

The People Index (TPI)

The Arabic Republic of Egypt



Case Study/Hedi Blödorn/October 2016

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Introduction

This case study is about my homeland Egypt, located in North Africa on the Middle East border. Egypt has one of the longest histories of any modern country, arising in the tenth millennium BC as one of the world's first nation states. Considered a cradle of civilization, ancient Egypt experienced some of the earliest developments in writing, agriculture, urbanization, organized religion and central government. With over 90 million inhabitants, Egypt is the most populous country in North Africa and the Arab World, the third-most populous in Africa (after Nigeria and Ethiopia) and the fifteenth-most populous in the world. Egypt is home to the largest Christian community in the Middle East and North Africa, counting for about 10 % of the total population.

Modern Egypt is considered to be a regional and middle power, with significant cultural, political, and military influence in North Africa, the Middle East and the Muslim world.¹ With sectors such as tourism, agriculture, industry and services at almost equal production levels, Egypt's economy is one of the largest and most diversified in the Middle East. In 2011, longtime President Hosni Mubarak stepped down amid mass protests. Later elections saw the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood, which was ousted by the army a year later amid mass protests.

A case study of Egypt is interesting especially after the so called "Arab spring" and in looking at the suitability of the People Index when applied to a "post-arab spring" nation challenged to find a suitable path between past and future, not least in view of outside expectations.

¹ Andrew F. Cooper, Agata Antkiewicz and Timothy M. Shaw, 'Lessons from/for BRICSAM about South-North Relations at the Start of the 21st Century: Economic Size Trumps All Else?' *International Studies Review*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (winter, 2007), pp. 675, 687.

2. Egypt: Evaluation by Indicators

2.1 Human Rights

Are all citizens respected as free and equal? 45%

The **2014 constitution states:**

Article (3) ‘the principles of “Christian and Jewish Sharia (Sharia= the religious law) of Egyptian Christians and Jews” are the main source of legislations that regulate their respective personal status, religious affairs, and selection of spiritual leaders.’ **Article (4)** ‘Sovereignty belongs only to the people, who shall exercise and protect it. The people are the source of powers, and safeguard their national unity that is based on the principles of equality, justice and equal opportunities among all citizens, as stated in the Constitution.’ **Article (5)** ‘The political system is based on political and partisan pluralism, peaceful rotation of power, separation and balance of powers, the inevitable correlation between powers and responsibilities, and respect for human rights and freedoms, as stated in the Constitution.’ **Article (8)** ‘Society is based on social solidarity. The State shall achieve social justice and provide the means to achieve social interdependence, in order to ensure a decent life for all citizens, as regulated by Law.’ **Article (9)** ‘The State shall ensure equal opportunities for all citizens without discrimination.’²

However, despite these laws the reality is different. Muslim clerics frequently call for the murder of (Muslim) converts to Christianity. Violent incidents between Christians and Muslims erupt from time to time, causing death on both sides. Coptic heritage was heavily damaged and destroyed while President Mursi was in office, resulting in the destruction of more than 100 churches - and it should be noted, that all of these have been rebuilt on the order of President Sisi by the Egyptian army. In politics, important strategic positions are mostly taken by Muslims. It is widely accepted that Egyptian Christians are not - based on their share of population - equally represented in public services.^{3 4} There are widely differing figures on the percentage of Christians in the Egyptian population. Most estimates

² <http://www.sis.gov.eg/Newvr/Dustor-en001.pdf>

³ Fremd in eigenen Land. In: die tageszeitung: <http://taz.de/15147391/>

⁴ <http://www.youm7.com/story/0000/0/0/-/47566#.VxTpo2fVvUk>

state 5 million to 8 million from (6 to 10% of total population).⁵ In the 2015 Parliament election, Christians won 36 places, which was the highest number ever⁶.

The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights is one of the longest-standing bodies for the defense of human rights in Egypt. In 2003, the government established the National Council for Human Rights. The council came under heavy criticism by local activists, who contended that it was a propaganda tool for the government to excuse its own violations and to give legitimacy to repressive laws such as the Emergency Law.⁷

The situation of women and girls in Egypt is considered critical. Sexual harassment worsened in recent years⁸, however the state changed the laws in 2013 and, in my own estimation since I visited Cairo in March 2016, the situation seems improved.

