

American University in Cairo

AUC Knowledge Fountain

Theses and Dissertations

6-1-2015

The role of political parties in promoting a culture of good governance in Egypt post-2011

Omar Kandil

Follow this and additional works at: <https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds>

Recommended Citation

APA Citation

Kandil, O. (2015). *The role of political parties in promoting a culture of good governance in Egypt post-2011* [Master's thesis, the American University in Cairo]. AUC Knowledge Fountain.

<https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/60>

MLA Citation

Kandil, Omar. *The role of political parties in promoting a culture of good governance in Egypt post-2011*. 2015. American University in Cairo, Master's thesis. *AUC Knowledge Fountain*.

<https://fount.aucegypt.edu/etds/60>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by AUC Knowledge Fountain. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of AUC Knowledge Fountain. For more information, please contact mark.muehlhaeusler@aucegypt.edu.

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

The Role of Political Parties in Promoting a Culture of Good Governance in Egypt Post-2011

A Thesis Submitted to the Public Policy and Administration Department in partial fulfillment of
the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts

By

Omar Kandil

Supervised by

Dr. Amr Hamzawy

Professor , Public Policy and Administration, AUC

Dr. Lisa Anderson

President, AUC

Dr. Hamid Ali

Associate Professor & Chair, Public Policy and Administration, AUC

Spring 2015

Acknowledgements

There are a few people without which it would have been impossible for me to finish this piece of work. Two of the most important women of my life top the list: my mother Amany Mohamed Abdallah and my wife-to-be Hanya El-Azzouni, who are the fuel of all of my past, present and future life's endeavors. I must thank them and express my deepest love and gratitude to everything they have given me and their presence in my life day by day. It would have been impossible to make it through without them. You are my blessings.

This thesis closes my chapter as an AUC student, a chapter which opened in 2007. This place has given me so much and I would not have been able to write this research without the numerous opportunities this institution has blessed me with. I especially wish to thank President Lisa Anderson for being a constant source of guidance, friendship, and support throughout the past years, on all levels of my AUC experience, as an undergraduate student, graduate student, staff member, and now on this work. Also to Dr. Ashraf El Fiqi, for being a father figure to me inside and outside AUC, thank you for everything.

I also would like to thank the Graduate Services Office for granting me a fellowship to pursue my Public Policy Master's Degree in AUC and study at Columbia University, notably Ms. Yasmine Ibrahim and Mrs. Sawsan Mardini. I would not have been able to do all this without your support and your guidance. Also I need to acknowledge the support of my fellowship sponsor Mr. Nadhmi Auchy, thank you for your belief in the Arab Youth and the cause of community service.

The Public Policy and Administration Department has been a focal point for me in discovering my research interests and developing my knowledge and skills as a graduate student. I would like to especially thank Dr. Laila El Baradei, Dr. Khaled Amin, Dr. Emad Shahin and Mrs. Asmaa Ahmed for everything they have taught me and given me on the personal and academic levels. I would like to truly thank my supervisor and friend Dr. Amr Hamzawy for being an important part of my experience as a graduate student and for his valuable advice and guidance as a Professor and as a friend. And thank you to Dr. Hamid Ali for accepting to be on that panel on such short notice and Dr. Bahgat Korany for his constant support.

A big thank you goes to my dear friend Noura Wahby for everything she has done for me to get through this thesis and for being a great friend. A big thank you to Ahmed Abou Hussein, whose steps I always followed (I did that again by pursuing this degree and thesis topic and I'm always grateful for your presence in my life, thank you).

I wish to thank my best friends Amr Abdel Wahab , Hussein El Fiqi, Faisal Kattan, Mohamed Talaia and Mohamed Faisal for bearing with me all these years and always supporting me in all aspects of life, including this work. You all make me very proud and I hope I can always do the same.

To my family, my father, brother and sisters, I hope I always make you proud and I love you more than words can explain.

Thank you,
Omar Kandil

Abstract

University: The American University in Cairo

Thesis Title: The Role of Political Parties in Promoting a Culture of Good Governance in Egypt Post-2011

Student Name: Omar Kandil

Advisors: Amr Hamzawy, Ph.D.; Lisa Anderson, Ph.D.; Hamid Ali, Ph.D.

Acknowledging and understanding the opportunities in Egypt post-2011, this research focuses on Egyptian political parties, and their potential role in Egypt's ongoing transition, instigated by the events of January 2011. The main purpose of this paper was to answer the research question which is centered around the extent to which political parties can promote a culture of good governance in Egypt post-2011, taking several major parties and events as cases for the analysis. The main objectives of this research were to thoroughly understand the context in which political parties developed in Egypt and analyze the major recognized components of good governance, in order to ultimately assess how newly established political parties in Egypt can contribute to the promotion of these components in post-2011 Egypt. This allowed to view these parties more in depth and properly assess their role in Egypt's current transition in relation to extrapolated components of good governance such as transparency, accountability, capacity building, rule of law, participation and representation, effectiveness, among other elements. It also provided insights on the potential opportunities for these institutions in Egypt, in terms of what they can bring to the transition if empowered and nurtured. Qualitative interviews were undertaken with party officials along with content and discourse analysis in order to provide holistic perceptions of the subject of study.

The findings of the analyzed data allowed to provide insights on internal mechanisms of political parties which demonstrate elements of good governance. Various intra-party mechanisms showcased several aspects of commitment to transparency, accountability, capacity building, participation and this was the case for parties in various areas of the political spectrum. It also granted the research with an understanding of Egyptian parties in the context of elections, including processes of pre-elections such as internal and external endorsements of candidates as well as various alliances formations and formulation of party programs and platforms. Multi-party collaboration has also been a focal element of the analysis, with a focus on the stances and formal positions of various parties in regards to legislations and other macro-issues affecting the Egyptian political scene. Policy recommendations conclude the paper and allow for the research to serve as a comprehensive framework for understanding the potential role of political parties in Egypt post-2011 and what opportunities can allow for stronger parties to have a more significant role in promoting good governance in Egypt's ongoing transition moving forward.

Table of Contents

Contents

Chapter 1 – Background and Problem Statement	5
Introduction	5
Statement of the Problem	8
Background: Political Parties in the Modern Egyptian State (1952 to Post-2011)	11
<i>Egyptian Political Parties pre-1952</i>	12
<i>Egyptian Political Parties Under Nasser</i>	14
<i>Egyptian Political Parties Under Sadat</i>	16
<i>Egyptian Political Parties Under Mubarak</i>	18
<i>Egyptian Political Parties Post- 2011</i>	20
Chapter 2: Literature Review	23
The Concept of Good Governance.....	23
<i>On Defining Governance</i>	23
<i>Definitions and Components of Good Governance</i>	24
<i>Parties and Good Governance in the Macro-Environment</i>	32
<i>Intra-Party Mechanisms and Good Governance</i>	36
Chapter 3 Methodology.....	42
<i>Research Process and Theoretical Framework</i>	42
<i>Operationalizing Various Good Governance Components</i>	44
<i>Methodological Techniques</i>	46
Chapter 4 Description of the Data and Research Limitations.....	48
Chapter 5: Analysis and Discussion.....	51
<i>Intraparty Features and Mechanisms in Post-2011 Political Parties</i>	52
<i>Post-2011 Parties in the Context of Elections</i>	60
<i>Multi-Party Collaboration as a Tool to Promote Good Governance</i>	67
<i>Overview of Findings from the Data and Discussion</i>	71
Chapter 6 Policy Recommendations	75
Chapter 7 Conclusion and Future Research.....	78
References	81

Chapter 1 – Background and Problem Statement

Introduction

The challenges put forth by the transitional phase of the Arab Spring are complex and numerous. Achieving true democracy, transitional justice and enacting a public administration and policymaking process which are truly efficient, effective and responsive to citizens' needs are some of the overarching issues facing countries in transition in the region, more specifically Egypt since 2011. In relation to the events which unfolded in Egypt and Tunisia and other “Arab Spring” countries, political parties had a quasi-absent role during these events due to their historic cooptation by the now toppled autocratic regimes. In some instances, they were seen to have even aided in reinforcing the respective rulers’ grip on power. As such, mobilization leading to the January 2011 events in Egypt, actually originated from other societal forces, notably civil society and social movements, with political parties undertaking a subdued role in the buildup to the events.

In view of this power shift from traditional bodies of representation to the streets, this research is built on the main supposition that political parties in post-2011 Egypt are now entitled to be in the driving seat and assume their supposed role had democracy been the *raison d’être* of the modern Egyptian State. Specifically, they should be the main advancers of the promotion of good governance practices and values, and this paper will demonstrate why and how Egyptian political parties should be the main contributors of this endeavor during the ongoing transition. This has been voiced by various authors such as Kristina Kausch in the following statement:

“Shunned before and ignored during the 2011 uprisings, Arab political parties are now coming to the forefront of transitions as revolutionary demands must be translated into viable political agendas.” (Kausch, 2012, p.6)

In his paper, *'Building Better Democracies: Why Political Parties Matter'*, Peter Burnell thoroughly summarizes the multi-dimensional impact political parties can have on the overall socio-political system that would change the status-quo, which is the proposition this research is built on. He argues that political parties are central to representative democracy and to the process of democratization in general, as they connect society and the state. They are also crucial to the aggregation and representation of interests as they are the organizations which recruit political leaders, disseminate political information, and socialize citizens into democratic politics. Moreover, they manage conflicts of interest, which is especially important in societies that have recently experienced violent conflict. Lastly, political parties can also offer a forum for social and political integration, becoming a tool for nation-building. Hence, according to Burnell, the modern world's democracy cannot be conceived without healthy parties and an effective party system (Burnell, 2004, p.5). This is especially true for countries witnessing transition, and there is widespread agreement in the literature on the vital role played by political parties in promoting a culture of good governance (Geyikci, 2011, p.4). However, this objective is not the primary function of political parties, and this must be acknowledged as a foundation of this paper. It is important to highlight the intrinsic role and main function of political parties, which is competition for power: *"A political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election"* (Downs, 1957, p.5). This is also emphasized by political scientist Giovanni Sartori in his definition of a political party which is *"a political grouping that takes part in elections and through them is able to get their candidates into public offices."*(Sartori,1976). Political parties seek power, key positions in government through elections and without the use of violence (Diamond et al. , 1990) and are often defined by ideologies, programs and memberships: *"Parties can therefore be understood as permanent associations of citizens that are based on free membership and a programme, and*

which are anxious to occupy through the path of elections, the politically decisive positions of the country with their team of leaders, in order to materialize suggestions for resolving outstanding problems”(Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011, p.12). It is important to acknowledge the main inherent function of political parties before undergoing the research on this secondary role of political parties which is the promotion of good governance. And by undertaking this latter role, political parties can considerably serve their primary purpose, through participation in elections and competition. This research does not focus on the primary role of parties (competition, power-seeking) but highlights the potential role and different mechanisms of parties in promoting good governance.

Based on these premises, the paper will demonstrate how Egyptian political parties post-2011 can be principal contributors and actors in the promotion of good governance, the latter being a central concept of the analysis of their role in society. As such, this research will be further divided into sections that will contribute to the analysis of the relationship between political parties and good governance. In the next section, the statement of the problem as well as the research question and sub-questions to be tackled. This will be followed by a contextual background to the development of the relationship between political parties and the regimes in modern Egyptian history; which will thus lead to the in-depth outlook on the literature pertaining to the role political parties' have played in the consolidation of good governance. The following section will then look at the methodological considerations that have shaped this study as well as the tools of analysis to be used. Naturally, this will bring forth the section on the description of data as well as the following in-depth analysis of the governance themes that selected political parties will be examined under. Finally, concluding remarks will be given concerning the overall role of political parties within transitory systems such as Egypt's, as well as policy recommendations to enhance their reach on society.

Statement of the Problem

Egypt's ongoing transition is a current and ongoing phase which was instigated with the 2011 social movements, popularly called the 'Arab Spring' or the 'Egyptian January Revolution'. As previously mentioned, these uprisings were not triggered by "formal" political organizations like political parties, but rather *popular uprisings-turned-revolution* (Abdel-Latif, 2011, p.4) . The subdued role of political parties must thus be categorically analyzed. Evidently, the volatile nature of political transitions affects the subject of study since the political sphere in Egypt significantly and continuously transforms, since 2011 and in short intervals of time. This issue also stems from the fact that the current transition is recent (and by nature ongoing) and drawing conclusions or undertaking academic analysis of current events can always be a challenging and daunting task. Building on these points, it also needs to be added there has not been comprehensive literature on the Egyptian transition or the potential role of Egyptian political parties in the upcoming period. This constitutes a sharp limitation for researchers in the field which will be elaborated further in the methodology section. However, they represent the current dilemma to understanding the role of political parties in Egypt's transition and how parties can contribute to the promotion of good governance values and principles in the country during this transition.

In terms of the historical development, turmoil and the multitude of political and socio-economic events in Egypt, there is a clear opportunity to provide academic insights to political parties, institutions participating in shaping the socio-political agenda of the Egyptian transition, especially in light of the status of parties under previous regimes. For instance, as part of the autocratic formula of Mubarak, parties were discredited, domesticated by the regime and only fought for minor gains. They were equally stagnant and decaying in their structures (Hamzawy, 2011). Moreover, historically, the work of parties was

considerably constricted where they were prevented from obtaining a license for the conduct of their business, and factors within the parties themselves led to their impeding weakening and fragmentation (Shuman, 2014). These instances will be elaborated further in the background section, in order to showcase the issues historically faced by political parties in Egypt and how various factors played a part in constructing their subdued role. The current transition, regardless of the perceived outcomes since 2011, represents an opportunity for Egypt to achieve more in terms of good governance, and this paper will focus on how this can be done through political parties.

The research question this paper aims to answer is: **“To what extent can political parties contribute to the promotion of a culture of good governance in post-2011 Egypt?”** Answering this question will allow us to recognize and define the different ways by which political parties can serve as support tools to effectively improve various processes in Egypt’s transition, as well as identify what the essential components of the promotion of good governance can and should be. Political transitions and good governance literature is widely available, but mainly covers different regions or countries and also provide a focus prior to the post-2011 timeframe which this research attempts to focus on. The main available trends will however be put forth in the literature review section of this paper. Furthermore, several sub-questions will be tackled throughout the research to provide support and evidence-based findings, including:

- In what various contexts can parties have an effective role in promoting good governance values and principles in post-2011 Egypt?
- Which components constitute good governance as a concept?
- In what ways can political parties promote good governance principles and values based on established and institutionalized governance indicators?

- What are the internal factors within Egyptian political parties that support the promotion of a culture of good governance?
- How can the macro-environment empower and strengthen political parties?

Answering these questions will provide further insights on the research question and will set a framework for Egypt's transition highlighting the role of the complex institutions which are political parties. The paper's main objective is to support the claim that political parties in Egypt can and have to play a more pivotal role in Egypt's ongoing transition. They are focal to the social and political spheres alike, and can effectively support the promotion of good governance values and principles which can shape the next stage in the country's political passage. Having played solely a cosmetic role in modern Egyptian politics since the 20th century, and a more considerable yet still insufficient one since 2011, political parties from the various ends of the ideological spectrum are essentially central to the effective process of democratization in Egypt.

An ambition of this research is to serve as a support and guidance for post-2011 efforts in academia and research on Egyptian political parties, by providing theoretical and practical evidence on good governance carried forth by political parties. It is a fact that the more the macro-environment in Egypt shifts into a democratic pluralist system, the study of political parties will considerably gain prominence as representation becomes an essential and accepted societal value. In addition, political parties, regardless of their ideological and political differences, can all benefit from an analysis on good governance and how it correlates to their efforts as institutions, with the ultimate purpose of efficiently and effectively serving citizens, as well as becoming more responsive to the demands of society by translating them into solid policy formulations.

In the background section of this paper, the historical developments of political parties in Egypt in modern Egypt until the post-2011 will be comprehensively reviewed, in order to be able to contextualize the history of political parties in the Egyptian modern state leading to the post-2011 period. In the methodology section of the paper, both variables involved in the research- Egyptian political parties post-2011 as independent variable and promotion of good governance principles and values as dependent variable- will be thoroughly examined in order to serve as a reference for future research on a case study of transitional democracy, such as Egypt. Hence, the following section will first bring to light the historic structural changes that have given shape to the status of political parties as we see them today.

Background: Political Parties in the Modern Egyptian State (1952 to Post-2011)

Four years after the events of January 2011 in Egypt and during the current ongoing transition, political parties should be gaining increasing attention from politicians, civil society and citizens alike as they further establish themselves and turn from having a cosmetic role to a potential active and defining role in public administration and policymaking processes . It is thus essential to provide the necessary historical context to better understand the challenges faced by these institutions under various Egyptian regimes.

“Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi is surely not accountable for the crisis plaguing political parties, as it is a structural and inherited crisis that started with the emergence and evolution of parties, back when Anwar Sadat allowed their existence in 1977” (Shuman, 2014)

If today Egyptian political parties are considered *“plagued by a crisis”*, there is historical context which demonstrates that it is an inherited, systematic, embedded issue in

the Egyptian political environment, whose start can be attributed to the beginning of the modern Egyptian state under Nasser.

Egyptian Political Parties pre-1952

A brief background on pre-1952 political parties constitutes an important endeavor of this research in order to have a holistic view of Egyptian political parties, even before the establishment of the Egyptian Republic, the latter constituting a major focus of this background. During this period, political parties served specific purposes in light of the British colonial presence in Egypt, formalized in 1914 with the declaration of protectorate of Egypt (Nagasawa, 1998, p.87).

The National Party was Egypt's oldest political party, established in the first decade of the 20th century by Mustafa Kamil, Egyptian nationalist leader. The party had two major principles: complete British withdrawal from Egypt, and the unification of the Sudan with Egypt. Its purposes were resistance to the British foreign intervention and European dominance in general (DiCapua, 2007). The National Party was a highlight of political resistance and anti-imperialist efforts which led to the 1919 Revolution, a large uprising against the British, event which was later followed by the 1922 declaration of independence and the drafting of the 1923 Egyptian constitution, significant events in Egypt's anti-imperialist sentiment (Osman, 2013). However, this party was shortly overshadowed by the influence of the Wafd Party later on post 1919: *“Until WWI, it was the largest and most dominant political body in Egypt, after 1919 it lost its leading status to the Wafd and was reduced to functioning only on a symbolic level.”*(DiCapua, 2007). The Wafd Party was a considerable political force in modern Egypt, which emerged from the 1919 Revolution, *“a mass nationalist uprising which embraced nearly all of Egyptian society”*(Hinnebusch, 1984,p.100). Al-Wafd translates into “the delegation”, a reference to the delegation which

assembled to push forward for Egypt's independence at the Paris peace conference in 1919, which was a milestone for Egyptian nationalism at the time (Osman, 2013). Al-Wafd had a considerable role as a political party, in regards to resistance to the British occupation but also parliamentary life in Egypt: *"Al Wafd grew to become the country's most popular and influential political party; it spearheaded the development of the 1923 constitution [...] and sought to found political independence on the demands of the Egyptian nation"*(Osman, 2013). The popularity of the Wafd party was accentuated by their performance in parliamentary elections, which they all won with the exception of the 1938 elections (DiCapua, 2007). They were also a tool of opposition to the King's rule, as well as opposition to the King's endorsed parties and supporters such as the Itihad Party and the Liberal Constitutionalist Party, the latter highlighting multi-partisan politics in the Egyptian sphere pre-1952 (DiCapua, 2007).

