laws ("Network of women's,"). The member NGOs are the Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance Foundation (CEWLA), Coptic Evangelical Organization for Social Services (CEOSS), the Forum for Women in Development (FWID), the Association for Women and Development (WaD), the Egyptian Foundation for Family Development (EFFD), the Society for Sinaii-Women's Rights (SWR), the Association for Women and Society (W&S), the Egyptian Association for Comprehensive Development (EACD), the Egyptian Association for community Participation Enhancement (EACPE), and the Helwan Association for Community Development (Bashayer).

The Donor Community

Donors are not less important actors in the scene. They play several roles, depending on the nature of their work and the rules that govern them. Some donors are able to offer technical assistance to women NGOs and national bodies to further develop their capacities and know how. Others offer financial assistance to implement trainings, workshops, or development projects for women and girls. Some are able to offer both technical and financial assistance. The active donors who display stronger commitment to gender equality and the empowerment of women in Egypt are the European Union, the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Italian Cooperation, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the Spanish Embassy, the embassy of Norway, the Canadian Development International Agency (CIDA), the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the International Labor Organization (ILO).

Media

Various forms of media existed in Egypt prior to, and after the revolution. These forms are publicly and privately owned television (TV) and radio channels, nationally and privately owned newspapers, and social media through the internet. Freedom of expression was guaranteed in the Egyptian Constitution of 1971. However, there were gaps in the laws and their application, as media people and journalists were subjected to pressure or often imprisoned or have some sort of measures taken against them to oppress

their opinions, if it criticized or constituted any threat to the Mubarak regime. It is important to note that although there were restrictions to freedom of expression but there was development on that front throughout the past years, especially with the growing number of privately owned TV channels and newspapers.

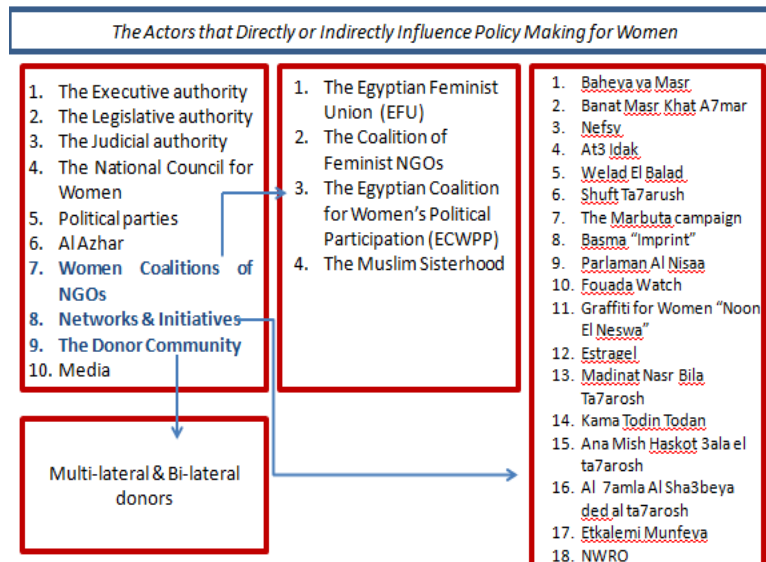


Figure 5: Summary of the actors in the external environment

Case Study--- Collective Work Works

The 57th Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), 4-15 March, 2013

Theme: “Elimination and Prevention of all forms of Violence against Women and Girls”

About the CSW

Established by a resolution adopted by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1946, the CSW is a functional commission that serves as a global policy making body that is devoted to gender equality and the empowerment of women. Member states meet annually in New York to discuss progress made and identify challenges with regards to advancing gender equality. The output of this annual meeting is a set of agreed conclusions (AC) on a specific priority theme . The conclusions serve as a tool that addresses the identified gaps and challenges and includes a set of concrete recommendations that informs and calls upon governments, intergovernmental bodies, and institutions, civil society actors, among other stakeholders to take action and implement the recommendations ("Commission on the,")

The proceedings of the 57th session of the CSW serves as a case study on how the Egyptian women NGO coalitions joined efforts with the national women machinery to put pressure and to come across as one strong force calling for one message, and push for a particular policy direction. This could be described as a precedent. In previous years, Egyptian women NGOs seldom took the side of or demonstrated support to the national women’s machinery. On the contrary, they usually directed criticism at the NCW. It would be fair to say that there were not enough concentrated efforts or strategic planning on how either would provide complementary support in order to a promote a common agenda.

Background information

Since the revolution, there were random calls from well known conservatives (mainly from the Muslim Brotherhood or the Salafists) who push in the direction of abolishing laws that advance women's rights. Many of these calls were on laws that, if abolished, will give more space to increased violence against women and girls. Some opinions did not discuss specific laws but did not also demonstrate a strong position to condemn violations against women and girls. The result is an increased signal of threat to women's physical and psychological well being, as well as a threat to their level of participation at large, in terms of social, economic and political participation. Besides, the threat that the NCW is confronted with, to be abolished, or replaced by a family council, or to have the strategy of "*ikhwanization*" applied on it.

Specifically because there are many challenges that women are facing after the revolution, on the top of which is several forms of violence against women, and with the timely theme of the CSW on VAW, the women's machinery and the Egyptian NGO coalitions joined efforts to influence the international policy agenda with regard to VAW. Women NGO coalitions and the NCW planned coordinated preparatory meetings prior to their departure to participate in the CSW. This step, initiated by the NCW, was welcomed by civil society organizations. It narrowed the gap between the NCW and the NGOs.

The Egyptian delegation at the CSW was headed by Ambassador Mervat Tallawy, President of the NCW, On another note, , by virtue of the mandate of the organization she heads and as normally done in previous years. From the NGO side, two groups were headed to the CSW, the first is that of the Network of Women's Rights Organizations (NWRO) funded by GIZ (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit),

comprised of the ten (10) Egyptian NGOs; and the second is a regional group, among which were Egyptian participants, funded by KARAMA, both of which showed sincere support to the official delegation.

Only one night prior to their departure, the Egyptian President announced that Dr. Pakinam Al Sharkawy, Special Assistant to the President for Political Affairs, and a Professor of Political Science at the Cairo University, will be delivering Egypt's statement at the opening session of the CSW. It is important to note that the Al Sharkawy is part and a supporter of the Muslim Brotherhood Administration. Al Sharkawy stated to several news agencies that the President's decision is a reflection of the true will of the presidency to support women's rights ("Riaasaty l wafd misr," 2013). Although Al Sharkawy was asked to deliver Egypt's statement before the General Assembly at the United Nations, Ambassador Tallawy headed the delegation for the rest of the two weeks session. She was the official representative of Egypt and led the negotiations on the proposed draft of the Agreed Conclusions (AC) (see annex 5).

At the CSW²

On the first day, Dr. Al Sharkawy delivered Egypt's statement, which was largely unwelcomed by the women NGOs and other members of the movement and activists in general (KIRKPATRICK & El Sheikh, 2013). This is due to the fact that the statement (see annex 4) contradicted the reality of the status of Egyptian women on the ground. Egyptian women were described to have "effectively" contributed to the "democratization process," which holds untrue for several reasons, most of which were

² The author of this thesis is the source of this first hand information as she participated in the 57th session of the CSW and accompanied the delegation, witnessed the meetings, listened and interacted with other groups

outlined in the background section that highlights the marginalization of women from the early stages of the post revolution transition process. Moreover, the definition of “effective” contribution or participation as described by Dr. Al Sharkawy, was limited to women’s political participation as voters in the election process and as revolutionists and protestors, but not as being adequately represented in decision making bodies, in committees, on party lists, in parliament, in the cabinet of ministers, among other indicators that define women’s “effective” political participation.

Dr. Al Sharkawy also praised the Egyptian Constitution of 2012 and described it as a constitution that “underlines the rights of women and stresses that they are full-fledged citizens.” On the contrary, the new constitution does not include explicit rights for women and does not include any articles that prohibit discrimination against gender. It explicitly references women in one article (article 10), and recognizes them only within the context of the family and state support is guaranteed for divorced women, widowers, or female heads of households. Moreover, the constitution does not contain any article that demonstrates Egypt’s commitment to international agreements or conventions, under which ratified conventions and declarations that pertain to women’s rights would also, fall.

Right after this statement, the Egyptian women NGO groups called for a meeting with Ambassador Tallawy. The purpose of the meeting was to speak and address questions to her directly, and know about her position as a government official, especially after Dr. Al Sharkawy’s presence at the CSW and the content of the speech, and the position that she will be taking in the coming two weeks. Ambassador Tallawy spoke to

them in a transparent manner, explained what happened during the meeting with the President, the reason behind having sent Dr. Al Sharkawy, and clarified her position with regards to the content of the speech. She believes that the constitution ignores the rights of women and described it as a step back for women's rights, compared to the rights listed in the constitution of 1971. She added that women after the revolution have been subjected to several forms of marginalization, all of which she stated in the panel on the Prevention of Violence against Women and Girls (Tallawy, 2013), next day at the CSW, in which she clearly attacked the system. It is worth noting that Ambassador Tallawy's position is the first of its kind in Egyptian history with regards to the CSW, being the representative of the government and yet attacks its practices and calls for international support on women's rights issues. This is in itself a precedent.

One other factor that resulted in a discomfort from the side of Egyptian women NGOs is the fact that Egypt was said to have been spearheading a conservative force to block the negotiations and stop the adoption of the proposed AC. The group was called the "like-minded group," comprised of seventeen (17) countries, represented by officials who work in the permanent missions of these countries, namely: Saudi Arabia, Iran, Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Algeria, Malaysia, Indonesia, Russia, and Egypt. According to the first update issued and circulated by the NWRO on the proceedings of the CSW, the like-minded group was "the main gossip in the UN corridors and side events" ("Egypt / women's,").

In response, the members of the Egyptian NGOs issued and circulated a press release (Tolmay, 2013) in which they expressed their discontentment with the decision of President Morsy, to have chosen Dr. Al Sharkawy to deliver Egypt's speech, besides its content, and the fact that Egypt is part of and taking a leading role in the like-minded group, particularly because several of these countries do not have an impressive record with regards to advancing women's rights, on the contrary had reserved positions on these issues, all of which they have mentioned in their circulated update.

Ambassador Tallawy reassured them of Egypt's true position in all the negotiations, which she had also stated in each of the meetings:

1. Egypt wants agreed conclusions by the end of the session, unlike the previous year³
2. No retreat from the principles listed in the Beijing declaration and the ICPD
3. The document should be as short as possible

Members of the NGO networks who attended the meeting with Ambassador Tallawy reiterated their full support to her as well as their intention to accelerate their efforts in countering conservative attempts to block the negotiations, or challenge the mission of the official delegation. They also informed her about the next steps they will follow: issue press releases and share updates through several media outlets to demonstrate their support and reveal the truth about those who are hindering the whole negotiations process.

The groups went back to work. NGOs continued to lobby throughout the first week of negotiations. Some organized side events, others networked with people from

³ Member states failed to reach consensus on the proposed agreed conclusions for the 56th session on the Commission on the Status of Women

other delegations to learn more about their position with regards to the AC, besides having printed flyers for distribution to state why were the proposed AC important for advancing the rights of women of the world. *KARAMA* organized a successful event, and invited Ambassador Tallawy as a speaker, to speak for Egyptian women.

The Challenges

Tensions were in the air during the first week of negotiations. The picture as to whether there will be AC or not was not very clear as the focus was on the controversial issues. The negotiations were moving at a slow pace. The document was only getting bigger, with additions and suggestions from member states being incorporated into it. The days were passing and no real picture could be drawn about the future of the AC. The second week was not really different than the first. Time was passing by so quickly, to the extent that the official delegations had to spend nights in the negotiations room, normally leaving the room by 2 am.

As we were almost approaching the end of the CSW, two (2) days before the end of the session, the Muslim brotherhood (MB) in Egypt issued a statement against the AC. The statement was published on their official website to strongly oppose the proposed AC to be adopted by member states of the United Nations by the closing of the session. In their statement, the brotherhood called upon all leaders of the Muslim countries, ministers of foreign affairs, and permanent representatives in the UN missions to condemn and take a position against the proposed draft conclusions, besides inviting the UN to aspire to a more “pure and clean” family relationship, as defined in Islam. They further called upon Al Azhar to assume its role as the leader and the reference on all

Islamic matters, and to also condemn the proposed conclusions and clarify the position of Islam on its content.

The brotherhood also called upon all NGOs, including Islamic NGOs, to take a decisive stand, and a clear cut position, against this proposal. Besides its call on women's organizations to adhere to the principles of their religion and morals of their communities and the foundations of social life, warning them being deceived by the false calls for modernity, which is based on a misleading and destructive way of thinking.

The statement ("Al ikhwan al," 2013) outlined specific points, based on which they have identified the strong need for action to stop the document. From their perspective, the document:

- 1- Gives the girl sexual freedom, as well as the freedom to choose her sex and the freedom to choose the sex partner (i.e., choose to have a normal sexual relationship or otherwise (LGBT))
- 2- Raises the age of marriage
- 3- Calls for the provision of contraception for adolescent girls and their training on its use, besides legalizing abortion to get rid of unwanted pregnancies, under the name of sexual and reproductive rights
- 4- Calls for giving equal rights to both the wife and women who commit adultery, and gives their offspring equal rights (legal vs. illegal children)
- 5- Calls for giving homosexuals all the rights, protection and respect, and also the protection of women in prostitution

- 6- Calls for giving the wife the right to take legal measures against her husband in the cases of marital rape, and the punishment would be similar to that given to a stranger who rapes or harasses any woman
- 7- Calls for equal inheritance, which, from their perspective, is none compliant with the Islamic Inheritance Law
- 8- Calls for the replacement of guardianship of a man over the family with partnership, and the full sharing of roles within the family between men and women such as: spending, child care, house chores
- 9- Calls for equal rights in family laws, in matters that specifically relate to: pluralism (which the document aims at cancelling), dowry, men on family spending, and allows a Muslim woman to marry a non-Muslim, among other
- 10- Withdraws the husband's authority of divorce and refers it the judiciary, and calls for equal sharing of property after divorce
- 11- Denies the husband's right in being consulted and asked for permission for: travel, leaving the house/going out, and using contraceptives

The statement came in agreement with a similar statement issued by the Head of the International Union for Muslim Scholars, Sheikh Youssef Al Karadawy, who is based in Qatar and known for being a strong supporter of the MB. It held the views and interpretation of the MB about both the implication of the text of the proposed AC, and also their own interpretation of the teachings of Islam. Other views, from renowned Muslim scholars, oppose much of the issues that are brought across in their statement. Islam clearly condemns all forms of violence against women.