Female circumcision is still common in Egyptian villages and amongst low income families in the Cities, although it is forbidden by law and punished if found out. State media and Religious institutes reject circumcision and publicly support the ban.⁹

In 2000 a Women Council was established under the care of the Ex First Lady Susan Mubarak in Cairo to support the rights of women and girls in Egypt.

Gay and Lesbian rights are not respected in Egypt and homosexuality or homosexual acts can be sanctioned in Egypt with a prison sentence.¹⁰

Though we can see that the government is trying to advance the country through a new constitution supporting woman and human rights, there are still issues with tradition, religion, and education that need addressing and support of governmental and international organizations.

5 Harenberg Aktuell (von Meyers und Brockhaus herausgegeben), S. 532: 94 % Muslime gegenüber 6 % Christen insgesamt (die meisten davon Kopten) / Spiegel-dtv-Jahrbuch 2004, S. 54: 90 % Muslime gegenüber 9 % Kopten / Länderinformationen des Auswärtigen Amtes: 90 % Muslime gegenüber 6 % Kopten

6 <http://www.youm7.com/story/2015/12/4/%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86-2015-%D9%8A%D8%B3%D8%AC%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%89-%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%A8%D8%A9-%D9%84%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%82%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B7-%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A8%D8%A9-12-%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%AF%D9%89-%D9%8824-/2474651#.VxTp62fVvUk>

7 The Egyptian Human Rights Council: "The Apple Falls Close to the Tree". ANHRI. Retrieved 18 April 2016.

8 <http://www.diberlin.info/taharrush.htm>

9 <http://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/zeitgeschehen/2014-10/genitalverstuemmelung-maedchen-aegypten>

10 <http://www.taz.de/!5025326/>

Are fair and free procedures common? 60%

The Egyptian constitution states in Part 3: **Article (51)** 'Dignity is the right of every human being and may not be violated. The State shall respect and protect human dignity', and in **Article (52)** 'Torture in all forms and types is a crime that is not subject to prescription.' **Article (53)** 'All citizens are equal before the Law. They are equal in rights, freedoms and general duties, without discrimination based on religion, belief, sex, origin, race, color, language, disability, social class, political or geographic affiliation or any other reason. Discrimination and incitement of hatred is a crime punished by Law. The State shall take necessary measures for eliminating all forms of discrimination, and the Law shall regulate creating an independent commission for this purpose.'¹¹

As we can see, there are very good intentions behind the constitution, however corruption is a factor thwarting efforts to improve the economic and social climate in Egypt. Corruption is affecting every level in Egyptian society.

In 2013 The Egyptian Ministry of Interior created a hotline and e-mail address to report corruption, in a move to address this problem.¹²

The Ibrahim Index, which compares the quality of African governments, placed Egypt at number 34 on the continent in the category of Safety & Rule of Law with 49.8 %.¹³ In comparison, the International Corruption Perception Index of the NGO Transparency International placed Egypt at number 88 from 176 for the year 2015.

However, the Egyptian government is trying hard to face corruption and to hand out punishment. For example, in the case of the agriculture Minister last year.¹⁴

Family status is entirely based on Sharia (law), and matters related to adoption, heritage or custody apply to non-Muslims as well. More important than impacting the legislation over three decades, Article 2 in the constitution states 'Islam is the religion of the State and Arabic is its official language. The principles of Islamic Sharia are the main source of legislation'.

¹¹<http://www.sis.gov.eg/Newvr/Dustor-en001.pdf>

¹² <http://alwafd.org/الرشوة-والفساد-عن-الإبلاغ-إلكتروني-جديد-تخصص-الداخلية-569541/أخبار>

¹³ http://static.moibrahimfoundation.org/u/2015/10/02201340/16_Egypt.pdf

¹⁴ <http://en.aswatmasriya.com/news/details/16043>

This implicitly justifies treating non-Muslims as second class citizens and sets the foundation of further Islamization of the country. A constitution based on Sharia law allows in general for government sanctioned discrimination against all religious minorities such as Shia Muslims.