Following a controversial 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty which compromised much of the nationalist agenda and several other incidents, the Wafd's influence considerably declined and the party was considered corrupt (DiCapua, 2007): *"In 1950, following the defeat in Palestine and fears of popular revolution by the Muslim Brotherhood, the Wafd came to power for the last time. It abrogated the 1936 treaty but could not control the wave of popular violence against the British, the burning of Cairo and the general de-stabilization of political life. The July Revolution terminated the party's tenure in office and it was dissolved shortly afterwards"* (DiCapua, 2007).

This section allowed the paper to have a brief overview of the role of Egyptian political parties during the monarchy and the British occupation, which was a unique role in Egyptian modern history, highlighting different roles for the organizations which are political parties. Thus, it demonstrated that parties played an important role in building the nationalist anti-imperialist movements and sentiment, as well as actively pushing forward developments

in the Egyptian political and parliamentary spheres. The British occupation, the monarchy as well as global conflicts and an overall destabilized political life are clearly unique conditions and environments for Egyptian political parties to strive but the several cases put forth show that political parties, notably the National Party and Al Wafd, played pivotal roles in the Egyptian setting pre-1952, until they became ultimately restricted and banned.

Egyptian Political Parties Under Nasser

Post-1952, the Free Officers, who came into power after the eradication of the monarchy, banned all political parties and transformed the political system into a one-party system. This system offered political offices which were non-competitive, chosen by voters who were not given real choice between distinct alternatives (El Mikawy, 1999, p.2). There has always been reliance on a clear monopoly of power through a single-party leadership with a governance model which allowed only one party and elections with little or no competition. This was redundant in many Third World countries (Blondel, 1978, p.2), including Egypt. In January 1953, six months after the 1952 military coup, political parties were legally abolished with an absolute ban of all political parties as well as their creation (Tanner, 1967, p.7). Nasser clearly aimed at dismantling any form of political organization by establishing a new base loyal to his revolutionary principles. This is the reason why by the mid 1950's all of Egypt's independent political groups were banned or forced to survive underground, and at the same time, Nasser did not intend to form any alternative political parties which may potentially challenge his power in the future (Arafat, 2011, p.3). The Wafd party, the strongest political organization under the British-ruled Egyptian monarchy was destroyed and the Muslim Brotherhood was declared illegal with its members detained (Mousa, 2012). Nasser even denounced the word "party" which to him signified

“partisanship, conflict and division within the body politic” and he favored the word “political organization” (Fahmy, 2012, p.56).

Opting for the single-party structure to ensure a firm grip over the country and the absence of plurality in political opinion, Nasser established several representative bodies throughout various timeframes of his rule. These included the Liberation Rally from 1953 to 1958, the National Union from 1958 to 1961 and the Arab Socialist Union from 1961 to 1976 (Arafat, 2011, p.3). Each of these bodies represented a tool used by Nasser to re-affirm his control over the state and the opposition, and thus were attempts to mobilize the masses, feeding the need for Nasser to sustain his hegemony and policy (Fahmy, 2012, p.56). For instance, the Liberation Rally was a top-down mechanism to mobilize the people behind Nasser’s “still ambiguous revolutionary project” (Alexander, 2005, p.59). It had announced its official purpose to be the mobilization of popular forces and the training for the people to choose their representative. Yet, it was in fact a tool used to “de-politicize” society, mobilize support for Nasser, and more importantly present him as the undisputed leader of the revolution, in light of Nasser’s power struggle versus Mohamed Naguib (Fahmy, 2012, p.57). It did not nurture any political life and lacked organization, leadership, effective cadres and ideology (Arafat, 2011, p.4). After the failure of the Liberation Rally, Nasser’s regime then undertook the creation of yet another mobilization tool: the National Union which aimed at rallying support both in Egypt and Syria (Jankowski, 2002, p.123). The National Union was a broad political structure created in Egypt in 1957 - later on extending to Syria- and served as a support for Nasser’s pan-Arab aspirations of the United Arab Republic. The organization was defined with many hierarchical structures both in Egypt and Syria, and considerably failed upon the collapse of the union between the two countries . The union, proved unpopular and ineffective in Syria, and with Nasser’s opponents finding other alternative alignments preferable, collapsed which led to the establishment of a new political

organization: the Arab Socialist Union (McDermott, 2013, p.101). Once again, the creation of the Arab Socialist Union under the National Charter of 1962 could be a response to the failure of the United Arab Republic and the rising pressures which Nasser was under internally and externally. It represented an attempt to broaden the social base and strengthen his legitimacy under the umbrella of a presumed socialist ideology, after the lack of success of the revolutionary and pan-Arab rhetoric (Podeh & Winckler, 2004, p.28). But these socialist ideologies did little to express the interests of any social class during the 1960s , and neither the National Union nor the Arab Socialist Union provided policies or solutions to the citizens of Egypt; they were rather tools to re-emphasize Nasser's grip on power in Egypt as put below:

“Neither the National Union nor the Arab Socialist Union really came close to representing the interests- corporate or otherwise- of the rural middle class or the urban petite bourgeoisie. In the end, both political institutions were shown to be the administrative-control structures of the state.” (Vatikiotis, 1997, p.163)

Egyptian Political Parties Under Sadat

It seemed inevitable for Sadat to build on the path put forth by his predecessor in regards to the Arab Socialist Union, namely a mass party used for the control of the Egyptian State and which Nasser used to support his policies. However, Sadat eventually eliminated the Arab Socialist Union (Farah, 2009, p.78). He firstly started with a purge and reorganization in order to eliminate specific individuals who would potentially challenge his leadership. He then opened up the party in 1974, by promoting the creation of three “platforms” within the party, discretely recognizing and accepting rightist, leftist and centric political orientations within the Arab Socialist Union (Ottaway, 2013, p.37). These platforms

were the National Progressive Union Organization (Al Tagammu') for the leftists; the right was formed as the Socialist Liberal Organization and the center was called the Arab Socialist Organization. The left and right platforms were under the chairmanship of former Free Officers, very close to Sadat (Cook, 2011, p.139). These platforms participated in the 1976 elections and were then given "political party" status, which led to the formal formation of political parties in June 1977 (Farah, 2009, p.78). With this decision, the Arab Socialist Union was officially dismantled, in an effort to "move away" from the Nasserist era. However, the formation of parties did not indicate political liberalization. It was a restricted experiment executed in order to facilitate economic reforms to attract foreign funds, and also provide the appearance of opposition to the regime (Farah, 2009, p.78). Sadat formed his own party, the National Democratic Party and called for elections in 1979, which his party won by a majority, leaving no space or opportunity for opposition (Kirlmarx & Alexander, 2013, p.76).

The creation of legislations for political parties was also an interesting aspect of the policymaking process and an insight into the dynamics between the Sadat regime and newly formed parties. For instance, Sadat decreed Law 36/1979, which excluded from political life any party that opposed or could be directly or indirectly implicated in opposing the peace plans (El Mikawy, 1999, p.35). Another example is the 1977 law which created the Political Parties Committee, the tool which gave Sadat assurance of the control of Egypt's political landscape: *"It has the power to refuse the registration of new parties, to freeze existing parties' licenses, to close parties' newspapers, to reverse parties' decisions or halt parties' activities based on the "national interest," and to ask Cairo's Supreme Administrative Court to dissolve parties and redistribute their funds"* (HRW, 2007). Moreover, the law of "shame" of 1980 restricted political freedom and tried many activists and intellectuals in special ethics courts, with fictitious charges of treason or atheism (El Mikawy, 1999, p.37). The year he

would be assassinated by the Islamists groups, who flourished in the 1970s (Sadat had given them more space and utilized them to counter the weight of his leftist opposition), Sadat 's government directly interfered in political syndicate elections (by cracking down on syndicates) and the National Democratic Party had actively threatened a change to the political scene, reminiscing of the days of the single-party regime of the Arab Socialist Union (Fahmy, 1998, p.555)

Egyptian Political Parties Under Mubarak

Coming into power in turbulent times, Mubarak first showed commitment to pluralism with opposition candidates competing in elections in the early 1980s (McDermott, 1988, p.77). The 1984 election witnessed contestation of power between several parties such as the Wafd, which was reintroduced in 1978 (the party was then disbanded by Sadat who did not allow any party which held ministerial positions before 1952 to participate in the political arena, a law which was eventually overturned by the courts in 1983) and could compete for seats in parliament (Goldschmidt & Johnston, 2004, p. 415). The Wafd party undertook an alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1984 elections and gained 15 percent of the total vote, equaling 58 seats in parliament (Blaydes, 2008, p.51). The 1980s and very early 90s, were a period of relative political opening for the Mubarak regime, as showcased by the 1987 elections, which saw the opposition gain 20% of the seats in parliament (Brownlee, 2002, p.7). The 1987 election showcased a de facto recognition of the opposition forces, such as the Muslim Brothers and the Egyptian Marxists, which had been denied participation in the past (Hassan, 2010, p.323).

At face value, allowing the Muslim Brotherhood to run in the 1984 and 1987 elections provided signs of commitment to more democracy and political openness in general by the Egyptian political elite (Kneill, 2013). Mubarak had thus allowed opposition to win seats, but

his regime always ensured to have enough seats to unilaterally approve constitutional amendments with a two-thirds majority for example. Generally, under Mubarak, the political system was the subject of two contradictory trends: on the one hand, it allowed for more pluralization, more political parties, more competition within the ruling party etc. On the other, the constant state of emergency in place since Sadat's assassination allowed the regime to override state structures by blocking any group deemed necessary. This dualism allowed for the state to showcase some signs of democracy, while keeping a tight grip on all the tools of power and control (Shehata, 2009).

During the 1995 elections, the NDP won the largest number of seats in the People's Assembly, which allowed the government to further tighten its control over the Egyptian political sphere. Nevertheless, the Egyptian Supreme Constitutional Court declared the parliament unconstitutional in 2000, a ruling that signifies that the elections of 1990 and 1995 were considered unlawful, and the 2000 elections were thus the first elections to be held under full judicial supervision (Hassan, 2010, p.323). The dualism is again highlighted in these efforts to improve the democratic process through elections and pluralism, but the control of Mubarak and the NDP over the bureaucracy allowed for their landslide victory in the next parliamentary elections: 85% in the 2000 elections and 70% in the 2005 elections (Blaydes, 2010, p.40). It is important to note that the Muslim Brotherhood won 88 seats in the 2005 parliament, the strongest showing by an Egyptian position party in 50 years. This is another piece of evidence of the "controlled pluralism" in Egypt under Mubarak, which was not witnessed under his predecessors (and the number of registered parties was now 24) (Hassan, 2010, p.323). Even though the Mubarak era represented relative improvements in relation to political parties, the corruption of the regime controlled the Egyptian political

sphere, which specifically peaked during the 2010 parliamentary elections, which preceded the uprisings of January 2011:

“The opposition said its candidates had been heavily defeated. Their complaints were backed up by local and international rights groups who said yesterday's elections lacked transparency and were marred by widespread fraud and rigging” (AP, 2010)

Egyptian Political Parties Post- 2011

Before the events of January 2011 marked by the resignation of Mubarak the following month, there was no reason to believe that the Egyptian regime would allow political parties the freedom to operate and battle for seats in Parliament on a level playing field. The power held by the National Democratic Party since its inception in 1978 was absolute and affected all spheres of the political experience in Egypt (Joffe, 2013, p.52). The domination of the National Democratic Party was officially over following the events of 2011, and more than 47 parties and 6,700 candidates completed the paperwork to compete in the first post-Mubarak parliamentary elections scheduled for November 2011 (Ali, 2011). This political openness began in March 2011, when the Political Parties law was changed and the ruling Supreme Council of Armed Forces decided to openly promote political competition for new and established parties. The parties who had submitted applications before Mubarak’s resignation were instantly approved, and in most cases, new political parties were given approval (Joffe, 2013, p.53).

The 2011-2012 parliamentary elections thus represented a considerable change with the overwhelming victory of Islamist parties, which constituted more than 70% of seats in parliament, 47 percent of which for the Muslim Brotherhood’s Freedom and Justice Party and 24 percent for the Salafi Nour Party, which were both established in 2011 (the Muslim Brotherhood was operating as a social organization, never as an official political party). The

New Wafd Party and the Egyptian Bloc, respectively a liberal party and a secular coalition, came behind them with 14% combined (BBC, 2012). These results show the dominance of the Islamist parties in the Egyptian political system post-2011 and supposedly the first post-Mubarak free and transparent elections, where political parties were freely assembled and competed freely in parliamentary elections.

During the 2012 presidential elections which saw President Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood/Freedom and Justice Party elected, the Egyptian Supreme Constitutional Court dissolved the Islamist-led parliament elected in 2011-2012, with theories that claim this was undertaken by the Supreme Council of Armed Forces to reduce the potential grip of the Freedom and Justice Party and Islamists over the Egyptian political sphere (Hearst & Hussein, 2012). A year after Morsi's election and the dissolution of parliament, Al-Sisi, as President of Egypt (winning 96% of the vote), caused the Egyptian political institutions to considerably decrease in power and popularity, regardless of his intentions. On top of these institutions, political parties, whose number now increased to 92 compared to 24 before 2011, represent the biggest challenge and opportunity for Egypt's governance during the ongoing transition that the country is witnessing. Their high number does not imply a felt presence or influence, the latter being negligible compared to the president's popularity for example (Shuman, 2014). Yet they are still being allowed to exist and no matter the hegemony of the leader, a political compromise to the role of the parties will have to reach as the next parliamentary elections loom ahead.

This section purposefully provided an extensive look at the Egyptian political parties in the modern Egyptian state, from 1952 to the current post-2011 transitional period. This is to put into context all the factors and variables which play a role in relation to these complex political organizations. This section of the background has thus demonstrated that the dilemma facing political parties is deeply embedded in Egyptian political culture. While, at

the same time, the governance model used by autocratic ruling elites allowed for parties to be undermined and utilized only to further grip control over the State or push forward certain policies, as seen from Nasser to Mubarak. Post-2011, political parties are more present in number, but seem ineffective and unpopular. This paper wishes to provide in-depth analysis on how parties can have a more active role in promoting good governance in Egypt, also bearing in mind the political environment they operate in (ongoing transition and political instability).

After having thoroughly understood the challenges and evolution witnessed by political parties since 1952 in Egypt, this research reaffirms the statement that political parties matter. They can potentially be one of the most important institutions in Egypt to promote values and principles in the socio-political sphere. It is now deemed crucial to analyze literature trends which frame the concept of good governance in particular, in order to be able to showcase how parties can promote a culture of good governance in post-2011 Egypt. Moreover, the literature review will demonstrate the various elements and mechanisms which define the correlation between political parties and various components of good governance.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The Concept of Good Governance

On Defining Governance

Governance as a concept can be defined simply as the process of decision-making. It is the process by which decisions are implemented or not implemented (UNESCAP, 2007). The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) defined governance in their policy document '*Governance for Sustainable Human Development*' as the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels (UNDP, 1997). Governance, also defined in the broad sense, is constituted of traditions and institutions which determine how authority is defined in a country (Kaufman et al., 2000). The World Bank which considerably worked on governance through its Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) outlines that a definition of governance includes all processes by which governments are selected, replaced or monitored as well as the government's capability to formulate and implement effective policies, and finally, the respect of citizens and the states for the institutions which govern socio-economic interactions between them (The World Bank Group, 2012).

In general terms there has been no clear consensus or a set definition of governance, but is widely understood that the quality of governance is measurable, with scholars speaking of "good" and "bad" governance (Farrington, 2009, p.249). Governance is a concept which encompasses various actors and players; and more importantly the relationships between them, in terms of who has power, who makes decisions, how the other players (which are not in power) make their voices heard, and how accountability is brought in (Institute of Governance, 2011). Some components of the term seem to form a consensus among the various definitions of governance, agreeing that it is any process, mechanism or institution

through which all citizens and groups put forward their interest, exercise their legal rights, meet their duties and solve their differences through mediation (UNDP, 1997). Governance is also defined “the way that a city, company, etc., is controlled by the people who run it” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2015), which reaffirms trends outlined in the various definitions of the concept.

On this basis, it is now important to focus on what good governance implies and how different institutions have determined the various constituent components of the concept, especially through composite indicators indices.

Definitions and Components of Good Governance

As put forth in the previous section on the definitions of governance, the concept can be measured and have a qualitative measure. From this foundation, the term *good governance* has been coined, representing an ideal on what makes up the best practices in governance and how they should occur. It is first essential to acknowledge that the concept of good governance does not pertain to a unified perception or definition. The flexibility and depth of the concept allows it to embrace various components and factors. However, there are agreed constituents in the general meaning of the term:

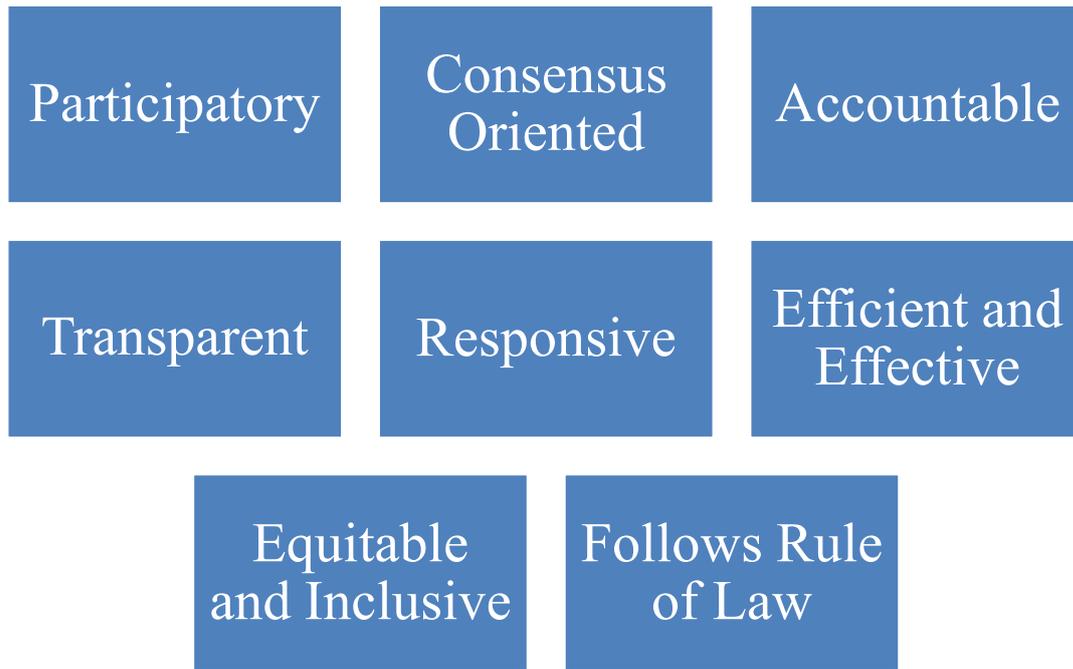
“There is no single definition of what ‘Good Governance’ is, as well as there are differences of opinion as to the norms and criteria for its measurement. Values such as accountability, transparency, participation, and equality are to some degree or another common in literature and writings in that subject” (Gebriel, 2004, p.2)

Therefore, good governance can be viewed or defined as a value-based model made up of components, values, such as transparency, accountability, participation and equality. Good governance can have many criteria and most importantly, its measurement varies and does not have a set framework. This is the main reason why various institutions provide

different measurements for [good] governance, made up of different components, depending on which factors are under analysis. For instance, in 1996, the International Monetary Fund Interim Committee viewed good governance as the promotion of the rule of law, an improvement of the accountability and efficiency of the public sector and the effective fight against corruption (Boorman,1997). Therefore, good governance represents a framework under which the rule of law is followed, with values such as efficiency, accountability, and absence of corruption being the main constituents.