In response to that, Ambassador Tallawy issued a counter statement on behalf of the NCW from the CSW, stressing on the fact that the content of MB's statement is completely false. It noted that the MB's statement was issued at a time at which the final document was not yet adopted and was still under discussion among the various official delegations and the different geographical groups. Further clarifications were made noting that the MB's statement does not reflect the true content of the proposed document, stressing that all international documents are subject to the sovereignty of states, its laws and customs. Moreover, the claim that the proposed document contradicts Islamic Shari'a Law and its principles, demolishes Islamic manners, and destroys the family institution is completely false. This claim is deceiving, misleading, and constitutes a misuse of religion, in an attempt to destroy the image of the United Nations, in order to prevent and rights for women. Moreover, the ten points of the MB's statement on the subject completely lacks any element of truth. The proposed document did not mention anything about inheritance, divorce, guardianship, or any permission granted to Muslim women to marry non- Muslims, or freedom for the girl child, or granting homosexuals all rights. The negotiations are currently ongoing at the United Nations between the official delegations of different countries, which came from capitals of the world, and representatives of permanent missions to the United Nations. It is, therefore, inconceivable and illogical to believe that 54 Islamic countries will not have the motivation to protect their religion and culture, and that only one non-governmental organization will, by claiming false allegations against the delegations and the United Nations, that are guided by a Universal Declaration, which has been adopted by member states in 1945.

The statement added that it is not in the interest of Egypt, or the ruling regime to make such statements, or to take an opposing position to that of countries of the world and the United Nations, while Egypt has long been known for its role in mediation and consensus building to reach for solutions to global problems. Egypt is fully aware of the differences in customs and traditions among nations and it will not allow the imposition of matters that do not fit our culture or our habits

The NCW's statement summarized the content of the proposed AC at the time in five (5) main points. The first is that the proposal gave general reference to international treaties, conventions and documents issued by the United Nations, which are approved by all Member States regarding human rights, the empowerment of women and the definition of violence against women. The second is recognizing the need for supportive national policies and legislation, implementation to combat violence against women. The third is the acceleration of law enforcement and the execution of national plans in order to reduce the percentages of violence against women, besides identifying the causes and challenges to prevent violence against women and girls, and the implementation of laws, policies and programs that contribute to the fulfillment of these objectives, while stressing on equality in education, health, social security and human rights, and cooperation with the civil society. The fourth is supporting the delivery of services to victims of violence against women and providing a variety of comprehensive of services to address all its forms. And the fifth is improving databases and conducting research, studies, analyses of the causes of violence against women and girls. Ambassador Tallawy also made live phone interventions in several of the most popular TV shows that enjoy

wide viewership, to restate what was included in the statement and to clarify the misconceptions and the false allegations made about the proposed AC at the time.

Upon issuing this statement, the NGO groups widely circulated it among their networks and through several media outlets, made TV interventions against the MB's statement and supported the NCW, repeating and supporting NCW's statement.

Beyond the Challenges to the Adoption of the AC

Besides the above mentioned challenges, there were more that were taking place during the negotiations among member states. Delegations often made reference to "agreed language," meaning universally agreed upon, adopted language, as in other important recommendations, namely ICPD and the Beijing declaration. The problem was that there was no consensus around what "agreed language" indeed was. One argument was that although ICPD and the Beijing declaration are recognized international documents, some countries had reservations on parts of the content on these documents, and therefore, "agreed language" would not really apply in this case. The art of negotiation was also another factor, especially that some countries were still tactfully putting real effort to block the process of consensus building around the AC, namely Syria, Qatar, and Russia. Other phrases like, "various forms of the family," generated a very strong debate, mainly because more conservative countries know only one form of the family which is inside the institution of marriage. Delegations that really wanted the AC to pass, started creating pressure in the room, reminding other delegations and restating the fact that there is a need to put the controversial issues aside and move with what could be agreed upon. Other reminders were also that there is a need to leave the

negotiations room with AC, otherwise “we will have failed half of the world’s population, women of this world” said one delegation. Some people also took initiative to speak to the chair of the session and the secretariat to limit the time for interventions and to move at a faster pace to reach progress. More pressure was exerted, western countries gave up on items that were never going to be accepted by some countries, and the overall was a success to reach agreed consensus around the AC. It was a historic moment when the conclusions were adopted. Joy filled the room, some people cried happily to see the fruits of their tireless work and sleepless nights materialize into agreed action to eliminate and prevent violence against women and girls.

Analysis, Conclusions and Lessons Learnt

The above case shows how coordinated and collective work brings about positive results. If we are to examine the types of activities that happened and the strategies that were deployed, we will find that they fall under coalition building activities and strategies. The NGOs were responsible for the advocacy part, which was demonstrated in the side events they organized, the statements they issued and circulated, the human chain they organized on the occasion of the international women’s day to say no to violence against women in front of the Egyptian embassy, the networking they have done with other delegations to learn about and bring across their messages as well, are evidence that their efforts were a successful contribution to the whole process.

This is also an example of successful collective and coordinated work among the national machinery and the NGO groups, who normally opposed the NCW in previous years. The quick and immediate responses to the media about her withdrawal, as well as the rapid response to the claims of the MB strengthened her position and generated more

public support. Having identified the right, and the influential force to ally with, namely the African group, was a successful strategy, given that they are more in number than the Arab group, whom she did not have the support of in the beginning.

Both the NGO groups and the official delegation reached out to the opposition at the CSW, the like-minded group, which was also a smart move that resulted in almost the demolition of the group, with only a few countries sticking together. They managed to overcome another very important challenge, which is the fact that there was a wrong perception about the position of Egypt, given that Egypt was part of the like-minded group prior to her arrival. This raised questions from other delegations about how the position of the official delegation had changed. It was by simply repeating the same messages, the three (3) points that were said in formal or informal meetings, and that was how it worked.

Reflecting on the presented theories of coalition building, Gray and Lowery's theory of Population Ecology which stipulates that the external environment plays an important role in coalition formation holds true. Both the governmental and nongovernmental women's organizations felt threatened with the existence of a political will that does not translate its commitment to women's rights into substantial policies and legislations on the ground. It is not only resources that bring coalitions together but also interest is a great driver of collective work.

It could also be noted that the actors that were more vocal and influential on policy makers were the informal actors or networks, in this case: the brotherhood, private media channels, and conservative public figures, conservative NGOs, apolitical methods were used to influence policy and decision making with regards to the issue in hand. Of

the important lessons to be learned from this case study is firstly the importance of planned, organized and coordinated collectivism; secondly, the strength of having one common objective and one repeated message; thirdly, the importance of rapid responsiveness at the times of crisis (good crisis management); fourth, the importance of initiating a dialogue with your opponents; and fifth is choosing your battles, when to fight back and what is worth fighting for.

Chapter 6—Findings and Analysis

Introduction

The data presented in the previous chapters provides factual information about the nature of the activities of the existing women coalitions and networks in Egypt, as well as the newly emergent ones. This chapter will take this information a step further to provide an analysis and an evaluation, using Raynor’s model and indicators of effective coalitions, about the Egyptian women’s movement at large, and the coalitions and the networks in specific,

Data Analysis and Findings

I. Analysis of the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT) of the Egyptian Women’s Movement after the 25th of January, 2011

NB. The below items have been identified based on the data collected and presented in Chapter 5, the one on one semi-structured interviews that were conducted, and derived observations based on this information.

SWOT Analysis- The Egyptian Women’s Movement after the 25 th of January	
Strengths <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Strong knowledge and expertise on women’s rights issues, national and international instruments, conventions, and agreements among members of coalitions, networks, and movements2. Strong participation on the national, regional and international levels in	Weaknesses <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. An evident lack of coordination, cooperation and communication among various women’s rights activists, organizations, networks, coalitions, and movements2. Rivalry among some of the women activists over fame, status, and donor

<p>conferences, seminars, symposiums, workshops and other platforms that discuss gender and/or women's rights issues</p> <p>3. Existence of vocal voices that speak about women's rights issues, challenges, and threats</p> <p>4. Ability to shed the light on women's rights issues using alternative media and new pressure tools, like human chains and short reality documentaries and testimonials, as done by new networks</p>	<p>resources</p> <p>3. Lack of strategic planning and visioning, and power mapping</p> <p>4. Reaching consensus on and implementing collective action plans to advance women's rights</p> <p>5. Personification of processes</p> <p>6. An evident gap in investing in, and building, a second line leadership within governmental (national women machineries) and nongovernmental organizations</p> <p>7. Weak internal structures of organizations, which reflect on its overall level of performance (capacity issues that vary from one organization to the other, but overall need to be improved)</p> <p>8. Decreased attention on the promotion of a culture of democracy within women's rights organizations (management issues)</p> <p>9. Dissemination of knowledge and information</p> <p>10. Linking and bonding well with the</p>
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	grassroots and local governorates
<p>Opportunities</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. More young people have become engaged in activism on issues related to women’s rights, namely violence against women in the public sphere/sexual harassment 2. More effective partnerships with the media to help the women’s cause further by better positioning, targeted and simple messages 3. Creating more pressure through the new tools like: sit-ins, peaceful protests, blogging, tweeting, and writing to news agencies 4. More international support to women’s issues, an opportunity to put create more pressure by networking with international human rights activists, organizations, and news agencies 5. To work with the opposition; on non controversial women’s rights issues, like illiteracy 6. To capitalize on the present support of 	<p>Threats</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A weak legal framework that recognizes and safeguards women’s rights; especially after the adoption of the 2012 constitution 2. Attempts to “<i>Ikhwanize</i>”⁴ the judiciary and marginalizing women judges 3. A 70% conservative/extremist parliament after the revolution, which serves as a good indicator as to how the upcoming parliament of 2013 will be structured 4. Purposely made attempts to weaken the voice of the women’s movement, one of which is intensifying the systematic violence against women in the public sphere, which often leads to a decreased morale 5. A weak state security that is still unable to contain harassment, robbery, and other forms of violence against women in the public sphere 6. Exercising excessive control over

⁴ An Arabic term which implies that most of the appointed officials will have an affiliation to the Muslim Brotherhood and will apply a conservative agenda

<p>reputable and respected scholars and organizations like Al Azhar</p> <p>7. To widen their constituencies and increase their popularity by relating to and speaking the language of the people</p>	<p>donor funding to NGOs, which in a way hinders planned activities and the implementation of development projects that aim at the empowerment of women at large</p> <p>7. A lack of political will and commitment to women’s rights issues by practice</p> <p>8. Marginalizing and limiting the participation of women in the transition process by not ensuring adequate representation in all formal bodies, national dialogues, negotiation forums, and committees, in both conservative and liberal groupings</p> <p>9. The women’s rights agenda being perceived as a “less priority” at this point in history</p> <p>10. An overwhelmingly strong culture of conservatism and definition of social and gender roles, all of which are confined to family roles</p> <p>11. A strict and uninformed religious dialogue with regards to women’s rights</p>
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	12. High illiteracy rates and poverty among Egyptian women
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II. Networks or Coalitions?

Upon comparing what has been written in the literature about coalitions, networks, and alliances, to the data collected from the one on one interviews, it is evident that the concept of coalition building among women NGOs in Egypt has still not taken a mature shape. This is expected given that most of them were recently formed, which also conforms with what Zaida Arguedas, Deputy Executive Director of the League of Women Voters (LWV) of the United States of America, said when asked about her evaluation of coalitions in Egypt: “they are not going to get it from the first time.” From the data collected, it was also noted that the number of networks that address gender and women’s issues in Egypt are significantly more than coalitions.

This suggests that there are good reasons for why groups prefer to form informal networks rather than forming formal or informal coalitions. Interviewed members of informal coalitions or networks said that working in networks

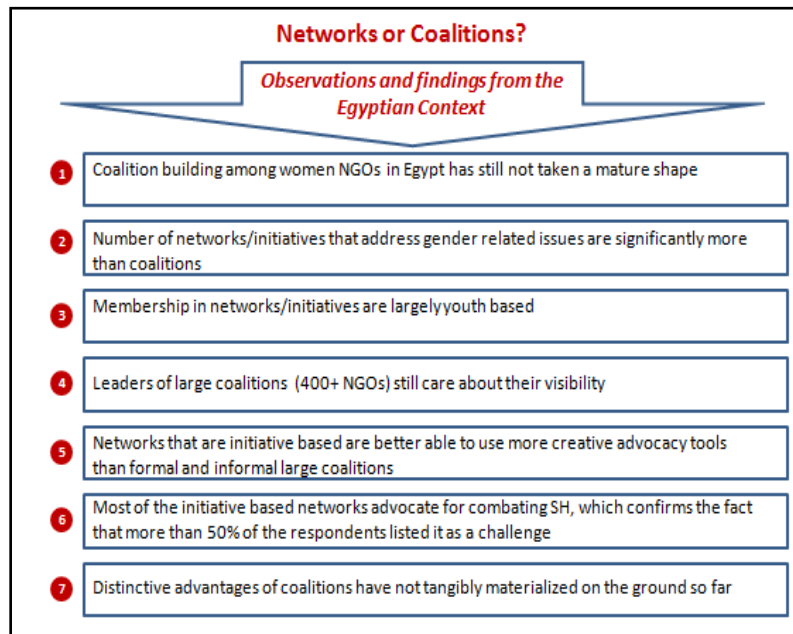


Figure 6: Observations and findings from the Egyptian context

offers more flexibility and a less rigid structure (for the networks that had a recognized structure) than working in the form of a coalition.

This is supported by Egan's (1995) theory or definition of coalitions, which stipulates that coalitions require greater commitment. In an interview with Dr. Ali El Sawi, Professor of Political Science at the Cairo University also referred to the literature on coalitions in political systems, stating that it is well known that informal coalitions are stronger and more effective than formal coalitions. One other observation is the fact that membership in the different networks and initiatives are largely youth based, as opposed to large coalitions. Large coalitions, like the EFU and ECWPP, both of which are formed of at least four hundred (400) NGOs, are not youth based NGOs. This might be a factor that explains why networks are faster, have more followers on social media, and have a higher ability to mobilize young people and practice collective advocacy.

One interviewee noted that the leaders of large coalitions still care about their visibility, and that the other member NGOs do not have the same resources, voice, or anything and are perceived to be less active. This interviewee also noted that the leading NGO does not approach other NGOs that have similar capacity in terms of fame, advocacy, and resources because it is still the "one woman show" concept that existing NGOs still adopt, although there has been slight improvement in terms of collaboration, she added.