Egyptian law still permits the death penalty. It requires that death sentences are confirmed by the presiding judge after a comment has been invited from the Grand Mufti of Al Azhar, the country's leading religious official. The Mufti's opinion to the judge is secret. The guilty verdict and death sentences are still subject to appeal at the Court of Appeal. According to Amnesty International, at least 22 executions were carried out in 2015.¹⁵

According to The Freedom House Report for 2015 Egypt received a bad score as a not free speech country with 73 points out of 100.¹⁶ I see this differently, as there is free Media in Egypt. There is a strong opposition and there are many examples of this; but you have to search deep within the Arabic language.¹⁷ As the opposition was so strong against President al Sisi, he made a bold move by calling a live talk show on air explaining his point of view to the audience.¹⁸ Free and independent newspapers are publishing and available, such as Al youm 7 and al Masry al Youm. Social media such as Facebook and Twitter are openly available. In 2012/2013 the Egyptian national security closed all the Moslem Brothers TV channel and Newspaper. We could classify that as a movement against the freedom of speech, but as this channel produced hate speech against Christians and political disorder by encouraging killing of police officers, it has to be seen as a movement to save law and similar moves would have been carried out in other countries around the globe.^{19 20 21}

15 Amnesty Intl., Death Sentences and Executions in 2015, ACT 50/3487/2016, Apr. 6, 2016. See e.g. News 24, Egypt hangs five for murder and theft, <http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/Egypt-hangs-five-for-murder-and-theft-20150426>, Apr. 26, 2015. News 24, Egypt hangs 6 convicted Islamist militants <http://www.news24.com/Africa/News/Egypt-hangs-6-convicted-Islamist-militants-20150517>, April 17, 2016.

16 <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2015/egypt>

17 http://www.huffpostarabi.com/2015/11/02/story_n_8450780.html

18 <http://www.masrawy.com/News/News-Videos/details/2016/2/1/744310/%D9%85%D9%83%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%A6%D9%8A%D8%B3-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%B3%D9%8A-%D9%84%D9%80-%D8%B9%D9%85%D8%B1%D9%88-%D8%A3%D8%AF%D9%8A%D8%A8-%D9%83%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%84%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A%D8%AF%D9%8A%D9%88>

19 <http://www.alarabia.net/ar/arab-and-world/egypt/2013/08/22/-%D9%87%D9%8A%D9%88%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%8A%D8%AA%D8%B3-%D8%AA%D8%AA%D9%87%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%AE%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B6-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%AD%D8%B1%D9%82-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B3-.html>

20 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bLDknlr4pCE>

21 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xqlhOHpZkT8>

The reputation of the Egyptian Police is questionable, but some facts about this important part of the government need to be stated before passing judgement: The Egyptian police has two different types of officers. The "Zubat": who have to be qualified to study 4 years in Police College and the "Umana 'šurṭah": who undergo 2 years of training in a Police institute. It is well known that most of the problems and human rights repudiation come from the "Umana 'šurṭah". President Al Sisi proposed a new law to Parliament, tightening regulations and enforcing regular psychological examination and medical treatment of all officers to ensure adequate treatment of all citizens involved with police measures.^{22 23}

As of 13 April, 2016, about 40% of police stations were installed with cameras²⁴, aimed to make citizens feel safer and to fight corruption mostly involving Umana 'šurṭah (list of cases can be found here).²⁵ These are only some examples of the federal government fighting corruption and trying to ensure the application of a humane treatment of all citizens.

The issue of systematic torture in Egypt has been raised by some NGO.^{26 27} Systematic means: having, showing, or involving a system, method, or plan, arranged in or comprising an ordered system.²⁸ Torture means: the act of inflicting excruciating pain, as punishment or revenge, as a means of getting a confession or information, or for sheer cruelty.²⁹

When officially questioned Amnesty international stated that for the last 2 years no evidence of systematic torture has been found. As for older studies by AI, no hard documentation is available. AI relies for information on Egyptian human rights organization. By researching a list provided by AI, I didn't find any evidence or cases indicating systematic torture in reports of the last 3 years. So based on scientific analysis I cannot assume nor can I find any proof for systematic torture as there is no evidence.

22 <http://www.parlmany.com/News/7/47771/%D8%AA%D8%B9%D8%AF%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D8%B1%D8%B7%D8%A>

23

<http://ar.jurispedia.org/index.php/%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86-%D9%87%D9%8A%D8%A6%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D8%B1%D8%B7%D8%A9>

24 <http://www.caironews-online.com/Akhbar-Msr/92653/%D8%AD%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B8%D9%8B%D8%A7-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%AD%D9%82%D9%88%D9%82-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%AA%D8%B1%D9%83%D9%8A%D8%A8-%D9%83%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%A8%D8%A9-%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AE%D9%84-%D8%A3%D9%82%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%B4%D8%B1%D8%B7%D8%A9-%D9%82%D9%86%D8%A7.html>