As mentioned, the components which constitute good governance differ from one institution to another. The following will now look at the different definitions and components used in aggregate governance indicators, create by organizations putting forth best practices and ‘global standards’. It will be clear that essentially measurement tools vary in scope and focus depending on the institution behind the development of these mechanisms and frameworks.

In the abovementioned work by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the organization puts forward eight major characteristics of good governance, outlined in the figure in the page below:



(UNDP, 1997)

Each of these characteristics groups several components as per the UNDP classification of good governance. For instance, participation includes the inclusion of both men and women either directly or through legal representation and institutions. This encompasses representative democracy for all realms of society, the presence of freedoms of expression and association, as well as the existence of an organized civil society. Good governance is consensus oriented, meaning it requires comprehensive mediation between the different represented interests in society. Accountability is an important aspect where government, private sector, civil society, institutions in general is accountable to the public and to their stakeholders. Transparency ensures information is available and accessible in regards to decision-making, including understanding of the consequences of decisions on their respective stakeholders. Responsiveness relates to the timely manner with which institutions serve their constituents. Good governance is efficient and effective, which means it achieves the needs of society with the results expected while making the best use of available resources. Equity and inclusiveness is the presence of equal opportunity among all individuals in various spheres. Finally, as per the UNDP classification, good governance

requires the following of the rule of law, meaning the presence of a legal framework which is enforced without any partiality or bias as well as an effective promotion of human rights (including minorities). The impartiality under the rule of law applies to the judiciary and the police force, with the absence of corruption (UNDP, 1997).

On the other hand, the World Bank breaks down the concept good governance into six components. These components not only define the concept but constitute the factors of a governance measurement tool: the Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI), used by the World Bank to assess and rank countries based on voice and accountability, political stability and absence of violence, government effectiveness, control of corruption, rule of law and regulatory quality (Kaufman et al., 2009, p.2). Each of these indicators is constituted of sub-components which specify detailed factors which make up good governance and its measurement. They are outlined as follows:

“1. *Voice and Accountability (VA)* – capturing perceptions of the extent to which a country's citizens are able to participate in selecting their government, as well as freedom of expression, freedom of association, and a free media.

2. *Political Stability and Absence of Violence (PV)* – capturing perceptions of the likelihood that the government will be destabilized or overthrown by unconstitutional or violent means, including politically-motivated violence and terrorism.

3. *Government Effectiveness (GE)* – capturing perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies.

4. *Regulatory Quality (RQ)* – capturing perceptions of the ability of the government to formulate and implement sound policies and regulations that permit and promote private sector development.

5. *Rule of Law (RL)* – capturing perceptions of the extent to which agents have confidence in and abide by the rules of the society, and in particular the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police and the courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence.

6. *Control of Corruption (CC)* – capturing perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as “capture” of the state by elites and private interests

(Kaufman et al., 2009, p.6)

The components making up the Worldwide Governance Indicators and the definitions put forth by the UNDP demonstrate that there are matching trends in establishing what constitutes good governance as an overarching concept, universally (these being tools and definitions provided by multilateral, international organizations).

For other multilateral organizations, such as the World Bank's International Development Association (IDA), when the organization engages in activities such as loans to other countries, good governance represents a major aid condition. For IDA, good governance matches its objectives of growth and poverty-reduction, therefore rightfully represents conditionality for lending (IFAD, 1999, p.3). According to the IDA, good governance can be judged against four pillars, as below:

- Accountability, which includes financial accountability, transparent fiscal policies which prioritize social programs and economic development over non-productive expenditures, setup of auditing systems, overall publically accountable financial and fiscal policies
- Transparency, which implies public knowledge of the government policies and decision-making as well as transparency of the information provided in regards to the economic and market conditions
- Rule of law, which is the presence of a legal framework that allows the assessment of economic opportunities without interference as well as an impartial judicial system and law enforcement mechanisms in place.
- Participation, involvement of civil society and groups in the formulation of strategies, programs and projects which affects their respective stakeholders.

(IFAD, 1999, p.3)

Regional institutions also attach high importance to the concept of good governance.

Both the African Development Bank and the Asian Development Bank formulated

definitions with the contributing elements of good governance. For example, the African Development outlines accountability, transparency, combatting of corruption, stakeholder participation and legal framework (AFDB, 1999, p.2), which greatly matches the previous definitions outlined thus somewhat providing a consensus on the concept. The Asian Development Bank's components of good governance are accountability, participation, predictability and transparency (ADB, 2000, p.1). Predictability refers to the legal system and could thus be replaced by "rule of law" (ADB, 2000, p.2).

Hence, multilateral development institutions have played an essential role in promoting the concept of good governance. As mentioned above, many of these efforts have been closely linked to conditionality of aid (IFAD, 1999, p.3). Other institutions, think tanks and non-governmental organizations have also taken part in defining aspects of good governance for a variety of purposes.

On the most prominent attempts from civil society is the Mo Ibrahim Foundation's Ibrahim Index of African Governance, which measures governance in African countries based on set components. It is *"a composite index, constructed by combining underlying indicators in a standardized way to provide a statistical measure of governance performance in all African countries"* (Princeton University, 2015). The Ibrahim Index measures governance based on four main components: safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity and human development (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015). All these components of course have sub-components in which data is combined and evaluated to provide a governance performance score for each African country. "Safety and Rule of Law" scores sub-components such as national security, accountability, legal system and personal safety (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015). "Participation and Human Rights", measures sub-components including participation in free and fair elections, respect of human and political rights, gender equality and freedom of expression (Mo Ibrahim Foundation,

2015). “Sustainable Economic Opportunity” for instance, measures and scores aspects of public management, the business environment, infrastructure and rural sector development. “Human Development” on the other hand scores elements such as welfare, education and health (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015). The overall governance index is measured through a comprehensive number of 95 indicators (Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015).

Other indicators focus on more specific aspects of governance. This is the case for Freedom House’s *Freedom in the World* report which provides an evaluation of a specific indicator of governance: political rights and civil liberties (Freedom House, 2015, p.1). It scores countries based on three layers, which they call a “three-tiered rating system”. It uses 10 political rights indicators, constituted of indicators such as electoral process, political pluralism and participation, function of government; and 15 indicators for civil liberties, which include freedom of expression and belief, rights of association and organization, rule of law and individual rights (Freedom House, 2015, p.2). Based on this, the report scores countries based on the accumulated results of every indicator outlined above. Each country also receives a rating (7 to 1, 1 representing the highest degree of freedom) and a trend arrow representing specific developments or evolution (Freedom House, 2015, p.3). In the general sense, the *Freedom in the World* report is a useful tool to assess a specific area of governance, and the ratings assigned to each country demonstrates each country’s commitment to good governance principles and values.

Moreover, Transparency International’s Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) is another case of a composite indicator which assesses a specific component of governance for each country. In this case, it ranks countries based on the perceived corruption of their public sector, using surveys and assessment of corruptions, collected by a large number of institutions. For their 2014 report, Transparency International sourced the African

Development Bank, Freedom House, the World Bank and nine other organizations which measure corruption as one indicator of governance (Transparency International, 2014).

Additionally, the Bertelsmann Stiftung's Sustainable Governance Indicators Survey (SGI Survey) identifies itself as a "cross-national survey of governance" (Bertelsmann Foundation, 2014). It focuses on governance in 41 countries within the European Union and members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). While addressing the needs for more commitment to good governance and sustainable development within these countries, the SGI Survey believes that governance is built on three major elements: policy performance, democracy and governance (Bertelsmann Foundation, 2014). Policy performance as a component looks at social, economic and environmental policies within a total of 16 fields all pertaining to the assessment of public goods and services delivered in the economy, labor markets, education, health, social inclusion, environment, etc. Democracy looks at the quality of electoral processes, access to information as well as civil and political liberties, rule of law. Finally, governance focuses on the public sector. It does so by analyzing how public institutions are equipped to provide sound policies and to what extent citizens, society and other organization have capacity to participate and hold the government accountable (Bertelsmann Foundation, 2014). For this composite indicator, the importance of capacity building in the process of governance is also an essential aspect of the study.

This section of the paper demonstrated that each institution or organization can put forth a specific methodology for how good governance is assessed and might also focus on a single aspect of good governance such as political freedom or corruption, among other themes. It also demonstrated that there are trends in how good governance is perceived as a concept through composite indicators and indices, which allows for a narrower definition of the concept. These composite indicators become attractive to users because they are user-

friendly and quantitatively simplify real governance issues through a score. They also help in understanding the essential components used to measure the quality of governance (Oman & Arndt, 2010, p.8). Nonetheless, these indicators need to solely be utilized as tools for references, and as proxies of reality, but a complementary picture needs to be provided to understand the underlying power structures.

Hence, this section has comprehensively studied good governance as a concept, which is very fruitful for the purposes of the research, and will guide the paper to assess the extent with which post-2011 political parties can potentially promote the evaluated concepts and elements of good governance. It is thus essential to look at global trends, and the following literature review section will put forth evidence on how parties can be central players in promoting several of the good governance elements analyzed.

Parties and Good Governance in the Macro-Environment

For democracy to be viable and consolidated in countries in transition- one aspect of good governance-it is essential to focus on *“the modalities assumed by the transition, the way in which political actors are organized, and the various political institutions that emerge or reemerge during the course of the transition”* (Valenzuela, 1990). This definition of consolidated democracy puts emphasis on the importance of strengthening political institutions, notably the electoral system and political parties (Valenzuela, 1990). Parties are thus the principal bodies for representation and articulation of interests and by default will be central for negotiating new political structures. The extent to which they are organized and effective will aid in determining the dominant political culture and how different groups in society engage with one another (Power & Shoot, 2012). Scholars such as Thomas Carothers put forward the “inevitability” of political parties. He argues that it would be difficult to imagine a government working coherently if made up of non-associated individuals, and if

political choices were made in groups, these groups would ultimately take on both positive and negative characteristics of political parties, such as competing for power, but also self-interest and corruption (Carothers, 2006). The essentiality and inevitability of the existence of political parties does not necessarily mean satisfaction with them as institutions of democracy and does not grant parties with the guaranteed legitimacy they require. As an institution, the political party witnesses “substantial and growing disaffection with many of the specific institutions of democracy” (Diamond & Gunther, 2001). The attachment to parties becomes even weaker in “third-wave” or “developing” democracies with a lot of scepticism towards politicians, party members and the party’s role in regards to democratic stability (Diamond & Gunther, 2001). Some arguments in the literature support the latter claim and present ideas against political parties. This is since parties can serve the interests of small elites, and can be used as tool for division and cause instability in government if broken or splintered. The cases of Iraq and Egypt showcase that weak political parties can weaken the process of democratization and good governance (Riegner & Stacey, 2014), as currently witnessed.

Just as parties can become instruments for individuals, used to rise through the political ladder, they should in essence be independent organizations which link citizens to their government, even though that is the case in more institutionalized systems (Mainwaring, 1998, p.69). Matthias Caton of the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IIDEA) outlines four main functions for political parties in modern representative democracies: the development of policies and programs (to articulate interest), the gathering of demands from their constituents, the recruitment and training of human resources for government and legislative positions and holding government accountable (Caton, 2007, p.7). These functions specific to political parties support the manner in which these institutions can potentially be “superior” to interest groups or social movements. Parties do not focus on specific demands and interests, but can engage in multiple issues and foster debate among

leaders and followers, therefore promoting a broader debate within different factions of society (Morgenstern et al., 2011, p.9). They are also very important constituents of the link they create between citizens and various branches of power, such as the legislative and executive, as they provide an institutionalized channel to connect potential future leaders to their constituents. Building on that aspect, when voters are linked to parties through ideology, representation and policies, it lowers the chances of populist leaders rising to power (Morgenstern et al., 2011, p.9). Moreover, political parties create political debate, and are therefore important to create and develop the citizens' political orientations as well as allowing them to take part (through the party) in the decision-making process by making informed decisions (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011, p.18). Parties encourage good governance, due to the fact that they include opposition in decisions, operate openly and transparently, support the oversight of government and cooperate with one another for the formulation of policy (Morgenstern et al., 2011, p.9).

In a system where elections are the only means to attain power, parties become stronger as they are the only grassroots means to organize voters and win elections. Strong parties will attract qualified and capable individuals which will, in turn, lead to the constitution of a strong political elite. However, when elections are not the only means to attain power, it is only logical that the strength and influence of political parties will considerably diminish as groups will rely on alternative mechanisms (Power & Powers, 1988, p.9). In that case, a lot of emphasis is put on the ruling elite (as well as the political culture) and how it impacts the role of political parties.

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter discussed the impact elections can have when convoked by the transitional authority in their 1986 ground-breaking book *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. If the intentions of the authority are clear, for instance that the elections will be free and that

parties/candidates will compete without intervention, this leads to an improved relationship between competing parties, as well as between parties and authority. This process altogether allows for improvement of governance, more cooperation and participation between stakeholders involved in the political process (O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986, p.57). Essentially, the destiny of political parties is always left in the hands of the dominant political elites who have the influence to change the rules of the game based on how they perceive threats from any given force on their hegemonic status (Richani, 2002, p.3). Political parties can also have very weak connections between one another and with their stakeholders. They can even become the “weakest link”, being a tool of patronage and centralization of power in certain countries (Carothers, 2006). They can either positively or negatively impact the macro-environment, especially in unstable contexts. For example, in Nigeria, political parties actively incited violence in 2007, weakening the rule of law and involving state institutions in the process. A counter-example is in Nepal when seven parties of Parliament negotiated a Comprehensive Peace Accord which ended a ten-year civil war in 2006 (ODI, 2010, p.2). This is evidence of the positive impact political parties can have in situations of conflict or high instability.

Parties can also indirectly participate in supporting the strategy of autocratic regimes, by being utilized to feign a democratic façade that protects authoritarian rule (Linz, 2000, p. 34). More specifically in this case, an autocrat can prevent his opponents from coordinating against transgressions by “selectively rewarding them for behaving as ‘loyal opposition’ and acquiescing to the electoral fraud” (Magaloni, 2007, p.5). It has often occurred in autocratic regimes, such as Egypt under Mubarak, that the government obstructed the establishment and effective participation of political parties, which could lawfully participate in the political life, propose policies, recruit members, rally support and promote good governance. The case of Al Wasat Party which saw founder Abu Al’Ila Madi plead his case to Egyptian courts

twelve times from 1997 to 2007 to register the party, highlights this practice, among other examples (HRW, 2007) .

Vibrant political parties can also provide the electorate with the needed diversity in programs and leaders, and have the potential power to mobilize for political gains (Smith, 2007, p.132). According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), one of the most important factors in determining parliamentary performance is the quality and effectiveness of political parties, as these organizations perform essential functions, and outline political choices at elections. They are also the principle vehicles of citizens' interests (UNECA, 2010, p.14). As such, there is a direct correlation between the functioning and effectiveness of parliaments and the political context of which they are part, including the "quality" of political parties (UNECA, 2010, p.14). Moreover, the political party is crucial to "ideological socialization" and capacity building for potential political leaders. The ideological discipline, values and principles are acquired within political parties, all of which contribute to the promotion of a culture of good governance (Kabeberi, 2011, p.117).

The ideas presented so far in the literature show the potential impact political parties can have on good governance in the macro-environment. But also within the political party, on the micro-level, trends in the literature demonstrate that the promotion of a culture of good governance can equally occur from within the institution.

Intra-Party Mechanisms and Good Governance

There are a multitude of trends in the literature which look at political parties from an internal standpoint. For political parties to be developed in becoming influential and effective actors in spreading a culture of good governance, parties should essentially start with themselves, regardless of the political environment (Mustafa et al., 2003, p.5). On that basis, political parties can lead by example in promoting a culture of good governance:

“There is a need to build parties that are competently managed, internally democratic, well-rooted in society, law-abiding, financially transparent and adequately funded, ideologically defined, inclusive of women and youth” (Carothers, 2006, p.26)

Transparency and accountability form important characteristics of good governance, and are also focal to the governance of political parties from within. They are thus intertwined concepts. Transparency entitles for more access by the members and the general public to the overall actions and major decisions undertaken by the party. Accountability is the mechanism by which party members are responsible and answerable for their actions. To ensure a culture of transparency and accountability within the party, parties need to undertake effective monitoring of rules and regulations. They also need to put in place mechanisms to prevent members from circumventing the rules and fight corruption (Patz, 2013). This includes having clear rules and regulations defined by party bylaws. These are especially important mechanisms of good governance in relation to the availability of information for party members.

According to the 2013 Global Corruption Barometer issued by Transparency International, political parties are seen to be the most corrupt institutions, followed by the police forces, according to 51 out of 107 countries (Transparency International, 2013). As such, there are a variety of ways in which both transparency and accountability can manifest within the intra-workings of parties. To start with, the interests of members and general members must be effectively served even if a party is a private organization operating under public laws (Shanker, 2012). Under these overarching concepts, the issues of party financing and funding are focal to the governance of parties. The transparency of these issues (or lack thereof) affects the administration of the party and how it expands/develops (Booth & Robbins, 2010). In transitional settings, the case of Kenya illustrates a case of sudden presence of multiparty politics (starting 1991) hence bringing forth a need to outline direct

provisions in the legal framework of political parties, which included organization, funding, role and functions of the parties (NDI, 2005, p.2). Absence of those provisions made the country a case of lack of internal accountability and transparency in political parties. On the other hand, Chile is a good case for internal reforms within political parties. Reforms included the possibility for members to call for meetings with the General and Regional Councils when issues arose to improve accountability. Another reform was the public sharing of information on members and funding (GOB, 2013). Generally, political financing is under scrutiny and it has been common to witness issues or scandals in that regard, especially during elections (OECD, 2012, p.1).