Another important observation is the fact that networks that are initiative based are better able to use more creative and different advocacy tools than formal and informal large coalitions. Initiatives like *Nefsi* or *Banat Masr Khat A7mar*, for example, were more present, active and engaged on the streets, and were able to stir media attention. As

opposed to large formal or informal coalitions that respond by more traditional means like, issuing press releases to condemn policies, decisions, or actions, or speak and comment on popular media talk shows, or write in readable news papers only. This matter also relates to the concept of the “*Personification of NGOs.*” Just like the women’s movement was criticized prior to the revolution or often being labeled as “Suzanne’s movement,” or “elitist’s movement,” or in other words being attributed to certain “persons,” most women NGOs have the same issue. Second line leadership, in terms of building young leaders or have more people involved in the decision making process is less evident. Engy Ghozlan, Co-founder of HarassMap stated in an interview that she is not optimistic about the currently existent coalitions due to the fact that they are driven by name and competition, yet is hopeful about the future of the young movements. “They were able to get the attention of everyone, even the larger coalitions are reaching out to them,” she said.

All these factors will affect the strength and sustainability of the NGO, the network, or the coalition. Another important observation about the networks that are initiative based is that most of them advocate for combating sexual harassment. This gives an indication and conforms to the fact that more than 50% of the interviewed people listed violence against women and public safety for women as one of the top three (3) challenges that Egyptian women face today. Also, most networks and initiatives have local names or slang expressions that sound informal, which might be a factor or an explanation for why they have more acceptance, as opposed to coalitions that have less appealing names or sort of old fashion names.

Drawing more analysis from the collected data, it could be implied that so far, Egyptian women NGO coalitions and networks are doing the same activities. Although the literature shows that coalitions may take advantage of size and resources to bring about more impactful results, this difference is has not tangibly materialized on the ground so far to show a distinctive advantage of being in a coalition.

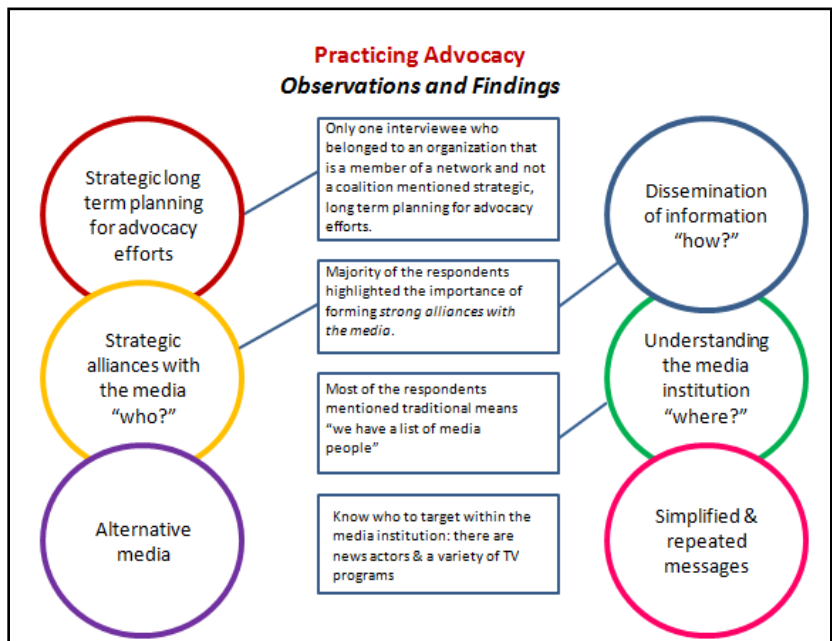
Further, the new networks have potential to become bigger, and to grow into larger coalitions and act as strong pressure groups, than the existing coalitions. It is important to distinct between two (2) types of existing networks, the networks that are comprised of individuals mainly, like *Banat Masr Khat A7mar*, *Welad El Balad*, *Nefsy*, and others; the second is a network of NGOs, like NWRO. The ones that have higher potential are those that are based on individual and not organizational membership, although the advantage of having organizations involved is the availability and sharing of resources. Networks that are based on individuals usually fund themselves or engage in funds raising activities, which are not a guarantee for sustainable resources.

III. Practicing Advocacy

Advocacy is an important aspect of both networks and coalitions. Most, if not all, of the reviewed writings on the subject of coalition building and networking discussed how advocacy was practiced in the context of the work that they were referring to or describing. Recognizing its importance, interviewees were asked about how they think or actually bring their issues forward to the policy agenda, the majority referred to advocacy efforts or campaigns that were launched. Building on their answers, they were asked to describe “how” they engage in those efforts. Only one of the interviewees, who belonged to an organization that is a member of a network and not a coalition, mentioned strategic,

long term planning for advocacy efforts. She described the activities of the network as a good effort to start with to lobby for their cause, which is focused on the subject of personal status laws, but said that what has been done is not enough. She added that it is crucial for coalitions and networks to adopt innovative advocacy tools to create pressure on policy and decision making. She highlighted that the traditional way of practicing advocacy will not bring about the desired results or effect.

Several of the respondents highlighted the importance of forming *strong alliances with the media*. I asked particularly two (2) of them who come from a media background, one is



a journalist, Kawthar Al

Figure 7: Observations and findings on practicing advocacy

Khoully, who works in development issues, and the second is a presenter of a TV show, also on social issues, Maryam Zaki. Zaki explained that for women NGO coalitions, networks and movements to reach out effectively to the media, they need to work on devising media strategies. She stressed on the fact that current actors on the ground are unable to effectively understand the media institution in order to know whom should they be targeting. She explained that there are news actors and a variety of TV programs. The news actors are not enough because there are no guarantees that the issue of concern will

be discussed or highlighted more than once or be perceived of significant importance after it has been reported. As for TV programs, they need to understand the format and nature of the programs, many of which are focused on daily happenings. When I asked other women NGO representatives or members about how they establish links with media, most of them said “we have a database of all media contacts,” only one (1) or two (2) had a mailing list through which they send their press releases and updates to keep the media informed about their issues. El Kholy stressed on the importance of *alternative media* and the need to work on strengthening local media (meaning media in the governorates across Egypt, not the centralized media of the city). When asked about why she thinks the media does not give the required attention to women’s issues, she said because “they don’t know.” This confirms with what Magy Mahrous, a parliamentary candidate in the 2011 elections, about a large gap in knowledge dissemination. El Kholy stressed on the importance of simplifying the discourse and the associated messages. This is by using visuals, comics and to clear messages.

IV. Networking not Networks

Based on the descriptive structure of the coalitions that was described in interviews with their leaders, particularly for large coalitions, they have a wide network of NGOs. However, it could be noted that the extent to which they are indeed involved in networking activities that would help in enhancing their effectiveness is limited. On the contrary, the most successful networks and initiatives are more involved in networking activities and their membership is open to more people. To define the term successful in this context, success would entail being able to reach out to more people, being able to effectively engage members to realize the network’s clearly stated objectives, growing in

size and in impact, being able to reach out to the media and make their cause visible, and capitalizing on the strengths or what members of the group can bring in, like contacts for example, to support the group activities. To support networking activities, there is a need to invest more time and/or money in mapping activities. *Mapping* and knowing who is doing what and where. In spite of its importance to ensure higher levels of coordination, only two (2) of the interviewees mentioned it as a lacking component that hinders their ability to understand the actors and players on the ground, which contributes to the overall effectiveness of networks and coalitions. The rest of the interviewees have not mentioned it at all but when asked about whether there is any sort of mapping or an existent database that maps women NGOs across Egypt and the type of services they offer, their level of reach out to communities, or a short description of their activities, the majority said that they have not heard about anything like this, and two (2) other people said that there is an outdated database of civil society NGOs in general but not ones that are specific to women NGOs.

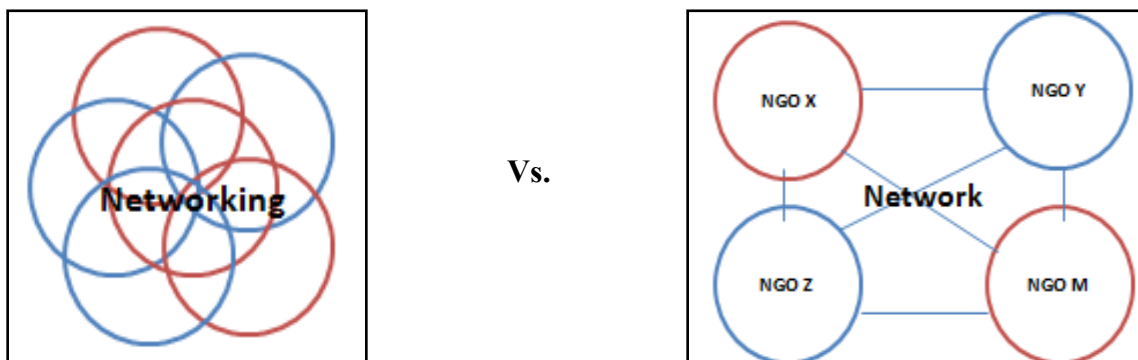


Figure 8: Networking Vs. Networks

V. *Building new partnerships*

Since the selection of interviewees was meant to include people who work or are linked to the field of women's rights, and who represent different or maybe extreme views, liberal vs. conservative views, one evident finding is that *the strong stereotypes* and already formed opinions is a factor that hinders building new partnerships and expanding constituencies. This is more evident in different groups who have a completely different approach to gender and women's issues. For example, when Azza Al Garf was asked about whether parliamentarians tackle important issues like education and health from a gender based approach, she said "terms like gender belong to the United Nations and we have nothing to do with this."

Dr. Omaima Kamel, Advisor to the President of Egypt on Women's Affairs unwelcomed the call for lifting more reservations on the CEDAW, when liberal groups are calling for lifting the reservations on articles 2 and 16, also based on the recommendations of the CEDAW Committee. One could also observation is that there is a "we" vs. "them" approach at this point in time. When asked about her opinion about the calls made by liberal women rights groups, Dr. Kamel's automatic response was "'we' aspire to more than what 'they' call for." Similarly, the liberal groups also speak the same language. Both think that there is no common ground for collaboration and true and effective partnerships based on stereotypes, that might as well be partially but not fully true. If women groups work together on an issue like illiteracy, putting aside all their stereotypes, "traditional partnerships," and personal positions, they are more likely to bring about positive gains for Egyptian women.

One other reason why there might be opportunities for building new partnerships is the fact there is national societal pressure and the international pressure that are being exerted on conservative groups to adopt more progressive measure for advancing women's rights. When I asked one of the officials in the Muslim Brotherhood administration about the latest that they have on the women's agenda, her instant response was "I should not be counted on the Muslim Brotherhood," and "I do not know about their agenda for women." I did not argue about her belongingness or her clear affiliation to them, and I moved on to another question. At a later stage of the interview, I asked her about how women can build better coalitions, and whether she can state some effective examples that she has seen throughout her practical and professional experience. She excitedly replied by reflecting on her experience as a women candidate of parliament, on the list of the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP). Soon after she finished her story, I asked her another question. I said: "If I am not mistaken, the FJP is linked or works under the umbrella of the Muslim Brotherhood, correct?" She said, "Yes, this is correct." I made no further comments but took note of one important thing; the fact that they do not want to be labeled or be perceived as a group that is anti women's rights. Similarly, the decision made by President Morsy to send Dr. Pakinam Al Sharkawy to the CSW to deliver Egypt's statement as explained in the case study supports this analysis. With that being said, there is room for finding a common ground, breaking the ice, and building trust around good intentions and widening and broadening the scope of thinking and the approach to women's issues in the new context.

Involving men is another important aspect of partnerships. If we are to look at the newly formed networks and initiatives, one would observe that young men are highly

involved. The human chains against sexual harassment, for example, included men who spoke about the issue and were equally present like women. When the “Blue Bra” incident happened in Tahrir square, when one young woman was brutally attacked by police, Egypt’s one of the largest protests by far took place, when millions of men and women went to Tahrir square to say that Egyptian women are a red line. Women protested and men protected them. If men are involved in other issues, that are not only limited to violence against women, it will strengthen the cause, better influence policy and decision making, and will be a reflection of women’s issues being treated and perceived as societal and developmental issues, rather than stand alone issues.

VI. Widening Constituencies

The majority of interviewees pointed out to the fact that for coalitions to become more effective, they need to focus on building strong and *wider constituencies*. Even those, particularly who are from or are very familiar with the background of the Muslim Brotherhood, have noted this as an edge that gives conservative groups the chance to influence, through being directly linked to people on the ground. Several of the interviewees mentioned that liberal women groups continue to talk to themselves in closed rooms. “We sit in closed rooms and do nothing outside,” said Amr Hamzawy, Professor of Political Science at the Cairo University and former parliamentarian in the “parliament of the revolution,” and advocate for women’s inclusion in the transition process and citizenship rights in general.

One other woman described the women’s movement as those “who spend half of their time in workshops and hotels.” Although this might be partially true, based on the response of women who belong to these groups, liberal groups do both, citing many

examples of previous efforts that show how deeply they are linked to the grassroots level. Such statements, which were previously made by many others through media throughout the past years and right after the revolution, indicates that the women's movement is still perceived to a great extent as an "elitist" movement. This suggests that women NGO coalitions should consider their positioning once again and work on it in a way that would enable them to reach their objectives. Younger networks, on the contrary, are not perceived as such, since they speak the language of the street and people can relate to them as previously noted.

VII. The Evidence Based Approach

The idea of *generalization* is another observation. When I asked all interviewees about the challenges that Egyptian women are faced with in the current time in history, they almost mentioned the same problems, in one form or another, with a variation in the priority, i.e. which challenge comes first. This includes those who have views that are less supportive of progressive rights for women. When I then followed their answers with a question about why or how does this constitute a challenge to Egyptian women, some gave strong and specific examples that are supported by research and statistics and further linked the challenges to other societal aspects that affect women, while others only repeated the challenge, without stating a good reason for why they believe it to be as such. Building on this finding, one of the respondents adds that the concept of public opinion surveys and polling is also a strong lacking component on the knowledge aspect. This is primarily because activists build their messages based on what they believe to be true, particularly when it comes to issues that are under researched or are sensitive, or perceptions and trends that might change over time.