25 <http://www.youm7.com/Tags/Index?id=27725&tag=%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D8%B1%D8%B7%D8%A9->

26 <http://yournewswire.com/prisoner-dies-after-systematic-torture-in-egypt/>

27 <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/press-releases/egypt-trial-three-britons-ongoing-new-report-exposes-systematic-torture>

28 <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/systematically>

29 <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/torture?s=t>

Therefore I would like to contradict any claim made that the Egyptian government has either a (systematic) plan or a system for such action. I acknowledge the existence of cases documenting torture or inhumane treatment of individuals arrested by the Egyptian police or security services, however each and every one of them is under official investigation by the authorities and as shown, sentencing does take place. Also it should be noted that Egyptian law enforcement would benefit from training from foreign countries (as support of good governance) instead of repeating claims and accusations against all of the Egyptian police. After all, day by day Egyptian police is a functioning police and does provide safety and security (in contrast to the transition periods in 2011 and 2013) for every citizen and investigate and prosecute crime.

Are all international borders respected? 70 %

The Egyptian border with Israel and Palestine is of strategic importance. Egypt is also one of the gates between Africa and Asia, and the Suez Canal is a strategic crossing from Asia and the Gulf area to Europe. The Egyptian border runs along five countries: Libya, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Israel and Palestine (Gaza). Since the October war between Egypt and Israel in 1973, the Camp David Agreement and the West Border with Israel is secured and respected from both sides.³⁰ The Gaza border is 12 km long between the Gaza Strip and Egypt. Along the border there is a buffer zone with the Philadelphia Route.

The Rafah Border Crossing is the sole crossing point between Egypt and the Gaza Strip. It is located on the international border that was recognized by the 1979 Israel–Egypt Peace Treaty. Only the passage of people takes place through the Rafah Border Crossing. All traffic of goods is diverted to the Kerem-Shalom border crossing.

In 2011 Egypt experienced a difficult period where the police had very little public presence and the prisons were opened, causing widespread chaos.³¹ In the last five years the country has gradually been recovering from this chaos, and we now know that one main reason was the use of the Gaza Tunnels to smuggle weapons and terrorists into Egypt. Palestinian

30 The Camp David Accords were signed by Egyptian President Anwar El Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin on 17 September 1978, following twelve days of secret negotiations at Camp David. The two framework agreements were signed at the White House, and were witnessed by United States President Jimmy Carter. The second of these frameworks (A Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel) led directly to the 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty. Due to the agreement, Sadat and Begin received the shared 1978 Nobel Peace Prize. The first framework (A Framework for Peace in the Middle East), which dealt with the Palestinian territories, was written without participation of the Palestinians and was condemned by the United Nations.

31 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/01/29/egypt-jail-break-700-prisoners-escape_n_815872.html

President Mahmoud Abbas agreed with the Egyptian government's intention to destroy these tunnels, arguing that the tunnels under the border had produced 1,800 millionaires, and were used for smuggling weapons, drugs, cash and equipment for forging documents. Abbas himself had previously recommended the sealing or destruction of the tunnels by flooding them and then punishing the owners of the homes that contained entrances to the tunnels, including demolishing their homes.³² On 8 January 2015, Egypt's expansion resulted in the destruction of about 1,220 homes,³³ while destroying more than 1,600 tunnels. Some tunnels discovered ranged over 1 kilometer long and contained lighting, ventilation and phone systems.³⁴

In June 2015, Egypt also completed its digging of a ditch at the Rafah Crossing Point, 20 meters wide by 10 meters deep. It is located two kilometers from the border with Gaza outside of Rafah City and part of the enlarged buffer zone. An expansion of the trench along with watchtowers was planned.

On 11 September 2015, the Egyptian army began to pump water from the Mediterranean Sea into the tunnels. According to the Egyptian president Abdel Fatah Al-Sisi, flooding of the tunnels had been carried out in coordination with the Palestinian Authority. A number of Palestinian factions condemned the flooding of the border with sea water, because it posed a serious threat to the environment and ground water. In November 2015, as predicted by these Palestine factions, large areas of soil collapsed as a result of the flooding, threatening Gazan homes in Rafah near the Saladin Gate. Salty water was released from the ground, contaminating the soil and make it unusable for agriculture. The seawater further damaged the natural aquifers, 'already depleted by the Israelis, who dig wells thousands of meters deeper than ours '. According to Human Rights Watch, between July 2013 and August 2015 the Egyptian authorities demolished at least 3,255 residential, commercial, administrative, and community buildings along the border, forcibly evicting thousands of people.³⁵