Moreover, there is the assumption that in order for a party to become more effective, there needs to be more intra-party democracy, which will consequently lead to electoral success and a stronger democratic culture in the wider society (Maiyo, 2008). Internal effectiveness stems from how leaders are selected, how internal party policies are set and how memberships are defined within the party, which not only affects the organization's effectiveness but is also a component of responsiveness to intraparty conflict (Scarrow, 2005). A number of parties have functional divisions which are similar to the three branches of government : the intra-party tribunal for the resolutions of conflicts, which can punish or expel party members for any acts which may negatively affect the party's public image; the general assembly or party conventions which have voting and electing functions; and the party executive" (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011). Overall, these processes improve the party's effectiveness and demonstrate mechanisms to promote a culture of good governance within the organization.

Another important aspect of good governance within parties is inclusive participation, highlighted by intra-party elections. These occur for the selection of the party leaders and many aspects of the literature showcase that the members empowered with this feature are the

central actors of the party (Gallagher & Marsh, 1988). There is also important consideration in regards to participation is the inclusiveness of members in the decision-making progress and involvement in regards to which candidates the party will select to run for elections, made through the occurrence of events such as party conventions or conferences (Lisi, 2009). The various mechanisms which exist to select leadership and party decision-making are crucial components of participation assessment. Moreover, parties can have databases in order to keep track of the members and review the various participation inputs by members and non-members alike. For improved and inclusive participation, parties can give attention to its members database, and also have a database for interested citizens. Database management is an important aspect of the party governance as it can be used for different purposes such as distribution of political information, fundraising and electoral support (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011).

The participation of women in intraparty processes is an indispensable component of equal opportunity and ensures accession for women into the policy process and decision-making within the party. It is thus one of the reflections of the good governance of political parties (Juru, 2005). The inclusion of women and minorities was highlighted in the case of Eastern European countries such as Croatia, especially in regards to the provision of equal opportunity to the Serbian minorities (Bieber, 2006, p.7). An arising concept put forth which encompasses participation, inclusiveness, tolerance and consensus building for political parties has been called institutional development. This is defined as *“the process whereby parties become better organized, practice democratic values and establish rules and procedures that will allow them to compete more effectively and be more successful in elections and at implementing their policy preferences”* (NIMD, 2005, p.8). Institutional development is a focal notion of political parties which can improve the promotion of good

governance in these institutions specifically in regards to the intertwined concepts of inclusive participation and equal opportunity.

In addition, parties are fundamental institutions of representative democracy. They are considered the analogues of firms in the market sector. Politicians can generally start their political careers by working for party organizations, therefore the recruiting strategies of parties play an important role in determining the quality of the political class (Best&Cotta, 2000, p.2). From the instant members join a political party, human development and capacity building are the cornerstones of the formation of future politicians and policymakers, which is the reason why it requires to be central to the promotion of good governance. The development of members, especially on the local level and the youth is a crucial element of good governance. Within parties, many funds are exclusively targeted for use in capacity building, training or policy development. Party members in developing democracies are often recipients of workshops, attendees of conferences, seminars, on topics such as internal democracy, quotas for women, etc...(IDEA, 2007). Trainings and workshops might also be tailored to youth in parties and cover a wider area of specific topics such as strategic planning and decision making, mobilization and advocacy, political parties governance and needs assessment (ISET, 2012).

Political parties can be strengthened in order to play an effective role as effective actors for democratic consolidation, contribute to public debate, support government through constructive opposition, thus promotion of transparency and accountability (Matlosa & Shale, 2008, p. VI). Capacity building also occurs through comprehensive research and publications in thematic areas, country dialogue workshops, training and international conferences, which occurs at the strategic, organizational and structural levels (Matlosa & Shale, 2008, p. V). The Institute for Security and Development Policy provides an excellent case for political party capacity building which provides general recommendations for parties such as: setting

up a political education unit, creating a center with resource rooms or libraries for the party members, effective training and evaluation, IT trainings, political awareness trainings, all of which constitute essential capacity building components essential for promoting good governance (Aung, 2013).

The literature review has touched upon two important aspects of the study: the potential role of political parties in promoting a culture of good governance in the macro-environment and an equal importance of elements within the party illustrated by various mechanisms of transparency, accountability and capacity building, among other components. As such, this will help shape the questions for this study and the types of overarching concepts that will need to be drawn out of the data collected.

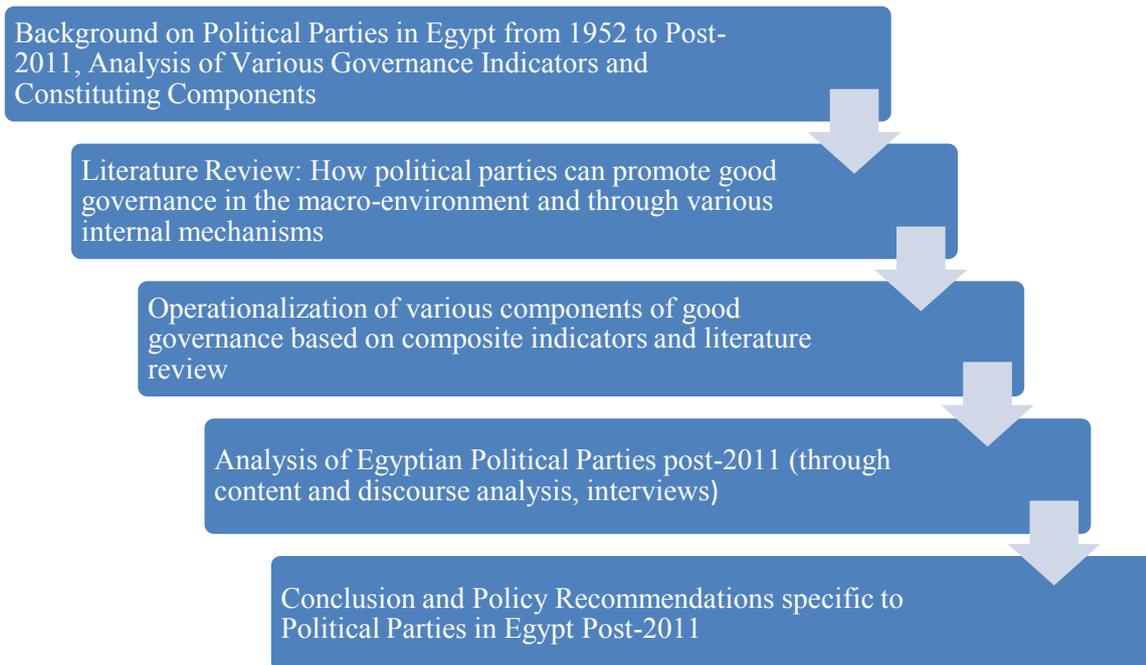
Chapter 3 Methodology

Research Process and Theoretical Framework

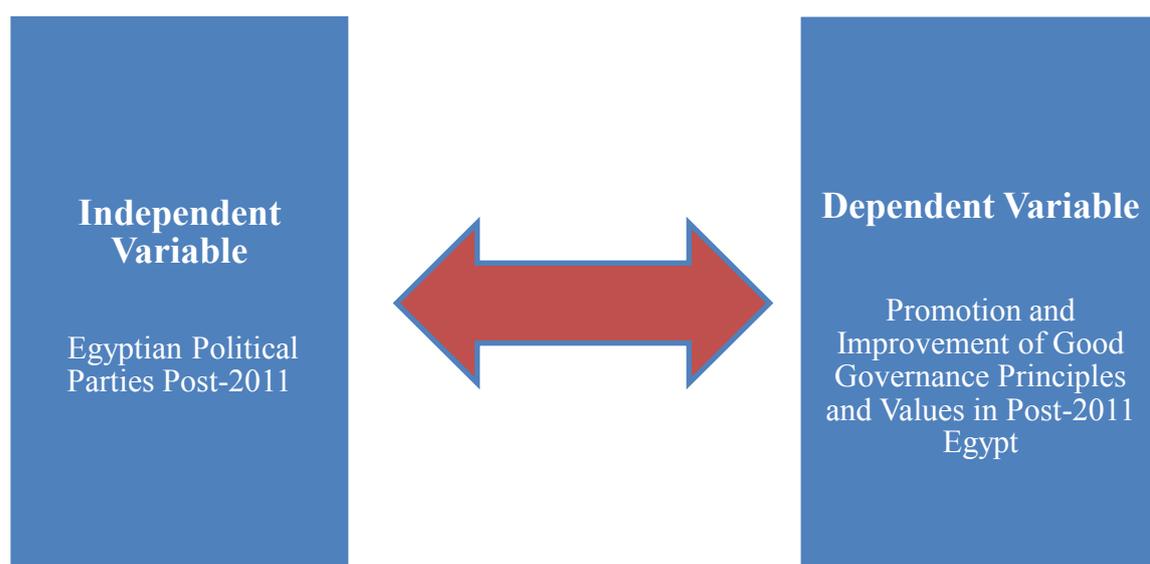
This study undertook a specific process to provide an answer to the research question on the role of political parties in the promotion of good governance in Post-2011 Egypt. It aims at modestly filling a gap in the literature, with regards to Egypt in the post-2011 period moving forward. The gap is particularly incurred due to the events in Egypt being relatively recent, as well as the presence of a dearth of knowledge in relation to post-2011 political parties as tools of good governance in Egypt.

The background and literature review sections served as an essential foundation of the research for global anchoring. In order to analyse and assess the potential role of political parties in post-2011 Egypt, the background provided the needed context and evolution of these institutions under the different modern Egyptian regimes leading to 2011. The literature review highlighted good governance as a vague concept, encompassing several components and values, which need to be delimited to those that will contribute to the promotion of a culture of good governance through political parties. These components will be operationalized to serve as a basis to analyse the data associated with this research.

The figure in the below page summarizes the overall research process in undertaking the task of answering the research question:



A theoretical framework is needed in order highlight the potential correlation between the paper’s two main variables: Egyptian post-2011 political parties (independent variable) and the potential promotion of a good governance culture (dependent variable). The figure below constitutes the basis for the theoretical framework of this paper:



Operationalizing Various Good Governance Components

The literature review of the paper has highlighted important components, values and principles of good governance. In order to utilize these elements for analysis, the major themes require to be operationalized in an attempt to define a framework of good governance. The different definitions and composite indicators of good governance analyzed throughout this paper are summarized below:

<p>IMF Interim Committee</p> <p>Rule of Law, Improvement of Accountability, Efficiency and Effectiveness of Public Sector and Fight of Corruption</p>	<p>UNDP</p> <p>Participation, Consensus-Orientation, Accountability, Transparency, Responsiveness, Efficiency and Effectiveness, Equity and Inclusiveness, Rule of Law</p>
<p>World Bank (WGI)</p> <p>Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and Absence of Violence, Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of Law, Control of Corruption</p>	<p>IDA</p> <p>Accountability, Transparency, Rule of Law, Participation</p>
<p>African Development Bank</p> <p>Accountability, Transparency, Fight of Corruption, Participation, Legal Framework</p>	<p>Asian Development Bank</p> <p>Accountability, Participation, Rule of Law, Transparency</p>
<p>Mo Ibrahim Index</p> <p>Safety and Rule of Law, Participation and Human Rights, Sustainable Economic Opportunity, Human Development</p>	<p>Freedom House</p> <p>Political Rights, Civil Liberties</p>
<p>Transparency International</p> <p>Perception of Corruption</p>	<p>Bertelsmann Foundation (SGI)</p> <p>Policy Performance, Democracy, Capacity Building in Governance</p>

The literature review also provided the research with specific mechanisms which political parties have to possess in order to promote good governance, in the macro-environment or on the internal level. The mechanisms highlighted are summarized below:

- Representation and Democratic Processes
- Multi-Party Collaboration
- Recruitment and Capacity Building
- Transparency, Accountability and Conflict Resolution Mechanisms
- Rule of Law (Presence of Bylaws and Administration)

Base on the above, the components which can be operationalized and serve as a base for the analysis of political parties in post-2011 Egypt will be:



These four components were selected not simply to match the global trends highlighted, but also provide a holistic framework which will be relevant to the study of political parties in post-2011 Egypt.

These represent the paper's definition of good governance and will be utilized in order to provide as a basis for analysis for post-2011 Egyptian political parties.

Methodological Techniques

This research has solely adopted a qualitative methodology in an attempt to give depth to the study of governance and political parties within the selected context. A starting analysis of secondary data was the essence of the background and literature review, which was crucial in order to be able to operationalize how political parties can contribute in promoting a culture of good governance in Egypt.

Moreover, an analysis of primary data is a second tool to be used within this study. An adopted approach of discourse and content analysis of the various platforms of political parties in Egypt, with a focus on significant parties established post 2011, was essential to provide more insights on the current state of affairs. The significance of a party selected within the analysis is based on the party's political presence and the respective participation in elections. Main parties included were Al Nour Party, the Egyptian Social Democratic Party, the Free Egyptians Party, the Freedom and Justice Party, the Constitution Party, among others. The analysis encompasses a wide area of sources such as: party bylaws, party websites, parliamentary programs, formal statements during specific events but also party leaders' interviews/statements undertaken through formal channels. Moreover, I undertook several semi-structured interviews which will serve as a complementary insight to the content analysis. These various data sources collected will be analyzed against the four components extrapolated in the previous section, in order to provide an answer to the research question.

The selected research method allows for a more in-depth understanding of the subject matter and provides a general analysis of several parties in a set timeframe, specifically between 2011 and 2015. Qualitative methods generally allow the research to have more freedom to understand structural underlying and obtain holistic insights, especially in the case of a topic not widely covered in other academic endeavors. Moreover, components of good governance and judgment on whether certain actions or facts fall under these components, is

essentially a subjective issue. Quantitative research attempts to test hypotheses based on selected data sets that are usually cross-country, which will not be the most effective method for the purposes of this paper, and simply put, the data is not available to undertake quantitative research. Moreover, some of the parties analyzed are simply four years old and the contextual political environment has been volatile in Egypt during that time period. The study of the context is an important variable of the research, hence there is need to have flexibility brought forward by the selected method in order to analyze multiple components. In addition, the study of political parties in transitional settings in the literature is generally undertaken qualitatively, which fits with the aims of this research.

Chapter 4 Description of the Data and Research Limitations

The data collected for the analysis consists of several elements. The analysis is split into three main sections, with various data utilized for each. Under the Intraparty Mechanisms and Features section (main first section of analysis), I have comprehensively analyzed the bylaws of Al Nour Party, the Egyptian Social Democratic Party and the Free Egyptians Party, in relation to the good governance components I have put forth in the methodology. These are all supported by semi-structured interviews. I also included brief analysis on the Constitution Party and the Freedom and Justice Party in terms of relevant intraparty mechanisms which I deemed important to the purposes of the paper. This allowed me to cover various parties, at different ideologies across the political spectrum, giving more depth to the analysis. Moreover, these parties had different impacts on the political life in post-2011 Egypt, thus making it insightful to see how each party contributed differently to the analysis and the subject of study.

The second section reviews parties and good governance in relation to post-2011 elections in Egypt, more specifically the 2011-2012 parliamentary elections, which takes most of the focus of the analysis; but also both presidential elections of 2012 and 2014. This section does not focus on specific parties but on general trends within all involved political parties, alliances and coalitions. Adding to these, election programs of several parties and stances within presidential elections were analyzed and provided an understanding of the subject matter. This section of the analysis is central to the main roles of political parties which are to compete for power and mobilize support.

The third and final section is an analysis of the role of parties in promoting good governance through multi-party collaboration in specific instances, whether in parliament or in elections. This will include for instance party positions regarding legislations such as the

case of the Demonstration/Protest Law or the political discussions led by parties surrounding constitutional articles such as the articles concerning military trials of civilians and finally the party positions regarding foreign policy issues such as the Israeli War on Gaza in 2014. All these various instances demonstrate role of parties in promoting elements of good governance at different times of the transition.

Similar to the data collected, the three sections of the analysis are complementary and provide an overall understanding of the potential role of parties in post-2011. However, some limitations have impacted this research. The research question is relatively new and there is not significant academic coverage of the potential role of political parties in the promotion of a good governance culture in post-2011 Egypt. Therefore, there is no benchmark to the framework proposed in this research. Moreover, Egypt is still a country in transition, very volatile from a political standpoint, especially in the past four years. The volatility impacts the subject of study: political parties.. At this stage, events in Egypt vary on a daily basis. I could not be present on the field in the past year to have a better feel of the environment or have more insightful information, especially in regards to intraparty mechanisms, research on which can be sometimes subject to self-promotion or propaganda. For example, analyzing the bylaws of a party does not necessarily reflect the performance of the party on the ground. The experiences within a party are mostly not shared with the public which is another restriction. Another limitation is related to the age of these parties: four years old. This means these parties still do not have considerable practice/experience and are considered politically immature. They are still experimenting in a country which entered true party pluralism few years ago. Also, for some parties, information can simply be inaccessible, either through online channels or other public platforms. It has been considerably difficult to study political parties in Egypt since 2011 overall and the limitation in that case is the overall abnormality of the Egyptian case: instances of parties without elections and other instance elections without

parties. Without elections and electoral patterns, there is a limitation to this research to be able to analyze these institutions closely.

Chapter 5: Analysis and Discussion

2011 marked a considerable shift in the potential role of political parties in Egypt, the overthrow of Mubarak bringing about considerable change in the political sphere. It had been reported that more than 40 parties and 6,000 candidates registered for the first parliamentary elections post-Mubarak (Hill, 2011). To what extent did these parties take part in advancing a culture of good governance in Egypt and through which mechanisms?

The analysis consists of a juxtaposition of the data collected against the extrapolated components relevant to political parties and good governance. Therefore, the below components established in the methodology section will be analyzed for the post-2011 political parties selected.



The basis of the analysis is to determine how the selected parties took part in advancing good governance practices, principles and values in Egypt at these different instances:

- Within the party itself (intraparty features and mechanisms)
- During elections or pre-election alliances
- Through general multi-party collaboration in various instances

Intraparty Features and Mechanisms in Post-2011 Political Parties

The bylaws of the March 2011-founded Egyptian Social Democratic Party (SDP or ESD) tackle several elements of transparency, starting with the access to information. According to Article 9.3 of the party bylaws which entail to the rights of members, SDP party members are entitled to attend all party meetings in their respective committees and geographical locations. Adding to that, they can access any formulated party decisions and financial statements for their own knowledge and review (SDP Bylaws, 2015, Article 9). Events such as general meetings and assemblies within the party are important mechanisms for access to information and debate, which occur at various state levels (neighborhood, governorate, country-wide) and also provide a setting for election of leadership positions and discussions over various political issues (SDP Bylaws, 2015, Articles 20-34). Access to information can also impact non-members. In case of not being granted membership, members have the right to appeal their rejection to the party, with the bylaws committing the party to provide justification of the decision or review within fifteen days (SDP Bylaws, 2015, Article 6). The presence of these instruments within the bylaws provide support to the presence of transparency mechanisms within the party.