Additionally, if women NGO coalitions and networks do not speak or make their argument based on documented evidence and facts, their ability to influence policies will be unlikely. For example, in an interview with Ghada Khashab, a member of the Muslim Sisterhood and a current member of the FJP, she said: *“the NCW is currently focusing on issues that do not reflect the reality of what’s happening on the ground, like sexual harassment. Sexual harassment should not be described as a phenomenon; on the contrary, poverty is a phenomenon.”* Reflecting on this statement, official statistics reveal worrying numbers about poverty. However, due to the fact that sexual harassment incidents are not documented, for several reasons, among which are a legal framework that does not encourage the woman to report such incidents, as well as other cultural pressures. This confirms the need to expand on more research in this area and to disseminate the knowledge derived from it to raise more awareness about the issues they advocate for.

VIII. Evaluating Coalitions

When asked about her evaluation of the current NGO coalitions, since she has worked and supported many of them, Maya Morsy, Gender Practice Team Leader at UNDP, notes that each has a benchmark, pros and cons for the establishment and for their work in the country. She mentioned that in the beginning she thought that it is better to have them all under one umbrella, but after a while came to the conclusion that it is better to have different groups, each of which would have a distinctive advantage and an agenda on the ground, to seek their goals in a different way, using a varying lobbying techniques. She said: *“it is better to have several lobbying groups saying things rather than one lobbying group saying one thing.”* She adds that having several types of coalitions is a

good thing, but what matters the most is that they make an orchestrated noise and one agenda. She warned, however, from the threat of competition among these groups, which will result in a great loss on the ground; the lobbying mechanism should be complementary, she added.

Raynor (2011) provides indicators for evaluating coalitions. The two (2) general indicators for evaluating coalitions are 1) goal destination and 2) value proposition. Under each of the two general indicators are subsets or more specific indicators that are summarized in Figure 9.

With regard to the first indicator, ***goal destination***, the current Egyptian women NGO coalitions were successful in *policy blocking*, which was manifested in blocking the cancellation of a series of laws that uphold gender equality. There is yet no evidence about success with regards to the adoption of any policies that advance women's rights, which is an area that requires more strategic planning on the end of NGO coalitions. With regards to *increased visibility and knowledge of the issue*, the exerted efforts are good but there us yet more to be done, especially that networks are performing better on this front. On the level of *building better relationships with policy makers and allies and reduced enemies*, a lot more needs to be done, noting that they have indeed taken steps to link with policy makers and offered proposals on the constitution and draft laws that support gender equality that were described by many to have been ignored by policy makers and government officials. *Development of good research* on women's problems is existent, but there continues to be a dearth of information about the service providers, which is a clear lacking area that needs to be worked on. *Writing and testifying on effective policies for women* is not completely absent, yet the art of writing policy briefs, substantive

contribution to policy suggestions, promoting the expected policy implications could be largely improved. There is no concrete evidence that coalitions reached the point of *overcoming important 'sticking' points in moving on an agenda or policy*. One possible explanation could be possibly due to the absence of a real dialogue with the opposition that has the power and that constantly pushed for regressive rights for women. Although Egyptian women NGO coalitions have indeed engaged in building broader constituencies by including a more geographically diversified base of NGO, yet the issue of having identified active roles for each seems to be lacking. Lastly, coalitions were able to contribute to *increasing the public will* to support women's issues, but the success would not be only attributed to them but more to the youth networks on the ground.

Coming to the second general indicator, *value proposition*, Egyptian women NGO coalitions still need to work on *increasing the coalition's capacity*. This entails that there needs to be a clear vision for the coalition, "where do they want to be?" an increased ability to manage and raise resources, and to add to what Raynor lists, also to select the priorities to which the resources should be directed. This suggests that there is a need to strategize with other coalitions that share the same objectives, to spend on campaigning, organize joint capacity development trainings for coalition members, to decrease the overall costs they incur and to realize a more impactful and meaningful, collective outcome. Better policy analysis is another area that requires more attention. Most coalition members include experts or ordinary members or staff that do not have sharp analytical skills or who are not technically strong. The main dependence is on the leader or a couple of the members who have established names, which often limits the scope of the analysis.

Egyptian coalitions need to focus on capacity development, knowledge sharing and dissemination and build a young cadre of members who are able to articulate the topics that they tackle. With regards to *increased visibility of the coalition* there is an evident increased visibility but there are no guarantees to the sustainability of this visibility as once again this visibility would only owe to the presence of a leader whom if gone someday the coalition's existence might be weakened or abolished. Coalitions seem to also be more focused on visibility rather than *increased quality and engagement of membership*. There are evident efforts from these coalitions to mobilize for more funding to increase their capacity; however, there is not any tangible difference on this front so far. *Increased collaboration between coalition members outside the coalition* is another indicator identified by Raynor.

It was hard to assess development on this indicator and it would not be objective to provide any positive or negative comments on this point; however, increased collaboration is an area that requires more effort in general in the external environment. *Merging and building strategic relationships with other coalitions* could be described as in absent but minimal, particularly with the continued trend of personification and increased competition among women activists and leaders of NGOs. *More rapid and organized ability* to respond is crucial specifically in the current context of Egypt. One Egyptian women NGO coalition is usually rapid, with the intention of being always the first to issue a press release and speak to the media, but not orchestrated and organized with other coalitions. Another coalition is not as rapid but more organized and willing to work with other coalitions and most networks. Networks, on the contrary, are faster, more collaborative, and promote each other's events on Facebook and Twitter. Last on

Raynor's list of indicators for creating value proposition is the *number of different "faces" that the coalition could credibly put forward to advance the issue*. Egyptian coalitions have been following a single minded approach to women's issues so far, repeating the same things again and again. However, there has been a trend towards engaging with religious leaders to change the language and work on the existing misconceptions that are largely attributed to religion, specifically after the revolution.

Raynor (2011) also summarizes the capacities of effective coalition members in fifteen (15) points. Members must have the skills and the knowledge to work collaboratively, besides having a commitment to the coalition's name and action. They should be able to articulate what they bring to and what they want from the table, in addition to their ability to weigh the value of coalition membership against scarce resource expenditure, and their willingness to share resources. Members of the coalitions should be willing to identify conflicts between the individual organization and the coalition, and should be willing to share power and credit of success. More importantly, members should be willing to speak as one and explore alternative ideas and approaches. They should be willing to dedicate high level staff that are able to make decisions, as well as staff that can implement assigned tasks. Members should strategically aim at filling critical gaps and leveraging resources toward achieving their mission. They should demonstrate willingness to commit to the coalition for an extended (relevant) period of time, and lastly understand how their issue fits into a broader network of issues. Raynor (2011) further developed a logic model that summarizes the critical organizational capacities for coalitions, all of which need to be more developed if applied to the Egyptian women NGO coalitions.

To conclude the analysis, the impact on the ground is something that cannot easily be measured to this moment. Apparently there is polarization; women NGOs and networks vs. the state. It could be more or less described as the *NGOization of the feminist movement in Egypt vs. the state feminism before the revolution*. This is the rhetoric discussion, but what matters at the moment is the fact that the factor of visibility and leadership should not be the concern now. The interest of the target beneficiaries should be the utmost goal; Egyptian women. Who is leading what, is not what matters now, but who really matter are the poor women on the ground, and the illiterate women who do not know their rights. These coalitions carry the burden of reaching out to the policy makers to inform them about the rights of these women.

Evaluating Coalitions Based on Raynor's (2011) Indicators		Evaluating Coalitions Cont'd Based on Raynor's (2011) Indicators	
Goal Destination	Performance of Egyptian NGO Coalitions	Value Proposition	Performance of Egyptian NGO Coalitions
1. Policy adoption/Policy blocking	1. Successful in policy blocking (cancellation of a series of laws that uphold gender equality)	1. Increased coalition capacity (i.e. clarity of vision; ability to manage/raise resources; better policy analysis; etc.)	1. Need to work more on CD (Check note card)
2. Increased visibility/knowledge of the issue	2. Successful but more to be done	2. Increased visibility of coalition	2. Evident increased visibility/ sustainability issues/ leadership
3. Better relationships with policymakers and allies and reduced enemies	3. Area for improvement. NWROs for example did not establish links with the judicial committee on PSLs	3. Increased membership	3. Increased membership but not necessarily effective membership
4. Development of good research (increased data)	4. Area for improvement. Not good enough data on some issues (selectivity). Dearth of info. On service providers	4. Increased quality/prestige/engagement of membership	4. Area for improvement
5. Writing/testifying on effective policy	5. Not completely absent but could be largely improved	5. Increased collaboration between coalition members outside the coalition	5. Hard to assess objectively, but generally more needs to be done on this front
6. Overcoming important "sticking" points in moving an agenda/policy	6. No concrete evidence; limited dialogue with the government	6. Merging/strategic relationship with other coalitions	6. Minimal but not absent
7. Activation of broader constituency	7. Area for improvement based on interviews	7. More rapid and organized ability to respond	7. Area for improvement and the type of rapid response need to be defined and more strategized (not one type: press releases)
8. Increased public will	8. Success would be attributed to youth networks not big coalitions	8. Number of different "faces" that the coalition could credibly put forward to advance the issue	8. Single track approach so far, same language

Figure 9: Summary Evaluation of Egyptian coalitions based on Raynor's indicators

Chapter 7— Derived Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

In conclusion, more attention needs to be paid to “*how*” coalitions are formed and also “*how*” they operate. Most of the workshops, conferences, and reports tell more about “*what*” needs to be done, and not the “*how*” it should be done to bring about effective results that help the women’s cause. This applies to all the stages that a coalition or an organization would engage in to reach an end result. Women’s organizations need to ask themselves the following questions in the early phases of strategic planning and visioning, which has been identified as a lacking component based on the interviews that were conducted.

- 1- **What?** What are the priority issues that the women’s coalitions need to focus on in the short term and long term for increased gains for women? What are the areas of compromise?
- 2- **How?** How are they going to work on putting these issues on the political agenda? How are they going to coordinate and divide labor among themselves? How are they going to negotiate and widen their constituencies? How will they win part of the opposition? How will they build new leadership, or a second line within their coalitions? These are just some of the “*how?*” questions.
- 3- **When?** When is the right time to flag their issues? An expected timeframe for the achievement of objectives is also necessary (mainly because objectives should be SMART: specific; measurable; achievable; realistic; and time-framed).
- 4- **Where?** Where are they going to voice their concerns? What media outlets? Where are the areas where they need focus or have more concentrated efforts to ensure a wider outreach?

5- **For Whom?** Whom are the target beneficiaries, the people whom they serve? These people should be their number one priority and their interests should be put above personal interests.

The current and new coalitions should engage in more than just the three (3) Cs introduced by Foster and Wolff (1993), but rather engage in two (2) more Cs, which makes a then a total of five (5) Cs. To start with a *Common vision* is needed; followed by *Coordination*; and strong *Communication*; which should result in more *Collaboration*; while having an objective to *widen Constituencies*; taking into consideration again, the how? They are going to do all three (3) to ensure reaching the target objectives in the end.

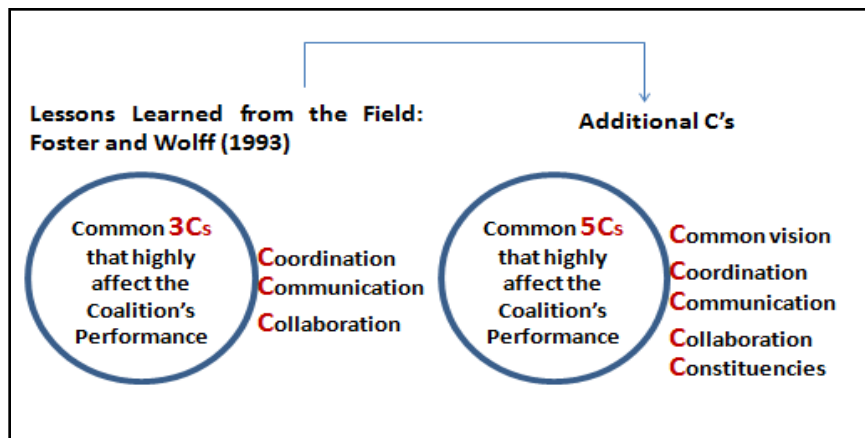


Figure 10: Adding to Foster and Wolff's Cs

There is a high need to invest in creating a database or some sort of *mapping of who is doing what*, which is completely lacking, not only for women's issues, but for social issues in general, public and private. The absence of this mapping often results in wasted resources in terms of time, money, and duplication of efforts. This particularly holds true since many do not know about what other local NGOs are doing in the Egyptian countryside (local governorates). The mapping should be done on the basis of

the five (5) above mentioned questions. This will not only result in better coordination, but will also better inform decision makers and donors on the needs of local communities, and will put unheard voices on the map; in other words, this is key to widening the access to knowledge about the needs of local communities, which should be addressed by the relevant stakeholders.

In order to better influence decision and policy making, women NGO coalitions should engage in more *power mapping* exercises. They need to identify and brainstorm about the key players who are able to influence policy or decision making in one way or another, especially that the political environment witnesses frequent changes, besides the emergence of new pressure groups who put new forms of pressure on the government, like peaceful protests, strikes, blocking main squares, roads or buildings, and disseminating information through social media.

One other aspect is working with the opposition. It is important for women NGO coalitions and organizations, and actors in general to recognize the need to get out of the traditional mode of work particularly when it comes to partnerships and alliances. The approach as well should be different and they should adapt their message to make them sensitive to the current context in order to gain more rights for women. Firstly, some areas are already controversial, like violence against women, personal status laws, and other topics. It might be wise that while working on these issues with other actors, they should also work with the opposition on topics that are not controversial, like eradicating women's illiteracy, or alleviating women from poverty, or improving women's health. This will result in the formation of a new network, will increase the chances that both parties are able to understand each other, will foster a culture of a participatory approach

by having two groups with different ideologies work together, and will increase the trust over the longer term, which can result in fruitful new partnerships.

Building trust is another very important aspect in the context of the work of coalitions in Egypt. Trust should be built on two levels, on the level of the work of organizations together. To trust that there are agreed upon roles for each of the members, and to promote the benefits of team work rather than individual work. The other aspect is building trust with the beneficiaries themselves, Egyptian women. This will happen if organizations invest more time in wider outreach activities, dividing themselves across the areas, and most importantly, speaking the language of the beneficiaries, with the beneficiaries themselves, and with the media to demonstrate adequate representation of Egyptian women.