³²Abbas: Egypt Right to Create Buffer Zone on Gaza Border. Jack Khoury, Haaretz, 20 April 2016

³³ Egyptian military doubling buffer zone with Gaza , demolishing nearly 1,220 more homes. Associated Pres, 8 January 2015

³⁴ http://www.israelhayom.com/site/newsletter_article.php?id=22881

³⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza%E2%80%93Egypt_border

The border between Egypt and Sudan has existed since 1956 when Egypt made an agreement with the British Government to end the Sudan colonization, whereby Sudan became independent.³⁶ There is currently no main road between Egypt and Sudan, and the only connection is by ferry once a week.³⁷ The Hala'ib Triangle³⁸ has been discussed for ten years, but for now this case has been handled peacefully.³⁹

After the neighboring countries of Egypt and Libya both gained independence in the early 1950s, Egypt–Libya relations were initially cooperative. Libya assisted Egypt in the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. Later, tensions arose due to Egypt's rapprochement with the west. Following the 1977 Libyan–Egyptian War, relations were suspended for twelve years. However, since 1989 relations have steadily improved. With the progressive lifting of UN and US sanctions on Libya from 2003–2008, the two countries have been working together to jointly develop their oil and natural gas industries.⁴⁰ Egyptian airstrikes against Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) positions in Libya on February 16, 2015, were triggered by a video released by ISIL in Libya a day earlier, depicting the beheading of 21 Coptic Christians from Egypt. Within hours, the Egyptian Air Force responded with airstrikes against ISIL training camps and weapons stockpiles in retaliation for the killings. Warplanes acting under orders from the Libyan government also struck targets in Derna, reportedly in coordination with Egypt. The air strikes had allegedly killed up to 64 ISIL militants, including three of the leadership, in the coastal cities of Derna and Sirte. Libyan media reported that at least 35 more Egyptians had been rounded up by ISIL in retaliation for the air raids.

As the airstrikes took place, Egypt's Foreign Ministry called on the US-led coalition striking Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant targets in Syria and Iraq to broaden its scope to North Africa and take action against the extremist group in Libya.⁴¹

The sea borders in Egypt were clearly drawn in 1990. Greece, Cyprus and Egypt struck an agreement in 2015 about the national and international sea borders.⁴²

³⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Egyptian_Sudan

³⁷ <http://www.africaexpedition.de/grenze-egypten-sudan/>

³⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hala%27ib_Triangle

³⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hala%27ib_Triangle

⁴⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt%E2%80%93Libya_relations

⁴¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/February_2015_Egyptian_airstrikes_in_Libya

⁴² <http://www.ekathimerini.com/204181/article/ekathimerini/business/greece-cyprus-egypt-to-speed-up-talks-over-sea-boundaries>

Refugee's smugglers are not well controlled from the Egyptian. Some accidents happened in the last years with the loss of human life.⁴³



Summed up score: Human Rights $(45+60+70) / 3 = 58,3 \%$

2.2 Egypt– a participative State?

May the people elect and recall their government? 63%

Suffrage is universal and compulsory for every Egyptian citizen over 18. Elections in Egypt are held for the President and a unicameral legislature. The President of Egypt is elected by direct universal for four-years which is renewable only once.⁴⁴

The Egyptian parliament is made up of 596 seats, with 448 seats elected through the individual candidacy system, 120 elected through winner-take-all party lists (with quotas for youth, women, Christians, and workers) and 28 selected by the president.⁴⁵ The government commission that set the rules for the 2015 parliamentary elections drastically reduced the number of "list seats" (candidates who shared party affiliations or other alliances, and whose ranks had to include people under the age of thirty-five, women, Christians, and other

⁴³ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/more-than-400-refugees-drown-in-mediterranean-after-boats-capsize-crossing-from-egypt-to-italy-a6989046.html>

⁴⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elections_in_Egypt

⁴⁵ <http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/138976.aspx>

traditionally underrepresented groups) from the 2011 election.⁴⁶ The full Egyptian Election law can be found at this link:

<https://www.elections.eg/images/pdfs/laws/HouseOfRepresentativesAmendments2015-92-En.pdf>.