However, these features and mechanisms present in the party bylaws do not necessarily reflect the practical reality. According to an interview with an upper board member of the SDP: *“Even if it is in writing in the bylaws, in practice there is a gap between what is written and the reality. Regarding the level of transparency, it relies on the person and the reason why the information is shared. For example, to attract new members to the party, transparency in regards to the issues within the party will be reduced”* (Interview with SDP Upper-Board Member, March 2014). This was an interesting statement which was due to (according to the interviewee) traits within the country as a whole: *“It is not among the habits of Egyptians to provide full transparency, especially within institutions”* (Interview

with SDP Upper-Board Member, March 2014). The by-laws set a transparent process of decision-making in which decisions affecting the party occurs on three stages: from the popular bases of the party in various geographies to the political bureau to the high-board. However, this is not a common practice which occurs only “30 to 40% of the time” (Interview with SDP Upper-Board Member, March 2014). This is not necessarily due to a lack of transparency, but can also be explained by outreach difficulties. According to a Vice-President in the SDP: “*There is no intention to hide but logistically the information flow is very weak so this makes certain members feel like they are excluded. I dare say that it is not intentional but a weakness of the flow*” (Interview with VP of SDP, April 2014). Political parties can have the mechanisms in place according to bylaws but not able to effectively enforce them. Participation and inclusiveness can be negatively impacted by the effectiveness of operational flows in place.

While all required information of intra-party mechanisms in the SDP are available on their website, including an effective 5-page summary of all the party’s guiding principles, values and program orientations (SDP Website, 2015), some other parties do not have available information presented in a website. It came as a surprise that the Islamist Al Nour Party, which gathered 29% of the popular vote in Egypt’s 2011-2012 parliamentary elections (Coleman, 2012), the second highest results after the Freedom and Justice Party, does not have a functioning official website. The address www.alnourparty.org is defined as their website link on their official social media accounts, however, it is not functional at this stage. The party bylaws can be found on the party’s legal committee’s Facebook page (Al Nour Party Bylaws, 2012). This occurrence represents a minor issue under effectiveness and internal mechanisms, an important aspect of good governance.

Not common to other parties, Al Nour’s bylaws define a “governance council” which is a supervisory council which oversees all governance related matters and organizational

structure issues of the party. It also ensures supervision of the party's plans and policies (Al Nour Party Bylaws, 2012). Overall, the governance council serves as a tool for accountability and effectiveness, ensuring commitment to the party's internal mechanisms. According to an interview undertaken with the Vice-President of Al Nour Party, they are one of the few established parties which put in place a governance council upon their establishment as a party back in 2011 (Interview with Al Nour VP, April 2014).

Another party's bylaws which put forward mechanisms for internal governance review is the Free Egyptians Party. Article 26 of the Free Egyptians Party's bylaws defines the creation of a review committee which has the responsibility to issue reports having for purpose to *“review mechanisms which ensure accountability within the party and commitment to transparency and governance”* (Free Egyptians Party Bylaws, 2014, Article 26). Article 85 explains the process needed to hold party leadership accountable for any party governance related matter. It states that any party member can request any clarification in writing to the president of the party, the latter being responsible for providing the *“appropriate channels”* to clarify and respond accordingly to the member's query (Free Egyptians Party Bylaws, 2014, Article 85). This constitutes an important component within the Free Egyptians Party and all other parties which have similar mechanisms in their respective bylaws (Al Nour Party Bylaws, 2012, Article 109 and SDP Bylaws, 2015, Article 12-16). The presence of a mechanism which hold any member of the party accountable in full transparency including the leader of the party, has a positive impact on political culture within the party (especially if enforced) and considerably contributes to a culture of good governance within the institutions. It also ensures having the adequate mechanisms to fight corruption within those parties. Discipline committees within all parties ensure that corruption is managed and accountability is rendered, but all these parties are relatively new and do not yet have recorded public corruption cases.

Capacity building is an important aspect of party mechanisms and good governance. Article 41 of the Free Egyptians Party by-laws states that upon their recruitment, members are put under a training probationary period of 6 months. Upon completion of the training period (where they receive training on party vision and mission), only then they are entitled to permanent membership (Free Egyptians Party Bylaws, 2012, Article 41). It is a similar case for the Egyptian Social Democrats but the training period upon recruitment is for 3 months. (SDP Bylaws, 2015, Article 7). Capacity building within the Egyptian Social Democratic Party has been demonstrated in their bylaws, with the presence of a dedicated secretary for education and political training (SDP Bylaws, 2015, Article 27). But moreover, they have implemented two phases of an initiative entitled the “Cadre School” which are a series of political trainings and workshops, aimed at developing leaders, preparing them for leadership positions inside and outside the party (SDP Official Website, 2015). The party aims to make this school a requirement for members, especially ones planning to run for elections: *“We are planning on not allowing party members to run for elections unless they have covered several requirements within this school. It is getting established by a commission which determined the training needs and trained youth for the Party to become trainers” (Interview with SDP Upper Board Member, April 2014).*

Within Al Nour Party, the recruitment process for members touches upon several points. To become an active member of the party, according to the party’s bylaws and the interview with the Vice-President of the Party, the candidates must pass through “promotion examinations” (Al Nour Party Bylaws, Article 6, 2012 and Interview with Al Nour VP, April 2014), which is a very uncommon practice in political parties. According to the Vice-President of the party: *“This [the examinations] guarantees us commitment and guarantees that our party is accessed by members who truly want to be there, and this is of course in our by-laws. Members are subject to tests and exams on specific attributes and political*

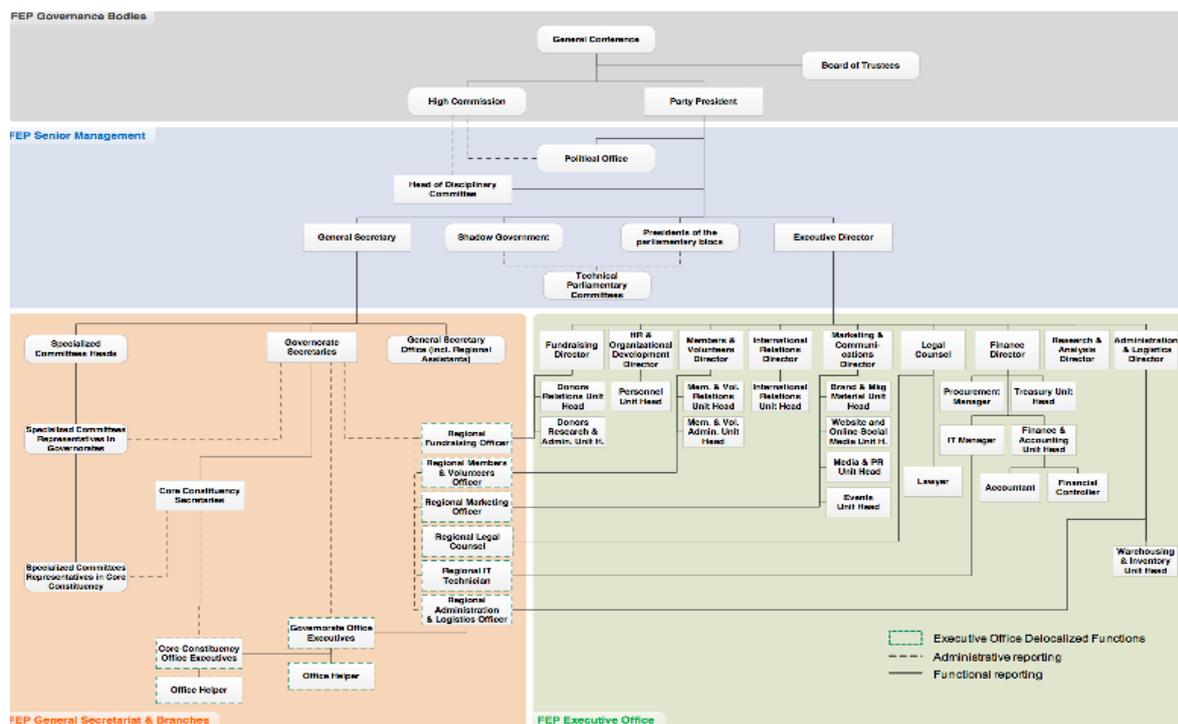
programs, as per the bylaws. They are handled by the membership commission, and this is also defined by the bylaws. This commission makes all the decisions in that aspect. For transparency and to show commitment to good governance, we invite anyone to attend and take pictures during those tests” (Interview with Al Nour VP, April 2014). Al Nour is the only party to undertake such examinations as part of their membership process, which demonstrates some basis for capacity building pre-admission, and ensure that members understand and are in line with the party’s vision and policies. These tests being followed through based on the bylaws is an important aspect of capacity building and rule of law within the party mechanisms.

Party structures and governance models play an important roles for all components of good governance analyzed within parties, especially accountability, effectiveness of processes, representation and inclusiveness. In the Free Egyptians Party like most of all the parties, the highest governance bodies are the general conference, the party’s high commission and the president of the party. These are complemented by the Board of Trustees, a non-elected, non-voting advisory group of senior members who serve as a tool for guidance and internal conflict resolution (see figure below, Memon in Ali, 2014) . The Board of Trustees model is also followed by the SDP and Al Nour, however in Al Nour it is called *Majlis Al Sheyookh* (Senate or Council of Sheikhs) and its members are elected (SDP Bylaws, 2015, Article 65 and Al Nour Party Bylaws, 2012, Articles 112-120). The presence of a non-elected body within the party governance model can also present issues, as their authority should only be moral and sometimes impact the transparency and effectiveness of systems put into place, like in the case of the Egyptian Social Democratic Party:

“Trustees are a good idea, but it has not worked well, it’s a small number of people. 6 people, one is the chairman, so he is involved with the party operations. One became Prime Minister, left politics afterwards; the third one became the Secretary General of the National

Council for Women. It hasn't been the power it should have been. The board should have moral authority, not any executive authority, because they're not elected.” (Interview with VP of SDP, April 2014)

The figure below shows the structure of the Free Egyptians Party, which serves as a good example as it is similar to most post-2011 party structures:



(Memon in Ali, 2014)

The presence of these structures can be an important pre-requisite to be able to put in place various mechanisms, but can also create hierarchical burdens and ineffectiveness .

Intra-party elections are defined by the bylaws of the respective parties and are a crucial and focal to the promotion of democratic values and good governance internally. The Egyptian Social Democratic Party holds election every two years for all positions of the party except the Board of Trustees (SDP Bylaws, 2015, Articles 67-70 and Interview with VP of SDP, April 2014). Elections usually occur on all levels of the party and are an effective tool

of participation and representation. In some instances, what is present in the party bylaws does not reflect reality:

“In our by-laws we have a representative democracy electoral system. Each office would elect someone to represent them and then they would select someone to run the region and then to run the governorate until you have a council of up to 1600 people that would elect the president. Now, in order for this model to be activated, we needed to have bottom-up elections done. So, when elected Dr. Ahmed Said, we didn’t have the chance to do that given the time and the political circumstances” (Memon in Ali, 2014).

Time constraints and the volatility of events during Egypt’s ongoing transition can have considerable impact on the commitment of parties to the systems put into place. Also, the popularity of certain characters within certain parties affect the prospects of having elections, with these leaders sometimes being appointed by claimed “consensus” and elections being avoided to show a more “united front”: *“Leadership in the party is by election but is also by consensus. We are trying as much as possible to avoid the competition to make the party look more united. This process of consensus leads to selecting wrong people for certain positions, people chosen for personal reasons not for competence” (Interview with SDP Upper-Board Member, March 2014).* In 2012, Al Nour Party’s internal elections showed a rift between various factions within the organization, and was an issue which put to test the commitment to the bylaws of the party (Ahram Online, 2012). The head of the party then, Dr. Emad Abdel Ghaffour ordered for postponement of internal elections, a decision which was overruled by the party’s supreme committee. According to Nader Bakar, then party spokesperson: *“We respect our leaders, but we have internal regulations and we act accordingly”* and *“it is the Supreme Committee that decides on the fate of the internal elections, not the president of the part” (Bakar in Ahram Online, 2012).* This later on led to the resignation of Abdel Ghaffour who then formed another Salafi party (Al Watan). Some

sources claim that the resignation came due to issues in the party's decision making, the influence of the religious scholars in the party governance, an issue in regards to the governance model of the party and its commitment to good governance. Other sources, like abovementioned, restrict it to a strict application of the bylaws over internal elections which caused a drift in the party (Shalaby, 2012). In all instances, components of good governance such as transparency, accountability, participation and representation were all put to the test in that experiment, which is a positive impact of these elections on the political culture of post-2011 Egypt. The October 2012 elections within the now-dissolved Freedom and Justice Party (FJP, Party of the Muslim Brotherhood) which elected Saad Al Katatney as the head of the party in October 2012 represented a good indication for good governance. The internal elections were the first opportunity for FJP members to vote for the party chairman (Ahram Online, 2012). The bylaws of the party grant voting to all the Party General Assembly, and Katatney received 581 of 864 of the casted votes (Ahram Online, 2012). This step was significant in Egypt due to these elections being closely followed, notably because the FJP was the party in power, but still represented a step forward in good governance within the political parties.

Representation and inclusiveness play an important part in good governance and how the parties promote rights of women, youth and minorities within their parties is focal. Al Nour Party's bylaws state that one-fifth of each committee within the party (including the high board) must be constituted of youth, defined as members under the age of 35 years old (Al Nour Party Bylaws, 2012, Article 78): *"This is to ensure youth participation in the decision making of the party"* (Interview with Al Nour Party VP, April 2014). The Egyptian Social Democratic Party's bylaws clearly states that the youth (also defined as members under 35 years old) must represent at least 10% of all party committees on all levels. Moreover, women must represent 30% of all party committees on all various party levels

(SDP Bylaws, 2015, Article 71). However, it sometimes occur that in practical terms, these quotas are tough to be met, especially in local offices, compared to the central committees of the party: The Constitution Party (Al Dostour) represents a good case for representation and inclusiveness in post-2011 Egypt. In 2014, the party elected Hala Shukrallah as their new head, making her Egypt's first female party leader (Kingsley, 2014). Moreover, Shukrallah is also a Coptic Christian (Kingsley, 2014), which makes her election a representation success for women and religious minorities in Egypt, and a focal factor in the good governance components of participation and inclusiveness in post-2011 Egypt.

This section of the analysis has been central in providing an overview of how internal mechanisms and features of various post-2011 Egyptian political parties can contribute in the promotion of a culture of good governance. In the upcoming section, the analysis will now focus on Egyptian parties in the macro-environment, with a focus on the setting of elections and pre-election initiatives such as electoral alliances.

Post-2011 Parties in the Context of Elections

Elections are a crucial foundation for the existence of political parties. This section of the analysis will provide insights on political parties trends and behaviors during the major elections in post-2011 Egypt: the 2011-2012 parliamentary elections as well as both presidential elections of 2012 and 2014.

Under the components of effectiveness and multi-party collaboration in good governance, the alliances formed in the build-up to the 2011-2012 parliamentary elections demonstrated positive indications. Multi-party collaboration was witnessed in that period as there were four main coalitions. The Democratic Alliance which was the first party coalition to exist post-2011 (formed in June), initially constituted of 28 political parties (Egyptian

Elections Watch in Ahram Online, 2011). The Egyptian Bloc, the Islamist Alliance and the Revolution Continues represented the three other main multi-party alliances which participated in the 2011-2012 parliamentary elections (many of these alliances were issued out of defections and entries from each other, notably the Democratic Alliance) . The figure below summarizes the main alliances and the major leading parties of which they were composed:

The Democratic Alliance	The Egyptian Bloc	The Islamist Alliance	The Revolution Continues
Freedom and Justice Party, Al Karama, Ghad Al Thawra, Labor Party, Al Hadara, Al Islah	Free Egyptians Party, Social Democratic Party, Al Tagammu'	Al Nour, Building and Development Party, Al Asala Party	Egypt Freedom, Egyptian Current Party

(Hill, 2011 and Egyptian Elections Watch in Ahram Online, 2011)

These elections witnessed the landslide victory of the Islamists parties, as mentioned earlier in the paper. The Freedom and Justice Party and the Salafi Nour Party both won 70% of seats in parliament, 47 percent of which for the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party and 24 percent for the Salafi Nour Party (BBC, 2012). These elections were very helpful for a deeper understanding of the political scene during the beginnings of the transition in Egypt. It showed the popular strength of the Islamist parties and the relative weakness of the other parties. However, in terms of the components of good governance analyzed, they have provided considerable insights. Parties issued political programs to their constituents and presented the public them with different ideologies and competing visions for the country and political debates. Political parties were involved in political alliances to democratically contests parliamentary seats. The voter turnout was the highest in Egyptian history with around 30 million voters or a 55% turnout (IDEA, 2015), highlighting participation and inclusiveness. The Carter Center Mission which observed the election under

the supervision of the Egyptian judiciary deemed the election to be broadly transparent (although with some concerns) and the results reflective of the will of the Egyptian people (Carter Center Website, 2015).

Two major points put forth in a discussion within the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace between scholar Amr Hamzawy and scholars Marwan Muasher and Marina Ottaway provide support to this assessment of Egypt's transition at this stage:

“Egypt is currently witnessing a dynamic political discourse. Citizens are following debates closely and are well-informed on the country's developments.”