Avoiding sexuality is another very important issue that is likely to affect the extent to which the messages that women coalitions send to the public. Tadros (2011) referred to factors that are likely to “facilitate the relative success of women’s coalitions.” Among the factors was “framing or avoiding sexuality.” In the new Egyptian context, and with the rising conservatism, it is evident that framing sexuality would not enhance a coalition’s interest, but avoiding would result in building better coalitions and gaining more support, which we can draw on from the experience of the CSW. Avoiding sexuality makes the women’s advocates more relevant and accepted by the Egyptian public at large.

Policy recommendations:

A. General recommendations:

1. Foster an enabling environment that facilitates and provides space for monitoring, coordination and advocacy efforts to promote gender equality
2. Invest in strengthening the capacity of state security in understanding the concepts of human rights and the consequences of their violations in order to enable them to deal with women subjected to various forms of violence
3. Strengthen the national women's machinery to ensure that it enjoys the adequate human and financial resources, independence from any political affiliation, inclusive of women activists (from all ages) and gender experts
4. Work on developing the legal framework to ensure that it recognizes and safeguards the explicit rights of women, starting by the constitution, followed by legislations and policies, while paying consideration to the application of laws and the implementation of policies
5. Increase and ensure women's representation (from all affiliations) and participation, in decision making bodies and platforms to ensure their inclusion
6. Invest in developing high quality, reliable research and build adequate databases that help in facilitating coordination, collaboration and communication, for a more efficient impact on the ground
7. Devise strategies to address women's illiteracy, and integrate various civil society actors and youth to achieve desired end results
8. Devise a national poverty strategy that address the root causes of poverty, that is time-bound, achievable, and implementable and results oriented, as this will have a direct impact on the empowerment of women

9. Strengthen Al Azhar institution and promote a moderate and well informed religious discourse, while ensuring more engagement with faith based organizations
10. Invest in reforming the media sector by fostering a culture of respect to human rights, including women's, criminalize any act of promoting hatred or discrimination via media channels, while ensuring that the principle of freedom of expression is not violated

B. Recommendations to women coalitions

1. Work on a common vision for advancing women rights, while being mindful of the needs and existing differences of target beneficiaries
2. Coordinate among the different actors, divide labor and capitalize on the competencies of each to achieve quicker and more impactful results
3. Collaborate with the groups that, not only hold a similar view point on women's issues, but also with opposing groups or ones that have a different opinion, and identify areas for joint work
4. Understand the various actors with regard to influencing policy and decision making, from which partnerships should be strengthened and alliances should be formed is a must
5. Understand the media institution and develop stronger linkages to further promote the interest of women
6. Put personal issues aside and be driven by goals and objectives that advance the interests of women
7. Speak the language of the people and work more on strengthening and widening constituencies at the grassroots level
8. Invest in developing the skill and the capacity to propose alternative policies and legislations to government

9. Relate to the target beneficiaries and the wider audience as much as possible
10. Engage in power mapping for enhanced formation of strategic alliances

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ANNEX1: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

1. **Afaf Marei**, Director of the Egyptian Association for Community Participation Enhancement
2. **Aida Nour El Din**, Founder of Women and Development Association
3. **Aly El Sawy**, Professor of Political Science at the Cairo University, Consultant and Expert on Women's Political Participation
4. **Amr Hamzawy**, Professor of Political Science at the Cairo University and Former Parliamentarian
5. **Ayat Farouk**, Journalist, the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) Journal
6. **Azza El Garf**, Member of the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) and former parliamentarian
7. **Azza Kamel**, Director of ACT Egypt
8. **Azza Soliman**, Founder of the Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance (CEWLA)
9. **Bosayna Kamel**, Former Presidential Candidate and TV anchor
10. **Dina Hussien**, Member of the National Council for Women (NCW) and activist
11. **Engy Ghozlan**, Co-founder of Harassmap
12. **Fatma Khafagy**, Board Member of the Egyptian Feminist Union
13. **Ghada Khashab**, Member of the Educational Committee, Freedom and Justice Party (FJP)
14. **Ghada Waly**, Director of the Social Fund for Development (SFD)
15. **Hoda Badran**, President of the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU) and Secretary General of the Alliance for Arab Women (AAW)
16. **Hisham Gaafar**, Director of Mada for Media Development
17. **Nehad Abol Komsan**, Chairperson of the Egyptian Center of Women's Rights (ECWR)
18. **Omaima Kamel**, Advisor to the President of Egypt on Women and Family Affairs
19. **Kawthar El Kholy**, Journalist, Editor and Researcher, MADA for Media Development
20. **Magy Mahrous**, Activist and Former Parliamentary Candidate
21. **Mariam Zaky**, TV Host of "Bel Adab" Program
22. **Maya Morsy**, Gender Practice Team Leader, UNDP Regional Center in Cairo (RCC)
23. **Mona Amin**, Project Manager, the National Population Council (NPC)
24. **Nora Rafea**, Research and Information Associate at UN Women
25. **Omaima Abo Bakr**, Professor at Cairo University and Prominent Writer on Islamic Feminism
26. **Sameera Ibrahim**, Prominent Activist
27. **Vivian Fouad**, Project Manager, the National Population Council (NPC)
28. **Vivian Thabet**, Manager of the Women's Program, Care Egypt
29. **Yousry Moustafa**, Head of the Women's Program, GIZ
30. **Zaida Arguedas**, Deputy Executive Director of the League of Women Voters, USA

ANNEX2: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Thesis Working Title: Women NGO Coalitions in Egypt: Pre-requisites for Enhanced Effectiveness

This document lists the questions that the participants/interviews will be asked to collect data and information for my thesis. The subject of the thesis is Women NGO Coalitions in Egypt and the extent to which they are able to influence policy and decision making. It is important to note that during the interview, more questions may arise, depending on the answers of the respondent, mainly follow up questions for clarification or to dig in for more information. The confidentiality of the information will be ensured, if the participant indicates that the information should be confidential. They will be informed about this before I begin asking them questions.

Interview questions:

1. What are the top three challenges that are facing women today?
2. What is your evaluation of the current women NGO coalitions on the ground?
3. In your opinion, what are the benefits of being in a coalition?
4. What are the challenges that are facing women NGO coalitions?
5. In your opinion, do you see a difference in how women NGO coalitions operated before the revolution and how they currently work after the revolution?
6. How can women NGO coalitions further influence public policy making?
7. In your opinion, who are the key players that women NGO coalitions should form alliances with or reach out to for more effective lobbying and pressure?
8. What is your assessment of the current women NGO coalitions?
9. Is there an available database or any sort of document that maps women NGOs in Egypt?
10. What is your evaluation of the effectiveness of the national women's machinery, the National Council for Women (NCW), in influencing policies before and after the revolution?

ANNEX3: THE EGYPTIAN WOMEN'S CHARTER

EGYPTIAN WOMEN: PARTNERS IN THE REVOLUTION AND IN BUILDING DEMOCRATIC EGYPT

Egyptian women constitute half of Egypt. They have been active in January 25th revolution and side by side with men, they demonstrated in main squares of Egypt, they spent the nights on streets to make sure that the revolution will not be hijacked or stopped, they nursed the wounded, lamented the dead, chanted and danced when they became victorious and also cleaned the aftermath when they withheld the demonstrations. They in brief, have put an end to the corrupt regime and to the dictatorship. They are still active in translating the slogans of the revolution: freedom, dignity and social justice to a reality in every Egyptian citizen's life. They are still participating in all Friday's demonstrations in public squares confirming that democracy that they and men promised Egypt to achieve will be fulfilled soon. They want to see the themes of the revolution Freedom, Dignity and Social Justice opening new opportunities for them to obtain equality and justice.

Egyptian women have agreed that the following are their demands:

First: Representation of women

Women should be represented in the committee that will be entrusted with drafting the constitution. Such representation should take into consideration their size in the population and their past, present and future role in building the society.

Women should also be participants in all legislative committees and in all dialogue forums that discuss national issues.

Women should occupy at least 40 percent of the ministerial positions and should be in decision making positions, in political parties electoral lists.

The new constitution should spell out clearly full equality between man and women in all spheres of life and the elimination of all sorts of discrimination against them.

The parliamentary elections should be run through proportional electoral lists which have at least 30% women

Selection for leadership posts and all positions should be based on qualifications and objective professional requirements with no discrimination.

Second: International Conventions

The Egyptian government should hold its commitment to all international human rights conventions including the convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women.

Egyptian representation in International human rights committees should include women from government and non-government organizations

Third: Social and Economic Rights.

Egyptian women particularly the poor should have access to basic services to enable them to combine their roles at home and in society.

It is a shame that 40 percent of Egyptian women are still illiterate in the age of information and technology. Without the use of technology the 25th revolution would not have succeeded

Only 16% of Egyptian full time workers are female. In the current times of insecurity a preference can be observed to first support men as the "traditional

breadwinners” in getting out of unemployment. Therefore now even greater efforts are needed to support women claiming their economic rights. Women should have equal opportunities in accessing the labor market, credit, capital and skills training. At the work place women should enjoy decent working conditions, prospects for advancement as well as protection from any kind of sexual harassment.

Fourth: Legislation

All discriminatory legislation against women should be reviewed and redressed on basis of equality and justice. The Family Law in particular needs to be reformed to reflect human dignity and justice for all members of the family and protect the children

Fifth: Women and judiciary posts

Women graduates of law schools should have equal opportunity to acquire judiciary posts and climb the ladder up to being judges and in all branches and ranks of the system.

Sixth: National Women Machinery

Egyptian women demand a strong national women machinery along with other mechanisms like gender focal points in all ministries and governorates, Gender equality committee inside the parliament and an Ombudsperson for gender equality to ensure gender mainstreaming in all policies, plans and programs of the government, of the legislative and judiciary systems.

Seventh: Media:

A national policy should be formulated to reflect a positive image of women and to help create a culture with no discrimination against women.



EGYPT

مصر

The Permanent Mission of Egypt
to the United Nations
New York

بعثة مصر الدائمة
لدى الأمم المتحدة
نيويورك

**Statement by H.E. Dr. Pakinam Al Sharkawi
Deputy Prime Minister & Special Assistant of the President for Political Affairs
Arab Republic of Egypt**

Before the 57th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women

New York, 4 March 2013

Check against delivery

**Madame Chairperson,
Excellencies Distinguished Heads of Delegations,
Ladies and Gentlemen,**

Allow me at the outset to convey to you the greetings of the Egyptian women who proudly stood alongside men during the January 25th revolution, calling for freedom, dignity, democracy, and justice. The Egyptian woman was, and remains, strongly present in the Egyptian revolution. Her heroism inspired the world. She is also effectively contributing to the democratization process, having participated, in record numbers, in all voting processes to strengthen the state institutions, as well as in various popular and political activities, particularly demonstrations, the establishment of political parties, and running for major posts.

The post-revolution democratic Egypt undertakes to preserve the gains women achieved over a long history of struggle and to stand against any attempts to derail the course of their progress. The experience of the revolution has heightened Egyptian women's awareness of the intrinsic value of civilization and of their role and effectiveness. They have started a new path of work to consolidate their rights through religious, cultural and human references and by participating in the nation-building exercise.

The 2012 Constitution of Egypt underlines the rights of women, and stresses that they are full-fledged citizens. It prohibits all forms of oppression and exploitation, and criminalizes any practices that despise or humiliate the human being. It also pays special attention to women who are breadwinners, divorced and widowed.

This new framework enabled the Egyptian woman to gain more political and intellectual independence. She thus stands ready to contribute more effectively in formulating the international discourse on women and in developing visions that are more in tune with the values and culture she shares with millions of women in the Arab and Islamic worlds. This will ultimately support the goal of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to truly embody the world with its diverse races, religions, peoples and cultures.

In this regard, Egypt welcomes the presence of the regional office of UN Women in Cairo and will provide it with all the support it needs to accomplish its work. Cairo also hosts the headquarters of the Arab Women Organization, and has accepted to host the Women offices of both the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the Non-Aligned Movement.

The problem of violence against women is one of the major challenges the world faces today. The Egyptian Government attaches great importance to combating all forms of such violence and is currently working on addressing this phenomenon through various measures including: promulgating a law criminalizing all forms of violence against women and girls, and improving security measures.

There remains an urgent need to adopt comprehensive national strategies that address the root causes of this problem, based on an inclusive partnership between state institutions and the society, in various fields such as education, health, cultural discourse, civil society and the eradication of poverty and illiteracy. But most importantly, we must give due attention to the family as it constitutes the most effective tool in successfully ending violence against women.

Madame Chairperson,

The formulation of international policies to combat this phenomenon must be based on the balance between the values shared by humanity, and the cultural and social particularities of countries and peoples. The United Nations was built on the respect of this principle.

In this context, Egypt's delegation is keen to develop more effective policies for the advancement of women and the fight against all forms of violence against them. We hope that the Commission will succeed this year in reaching balanced and specific formulations in its final conclusions that take into account the diversity of cultures and beliefs, without attempting to impose concepts or definitions that are not agreed upon and that go beyond the scope of this session.

Madame Chairperson,

Egypt attaches great importance to alleviating the growing suffering faced by women in the Arab region, especially by Palestinian and Syrian women. We call on the international community to provide all forms of support to women under occupation and in conflict situations.

In reference to the report of the Secretary-General on the situation of Palestinian women and the possibility of assisting them in the areas of health and education, we once again urge the international community to support the Palestinian women's rights to a decent life.

Madame Chairperson,

Finally, I would like to emphasize Egypt's sincere appreciation for the key role played by the United Nations in improving the situation of women worldwide and empowering them.

Thank you, Madame Chairperson.

ANNEX 5: AGREED CONCLUSIONS OF THE 57TH COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

United Nations

E/CN.6/2013/L.5



Economic and Social Council

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19 March 2013

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Commission on the Status of Women

Fifty-seventh session

4-15 March 2013

Agenda item 3

Follow-up to the Fourth World Conference on Women and to the twenty-third special session of the General Assembly, entitled "Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century"

Draft agreed conclusions submitted by the Chair of the Commission, Ms. Marjon V. Kamara (Liberia), on the basis of informal consultations

The elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls

1. The Commission on the Status of Women reaffirms the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, the outcome documents of the twenty-third special session of the General Assembly, and the declarations adopted by the Commission on the occasion of the tenth and fifteenth anniversaries of the Fourth World Conference on Women.
2. The Commission also reaffirms the international commitments made at relevant United Nations summits and conferences in the area of gender equality and the empowerment of women, including in the Programme of Action at the International Conference on Population and Development and the key actions for its further implementation.
3. The Commission reaffirms that the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Optional Protocols thereto, as well as other relevant conventions and treaties, provide an international legal framework and a comprehensive set of measures for the elimination and prevention of all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls, as a cross-cutting issue addressed in different international instruments.
4. The Commission recalls the rules of international humanitarian law, including the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977.
5. The Commission recalls the inclusion of gender-related crimes and crimes of sexual violence in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, as well as

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the recognition by the ad hoc international criminal tribunals that rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity or a constitutive act with respect to genocide or torture.