The House General Committee is formed in the beginning of the House's annual season, headed by the Speaker. Its membership includes the Deputy Speakers, representatives of the political parties' parliamentary committees, and five House members (of whom one is an independent, if there are more than ten independents). The Speaker is responsible for outlining the committee's agenda. The committee is responsible for discussing the general issues put forward by the President, the Prime Minister or the Speaker.

The 2015 Election were also supervised by an international delegation, permitted by the Egyptian government to demonstrate the honesty of the election. Mr. Motati expressed gratitude for the facilitation that was afforded to their delegation whilst in Egypt that enabled them to explore in detail the election process, and the nature of the help that was provided by nationalist organizations to make the elections a success. Motati also referred to the field visits carried out in a number of Egyptian governorates during the elections period helped to greatly support their follow up of the elections and its organizational and technical details. They also praised the level of security for the election districts and the polling stations as well as the efforts undertaken to help those with disabilities in being able to vote. This matter reinforced the positive reflections that the COMESA delegation came up with at the end of their mission in Egypt.⁴⁷

Not only was the international committee allowed to supervise, but all party members and private individuals were allowed to monitor also. A live TV transfer was also held during the whole election operation.⁴⁸

46 Hessler, Peter (7 March 2016). "Letter from El-Balyana". New Yorker. Retrieved 16 May 2016.

47 <http://www.mfa.gov.eg/English/Ministry/News/Pages/NewsDetails.aspx?Source=6781921f-3993-444a-859e-ee26ce851de8&newsID=a8202bb7-8eed-4518-a72b-25295050a6f2>

48 <http://www.masralarabia.com/%D8%AA%D9%88%D9%83-%D8%B4%D9%88/767165-%D8%A8%D8%AB-%D9%85%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B4%D8%B1-%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%85%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%B2-%D8%A3%D8%B5%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%88%D9%84%D9%8A>

May the people participate in current decision-making? 52%

In the last 4 years Egypt experienced a lot of political changes. The most important change is the use of referendums where people can participate in direct democracy. These require a legal provision for mandatory referendums at national level and a legal provision for optional referendums at national level where participate. ⁴⁹

The Egyptian People decided to rebel peacefully against the Islamic Democratic Ex-President Mohamed Morsy in 2013 by collecting signatures against him with a movement called “Tamarod” to force him to call early presidential elections. Tamarod aimed to collect 15 million signatures by 30 June 2013, the one-year anniversary of Morsi's inauguration. The movement announced it collected more than 22 million signatures (22,134,460) as of 29 June 2013. ⁵⁰

The Parliament elections were then successfully held in 2015 with a surprising number of individual members, women and Christian. 2,573 individual candidates were contesting 226 individual seats. Many parties fielded individual candidates both on joint electoral lists and contested the list-based seats. ⁵¹

How representative are the people's representations? 30%

Since the last presidential election, the representation of the Egyptian people is very low. This could be due to lots of factors:

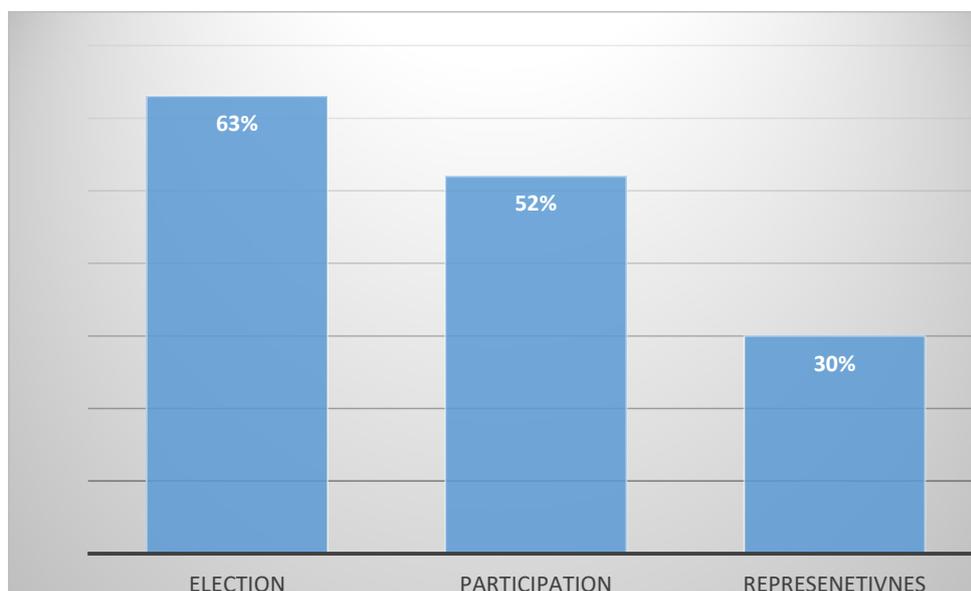
- 1) Because they reach a stability after 4 years of lots political changes.
- 2) The worry about Islamic movements (IS)
- 3) The financially crisis since 2011.
- 4) Working Parliament
- 5) The army supporting low income citizens