“ While an imbalance between the power of Islamists and non-Islamists remains, the political sphere is constantly changing and non-Islamists are becoming more relevant and can now be regarded as an empowered minority”

(Hamzawy in Carnegie Middle East Center, 2012)

The analysis provided in this section helped demonstrate that parties in the context of the 2011-2012 parliamentary elections, have had a role in the promotion of several components of good governance. This of course does not undermine other factors, but is sufficient to showcase the role parties played in spreading a culture of good governance in Egypt at the time of these elections. Moreover, the fact that parties represented different ideologies and therefore were situated at different places on the political spectrum was important for the vibrancy and diversity of the Egyptian political scene. A brief look at some party election programs from 2011 provide some support to the claim that the components of good governance were of high importance in the post-2011 political sphere. For example, the below tables summarizes the number of times terms such as transparency and accountability (and other relevant components) appear in the respective party programs:

Good Governance Components	Number of Mentions in 2011 Elections Program
Transparency/Transparent	5
Accountability/Accountable	7
Ending Corruption	21
Representation	7
Participation	12
Training/Capacity Building	12

(Freedom and Justice Party, 2011 Elections Program)

**Freedom and
Justice Party**

Good Governance Components	Number of Mentions in 2011 Elections Program
Transparency/Transparent	3
Accountability/Accountable	0
Ending Corruption	3
Representation	2
Participation	7
Training/Capacity Building	2

(Constitution Party, 2011 Elections Program)

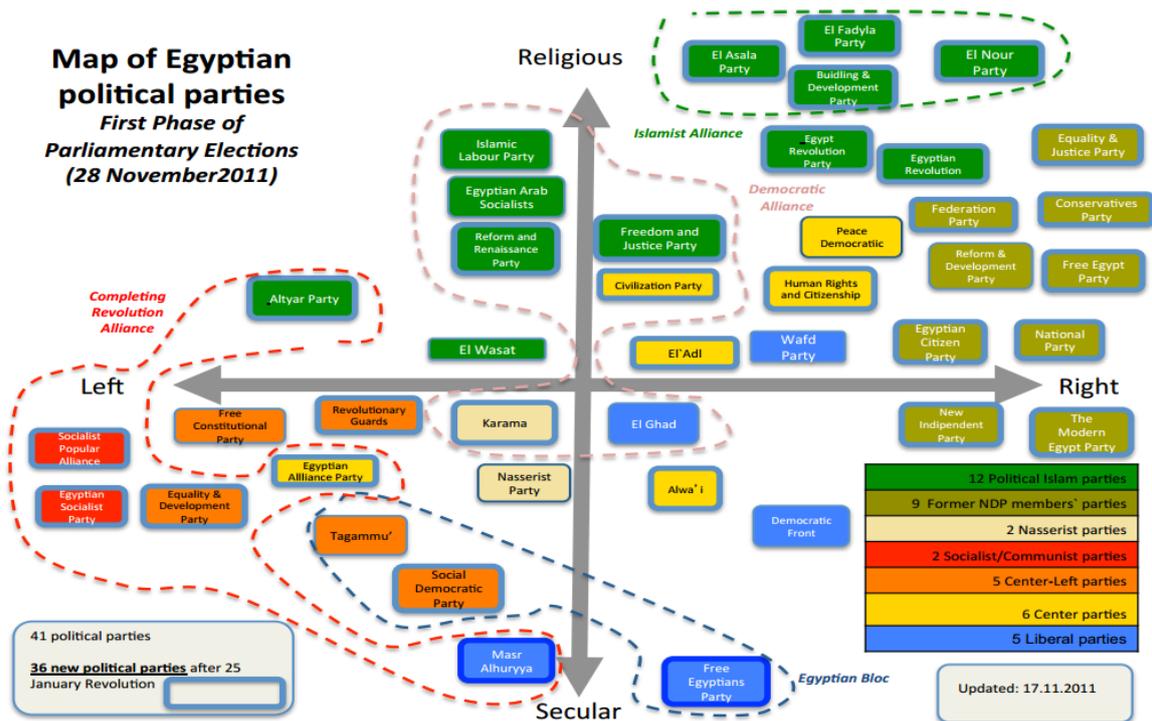
Constitution Party

Good Governance Components	Number of Mentions in 2011 Elections Program
Transparency/Transparent	12
Accountability/Accountable	2
Ending Corruption	10
Representation	3
Participation	19
Training/Capacity Building	9

(Egyptian Social Democratic Party, 2011 Elections Program)

**Egyptian Social
Democratic Party**

This brief aspect of several party program contents show how parties contribute to a commitment to the various components of good governance. The presence of this terminology within the programs and platforms of these political parties is a considerable step towards achieving more good governance and an improved political culture, although this is not a sufficient instance. It is also interesting to witness this aspect in parties from the various ends of the political spectrum. The figure below is a map of these political parties at the wake of the first post-2011 parliamentary elections:



(European Parliament, 2012)

The map accentuates the various factions and complexity of the Egyptian political scene during the transition, but also the diversity available to potential members and the electorate within the Egyptian society, which is a focal element of pluralistic and representative democracy.

Parties also played a role in providing Egypt with presidential candidates in the first post-2011 presidential elections. Out of the twelve final candidates which participated in the first round of elections, seven were party candidates (El Sirgany, 2014). From the analysis undertaken in the previous section, the process that parties undertake to select candidates for presidency are considerable and provide evidence of inclusiveness and representation inside the organizations. Moreover, the public endorsement of parties to candidates from outside their party is also an interesting facet of the role of these institutions in gathering and mobilizing public support. For example, Abdel Moneim Aboufotouh, a former member of the Muslim Brotherhood running for the 2012 Presidential Elections, received the

endorsement of both Islamist Al Nour and Al Wasat parties (Salafi and Moderate Islamist Parties) for his presidential bid:

“Nour Party authorities arrived at the decision to support Abouel Fotouh after voting during a meeting. Among the top-ranking members, eight of the eleven supported Aboul Fotouh, the remaining three were in favor of candidate Mohamed Selim al-Awa [another candidate]. The parliamentary body of the party voted in favor of Abouel Fotouh, while the rest were split between Awa and Muslim Brotherhood candidate Mohamed Morsy” (Egypt Independent ,2012)

The decision of the Wasat Party was to endorse AboulFotouh , and the split within the party was 63% for AboulFotouh and 23 % for Selim El-Awa (Ahram Online, 2012). Al Wafd is also one of the parties which endorsed a presidential candidate, Amr Moussa, former Egyptian Foreign Minister and Arab League Secretary General (Global Security, 2012):*“The liberal Wafd Party announced its endorsement of Amr Moussa for president of Egypt late Tuesday following a six hour meeting of the party's parliamentary committee and supreme council” (Ahram Online,2012)*. These endorsements did not grant these candidates victory in the Egyptian Presidential race of 2012 but presented political parties as political instruments of governance, by nominating candidates from within their ranks or endorsing certain candidates. The weakness of these endorsements should not undermine the potential strength of stronger political parties in future instances. As demonstrated by Morsi’s victory, the popular strength of the Freedom and Justice Party (originally stemming from the social influence of the Muslim Brotherhood) in the 2011-2012 parliamentary elections provided a strong base for a presidential victory months later. This demonstrated the strength of an organized political force which is the political party, a tool for rallying and gathering support. This strength was not found within other newly established parties (the Muslim Brotherhood

was an 80-year old social movement), mostly due to the speed by which Egypt held elections post-Mubarak or that too many parties were established:

“You do not build a political system except when you have viable parties [and this takes time]. The problem is that a lot of people did not know what parties to join, ideologies were not sufficiently defined, parties were too broad on the spectrum, too wide” (Interview with VP of SDP, April 2014).

The 2014 Presidential Elections which saw current President Al Sisi win by 96% of the popular vote puts forward the importance of the macro-environment, notably the leader’s popularity rather than the influence of political parties, which is different than the case of Morsi and the Freedom and Justice Party (Al Arabiya, 2014). Sisi’s election did not originate from strong institutions and political parties but a high level of popularity after the army intervened to oust President Morsi in July 2013, following several days of countrywide mass protests which started on the 30th of June 2013 (Al Arabiya, 2014). There is no sufficient evidence to assess or analyze political parties at this stage due to the extraordinary nature of the Egyptian situation at this specific stage and the unavailability of information . However, some parties endorsed Sisi such as Al-Nour, the Wafd and the Free Egyptians (Kortam,2014) with some other parties supporting sole opposing candidate Hamdeen Sabahi(who only gathered 3% of the political vote) such as Al Dostour for instance (Egypt Today, 2014), all of which provides several elements of evidence on potential role of parties in formal candidate endorsements. However, this case raised questions on the role of political parties in the presence of a macro-environment led by very popular leaders which was the case for Al-Sisi at the time of his election.

The next and final section of the analysis will showcase trends in multi-party collaboration in different instances of the post-2011 period in Egypt, outside the electoral alliances which have been covered in this section.

Multi-Party Collaboration as a Tool to Promote Good Governance

Outside of the realm of political alliances mentioned in the above section (established for the purposes of elections), post-2011 Egyptian political parties demonstrated evidence of multi-party collaboration to promote good governance in Egypt's ongoing transition. This section of the analysis will highlight several instances of such traits.

A case of multiparty collaboration was highlighted during the year 2014, when parties joined forces to oppose a specific legislation, the Protest Law, drafted in 2013 by the interim government. Several parties undertook joint positions and statements in order to put pressure on the government to amend a controversial legislation restricting all protests which are not state-authorized and subjecting violations to heavy and lengthy jail sentences (Ahram Online, 2014).. These parties included the Constitution Party, the Popular Socialist Alliance, the Karama Party, the Adl Party, the Freedom Egypt Party and the Popular Current movement (Ahram Online, 2014). This case is an occurrence of multi-party collaboration to promote good governance in post-2011 Egypt, notably a request by parties in a joint statement to the rulers for more commitment to the rule of law, freedom of expression and the right to protest, which are all granted constitutional rights:

“The statement went on to demand the law’s amendment, ‘to assure its consistency with the rights to demonstrate, enshrined in the constitution.’ It also called on security forces to ‘stop using unjustified violence against peaceful demonstrators among the revolutionary youth, and not to treat in the same manner they deal with members of violent groups’ ” (Dawoud, 2014)

This statement and party collaboration is an important occurrence in Egypt's transition which demonstrates an important role for political parties within the political sphere and culture and touches upon the promotion of various components of good

governance such as safety, rule of law, freedom of association and expression and respect of human rights. In regards to the same law, the Social Justice Coalition made up of leftist/Nasserist parties which the National Association for Change, the Nasserist People's Congress and National Accord parties, the Knights of Egypt and the Egyptian Liberation parties have even included the abolishment of the Protest law within their electoral platform for the future 2015 parliamentary elections (Messieh & Mohamed, 2015). It is evident that these stances allow political parties to be tools of good governance promotion during the current transition, regardless of the effectiveness or popularity of their stances. The facts analyzed demonstrate collaboration between parties and advancement of good governance components in the Egyptian political sphere, here illustrated by opposition to a controversial piece of legislation.

A similar case has also occurred in reaction to a 2014 law requiring NGOs to register with the government. A number of six Egyptian parties called for dialogue over the law due to their opposition to it as it did not abide to international standards of good governance (Ahram Online, 2014). This relates to the good governance components of freedom of association and the nurturing of an independent civil society, among others. The multi-party collaboration was undertaken by several parties, The Socialist Popular Alliance Party, The Egyptian Popular Current, The Constitution Party, The Bread and Freedom Party, The Egyptian Social Democratic Party and The Free Egyptians Party (Ahram Online, 2014):

“The statement also warned that the government's actions – preventing citizens from organizing NGOs to defend their rights democratically as well closing all channels of dialogue – will increase tension and violence in Egypt” (Ahram Online 2014).

This case thus also puts forth multi-party collaboration to push for certain political agendas which pertain to the safeguard and preservation of basic human rights in Egypt post-2011,

essential to good governance. Whether it is the collaboration which occurred for opposition to the Protest Law or the NGO law, post-2011 political parties showcase a role in promoting values and concepts of good governance, from the push for increased societal dialogue to protection of various freedoms. Opposition to the law pertaining to the next parliamentary elections in Egypt (2015) is another proof of multi-party collaboration in relation to a controversial legislation which concerns the structure of parliament seats in Egypt's future parliament. The law provides for a low number of seats chosen through party lists, which gives parties the chance to compete over only 120 seats, giving more chance to well-connected independents or businessmen to go into parliament. Moreover, these independents would not have a party similar to Mubarak's NDP to "unite them", which could lead to a fragmented parliament (Sika, 2015, p.2). In response to this instance, several political parties have been actively allied and opposed to the law, illustrated by recent statements from 14 political parties, including the Wafd Party, Al Nour Party, Al Dostour and the Egyptian Social Democratic Party, and other socio-political forces (Reda et al., 2015). Even though there are signs of multi-party collaboration in that regard, other evidence showcases that political parties can also considerably divide on positions: *"A meeting aimed at unifying positions over Egypt's election laws instead revealed divisions among the parties to form part of the opposition in any upcoming parliament"* (Essam-El-Din, 2015). Regardless of outcomes of these discussions and statements, political parties have undertaken steps towards collaboration, and these cases have provided insights of good governance promotion within Egypt's current transition. A dialogue between parties regarding important aspects of the socio-political sphere has positive components of a pluralist system, without any judgment on the results achieved by these dialogues or positions.

Other instances during Egypt's transition also denote multi-party collaboration such as the positions undertaken by parties in regards to foreign affairs matters post-2011. During

Israel's 2014 attack on the Gaza Strip, political parties also highlighted collaboration in regards to the government policies. A statement issued by several parties such as the Constitution Party, the Egyptian Social Democratic Party, the Strong Egypt Party, the Egypt Freedom Party, the Nasserist Popular Current, the Revolutionary Path Front and the Popular Socialist Alliance Party, called on the president and the government to adopt *"honestly the Egyptian people's position on the Palestinian cause and to open the Rafah crossing, not only because of the attack but permanently"* (Ahram Online, 2014), highlighting a push for a change in foreign policy by the Egyptian leadership. Other statements on the matter from parties such as Al Nour, the Constitution Party and the Egyptian Social Democratic Party are requests for action to the President *"to exert all efforts to stop the Israeli offensive on the Palestinians of Gaza"*, which is a demonstration of parties collaborating on national issues, even though they are from different ends of the party ideological spectrum (Daily News Egypt, 2014).

A brief view on other issues such as the military trial of civilians in military courts has been an issue pertaining to a lack of good governance in Egypt's transition (HRW, 2012). It has been most recently legally ratified as per article 204 of the 2014 Egyptian Constitution (Constitute Project, 2015, Article 204). Political parties have also collaborated in opposition to this practice at various instances of the Egyptian transition post-2011, through statements and protests in collaboration with civil society organizations, as illustrated by joint statements of the parties constituting the Egyptian Bloc electoral alliance and public protests in September 2011 for example (Ahram Online, 2011). Another instance occurred upon the discussion of military trials of civilians in the 2014 constitution draft, a coalition of political parties which constituted the National Salvation Front, composed of the Egyptian Popular Current, Constitution Party, Al Tagammu, Free Egyptians Party, New Wafd, Democratic Front, Egyptian Social Democratic Party, Free Egypt Party, among others (BBC Middle East,

2012) publically denounced the practice in its lack of commitment to the rule of law, to the right to a fair and just trial and basic human rights (Middle East Monitor, 2013). The latter concepts all represent focal elements of good governance (or lack thereof) which are addressed by a multitude of organizations and political parties are playing an important role in ensuring their promotion in that instance. Once again, the analysis of that policy issue does not pertain to the success or effectiveness of these multi-party collaboration initiatives but it claims that the latter are prerequisites for parties to potentially play a role in promoting a culture of good governance in post-2011 Egypt. Many other instances or events can support the subject of multi-party collaboration as a tool of good governance promotion in Egypt's transition, however they cannot be all documented as part of this analytical endeavor. This final section of the analysis allowed to demonstrate evidence of multi-party collaboration in Egypt post-2011 and how this could be a tool to promote good governance. Along with the two other dimensions undertaken by the analysis (role of intra-party mechanisms and parties in electoral contexts), this section of the analysis allowed to provide for an overall holistic view of post-2011 Egyptian parties and the mechanisms which could constitute a contribution in promoting good governance.

Overview of Findings from the Data and Discussion

The analysis of the findings provided several insights on political parties in Egypt's ongoing transition since 2011. It has provided in-depth knowledge and references for parties and the role they can play to promote a culture of good governance in Egypt. The first section of the analysis demonstrated that across different ideologies within the political spectrum, post-2011 Egyptians political parties have defined internal mechanisms which stimulate elements of transparency, accountability, fight of corruption, representation, efficiency and effectiveness, participation and inclusiveness, as well as capacity building. This is an

important first step for political parties. As previously discussed in the literature review, the internal mechanisms of political parties are focal to the promotion of good governance because they constitute an education tool for citizens' engagement and the extent to which they are organized and effective will aid in determining the dominant political culture and how different groups in society engage with one another (Power & Shoot, 2012). It has been observed that bylaws and other intraparty elements can, in some instances, become secondary due to political events, instability or during crisis, which shows the impact of the macro-environment on how parties operate or commit to the practices of good governance. Parties can also have internal issues such as outreach difficulties which can impact inclusiveness and representation in decision-making. Overall, the analysis of intraparty mechanisms and features demonstrated significant improvement to the pluralistic political party life in Egypt since 2011, but there are essential aspects which need to be tackled in regards to how parties can better utilize resources to effectively promote good governance within various realms of the Egyptian society. Generally, as mentioned earlier in the research, political parties need to be strengthened from within and start with internal improvements with an attempt to disregard as much as possible the political environment surrounding them (Mustafa et al., 2003, p.5) in order to become more effective in their role of advancing elements of good governance. The internal mechanisms need to be closely monitored and taken seriously by party leaders as these create the various features of a democratic pluralistic political culture. The intra-party mechanisms are in place in the political parties analysed, whether in the bylaws or in various applications, however it seems like the volatility of the macro-environment, lack of political stability as well as ineffectiveness of some internal processes stymied the influence and mobilization power of political parties. This brings however the importance of the surrounding environment as an important point of discussion when

analysing political parties within Egypt's transition, a statement reaffirmed by the two other sections of the analysis.

For instance, major post-2011 elections were crucial for parties to have the opportunities to present platforms to gather and mobilize support, whether in participation or endorsement of specific candidates. The formation of political alliances and coalitions as well as the various elements of political awareness among various constituents in diverse elections showed that political parties can potentially build more influence in the future. However, it has also been viewed that in case of the presence of popular leaders ruling Egypt, like the current case of Al-Sisi (since ousting Morsi and then during his election), the role of political parties in effectively promoting good governance and rallying support can considerably be undermined and subdued. This section of the analysis of also shed light on the respective influence of the macro-environment and the leadership over what contribution political parties can bring to the political sphere during elections. An example of that statement is the set time for the 2011 parliamentary elections. The elections were held too early post-uprisings, which did not allow enough time for a lot of parties to gather enough support or create a sufficient level of awareness, thus allowing organized movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party to win these elections in a landslide, reducing the level of diversity and representation in the formal political arena. Other parties such as the liberal parties analysed throughout the paper did not match this level of grassroots influence which affected their credibility and effectiveness during and post-elections. However, parties and elections post-2011 have introduced novelty in terms of good governance themes, starting with the possibility of competing in free elections, regardless of its outcome. The past four years witnessed three major elections in which different outcomes showcased that the work of political parties need to considerably improve in order to be more effective tools of good governance promotion in Egypt's transition. Elections results,

alliances and impact of endorsements showed that post-2011 parties were present but far from effective in instigating change. The transition has however demonstrated positive features in the Egyptian political culture, as mentioned above.

The third and final section of the analysis focused on multi-party collaboration in Egypt post-2011 with a focus on several events or instances. In all the instances analysed, there has been evidence of multi-party cooperation and collaboration in attempts to promote more commitment to various aspects and elements of good governance. In regards to the Protest Law, the Elections Law, the NGO Law, the Israeli war on Gaza or the military trials of civilians, the stance and statements issued by various post-2011 provide the evidence that parties played a role in attempting to put forward and promote good governance. However, these attempts, having not materialized into clear policy changes shed light on traits of ineffectiveness by parties to be able to transform their ideas and statements into policies or to mobilize enough support to pressure the post-2011 government to undertake these changes. There is therefore a dual responsibility on both parties and country leadership to make political parties more effective in gathering support and effecting change, as it is focal for party members or stakeholders not to potentially lose faith in these institutions, which could occur due to the nature of the macro-environment of Egypt post-2011.