6. The Commission acknowledges also the important role in the prevention and elimination of discrimination and violence against women and girls played by regional conventions, instruments and initiatives and their follow-up mechanisms, in respective regions and countries.

7. The Commission reaffirms the commitment to the full and effective implementation of and follow-up to all relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, in particular the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, and the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies on the elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls. It also reaffirms its previous agreed conclusions on violence against women (1998) and on elimination of discrimination and violence against the girl child (2007).

8. The Commission recalls Security Council resolutions 1325 (2000) of 31 October 2000, 1820 (2008) of 19 June 2008, 1888 (2009) of 30 September 2009, 1889 (2009) of 5 October 2009 and 1960 (2010) of 16 December 2010 on women and peace and security and all relevant Security Council resolutions on children and armed conflict, including resolutions 1882 (2009) of 4 August 2009 and 1998 (2011) of 12 July 2011 on armed conflict and post-conflict situations.

9. The Commission also recalls Human Rights Council resolutions 17/11 of 17 June 2011 on accelerating efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women: ensuring due diligence in protection, 20/6 of 5 July 2012 on the elimination of discrimination against women and 20/12 of 5 July 2012 on accelerating efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women: remedies for women who have been subjected to violence.

10. The Commission affirms that violence against women and girls is rooted in historical and structural inequality in power relations between women and men, and persists in every country in the world as a pervasive violation of the enjoyment of human rights. Gender-based violence is a form of discrimination that seriously violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women and girls of all human rights and fundamental freedoms. Violence against women and girls is characterized by the use and abuse of power and control in public and private spheres, and is intrinsically linked with gender stereotypes that underlie and perpetuate such violence, as well as other factors that can increase women's and girls' vulnerability to such violence.

11. The Commission stresses that "violence against women" means any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women and girls, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. The Commission also notes the economic and social harm caused by such violence.

12. The Commission strongly condemns all forms of violence against women and girls. It recognizes their different forms and manifestations, in different contexts, settings, circumstances and relationships, and that domestic violence remains the most prevalent form that affects women of all social strata across the world. It also notes that women and girls who face multiple forms of discrimination are exposed to increased risk of violence.

13. The Commission urges States to strongly condemn violence against women and girls committed in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, and recognizes that sexual and gender-based violence affects victims and survivors, families, communities and societies, and calls for effective measures of accountability and redress as well as effective remedies.

14. The Commission urges States to strongly condemn all forms of violence against women and girls and to refrain from invoking any custom, tradition or religious consideration to avoid their obligations with respect to its elimination as set out in the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women.

15. The Commission recognizes that all human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated and that the international community must treat human rights globally in a fair and equal manner, on the same footing and with the same emphasis, and stresses that, while the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds must be borne in mind, it is the duty of States regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms.

16. The Commission stresses that all States have the obligation, at all levels, to use all appropriate means of a legislative, political, economic, social and administrative nature in order to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms of women and girls, and must exercise due diligence to prevent, investigate, prosecute and punish the perpetrators of violence against women and girls and end impunity, and to provide protection as well as access to appropriate remedies for victims and survivors.

17. The Commission stresses that the right to education is a human right, and that eliminating illiteracy, ensuring equal access to education, in particular in rural and remote areas, and closing the gender gap at all levels of education empowers women and girls and thereby contributes to the elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls.

18. The Commission reaffirms that women and men have the right to enjoy, on an equal basis, all their human rights and fundamental freedoms. It urges States to prevent all violations of all human rights and fundamental freedoms of women and girls and to devote particular attention to abolishing practices and legislation that discriminate against women and girls, or perpetuate and condone violence against them.

19. The Commission stresses that the realization of gender equality and the empowerment of women, including women's economic empowerment and full and equal access to resources, and their full integration into the formal economy, in particular in economic decision-making, as well as their full and equal participation in public and political life is essential for addressing the structural and underlying causes of violence against women and girls.

20. The Commission also recognizes the persistence of obstacles that remain for the prevention and elimination of all forms of violence against women and girls, and that the prevention and response to such violence requires States to act, at all levels, at each and every opportunity in a comprehensive and holistic manner that recognizes the linkages between violence against women and girls and other issues, such as education, health, HIV and AIDS, poverty eradication, food security, peace and security, humanitarian assistance and crime prevention.

21. The Commission recognizes that women's poverty and lack of empowerment, as well as their marginalization resulting from their exclusion from social and economic policies and from the benefits of education and sustainable development can place them at increased risk of violence, and that violence against women impedes the social and economic development of communities and States, as well as the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals.

22. The Commission recognizes that violence against women has both short- and long-term adverse consequences on their health, including their sexual and reproductive health, and the enjoyment of their human rights, and that respecting and promoting sexual and reproductive health, and protecting and fulfilling reproductive rights in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences, is a necessary condition to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of women to enable them to enjoy all their human rights and fundamental freedoms, and to prevent and mitigate violence against women.

23. The Commission expresses deep concern about violence against women and girls in public spaces, including sexual harassment, especially when it is being used to intimidate women and girls who are exercising any of their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

24. The Commission expresses concern about violent gender-related killings of women and girls, while recognizing efforts made to address this form of violence in different regions, including in countries where the concept of femicide or feminicide has been incorporated in national legislation.

25. The Commission recognizes that illicit use of and illicit trade in small arms and light weapons aggravates violence, inter alia, against women and girls.

26. The Commission recognizes the vulnerability of older women and the particular risk of violence they face, and stresses the urgent need to address violence and discrimination against them, especially in the light of the growing proportion of older people in the world's population.

27. The Commission reaffirms that indigenous women often suffer multiple forms of discrimination and poverty which increase their vulnerability to all forms of violence; and stresses the need to seriously address violence against indigenous women and girls.

28. The Commission recognizes the important role of the community, in particular men and boys, as well as civil society, in particular women's and youth organizations, in the efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls.

29. The Commission acknowledges the strategic and coordinating role of national machineries for the advancement of women, which should be placed at the highest possible level in government, for the elimination of discrimination and violence against women and girls, and the need to endow these machineries with the necessary human and sufficient financial resources to enable them to function effectively. The Commission also acknowledges the contribution of national human rights institutions where they exist.

30. The Commission recognizes the important role of the United Nations system, in particular of the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN-Women), in addressing discrimination and violence against women and girls at the global, regional and national levels and in assisting States, upon their request, in their efforts to eliminate and prevent all forms of violence against women and girls.

31. The Commission stresses the importance of data collection on the prevention and elimination of violence against women and girls, and in that regard takes note of the work of the Statistical Commission towards a set of indicators on violence against women.

32. The Commission welcomes the progress made in addressing violence against women and girls such as the adoption of relevant laws and policies, the implementation of preventive measures, the establishment of protection and appropriate support services for victims and survivors and improvement in data collection, analysis and research. In this regard, the Commission welcomes the contributions and participation of governments at all levels, and all relevant stakeholders in efforts to address violence against women and girls in a holistic manner.

33. The Commission recognizes that despite progress made, significant gaps and challenges remain in fulfilling commitments and bridging the implementation gap in addressing the scourge of violence against women and girls. The Commission is in particular concerned about: insufficient gender-sensitive policies; inadequate implementation of legal and policy frameworks; inadequate collection of data, analysis and research; lack of financial and human resources and insufficient allocation of such resources; and that existing efforts are not always comprehensive, coordinated, consistent, sustained, transparent and adequately monitored and evaluated.

34. The Commission urges governments, at all levels, and as appropriate, with the relevant entities of the United Nations system, international and regional organizations, within their respective mandates and bearing in mind national priorities, and invites national human rights institutions where they exist, civil society, including non-governmental organizations, the private sector, employer organizations, trade unions, media and other relevant actors, as applicable, to take the following actions:

A. Strengthening implementation of legal and policy frameworks and accountability

(a) Consider ratifying or acceding to, as a particular matter of priority, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child and their respective Optional Protocols, limit the extent of any reservations, formulate any such reservations as precisely and as narrowly as possible to ensure that no reservations are incompatible with the object and purpose of the Conventions, review their reservations regularly with a view to withdrawing them and withdraw reservations that are contrary to the object and purpose of the relevant treaty; and implement them fully by, inter alia, putting in place effective national legislation and policies, and encourages States parties in

their reporting to relevant treaty bodies to include requested information on measures to address violence against women and girls;

(b) Encourage the use of all relevant sources of international law, international guidelines and best practices regarding protection of victims and survivors to combat violence against women and girls;

(c) Adopt, as appropriate, review, and ensure the accelerated and effective implementation of laws and comprehensive measures that criminalize violence against women and girls, and that provide for multidisciplinary and gender-sensitive preventive and protective measures such as emergency barring orders and protection orders, the investigation, submission for prosecution and appropriate punishment of perpetrators to end impunity, support services that empower victims and survivors, as well as access to appropriate civil remedies and redress;

(d) Address and eliminate, as a matter of priority, domestic violence through adopting, strengthening and implementing legislation that prohibits such violence, prescribes punitive measures and establishes adequate legal protection against such violence;

(e) Strengthen national legislation, where appropriate, to punish violent gender-related killings of women and girls and integrate specific mechanisms or policies to prevent, investigate and eradicate such deplorable forms of gender-based violence;

(f) Ensure women's and girls' unimpeded access to justice and to effective legal assistance so that they can make informed decisions regarding, inter alia, legal proceedings and issues relating to family law and criminal law, and also ensure that they have access to just and effective remedies for the harm that they have suffered, including through the adoption of national legislation where necessary;

(g) Take the necessary legislative and/or other measures to prohibit compulsory and forced alternative dispute resolution processes, including forced mediation and conciliation, in relation to all forms of violence against women and girls;

(h) Review and where appropriate, revise, amend or abolish all laws, regulations, policies, practices and customs that discriminate against women or have a discriminatory impact on women, and ensure that the provisions of multiple legal systems, where they exist, comply with international human rights obligations, commitments and principles, including the principle of non-discrimination;

(i) Mainstream a gender perspective into all legislation, policies and programmes and allocate adequate financial and human resources, including through the expanded use of gender-responsive planning and budgeting, taking into account the needs and circumstances of women and girls, including victims and survivors of violence, for the development, adoption and full implementation of relevant laws, policies and programmes to address discrimination and violence against women and girls and for support to women's organizations;

(j) Increase the investment in gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls, taking into account the diversity of needs and circumstances of women and girls including victims and survivors of violence, including through mainstreaming a gender perspective in resource allocation and ensuring the necessary human, financial and material resources for specific targeted activities to

ensure gender equality at the local, national, regional and international levels, as well through enhanced and increased international cooperation;

(k) Develop and implement effective multisectoral national policies, strategies and programmes, with the full and effective participation of women and girls, which include measures for prevention, protection and support services and responses; data collection, research, monitoring and evaluation; the establishment of coordination mechanisms; allocation of adequate financial and human resources; independent national monitoring and accountability mechanisms; and clear timelines and national benchmarks for results to be achieved;

(l) Ensure that in armed conflict and post-conflict situations the prevention of and response to all forms of violence against women and girls, including sexual and gender-based violence, are prioritized and effectively addressed, including as appropriate through the investigation, prosecution and punishment of perpetrators to end impunity, removal of barriers to women's access to justice, the establishment of complaint and reporting mechanisms, the provision of support to victims and survivors, affordable and accessible health-care services, including sexual and reproductive health, and reintegration measures; and take steps to increase women's participation in conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes and post-conflict decision-making;

(m) Ensure accountability for the killing, maiming and targeting of women and girls and crimes of sexual violence, as prohibited under international law, stressing the need for the exclusion of such crimes from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes and address such acts in all stages of the armed-conflict and post-conflict resolution process including through transitional justice mechanisms, while taking steps to ensure the full and effective participation of women in such processes;

(n) End impunity by ensuring accountability and punishing perpetrators of the most serious crimes against women and girls under national and international law, and stressing the need for the alleged perpetrators of those crimes to be held accountable under national justice or, where applicable, international justice;

(o) Take effective steps to ensure the equal participation of women and men in all spheres of political life, political reform and at all levels of decision-making, in all situations, and to contribute to the prevention and the elimination of discrimination and violence against women and girls;

(p) Underline commitments to strengthen national efforts, including with the support of international cooperation, aimed at addressing the rights and needs of women and girls affected by natural disasters, armed conflicts, other complex humanitarian emergencies, trafficking in persons and terrorism, within the context of actions geared to addressing and eliminating violence against women and girls and the realization of the internationally agreed goals and commitments related to gender equality and the empowerment of women, including the Millennium Development Goals. Also underline the need to take concerted actions in conformity with international law to remove the obstacles to the full realization of the rights of women and girls living under foreign occupation, so as to ensure the achievement of the above-mentioned goals and commitments;

(q) Ensure that the specific needs of women and girls are incorporated into the planning, delivery and monitoring of, and infrastructure for disaster risk

reduction programmes and protocols and humanitarian assistance to address natural disasters, including those induced by climate change such as extreme weather events and slow onset impacts, with their full participation, and that in disaster preparedness efforts and in post-disaster settings, the prevention and response to all forms of violence against women and girls, including sexual violence, are prioritized and adequately addressed;

(r) Address violence against women and girls resulting from transnational organized crime, including trafficking in persons and drug trafficking, and adopt specific policies to prevent and eradicate violence against women in crime prevention strategies;

(s) Strengthen bilateral, regional and international cooperation, by consolidating existing mechanisms and developing new initiatives consistent with the United Nations Convention on Transnational Organized Crime and its supplementary Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, and by implementing the United Nations Global Plan of Action to Combat Trafficking in Persons;

(t) Take appropriate measures to address the root factors, including external factors, that contribute to trafficking in women and girls. Prevent, combat and eliminate trafficking in women and girls by criminalizing all forms of trafficking in persons, in particular for the purpose of sexual and economic exploitation, as well as by strengthening existing civil and criminal legislation with a view to providing better protection of the rights of women and girls and by bringing to justice and punishing the offenders and intermediaries involved, including public officials, by protecting the rights of trafficked persons and preventing revictimization. Take appropriate measures to ensure that identified victims of trafficking in persons are not penalized for having been trafficked. Provide identified victims of trafficking appropriate protection and care, such as rehabilitation and reintegration in society, witness protection, job training, legal assistance, confidential health care, and repatriation with the informed consent of the trafficked person, regardless of their participation in any legal proceeding. Accelerate public awareness, education and training to discourage the demand that fosters all forms of exploitation;