⁴⁹ <http://www.idea.int/elections/dd/country.cfm?id=69>

⁵⁰ <http://jungle-world.com/artikel/2013/28/48047.html>

⁵¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egyptian_parliamentary_election,_2015

The people came up with many movements in the last five years and now there is a quit phase. Another opinion is that universities are more likely to accept students who participate in politics and engage in activities such as voting in elections and referendums, as well as running for political positions as forms of political engagement (89% and 78% respectively), than students whose education level is below intermediary (67% and 55% respectively). In addition, Egyptians with a higher level of education are more likely to believe that voting influences the government than those with below intermediary level of education (74% and 59% respectively).⁵²



Summed up score Participation: $(63+52+30) / 3 = 48,3 \%$

2.3 Crime and corruption – what is the state able to give?

Corruption is difficult to measure because it consists of hidden, typically illegal transactions; the converse of corruption, institutional integrity, may be easier to identify, despite gaps between formal structure and informal reality. Since corruption can typically not be directly measured, corruption indices or scores depend on surveys of perceptions of experts or of those directly or indirectly involved in the processes being surveyed.

Generally speaking, in Egypt the quality of data is very poor, a function of the fact that data gathering is the monopoly of a state body, the Central Agency for Public Mobilisation and Statistics (CAPMAS).

⁵² http://www.baseera.com.eg/pdf_poll_file_en/Political%20Participation%20in%20Egypt.pdf

Article 109 in Egyptian law provides that anyone who offers a bribe to a public employee even if not accepted, is guilty of a bribery offense, and it is an offence for anyone to accept or offer to be an intermediate in a bribe, even if the act does not extend beyond the offer or acceptance. Public employees can be sentenced to terms of imprisonment of between three and fifteen years for bribery offences.⁵³

There are adequate laws against corruption, international treaties have been ratified, and anti-corruption bodies established. All of this notwithstanding, corruption is still perceived to be a major problem on all levels in all parts of society in Egypt. Though the evidence is usually anecdotal and based on perceptions, the weight is considerable.⁵⁴

Is there guaranteed peace? 55%

I talked already about the international peace and the respect of borders between Egypt and its neighbors, but internal peace in Egypt is difficult to measure. Visitors can expect to experience crime similar to other large cities around the globe. From January 2011-March 2014, crime appeared to be increasing. However, over the past two years, the visibility of police has increased, and crime has generally leveled off, in some cases nearly disappearing in the expatriate community. Regardless, crime can still be an issue of concern for expatriates, as the vast majority of criminal acts against foreigners continue to be crimes of opportunity (purse snatching, pickpocketing), often carried out by young males. There have been several instances where individuals on a motorbike have grabbed women's handbags, sometimes inadvertently injuring the victim. Semi-professional thieves target unaware visitors in popular restaurants and shops stealing purses, phones, and purchased goods. There are a number of reports of criminals using guns in the course of their robberies, although such cases remain infrequent. Women have reported attempted purse snatchings from drivers as they enter taxis.

Sporting events, especially soccer matches, cause heavy traffic disruptions and occasionally violent demonstrations and skirmishes. Large-scale sporting events have not been held since February 2012 when a soccer match in Port Said turned violent, with 79 people killed.

⁵³ <http://www.gp-digital.org/wp-content/uploads/pubs/Corruption-in-Egypt-Report-new-cover.pdf>

⁵⁴ <http://www.gp-digital.org/wp-content/uploads/pubs/Corruption-in-Egypt-Report-new-cover.pdf>

Despite significant, large-scale terrorist attacks, security services and military had some success in combatting terrorist groups. The military launched a stepped-up counter-terrorism campaign (known as Operation “Right of the Martyr”) against ISIL Sinai on September 7.

Punishment for drug use and trafficking in illegal drugs is severe. The drug trade has very little security impact on the diplomatic and expatriate community. However, hashish, methamphetamines, and certain prescription drugs (Tramadol) are widely available.