Generally, the three dimensions of the analysis allowed to have a clear view on the research question and understand to what extent parties can contribute in the promotion of a culture of good governance in post-2011 Egypt, along with the challenges and opportunities which these organizations face. The upcoming final sections of the paper will outline policy recommendations for Egyptian political parties and the needed factors to consider to promote stronger institutions which will effectively serve the Egyptian citizen and commendably promote a culture of good governance. Finally, the paper will conclude by proposing future research which could further fill a gap in regards to the subject matter.

Chapter 6 Policy Recommendations

Based on all the undertaken research in the various sections of this paper, the potential role of political parties in post-2011 Egypt in promoting good governance is the function of historical developments in the modern Egyptian state as well as several underlying factors which define the post-2011 transitional period (e.g. instability and volatility). Therefore, policy recommendations for post-2011 political parties must take into consideration the various aspects put forth throughout this research. For parties to effectively promote a culture of good governance in Egypt's transition moving forward, they need to become increasingly utilized as part of Egypt's democratization process. As thoroughly discussed throughout the background and analysis sections, the macro-environment and the country's leadership play a focal role in allowing the development of more mature political parties. While this is not intrinsically the role of the leadership (as people in power do not wish to support competition or nurture it), but the abnormal and unique character of Egypt's transition is an essential justification for the role of the leadership towards political parties and the creation of an encouraging environment for multi-partisan democracy. For Egypt's transition today, the responsibility lies within the hands of the Al-Sisi regime, especially in light of Al-Sisi's considerable popularity and the simultaneous disaffection occurring with parties post-2011 as a result of the various unsuccessful experiments of the transition. There needs to be considerable legislative support to install a democratic environment in which parties can effectively compete.

The pluralistic and democratic experiment in Egypt's ongoing transition is a crucial and needed aspect of good governance. It requires vibrant political parties, as this paper demonstrated. This implies specific and comprehensive policy implications in order to allow parties to promote good governance with its various elements: transparency, accountability,

participation, representation, effectiveness, capacity building, rule of law. While there has been evidence demonstrated currently in Egypt post-2011 political parties, efforts are needed in order to improve the contribution of these institutions.

Moreover, policy recommendations to party leaders are needed in order to create more vibrant parties. Party leaders should:

- Undertake a considerable decrease in the number of political parties and electoral alliances as not to fragment potential political opposition and to avoid confusion among the electorate. Based on that, review various party ideologies and merge parties with similar platforms and programs and create more coherent structures.
- Commence internal governance initiatives to promote good governance components through by-laws and practical enterprises to improve internal mechanisms inside political parties, focusing on member retention and development through effective capacity building.
- Shuffle leadership by bringing to the forefront and to the electorate new faces which can effectively represent party ideology and demonstrate shift in leadership in the overall role of political parties. This will require considerable training and development for members and more aggressive recruitment strategies in various governorates. Shuffle in leadership could potentially help in the overall perception of post-2011 political parties.
- Effectively collaborate to lobby the current government in putting forward legislations such as the Elections Law to ensure an active role of political

parties in Egypt's next parliament and a more suitable democratic environment, rather than the influence of individual seats, which would undermine the status of political parties.

The proposed policy recommendations for political parties require significant political will from both the country's leadership and various party leaders. Both are equally focal in being able to potentially allow political parties to effectively and increasingly promote good governance in Egypt's ongoing transition. They do not represent ultimate solutions to the issue but represent incremental changes and requirements in order to allow political parties to increasingly gain a role in Egypt post-2011. In general terms, the political environment in Egypt must comply with the highest standards of good governance, government and parties alike need to considerably acquaint themselves with the elements, principles and values which constitute the overarching concept of good governance, in order to nurture a political culture of pluralism and democratization in Egypt's transition post-2011.

Chapter 7 Conclusion and Future Research

This paper had for principal aim to analyze how Egyptian post-2011 political parties can promote a culture of good governance in Egypt's ongoing transition, but also to modestly fill a gap in Egypt's transition literature.

Through this research, the historical developments of political parties in the modern Egyptian State have been thoroughly put forth in order to understand to what extent the issues affecting political parties in Egypt are embedded in the country's political culture. To further provide clarity and insights in regards to the research question, a review of the literature comprehensively introduced good governance as an overarching concept and how political parties can correlate to the various components constituting it. By utilizing various composite indicators of good governance extrapolated from aggregate governance indices, an analysis of post-2011 political parties has been useful in providing various insights on these institutions on different levels: inside the party through internal party mechanisms from main parties and platforms, through major elections/pre-election alliances and endorsements. Finally, the theme of multi-party collaboration served as the third level of analysis through an overview of several cases and instances. The implications of the findings generally highlighted that political parties demonstrated some positive trends in relation to their role in promoting a culture of good governance but lacked effectiveness, a responsibility shared among both the country's and parties' respective leadership. Therefore, a set of policy recommendations allowed to shed light on potential initiatives which could potentially improve the role of political parties in post-2011 Egypt and a more effective promotion of good governance principles and values, not excluding the positive steps which occurred throughout the past four years.

The current period of Egypt's transition requires considerable political will to instigate significant improvements to the role of political parties in Egypt's ongoing transition. The 2015 elections represent both a challenge and an opportunity for Egypt's political parties to assess the impact they wish to have. However, it seems complicated for parties to be able to gain influence in the next parliament, in light of the proposed electoral legislations which considerably undermine party lists in favor of independent candidates. This brings forth concerns it to the country's post-2011 parties: *"Single-candidate systems in Egypt, especially in the absence of strong political parties, have tended to benefit those with large amounts of financial backing, with the (at times, not-so-tacit) endorsement of the state or with prominent families[...] this approach to elected representation does not seem like the best recipe for transitioning to a multiparty democracy, especially given the condition of many of the existing parties"* (Sabry, 2013). With political parties thus in an upcoming battle for existence, they must considerably consider an effective commitment to good governance principles and values, and merge into coherent organisms to be able to begin or remain being significant to Egypt's future, especially with the presence of a highly popular Head of State.

In terms of future research, the role of political parties in promoting good governance in Egypt's transition should be at the forefront of academic analysis. While there are many composite indices which evaluate good governance in various realms of socio-economic and political spheres, they are mostly global or regional indices which encompass numerous institutions and mechanisms. In countries in transition such as Egypt, it would be very interesting and useful on both the academic and practical levels to build an index specific to political parties and their commitment (or lack thereof) to concepts of good governance. This index would look at several levels as put forth in this paper. The index will assess the macro-political environment in which parties operate (legislations, mechanisms of accountability, etc...), as well as the intra-party systems put in place and how they pertain to various

components of good governance. This index would then rank parties based on a good governance performance and create guidance within the field of partisan politics in Egypt which could then be extrapolated to other countries. On the long term, this index could incentivize best practices in relation to political parties and encourage their role in the promotion of a culture of good governance.

As an overall conclusion on Egypt's post-2011 transition, the status of political parties has seen improvement and electoral politics were relatively enhanced since 2011 moving forward. Other barriers are affecting Egypt's successfully transitioning into a fully democratic regime but overall, positive indications found in this paper can also be highlighted. In his paper "*Can Democratic Governance be Achieved in Egypt?*", Shahjahan Bhuiyan reaffirms these improvements while highlighting areas where considerable development is needed in Egypt post-2011:

"Assessing [...] pillars of democratic governance, it was found that the revolution created positive changes to two outputs of inclusive participation- formation of political parties and electoral politics. On the other hand, civil society law remains a barrier to use its formal and informal participation in Egypt. The outcomes of responsive institutions- service delivery, transitional justice, and the parliament- are evolving in somewhat on-and-off fashion and need time to yield benefits" (Bhuiyan, 2015, p.12).

References

Abdel-Latif, Omayma. "The Popular Revolution in Egypt: The Forces Shaping the Change and Their Role in the Transitional Period." *Doha Institute English Website*. Doha Institute, 2011. Web. Feb. 2015. <<http://english.dohainstitute.org/release/d690e535-741c-4dbd-9b8c-b339c8c3aa36>>.

ADB. "Promoting Good Governance: ADB's Medium Term Agenda and Action Plan." *ADB.org*. Asian Development Bank, 2000. Web. Oct. 2014. <<http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/institutional-document/32845/files/promoting-good-governance.pdf>>.

AFDB. "Bank Group Policy on Good Governance." *AFDB.org*. African Development Bank, 1999. Web. Oct. 2014. <http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Policy-Documents/21-EN-Bank_Group_Policy_on_Good_Governance.pdf>.

Ahram Online. "BREAKING: Egypt's El-Katatni Becomes New Head of Muslim Brotherhood's FJP." *Ahram Online*. Al Ahram, Oct. 2012. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/WriterArticles/NewsContentP/1/56019/Egypt/BREAKING-Egyptys-ElKatatni-becomes-new-head-of-Musl.aspx>>.

Ahram Online. "Cracks Appear within Egypt's Nour Party over Elections Disagreement." *Ahram Online*. Al Ahram, Sept. 2012. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/52991/Egypt/Politics-/Cracks-appear-within-Egyptys-Nour-Party-over-electi.aspx>>.

Ahram Online. "Democratic Alliance (Freedom and Justice)." *Ahram Online*. Al Ahram, Nov. 2011. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/103/26895/Elections-/Electoral-Alliances/Democratic-Alliance-Freedom-and-Justice-.aspx>>.

Ahram Online. "Egypt Parties Call for Amending Protest, Parliamentary Elections Laws." *Ahram Online*. Al Ahram, June 2014. Web. May 2015. <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/104718/Egypt/Politics-/Egypt-parties-call-for-amending-protest,-parliamen.aspx>>.

Ahram Online. "Egyptian Political Parties stand with NGOs against New Draft Law" *Ahram Online*. Al Ahram. Oct. 2014. Web. May 2015 .

<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/113823/Egypt/Politics-/Egyptian-political-parties-stand-with-NGOs-against.aspx>

Ahram Online. "Egypt's Wasat Party Endorses Abul-Fotouh Presidential Bid." *Ahram Online*. Al Ahram, Apr. 2012. Web. Mar. 2015.

<<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/36/122/40475/Presidential-elections-/Presidential-elections-news/Egypt's-Wasat-Party-endorses-AbulFotouh-presidential.aspx>>.

Ahram Online, "Political parties urge Egypt's El-Sisi to open Rafah crossing permanently". *Ahram Online*. Al Ahram. July 2014. Web. May 2015

<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/106117/Egypt/Politics-/Political-parties-urge-Egypt's-ElSisi-to-open-Rafah.aspx>

Ahram Online, "The Free Egyptians". *Ahram Online*. Al Ahram. Nov.2011, Web. May 2015

<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/104/24944/Elections-/Political-Parties/The-Free-Egyptians.aspx>

Ahram Online. "Wafd Party Backs Amr Moussa for President." *Ahram Online*. Al Ahram, 2012. Web. Mar. 2015.

<<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/36/122/38452/Presidential-elections-/Presidential-elections-news/Wafd-Party-backs-Amr-Moussa-for-president.aspx>>.

Al Arabiya. "Sisi Declared Egypt President with 96% of Votes." *Al Arabiya.net*. Al Arabiya, 2014. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2014/06/03/Egypt-to-officially-announce-Sisi-as-president.html>>.

Al Nour Party By-Laws. *Facebook*. Al Nour Party, Apr. 2012. Web. Mar. 2015

https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?id=155719037866064&story_fbid=222895494481751

Alexander, Anne , *Nasser*, Haus Publishing. 2005

Ali, Mostafa. "Finally, Egypt's Parties Set to Begin the Battle for Post-Mubarak Parliament." *Ahram Online*. Al Ahram, Oct. 2011. Web. Feb. 2015. <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentPrint/1/0/25030/Egypt/0/Finally,-Egyptian-parties-set-to-begin-the-battle-.aspx>>.

Ali, Omar. "Interview with Assem Memon, Deputy Managing Director of the Party Office of the Free Egyptians Party (FEP)." *Arabwestreport.info*. Arab West Report, Aug. 2014. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.arabwestreport.info/year-2014/week-32/51-interview-assem-memon-deputy-managing-director-party-office-free-egyptians>>.

AP. "Egyptian Elections: Opposition Alleges Fraud." *The Guardian*. Associated Press, Nov. 2010. Web. Feb. 2015. <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/nov/29/egyptian-opposition-alleges-election-fraud>>.

Arafat, Alaaa Al-Din. *Hosni Mubarak and the Future of Democracy in Egypt* Palgrave Macmillan, 2011

Aung, Aung. "Promoting Democracy in Myanmar : Political Party Capacity Building." *Rotarypeacecenter.org*. Institute for Security and Development Policy, 2013. Web. May 2014. <<http://rotarypeacecenternc.org/files/2012/07/2013-aung-promoting-democracy-in-myanmar.pdf>>.

BBC. "Egypt's Islamist Parties Win Elections to Parliament." *BBC*. BBC Middle East, Jan. 2012. Web. Feb. 2015. <<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-16665748>>.

BBC Middle East, "Profile: Egypt's National Salvation Front". *BBC.com*. BBC. Dec.2012. Web. May 2015 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-20667661>

Bertelsmann Stiftung. "Sustainable Governance Indicators." *Sgi-network.org*. Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2014. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.sgi-network.org/2014/>>.

Best, Heinrich, and Cotta, Maurizio. *Parliamentary Representatives in Europe 1848-2000: Legislative Recruitment and Careers in Eleven European Countries*. Oxford University Press. 2000

Bhuiyan, Shahjahan. "Can Democratic Governance Be Achieved in Egypt?", *International Journal of Public Administration*. March 2015
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01900692.2014.949745>

Bieber, Florian. "Political Parties and Minority Participation." *FES.org*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2008. Web. 24 May 2013.
<<http://www.fes.org.mk/pdf/Political%20Parties%20and%20Minority%20Participation.pdf>>.

Blaydes, Lisa A. *Competition Without Democracy: Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt*. Proquest. 2008

Blaydes, Lisa A. *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt*. Cambridge University Press. 2010

Blondel, Jean. *Political Parties ; A Genuine Case for Discontent?* London: Wildwood House, 1978

Boorman, Jack. "Good Governance-The IMF's Role." *Good Governance--The IMF's Role*. IMF, 1997. Web. Sept. 2014.
<<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/exrp/govern/govindex.htm>>.

Booth, E. & Robbins, J. , *Assessing the Impact of Campaign Finance on Party System Institutionalization*. Party Politics, p. 629-650, 2010.

Brownlee, Jason. "Democratization in the Arab World? The Decline of Pluralism in Mubarak's Egypt." *Journal of Democracy* 13.4 (2002): n. pag. 2002. Web. Feb. 2015.
<<http://la.utexas.edu/users/jbrownlee/documents/article.JOD.2002.pdf>>

Burnell, Peter. *Building Better Democracies: Why Political Parties Matter*. London: Westminster Foundation for Democracy, 2004. *EODS*. EODS, 2004. Web. Feb. 2015.
<<http://www.eods.eu/library/WFD.%20Building%20Better%20DemocraciesWhy%20political%20parties%20matter.pdf>>.

Carnegie Middle East Center. "A Discussion with Amr Hamzawy." *Carnegieendowment.org*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, May 2012. Web. Mar. 2015.
<<http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/05/04/discussion-with-amr-hamzawy/ai9r>>.

Carothers, T., *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 2006.

Carter Center Website. "Election Reports- Egypt." *Cartercenter.org*. The Carter Center, 2015. Web. Mar. 2015.
<http://www.cartercenter.org/news/publications/election_reports.html#egypt>.

Caton, Matthias. "Effective Party Assistance: Stronger Parties for Better Democracy." *IDEA Publications* (2007): n. pag. *Idealint*. IIDEA. Web. Mar. 2015.
<http://www.idea.int/publications/effective_party_assistance/index.cfm>

Coleman, Jasmine. "Egypt Election Results Show Firm Win for Islamists." *The Guardian*. The Guardian, Jan. 2012. Web. Mar. 2015.
<<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/21/egypt-election-clear-islamist-victory>>.

Constitute Project. "Egypt's Constitution of 2014". March 2015. Web May 2015
https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Egypt_2014.pdf

Constitution Party, 2011 Elections Program. Web March 2015. 2011.
http://www.aldostourparty.org/%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%AC_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%B2%D8%A8

Cook, Steven. *The Struggle for Egypt: From Nasser to Tahrir Square*. Oxford University Press. 2011

Daily News Egypt, "Egyptian political movements condemn latest Israeli Gaza offensive". *Daily News Egypt*. Daily News. July 2014. Web. May 2015
<http://www.thedailynewsegypt.com/?p=238225>

Dawoud, Khaled. "Egypt's Protest Law: An Ongoing Battle." Atlantic Council. Atlantic Council, June 2014. Web. May 2015.
<<http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/egyptsource/egypt-s-protest-law-an-ongoing-battle>>.

Diamond, Larry and Gunther, Richard. *Political Parties and Democracy*. JHU Press. 2001

Downs, Anthony, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, Harper & Brothers, 1957, p. 25.

Egypt Independent. "Nour Party Endorses Abouel Fotouh for President." *Egypt Independent*. Al Masry Al Youm, Apr. 2012. Web. Mar. 2015.
<<http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/nour-party-endorses-abouel-fotouh-president>>.

Egypt Today. "Dostour Party Backs Sabahi for Presidency." *Egypt Today*. Egypt Today, 2014. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://egypttoday.com/blog/2014/04/16/dostour-party-backs-sabahi-for-presidency/>>.

Egyptian Social Democratic Party, 2011 Elections Program. Web March 2015
http://www.egysdp.com/docs/party_pro.pdf

El-Mikawy, Noha. *The Building of Consensus in Egypt's Transition Process*. American University in Cairo Press, 1999.

El Sirgany, Sarah. "Egypt's 2012 Presidential Elections: Where Are They Now?" *Al Monitor*. Al Monitor, 2014. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/05/egypt-2012-presidential-elections-sisi-morsi-sabahi-moussa.html>>.

Essam-El-Din, Gamal. "Egypt's election laws leave political parties further polarised". *Ahram Online*. Al Ahram., May 2015. Web. May 2015
<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/129371/Egypt/Politics-/Egypts-election-laws-leave-political-parties-furth.aspx>

European Parliament. "Map of Egyptian Political Parties: First Phase of Parliamentary Elections 28 November 2011." *Europarl.eu*. European Parliament, Jan. 2012. Web. Mar. 2015.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/dmas/dv/dmas20120125_02_/dmas20120125_02_en.pdf>.

Fahmy, Ninette S. "The Performance of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Egyptian Syndicates: An Alternative Formula for Reform?" *The Middle East Journal* 52.4 (1998): 551-62. *JSTOR.org*. JSTOR, 1998. Web. Mar. 2015.

<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4329253?origin=JSTOR-pdf>>.

Fahmy, Ninette. *The Politics of Egypt: State-Society Relationship*. Routledge. 2012.