(u) Strengthen international cooperation, including through the fulfilment of international official development assistance commitments, that support multisectoral policies, strategies, programmes and best practices, in accordance with national priorities aimed at achieving sustainable development and the realization of the empowerment of women, particularly towards ending violence against women and girls and promoting gender equality;

(v) Encourage private sector investment in programmes, campaigns and strategies to respond to, prevent and eliminate all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls, including sexual harassment at the workplace, and to empower victims and survivors of violence;

(w) Adopt and fund policy reforms and programmes, and support education, to sensitize, train and strengthen the capacity of public officials and professionals, including the judiciary, police and military, as well as those working in the areas of education, health, social welfare, justice, defence and immigration; hold public officials accountable for not complying with laws and regulations relating to violence against women and girls, in order to prevent and respond to such violence

in a gender-sensitive manner, end impunity, and avoid the abuse of power leading to violence against women and the revictimization of victims and survivors;

(x) Prevent, investigate and punish acts of violence against women and girls that are perpetrated by people in positions of authority, such as teachers, religious leaders, political leaders and law enforcement officials, in order to end impunity for these crimes;

(y) Create and enhance a supportive environment for increased consultation and participation among all relevant stakeholders in efforts to address violence against women and girls, especially organizations working at the community level to promote the empowerment of women and girls, as well as victims and survivors so they can become agents of change and their knowledge and experience can contribute to the elaboration of policies and programmes;

(z) Support and protect those who are committed to eliminating violence against women, including women human rights defenders in this regard, who face particular risks of violence;

(aa) Take appropriate measures to ensure the human rights of and protect women and girls deprived of their liberty and/or under State custody or State care from all forms of violence, in particular sexual abuse;

(bb) Adopt a life-cycle approach in efforts to end discrimination and violence against women and girls and ensure that specific issues affecting older women are given greater visibility and attention, are addressed through the fulfilment of obligations under relevant international conventions and agreements and included in national policies and programmes to prevent and eliminate violence against women;

B. Addressing structural and underlying causes and risk factors so as to prevent violence against women and girls

(cc) Accelerate efforts to prevent and eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and girls and ensure their equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to education and to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health; ensure that all children, particularly girls, have equal access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality, and renew their efforts to improve and expand girls' education at all levels, including the secondary and higher levels, in all academic areas; and increase girls' ability to attend school and extracurricular activities by investing in public infrastructure projects and accessible quality public services and providing a safe environment;

(dd) Promote women's full participation in the formal economy, in particular in economic decision-making, and their equal access to full employment and decent work; empower women in the informal sector; and ensure that women and men enjoy equal treatment in the workplace, as well as equal pay for equal work or work of equal value, and equal access to power and decision-making, and promote sharing of paid and unpaid work;

(ee) Accelerate efforts to develop, review and strengthen policies, and allocate adequate financial and human resources, to address the structural and underlying causes of violence against women and girls, including gender

discrimination, inequality, unequal power relations between women and men, gender stereotypes, poverty as well as their lack of empowerment, in particular in the context of the economic and financial crisis; and accelerate efforts to eradicate poverty and persistent legal, social, and economic inequalities, including by strengthening women's and girls' economic participation, empowerment and inclusion, in order to decrease their risk of violence;

(ff) States are strongly urged to refrain from promulgating and applying any unilateral economic, financial or trade measures not in accordance with international law and the Charter of the United Nations that impede the full achievement of economic and social development, particularly in developing countries;

(gg) Take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social, educational and other measures to protect and promote the rights of women and girls with disabilities as they are more vulnerable to all forms of exploitation, violence and abuse, including in the workplace, educational institutions, the home, and other settings;

(hh) Undertake legislative, administrative, financial and other measures to give women full and equal access to economic resources, including the right to inheritance and to ownership of land and other property, credit, natural resources and appropriate technologies, *inter alia*, by means of international cooperation; prioritize and intensify initiatives towards the economic empowerment of women at the grass-roots level, including through entrepreneurship education and business incubators, as a way of uplifting their status, thereby reducing their vulnerability to violence;

(ii) Refrain from using social justifications for denying women their freedom of movement, the right to own property and the right to equal protection of the law;

(jj) Design and implement national policies that aim at transforming those social norms that condone violence against women and girls, and work to counteract attitudes by which women and girls are regarded as subordinate to men and boys or as having stereotyped roles that perpetuate practices involving violence or coercion;

(kk) Develop and implement educational programmes and teaching materials, including comprehensive evidence-based education for human sexuality, based on full and accurate information, for all adolescents and youth, in a manner consistent with their evolving capacities, with the appropriate direction and guidance from parents and legal guardians, with the involvement of children, adolescents, youth and communities, and in coordination with women's, youth and specialized non-governmental organizations, in order to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women of all ages, to eliminate prejudices, and to promote and build informed decision-making, communication and risk reduction skills for the development of respectful relationships and based on gender equality and human rights, as well as teacher education and training programmes for both formal and non-formal education;

(ll) Carry out awareness-raising and education campaigns, in cooperation with civil society organizations, especially women's organizations, through different means of communication, targeting the general public, young people, men and boys, to address the structural and underlying causes of violence and abuse against women and girls; to overcome gender stereotypes and promote zero tolerance for such violence; to remove the stigma of being a victim and survivor of violence; and to

create an enabling environment where women and girls can easily report incidences of violence and make use of the services available and of protection and assistance programmes;

(mm) Mobilize communities and institutions to address and change attitudes, behaviours and practices that perpetuate and condone gender stereotypes and all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls, by engaging with women's and youth organizations, national machineries for the advancement of women, national human rights institutions where they exist, schools, educational and media institutions and others directly working with women and girls, men and boys and with individuals at all levels of society and in all settings, religious and community leaders and elders, teachers and parents;

(nn) Promote and protect the human rights of all women including their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination and violence; and adopt and accelerate the implementation of laws, policies and programmes which protect and enable the enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms, including their reproductive rights in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, the Beijing Platform for Action and their review outcomes;

(oo) Develop and implement gender-sensitive policies, strategies, programmes and measures which promote greater understanding and recognition that caregiving is a critical societal function and encourage the equal sharing of responsibilities and chores between men and women in caregiving, including for persons with disabilities, older persons and people living with HIV, as well as for child-rearing, parenting and domestic work; and also work to change attitudes that reinforce the division of labour based on gender, in order to promote shared family responsibility for work in the home and reduce the domestic work burden for women and girls;

(pp) Engage, educate, encourage and support men and boys to take responsibility for their behaviour, to ensure that men and adolescent boys take responsibility for their sexual and reproductive behaviour, and to refrain from all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls; develop, invest in, and implement policies, strategies and programmes, including comprehensive education programmes to increase their understanding of the harmful effects of violence and how it undermines gender equality and human dignity, promote respectful relationships, provide positive role models for gender equality and to encourage men and boys to take an active part and become strategic partners and allies in the prevention and elimination of all forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls;

(qq) Review, enact and strictly enforce laws and regulations concerning the minimum legal age of consent and the minimum age for marriage, raising the minimum age for marriage where necessary, and generate social support for the enforcement of these laws in order to end the practice of child, early and forced marriage;

(rr) Ensure the provision of viable alternatives and institutional support, including for girls who are already married and/or pregnant, especially educational opportunities with an emphasis on keeping girls in school through post-primary education and promoting the empowerment of girls through improving educational

quality and ensuring safe and hygienic conditions in schools, physical access to education, including by establishing safe residential facilities and childcare, and increasing financial incentives to women and their families where necessary;

(ss) Ensure the access of adolescents to services and programmes on preventing early pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections and HIV, ensuring personal safety, and preventing the use and abuse of alcohol and other harmful substances;

(tt) Develop policies and programmes, giving priority to formal and informal education programmes that support girls and enable them to acquire knowledge, develop self-esteem and take responsibility for their own lives, including access to a sustainable livelihood; and place special focus on programmes to educate women and men, especially parents and caregivers, on the importance of girls' physical and mental health and well-being, including the elimination of child, early and forced marriage, violence against women and girls, female genital mutilation, child sexual exploitation, including commercial sexual exploitation, sexual abuse, rape, incest and abduction, and the elimination of discrimination against girls such as in food allocation;

(uu) Develop and support existing policies and programmes targeting children and young people, especially women, who have experienced or witnessed domestic violence or sexual abuse, including protection for children in the justice system, so as to reduce the risk of their possible revictimization or perpetration of violence and restore their health; and implement such programmes in a gender-responsive manner with the meaningful participation of young people, civil society and women's and youth organizations, and educational and health institutions;

(vv) Recognize the important role the media can play in the elimination of gender stereotypes, including those perpetuated by commercial advertisements, and in promoting non-discriminatory and gender-sensitive reporting, including by preserving the confidentiality of the identity of victims and survivors where appropriate; and, to the extent consistent with freedom of expression, encourage the media to improve public awareness on violence against women and girls, to train those who work in the media, and to develop and strengthen self-regulatory mechanisms to promote balanced and non-stereotypical portrayals of women with a view to eliminating discrimination against and the exploitation of women and girls and refraining from presenting them as inferior beings and exploiting them as sexual objects and commodities and instead present women and girls as creative human beings, key actors and contributors to and beneficiaries of the process of development;

(ww) Support the development and use of information and communication technologies and social media as a resource for the empowerment of women and girls, including access to information on the prevention of and response to violence against women and girls; and develop mechanisms to combat the use of information and communication technologies and social media to perpetrate violence against women and girls, including the criminal misuse of information and communication technologies for sexual harassment, sexual exploitation, child pornography and trafficking in women and girls, and emerging forms of violence, such as cyberstalking, cyberbullying and privacy violations that compromise women's and girls' safety;

(xx) Improve the safety of girls at and on the way to and from school, including by establishing a safe and violence free environment by improving infrastructure such as transportation, providing separate and adequate sanitation facilities, improved lighting, playgrounds and safe environments; adopting national policies to prohibit, prevent and address violence against children, especially girls, including sexual harassment and bullying and other forms of violence, through measures such as conducting violence prevention activities in schools and communities, and establishing and enforcing penalties for violence against girls;

(yy) Take measures to ensure that all workplaces are free from discrimination and exploitation, violence, and sexual harassment and bullying, and that they address discrimination and violence against women and girls, as appropriate, through measures such as regulatory and oversight frameworks and reforms, collective agreements, codes of conduct, including appropriate disciplinary measures, protocols and procedures, referral of cases of violence to health services for treatment and police for investigation; as well as through awareness-raising and capacity-building, in collaboration with employers, unions and workers, including workplace services and flexibility for victims and survivors;

(zz) Increase measures to protect women and girls from violence and harassment, including sexual harassment and bullying, in both public and private spaces, to address security and safety, through awareness-raising, involvement of local communities, crime prevention laws, policies, programmes such as the “Safe Cities for Women and Children” initiative, improved urban planning, infrastructures, public transport and street lighting, and also through social and interactive media;

(aaa) Condemn and take action to prevent violence against women and girls in health-care settings, including sexual harassment, humiliation and forced medical procedures, or those conducted without informed consent, and which may be irreversible, such as forced hysterectomy, forced caesarean section, forced sterilization, forced abortion, and forced use of contraceptives, especially for particularly vulnerable and disadvantaged women and girls, such as those living with HIV, women and girls with disabilities, indigenous and Afro-descendent women and girls, pregnant adolescents and young mothers, older women, and women and girls from national or ethnic minorities;

(bbb) Further adopt and implement measures to ensure social and legal inclusion and protection of women migrants, including women migrant workers in origin, transit and destination countries, and promote and protect the full realization of their human rights, and their protection against violence and exploitation; implement gender-sensitive policies and programmes for women migrant workers and provide safe and legal channels that recognize their skills and education, provide fair labour conditions, and as appropriate facilitate their productive employment and decent work as well as integration into the labour force;

(ccc) Also take measures to ensure the protection of self-employed workers in cross-border work and women seasonal workers from violence and discrimination;

C. Strengthening multisectoral services, programmes and responses to violence against women and girls

(ddd) Establish comprehensive, coordinated, interdisciplinary, accessible and sustained multisectoral services, programmes and responses at all levels, and with the support of all available technologies, for all victims and survivors of all forms of violence against women and girls based on their needs, that are adequately resourced and include effective and coordinated action by, as appropriate, police and the justice sector, legal aid services, health-care services, including sexual and reproductive health, and medical, psychological and other counselling services, including specialist services as appropriate, State and independent women's shelters and counselling centres, 24-hour hotlines, social aid services, one stop crisis centres, immigration services, child services, public housing services to provide low threshold, easy to reach and safe assistance for women and children, as well as assistance, protection and support through access to long-term accommodation, educational, employment and economic opportunities, and take steps to ensure the safety and security of health-care workers and service providers that assist and support victims and survivors of violence, and in cases of girl child victims, such services and responses must take into account the best interests of the child;

(eee) Further take measures to coordinate services through the establishment of processes for referral between services of victims and survivors while ensuring their confidentiality and safety, establish national benchmarks and timelines, and monitor their progress and implementation; as well as ensure access to coordinated multisectoral services, programmes and responses for all women and girls at risk of or subjected to violence;

(fff) Ensure the availability and accessibility for victims and survivors and their children to services, programmes and opportunities, for their full recovery and reintegration into society, as well as full access to justice, including those subjected to domestic violence and other forms of violence, by putting in place measures, and where these exist, expanding such measures; and ensure the provision of adequate and timely information on available support services and legal measures, when possible in a language that they understand and in which they can communicate;

(ggg) Create, develop and implement a set of policies, and support the establishment of rehabilitative services, to encourage and bring changes in the attitudes and behaviours of perpetrators of violence against women and girls, and to reduce the likelihood of reoffending, including in cases of domestic violence, rape and harassment, as well as monitor and assess their impact and effect;

(hhh) Improve access to timely, affordable and quality health systems for women and girls, including through gender-sensitive national strategies and public-health policies and programmes that are comprehensive, affordable and better targeted to addressing their needs and that encourage women's active participation in their design and implementation; and also enhance women's access to affordable, safe, effective and good-quality treatment and medicines, with a special emphasis on the poor, vulnerable and marginalized segments of the population;

(iii) Address all health consequences, including the physical, mental and sexual and reproductive health consequences, of violence against women and girls by providing accessible health-care services that are responsive to trauma and include affordable, safe, effective and good-quality medicines, first line support,

treatment of injuries and psychosocial and mental health support, emergency contraception, safe abortion where such services are permitted by national law, post-exposure prophylaxis for HIV infection, diagnosis and treatment for sexually transmitted infections, training for medical professionals to effectively identify and treat women subjected to violence, as well as forensic examinations by appropriately trained professionals;

(jjj) Accelerate efforts to address the intersection of HIV and AIDS and violence against all women and girls, in particular the common risk factors, including through strategies to address domestic and sexual violence, and to strengthen coordination and integration of policies, programmes and services to address the intersection between HIV and violence against women and girls, and ensure that responses to HIV and AIDS are leveraged to prevent violence against them, while meeting their specific needs for sexual and reproductive health-care services, as well as HIV and AIDS diagnosis, affordable and accessible treatment and prevention, including procurement and supply of safe and effective prevention commodities, including male and female condoms;

(kkk) Eliminate discrimination and violence against women and girls living with HIV as well as the caregivers of persons living with HIV and take into account their vulnerability to stigma, discrimination, poverty and marginalization from their families and communities when implementing programmes and measures which encourage the equal sharing of caring responsibilities;

(lll) Expand the availability of health-care services, and in particular, strengthen maternal and reproductive health centres, as key entry points that provide support, referrals to services and protection to families, women and girls at risk of violence, especially sexual violence, and which provide support to adolescents in order to avoid early and unintended pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections, through education, information and access to sexual and reproductive health-care services;

D. Improving the evidence base

(mmm) Carry out continued multidisciplinary research and analysis on the structural and underlying causes of, cost and risk factors for violence against women and girls and its types and prevalence, in order to inform the development and revision of laws and their implementation, policies and strategies, and make such information public to support awareness-raising efforts;

(nnn) Collect, collate, analyse and disseminate reliable, comparable and anonymized data and statistics on a regular basis, disaggregated by sex and age, at the national and local levels on different forms of discrimination and violence against women and girls, its causes and consequences, including the health costs and economic costs to society of such discrimination and violence, and also consider all other relevant factors, such as accessibility, to inform the formulation, monitoring and evaluation of laws, policies and programmes;

(ooo) Improve the collection, harmonization and use of administrative data, including, where appropriate, from the police, health sector and the judiciary, on incidents of violence against women and girls, including data on the relationship between the perpetrator and victim and geographic location, ensuring that

confidentiality, ethical and safety considerations are taken into account in the process of data collection, and improving the effectiveness of the services and programmes provided and protecting the safety and security of the victim;

(ppp) Develop national monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to assess policies and programmes, including preventive and response strategies to address violence against women and girls in both public and private spheres;

(qqq) Promote the sharing of best practices and experiences, as well as feasible, practical and successful policy and programme interventions; as well as promote the application of these successful interventions and experiences in other settings.

35. The Commission emphasizes that ending violence against women and girls is imperative, including for the achievement of the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals, and must be a priority for the eradication of poverty, the achievement of inclusive sustainable development, peace and security, human rights, health, gender equality and empowerment of women, sustainable and inclusive economic growth and social cohesion, and vice versa. The Commission strongly recommends that the realization of gender equality and empowerment of women be considered as a priority in the elaboration of the post-2015 development agenda.

IUMS view regarding the UN declarations on “Violence against Women”



In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

IUMS view regarding the **UN** declarations on "Violence against Women”

The International Union of Muslim Scholars demands the **UN** to respect religious diversity and Islamic values in international agreements regarding women, children and other documents. The union also asserts its rejection of violence against women and the necessity of "releasing” these terms, and demands Muslim countries to formulate a unified stance regarding these documents.

All praise be to Allah, and peace and blessings be upon Mohammad, God’s messenger, and his family, companions and followers;

The International Union of Muslim Scholars, representing mainstream scholars in the Muslim nation, observes the conditions of women in the world in general and in the Muslim world in particular and views the achievement of justice, and assisting women in obtaining their natural rights as a true addition to society which is made up of two main components: men and women.

Stemming from this view, Islam has – since the early days of its call – devoted special care to women’s rights within a frame of complementarity, balance, and a distribution of roles to achieve good, happiness and harmony within the family, which is seen as the nucleus of a happy society.

The Union has marked for a while, however, that **UN** conferences are inclined in some cases towards steps that lead to the fragmentation and harming of family. The resolutions of these congresses are adopted as international documents (like the CEDAW convention, and Beijing Declaration and others) while economic and political pressure is leveraged upon some Muslim governments to sign the documents despite the fact that they contradict the creed of their nations, their values and their honored Islamic laws.

The upcoming session, the 57th session of the **UN** Commission on the Status of

Women to be held between March 4th and 15th 2013, will see the discussion of a document entitled "The Elimination and Prevention of all forms of Violence against Women and Girls".

And although Islam stands against violence against women or any other human, the term, according to international agreements issued by the UN, refers to the elimination of any natural difference between men and women in roles and legislation.

Hence, the UN considers all the following to be a form of violence against women that should be eliminated:

- 1- Considering motherhood-related tasks a woman's specialty, which the document considers as unpaid roles that cause the impoverishment of women inside the family in contrast to a man's accumulation of wealth due to heading outside the home for work and gaining money.
- 2- Considering a man's qawama (caretaking or responsibility) in the family as a form of violence against women.
- 3- The differences stated by the Islamic Shariah law between men and women which stem from a complementarity of roles between them like: marriage laws, divorce laws, polygamy, `idda (the period of time a woman remains unmarried after her divorce or the husband's death), inheritance, and others.
- 4- The husband's right to have a sexual relation with his wife, as the UN considers a lawful relation between the man and woman based on the man's desire, in the lack of complete willingness by the woman or at times that she doesn't approve of as a form of "Marital Rape" and that if he touches her without her consent it is considered a form of sexual harassment; all of which cases fall under the heading of "sexual violence" in the view of the UN.
- 5- Limitations imposed regarding the sexual freedom of women and girls, rejection of the idea of a woman's complete control over her body, preventing girls from changing their sex should they like (laws convicting adultery and homosexuality).
- 6- Guardianship for the girl in the process of marriage.
- 7- The lack of providing contraceptives for girls, banning abortion as a means of disposing of an undesirable pregnancy.
- 8- The marriage of girls under the age of 18.
- 9- Refrain from proving legal parentage to children born outside of marriage (parentage to a father committing adultery).

Based on this, the new document would demand the following concepts which contradict Islamic law:

- 1- Substituting qawama (male caretaking or responsibility) with partnership and

complete sharing of roles inside the family between the man and woman (spending, child care, household issues).

2- Complete equality in marriage laws (canceling all forms of: polygamy, `idda, guardianship, dowry, a man's spending commitment toward the family, allowing Muslim women to marry non-Muslims and so on).

3- Equality in inheritance.

4- Withdrawing the power to divorce, referring it to the judiciary, and a sharing of all possessions upon divorce.

5- Giving women the authority to file a complaint against her husband accusing him of rape or harassment. The concerned departments would be obliged to exact a penalty on the husband equal to the penalty specified for a person who commits rape or harassment against a woman of no relation to him.

6- Granting complete sexual freedom to girls in addition to the freedom to choose her sex, and the sex of her partner (i.e. to choose to have natural or homosexual relations) in addition to raising marriage age to 18.

7- Giving teenage girls access to contraceptives, training them to use it, and allowing abortion to dispose of an undesired pregnancy (under claims of sexual and reproductive rights).

8- Equating an adulteress with a wife, equating children from an adulterous relation with legal children completely in all rights.

The session would also monitor the implementation of the document issued by the 53rd session under the theme of "The equal sharing of responsibilities between women and men" that focused on a distribution of all roles and responsibilities inside the house between a man and a woman (care-giving and spending roles) which disrupts the concept of qawama, one of its main pillars being the husband's complete responsibility for all spending related to the family.

A number of resolutions are planned to be issued based on proposals, put forth by a number of states, which usually revolve around the same demands, on top of which are: gender equality and the empowerment of women, particularly demands originating in the United States, European countries, Japan and others. These resolutions also require careful study so that governments will not be entrapped into signing them.

More dangerously, we should not fail to note the constant pressure by the UN on governments to withdraw the reservations made at signing the agreement, what shows a violation of the sovereignty of countries and contempt of nations' wills.

Furthermore, there's constant insistence on signing the optional protocol appended to the CEDAW convention, which gives the UN the direct right to interfere in a country's internal issues and refer the government to the International Criminal Court in case of a complaint about a discriminatory law that differentiates between

men and women (like the inheritance, polygamy, guardianship and so on, all of which are considered discriminatory laws according to the UN). In that way, the UN – within these resolutions – stands in clear opposition to the Islamic laws of Shariah.

In view of this existing situation, the IUMS sees and confirms the following:

First: the IUMS demands the UN and points their attention to the necessity of protecting values, ethics and laws occurring within revealed religions, sealed by Islam, as a means of preserving international peace and security

Second: the IUMS demands Muslim countries to formulate a unified stance rejecting all that contradicts with the Islamic Shariah and revealed religions, whether in former documents like the CEDAW and Beijing Declaration or any later documents presented for discussion and signing.

Third: the IUMS urges all participating governmental delegations to take heed of the will of their nations to adhere to their Islamic Shariah law, to express reservations regarding these documents, and refrain from involvement in signing more of them. The Union also demands these delegations to reject all aspects contradicting the Islamic Shariah in the document to be discussed in the 57th session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, to refrain from compromising the reservations set at signing the international agreements concerned with women and children, and refrain from signing any protocols appended to these international agreements without consulting the scholars of the Muslim nations, their union, and the councils of senior scholars in an attempt to preserve the identity of nations and the sovereignty of governments.

{And Allah has full power and control over His affairs; but most among mankind know it not.} [Quran 12:21]

Doha: 15 Rabea Al-Awwal 1434 H
Dated: 27 February 2013

Dr. Ali Al-Qaradaghi

Dr. Yusuf Al-Qaradawi

IUMS Secretary General

IUMS President

Retrieved from: IUMS website

<<http://www.iumsonline.net/en/default.asp?word=UN&contentID=5945&menuID=63>>

ANNEX 7: MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD STATEMENT ON THE AGREED CONCLUSIONS OF THE CSW57

Muslim Brotherhood Statement Denouncing UN Women Declaration for Violating Sharia Principles

Muslim Brotherhood slams proposed UN CSW document which contradicts principles of Islam and destroys family life and entire society.

The 57th session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), taking place from March 4 to 15 at UN headquarters, seeks to ratify a declaration euphemistically entitled 'End Violence against Women'.

That title, however, is misleading and deceptive. The document includes articles that contradict established principles of Islam, undermine Islamic ethics and destroy the family, the basic building block of society, according to the Egyptian Constitution.

This declaration, if ratified, would lead to complete disintegration of society, and would certainly be the final step in the intellectual and cultural invasion of Muslim countries, eliminating the moral specificity that helps preserve cohesion of Islamic societies.

A closer look at these articles reveals what decadence awaits our world, if we sign this document:

1. Granting girls full sexual freedom, as well as the freedom to decide their own gender and the gender of their partners (ie, choose to have normal or homo- sexual relationships), while raising the age of marriage.
2. Providing contraceptives for adolescent girls and training them to use those, while legalizing abortion to get rid of unwanted pregnancies, in the name of sexual and reproductive rights.
3. Granting equal rights to adulterous wives and illegitimate sons resulting from adulterous relationships.
4. Granting equal rights to homosexuals, and providing protection and respect for prostitutes.
5. Giving wives full rights to file legal complaints against husbands accusing them of rape or sexual harassment, obliging competent authorities to deal husbands punishments similar to those prescribed for raping or sexually harassing a stranger.
6. Equal inheritance (between men and women).
7. Replacing guardianship with partnership, and full sharing of roles within the family between men and women such as: spending, child care and home chores.

8. Full equality in marriage legislation such as: allowing Muslim women to marry non-Muslim men, and abolition of polygamy, dowry, men taking charge of family spending, etc.

9. Removing the authority of divorce from husbands and placing it in the hands of judges, and sharing all property after divorce.

10. Cancelling the need for a husband's consent in matters like: travel, work, or use of contraception.

These are destructive tools meant to undermine the family as an important institution; they would subvert the entire society, and drag it to pre-Islamic ignorance.

The Muslim Brotherhood urges the leaders of Muslim countries and their UN representatives to reject and condemn this document, and to call upon this organization to rise to the high morals and principles of family relations prescribed by Islam.

The Muslim Brotherhood also calls on Al-Azhar (the highest seat of learning for Muslims) to take the lead, condemn this declaration, and state clearly the Islamic viewpoint with regard to all details of this document.

Further, we urge all Islamic groups and associations to take a decisive stand on this document and similar declarations.

In conclusion, we call on women's organizations to commit to their religion and morals of their communities and the foundations of good social life and not be deceived with misleading calls to decadent modernization and paths of subversive immorality.

God Almighty says: "God wants to forgive you, but those who follow whims and desires want you to deviate far away from the Path). {Quran 4 : 27}

The Muslim Brotherhood

Cairo: March 13, 2013

Retrieved from: Ikhwan Web

<<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=30731>>

ANNEX 8: IRB APPROVAL

CASE #2012-2013-113



To: Rana Korayem
Cc: Enas Abd Elazim
From: Atta Gebрил, Chair of the IRB
Date: April 17, 2013
Re: Approval of study

This is to inform you that I reviewed your revised research proposal entitled "**WOMEN NGO COALITIONS IN EGYPT: PRE-REQUISITES FOR ENHANCED EFFECTIVENESS**," and determined that it required consultation with the IRB under the "expedited" heading. As you are aware, the members of the IRB suggested certain revisions to the original proposal, but your new version addresses these concerns successfully. The revised proposal used appropriate procedures to minimize risks to human subjects and that adequate provision was made for confidentiality and data anonymity of participants in any published record. I believe you will also make adequate provision for obtaining informed consent of the participants.

Please note that IRB approval does not automatically ensure approval by CAPMAS, an Egyptian government agency responsible for approving much off-campus research involving surveys and interviews. CAPMAS issues are handled at AUC by the office of the University Counsellor, Dr. Amr Salama. The IRB is not in a position to offer any opinion on CAPMAS issues, and takes no responsibility for obtaining CAPMAS approval.

This approval is valid for only one year. In case you have not finished data collection within a year, you need to apply for an extension.

Thank you and good luck.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Atta Gebрил".

Dr. Atta Gebрил
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