Farah, Nadia. *Egypt's Political Economy: Power Relations in Development*. The American University in Cairo Press. 2009.

Farrington, Conor "Putting Good Governance into Practice: The Ibrahim Index of African Governance." *Progress in Development Studies* 9.3 (2009): 249-55. Web. Sep. 2014. pdj.sagepub.com/content/9/3/249.full.pdf

Free Egyptians Party Bylaws, Web. Mar 2015

<http://www.almasreyeenalahrrar.org/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D8%B8%D8%A7%D9%85-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%AD/%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%AD%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D8%B8%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%8A.html>

Freedom and Justice Party, 2011 Elections Program. Web 2015. 2011

http://www.fj-p.com/Party_Program.aspx

Freedom House. "Freedom in the World 2015." *Freedomhouse.org*. Freedom House, 2015. Web. Mar. 2015.

<https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/01152015_FIW_2015_final.pdf>.

Gallagher M. and Marsh M. *Candidate Selection in Comparative Perspective: The Secret Garden of Politics*. Sage. 1998

Gebri, Mahmoud. "Good Governance in Egypt: Suggested Areas for Improvement." *UNPAN*. United Nations, July 2004. Web. 23 May 2013. <www.unpan.org/innovmed/documents/priorities/Egypt.doc>.

Geyikci, Sebnem Y. "The Impact of Parties and Party Systems on Democratic Consolidation: The Case of Turkey." *London School of Economics- European Institute Research* (2011) Web. Feb. 2015. <<http://www.lse.ac.uk/europeanInstitute/research/ContemporaryTurkishStudies/PaperSYG20111.pdf>>.

Global Security. "Presidential Campaign - 2011-2012." *Globalsecurity.org*. Global Security, 2012. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/egypt/politics-president-2011.htm>>.

GOB. "Chilean Government Sends Political Parties Bill to Congress." *GOB*. Gobierno De Chile, 14 May 2013. Web. 26 May 2013. <<http://www.gob.cl/english/government-information/2013/05/14/chilean-government-sends-political-parties-bill-to-congress.htm>>.

Goldschmidt, Arthur & Johnston, Robert. *Historical Dictionary of Egypt*. American University in Cairo Press. 2004

Hamzawy, Amr. "From Dictatorship to Democracy." *American University in Cairo*. The Cairo Review of Global Affairs, 2011. Web. May 2013. <<http://www.aucegypt.edu/gapp/cairoreview/pages/articleDetails.aspx?aid=27>>.

Hassan, Hamdy A. "State versus Society in Egypt: Consolidating Democracy or Upgrading Autocracy?" *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 4.9 (2010): 319-29. *Academic Journals*. 2010. Web. Sept. 2014. <http://www.academicjournals.org/article/article1381837256_Hassan.pdf>.

Hearst, David, and Abdel-Rahman Hussein. "Egypt's Supreme Court Dissolves Parliament and Outrages Islamists." *The Guardian*. The Guardian, June 2012. Web. Feb. 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jun/14/egypt-parliament-dissolved-supreme-court>

Hill, Evan. "Explainer: Egypt's Crowded Political Arena." *Al Jazeera English*. Al Jazeera, Nov. 2011. Web. Mar. 2015.
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/spotlight/egypt/2011/11/2011111510295463645.html>>.

Hofmeister, Wilhelm and Grabow, Karsten "Political Parties: Functions and Organizations in Democratic Societies." *KAS.de*. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 2011. Web. March 2015.
<http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_7671-1442-2-30.pdf?120920114742>.

Diamond, L. - Linz, J. J. - Lipset, S. M.: *Politics in Developing Countries. Comparing Experiences with Democracy*. Lynne Rienner, 1990

DiCapua, "Major Political Parties 1919-1952", University of Texas, College of Liberal Arts, 2007
http://laits.utexas.edu/modern_me/egypt/3/parties

Hinnebusch, Raymond . "The Reemergence of the Wafd Party: Glimpses of the Liberal Opposition in Egypt" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Mar., 1984), Cambridge University Press, p. 99-121
http://www.jstor.org.library.aucegypt.edu:2048/stable/162942?pqorigsite=summon&seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

HRW, "Egypt: President Morsy Should End Military Trials of Civilians". *HRW.org*. Human Rights Watch. July 2012. Web. May 2015
<http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/07/15/egypt-president-morsy-should-end-military-trials-civilians>

HRW, "Monopolizing Power: Egypt's Political Parties Law", Human Rights Watch (2007) Web. Feb. 2015.
<http://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounders/mena/egypt0107/egypt0107web.pdf>

IDEA. "Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns." *IDEA.int*. N.p., 2007. Web. 25 May 2013. http://www.idea.int/publications/funding_parties/funding_of_pp.pdf

IDEA. "Voter Turnout Data for Egypt." *Idea.int*. IDEA, 2015. Web. Mar. 2015.
<<http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?id=69>>.

IFAD. "Good Governance: An Overview." *IFAD.org*. International Fund for Agricultural Development, Aug. 1999. Web. Sept. 2014. <<http://www.ifad.org/gbdocs/eb/67/e/EB-99-67-INF-4.pdf>>.

Institute on Governance. "Governance Definition." 2011. Web. 28 Sept. 2014. <<http://iog.openconcept.ca/en/about-us/governance/governance-definition>>.

Interview with Al Nour Vice President, April 2014, Cairo, Egypt.

Interview with SDP Upper-Board Member, March 2014, Cairo, Egypt.

Interview with SDP Vice President, April 2014, Cairo, Egypt.

ISET. "Leadership Training for Young Political Party Activists in Baghdad (2011-2012)." *Iraqiset.org*. Iraqi Social Education Team, 2007. Web. May 2013. <http://iraqiset.org/uploads/files/LTY_En.pdf>.

Jankowski, James. *Nasser's Egypt, Arab Nationalism, and the United Arab Republic*. Taylor & Francis. 2002

Joffe, George. *North Africa's Arab Spring*. Routledge. 2013

Juru, Bookie. "Intra-Party Democracy And The Inclusion Of Women". *Eisa.org*. 2005. Web Sep. 2013 http://eisa.org.za/PDF/Conference_DRC_Juru_eng.pdf

Kabeberi, Njeri. "Political Parties and the Quest for Good Leadership." Center for Multiparty Democracy Kenya, 2011. p.117-135. Web. Mar. 2015. <http://www.cmd-kenya.org/files/Political_Parties_Quest_for_Good_Leadership>.

Kaufmann, Daniel, Aart Krayy, and Pablo Zoido-Lobaton. "Governance Matters: From Measurement to Action." *Finance & Development* 37.2 (2000). Web. Feb. 2015. <<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2000/06/kauf.htm>>.

Kaufmann, Daniel, Kraay, Aart and Mastruzzi, Massimo, Governance Matters VIII: Aggregate and Individual Governance Indicators, 1996-2008 (June 29, 2009). World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 4978. Web. March 2015.
<http://ssrn.com/abstract=1424591>

Kausch, Kristina. "Political Parties in Young Arab Democracies." 130 (2012) Fride, May 2012. Web Accessed, 20th of May 2013.

Kingsley, Patrick. "First Woman to Head a Political Party in Egypt Says It Proves the Revolution Has Changed Attitudes." *The Guardian*. The Guardian, Mar. 2014. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/02/egypt-christian-woman-leads-dostour-party>>.

Kirlmarx, Robert A. & Alexander, Yonah. *Business and the Middle East: Threats and Prospects*. Elsevier. 2013

Kortam, Hend "One More Party Backs Al-Sisi as Both Contenders Continue Vigorous Campaigning." *Daily News Egypt*. Daily News, 2014. Web. Mar. 2015.
<<http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2014/05/13/one-party-backs-al-sisi-contenders-continue-vigorous-campaigning/>>.

LDR, Local Development Reform, *Local Development Reform 1 USAID Factsheet, from USAID West Bank-Gaza*

Linz, Juan J. *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Lynne Rienner Publishers. 2000.

Lisi, M. *The Democratization of Party Leadership Selection in Comparative Perspective*. Paper prepared for presentation at the ECPR general conference, Potsdam 10-12 September 2009

Magaloni, Beatriz. "Elections Under Autocracy and the Strategic Game of Fraud." *Stevendroper.com*. Stanford University, 2007. Web. Mar. 2015.
<<http://www.stevendroper.com/magaloni.pdf>>.

Mainwaring, Scott. "Party Systems in the Third Wave." *Journal of Democracy* 9.3 (1998): 67-81. *Project Muse*. Johns Hopkins University Press. Web. Mar. 2015.

<https://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/journal_of_democracy/v09/9.3mainwaring.html>.

Maiyo, Josh. "Political Parties and Intra-Party Democracy in East Africa: From Representative to Participatory Democracy." *ASC Leiden*. Leiden University, Aug. 2008. Web. 24 May 2013. <<http://www.ascleiden.nl/Pdf/thesis-maiyo.pdf>>.

Matlosa, Khabele, and Victor Shale. "Political Parties Programme Handbook." *Eisa.org*. Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, 2008. Web. May 2014. <<http://www.content.eisa.org.za/pdf/eh18.pdf>>

McDermott, Anthony. *Egypt from Nasser to Mubarak*. Routledge. 2013

Merriam-Webster Dictionary. "Governance Definition." *Merriam-Webster.Com*. Merriam-Webster, 2015. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/governance>>

Messieh, Nancy, and Ali Mohamed. "Who Is Participating in Egypt's Parliamentary Elections?" Atlantic Council. Atlantic Council, Feb. 2015. Web. May 2015. <<http://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/egyptsource/who-is-participating-in-egypt-s-parliamentary-elections>>.

Middle East Monitor, "Egypt's political forces denounce military trials in draft constitution", Middle East Monitor. Nov 2013, Web. May 2015?
<https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/news/africa/8478-egypts-political-forces-denounce-military-trials-in-draft-constitution>

Mo Ibrahim Foundation. "Ibrahim Index of African Governance." *Moibrahimfoundation.org*. Mo Ibrahim Foundation, 2015. Web. 2015. <<http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/iiaag/>>.

Morgenstern, Scott, Andrew Green, and Jeremy Horowitz. "Democracy, Parties, and Party Systems: A Conceptual Framework for USAID Assistance Programs." *Pitt.edu*. University of Pittsburgh, 2011. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.pitt.edu/~smorgens/papers/USAID%20Conceptual%20Framework.pdf>>.

Mousa, Sarah. "How Nasser Shaped the Arab Spring." *Al Jazeera English*. Al Jazeera, 2012. Web. Feb. 2015. <<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/02/2012221135257602109.html>>.

Mustafa, Hala, AbdelGhaffar Shukor, and Amr Rabie. "Building Democracy in Egypt: Women's Political Participation, Political Party Life and Democratic Elections." *Idea.int*. IIDEA, 2003. Web. Mar. 2015. <http://www.idea.int/publications/dem_egypt/upload/Egypt_country_report_English.pdf>.

Nagasawa, Eiji "The 1919 Revolution as Seen by an Egyptian Child", *Mediterranean World*, 1998 <https://hermes-ir.lib.hit-u.ac.jp/rs/bitstream/10086/14855/1/chichukai0001500870.pdf>

NDI. "Political Parties to Be Funded by the State." *NDI.org*. , Center for Governance and Development, 2005. Web. 20 May 2013. https://www.ndi.org/files/1881_ke_cgdpolicybrief.pdf

NIMD. "A Framework For Democratic Party Building." *Aceproject.org*. Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, 2005. Web. Sept. 2014. <<http://aceproject.org/ero-en/misc/a-framework-for-democratic-party-building-handbook>>.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe C. Schmitter. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. N.p.: Johns Hopkins, 1986. Print.

ODI. "Support to Political Parties: A Missing Piece of the Governance Puzzle." *ODI.org*. Overseas Development Institute, 2010. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.u4.no/recommended-reading/support-to-political-parties-a-missing-piece-of-the-governance-puzzle/downloadasset/2290>>.

OECD. "Transparency And Integrity In Political Finance". *OECD.org*. 2012. Web. Oct 2014. <http://www.oecd.org/about/membersandpartners/publicaffairs/Transparency%20and%20Integrity%20in%20Political%20Finance.pdf>

Oman, Charles P., and Christiane Arndt. "Measuring Governance." *Oecd.org*. OECD Development Centre, 2010. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.oecd.org/dev/46123827.pdf>>.

Osman, Tarek, *Egypt on the Brink: From Nasser to the Muslim Brotherhood*, Yale University Press, 2013

Ottaway, Marina. *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*. Carnegie Endowment. 2013.

Patz, Ronny. "Compromising on Transparency and Accountability in European Party Finances?" *Transparency International*. Transparency International EU Office, 2013. Web. 21 May 2013. <http://www.transparencyinternational.eu/2013/03/compromising-on-transparency-and-accountability-in-european-party-finances/>

Podeh, Elie & Winckler, Ann. *Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*. University Press of Florida. 2004.

Power, Greg, and Rebecca A. Shoot. "Political Parties in Democratic Transitions." *Dipd.org*. Danish Institute for Parties and Democracy, 2012. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://dipd.dk/wp-content/uploads/Political-Parties-in-Democratic-Transition.pdf>>.

Power, Timothy, and Nancy Powers. "Issues in the Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective- A Rapporteur's Report." *Kellogg.nd.edu*. The Hellen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, 1988. Web. Mar. 2015. <<https://kellogg.nd.edu/publications/workingpapers/WPS/113.pdf>>.

Princeton University. "Basic Sources of International Economic Statistics." *Princeton University Library*. Princeton University, 2015. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://libguides.princeton.edu/internationalecon/risk>>.

Reda, Mohamed, Abdellatif Sobh, and Ibrahim Said. "14 Parties, 6 Civil Society Groups and 56 Public Figures Sign the Elections Law Amendments Statement." *Youm7.com*. Al Youm Al Sabe', Mar. 2015. Web. May 2015. <<http://www.youm7.com/story/2015/3/18/14>>

Reigner, Michael and Stacey, Richard. "Democracy without Political Parties: Constitutional Options". *New York University Law Center for Constitutional Transitions*. 2014. Web March 2015. <http://constitutionaltransitions.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/DEMOCRACY-WITHOUT-POLITICAL-PARTIES.pdf>

Richani, Nazih. "Political Parties, Justice Systems and the Poor: The Experience of the Arab States." *Undp.org*. UNDP Human Development Report Office, 2002. Web. Mar. 2015. <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/richani_2002.pdf>.

Sabry, Bassem. "The Uncertain Fate of Egypt's Political Parties." *Al-Monitor Online Website*. Al Monitor, Sept. 2013. Web. May 2015. <<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/09/uncertain-fate-egypts-political-parties.html>>.

Sartori, Giovanni. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge University Press, 1976

Scarrow, Susan. "Political Parties And Democracy In Theoretical And Practical Perspectives National Democratic Institute For International Affairs Implementing Intra-Party Democracy." *NDI.org*. National Democratic Institute, 2005. Web. May 2013. <http://www.ndi.org/files/1951_polpart_scarrow_110105.pdf>.

SDP Bylaws. "Main Organization of the Egyptian Social Democratic Party." *Egysdp.com*. Egyptian Social Democratic Party, 2015. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.egysdp.com/site/images/bylaws.pdf>>.

SDP Official Website. "المصري الديمقراطي الاجتماعي" يطلق المرحلة الثانية من "مدرسة الكادر" للتثقيف "" السياسي وإعداد كوادر للدولة." *Egysdp.com*. Egyptian Social Democratic Party, 2015. Web. Mar. 2015. <http://www.egysdp.com/site/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=698:q-q-q-q-&catid=65:2011-05-02-19-57-25&Itemid=202>.

SDP Website. "Everything You Need to Know about the Egyptian Social Democratic Party." *Egysdp.com*. Egyptian Social Democratic Party, 2015. Web. Mar. 2015. <<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B85t1LcwVm35elc0ODZQRTQxYIE/view?pli=1>>.

Shalaby, Ethar. "Al-Nour Former Chairman to Launch Al-Watan Party." *Daily News Egypt*. Daily News, Dec. 2012. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2012/12/29/al-nour-former-chairman-to-launch-al-watan-party/>>.

Shanker, Albert. "Accountability, Responsibility and Transparency." *Tavaana*. Albert Shanker Institute, 2012. Web. 24 May 2013. <<http://tavaana.org/en/library/accountability-responsibility-and-transparency>>.

Shehata, Dina. *Islamists and Secularists in Egypt: Opposition, Conflict & Cooperation*. Routledge. 2009.

Shuman, Mohammad. "Egypt's Political Parties Struggle to Find Popular Strength." *Al-Monitor*. Al-Monitor Online Website, 10 Oct. 2014. Web. Feb. 2015. <<http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/fr/contents/articles/politics/2014/10/egypt-political-parties-popularity.html>>.

Sika, Nadine. "Egypt's Upcoming Parliamentary Elections Weakened Parliament, Weakened Parties." *Swp-berlin.org*. German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Jan. 2015. Web. May 2015. <http://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2015C01_sik.pdf>.

Smith, B.C. *Good Governance and Development*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2007.

Tanner, Henry. "Egypt Rules Out Political Parties: Decides Instead on Groups within Arab Socialist Union." *The New York Times* 10 Mar. 1976: 7. *American University in Cairo Library*. American University in Cairo. Web. Feb. 2015 <<http://library.aucegypt.edu:2048/login?url=http://search.proquest.com.library.aucegypt.edu:2048/docview/122690503?accountid=8423>>.

The World Bank Group. "Governance & Anti-Corruption: WGI." *Governance & Anti-Corruption WGI 1996-2012*, 2012. Web: Sept. 2014. <<http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.asp>>

Transparency International. "Corruption Perceptions Index." *Transparency.org*. Transparency International, 2014. Web. Mar. 2015. <<http://www.transparency.org/cpi2014>>.

Transparency International. "World's Largest Public Opinion Survey On Corruption From Transparency International Shows More Than 1 In 4 Paid A Bribe In Last 12 Months". Transparency.org. Transparency International, 2013. Web. March 2015 <<http://www.transparency.org/gcb2013/press>>

UNDP. "Governance for Sustainable Human Development: A UNDP Policy Document." *Pogar.org*. UNDP, 1997. Web. Feb. 2015.
<<http://www.pogar.org/publications/other/undp/governance/undppolicydoc97-e.pdf>>.

UNECA. "The Role of Parliament in Promoting Good Governance." *Uneca.org*. UN Economic Commission for Africa, 2010. Web. Mar. 2015.
<<http://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/publications/role-of-parliament-in-promoting-good-governance.pdf>>.

Valenzuela, J. Samuel. "Democratic Consolidation in Post-Transitional Settings: Notion, Process and Facilitating Conditions." *The Hellen Kellogg Institute for International Studies* (1990). Web. Mar. 2015.
<<https://kellogg.nd.edu/publications/workingpapers/WPS/150.pdf>>.

Vatikiotis, Panayiotis J. *The Middle East: From the End of Empire to the End of the Cold War*. Psychology Press. 1997