The majority of kidnappings appear to be within the Egyptian community and are often carried out to settle a dispute among neighbors, rivals, or tribes or simply target a person known to be affluent. Children are often the targeted victims, and the cases generally are settled quickly through the payment of a ransom. Perpetrators are likely hoping for a quick monetary payoff and, therefore, intentionally avoid the scrutiny likely to rise from kidnapping a higher profile businessperson or foreigner. However, kidnappings have the potential to be more prevalent in the Sinai or Western Desert regions.⁵⁵

Is the public infrastructure sufficiently fostered? 65%

In order to develop trade and logistics activities, the Egyptian government is planning to add 4,000 km to the roads network in 2016. With regards to river transport, the government is preparing three projects in partnership with the private sector, one of which links Damietta and Cairo by river.⁵⁶ This train has already undergone its trial operation and all technical analysis regarding safety factors has been conducted.⁵⁷ A new, high speed train is been using since 2 Years, equipped with air-conditioning, Wi-Fi internet service, health services including a medic for urgent cases, and security cameras in every vehicle. (A ticket From Aswan to Cairo = 900 KM cost 180 LE = 18 €)⁵⁸

A Nile Taxi service also started this year in Cairo which is cheap and environment friendly.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ <https://www.osac.gov/pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=19218>

⁵⁶ <http://www.albawaba.com/business/egypt-build-4000-km-new-roads-2016-765516>

⁵⁷ <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/138682/Egypt/Politics-/First-Egyptian-VIP-train-to-operate-Monday.aspx>

⁵⁸ <http://www.projectsforegypt.com/railway-project.html>

⁵⁹ <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2013/04/07/nile-taxi-provides-a-long-awaited-service/>

Germany and Egypt signed an €8 billion contract with Siemens to increase power generation capacity by 50 per cent, which is expected to provide a boost to the economy. The contract, which was signed in Berlin by the Egyptian president Abdel Fattah El Sisi, will add 16.4 gigawatts of capacity to the country's grid, or enough electricity to power 16 million homes. The binding agreement comes after an initial memorandum of understanding was announced in March 2015 at the Egypt the Future summit in Sharm El Sheikh. The German group will supply three natural gas-fired combined cycle power plants, each with a capacity of 4.8GW.⁶⁰ Siemens CEO Joe Kaeser visited Egypt, where he met with President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi. They spoke about the status of the major power plant projects, which are scheduled to begin delivering electricity in 2017, and explains how Siemens plans to help the country avoid energy shortages in the meantime.⁶¹

Drinking water supply and sanitation in Egypt is characterized by both achievements and challenges. Among the achievements is an increase of piped water supply between 1990 and 2010 from 89% to 100% in urban areas and from 39% to 93% in rural areas despite rapid population growth; the elimination of open defecation in rural areas during the same period; and in general a relatively high level of investment in infrastructure. Access to an improved water source in Egypt is now practically universal with a rate of 99%. On the institutional side, the regulation and service provision have been separated to some extent through the creation of a national Holding Company for Water and Wastewater in 2004, and of an economic regulator, the Egyptian Water Regulatory Agency (EWRA), in 2006.

However, many challenges remain. Only about one half of the population is connected to sanitary sewers. It is partly because of low sanitation coverage that about 17,000 children die each year from diarrhea. Another challenge is low cost recovery due to water tariffs that are among the lowest in the world. This in turn requires government subsidies even for operating costs, a situation that has been aggravated by salary increases without tariff increases after the Arab Spring. Poor operation of facilities, such as water and wastewater treatment plants, as well as limited government accountability and transparency, are also issues. Egypt had 372 municipal wastewater treatment plants in 2012, treating an average of 10.1 million cubic meters per day. The capacity of Egypt's wastewater treatment plants was

⁶⁰ <http://www.thenational.ae/business/energy/egypt-signs-8bn-power-deal-with-siemens>

⁶¹ [http://www.siemens.com/press/en/feature/2015/corporate/2015-06-egypt.php?content\[\]=Corp&content\[\]=WP&content\[\]=PG&content\[\]=SFS](http://www.siemens.com/press/en/feature/2015/corporate/2015-06-egypt.php?content[]=Corp&content[]=WP&content[]=PG&content[]=SFS)

more than 11 million cubic meters per day, serving more than 18 million people. The number has increased 10 times between 1985 and 2005. The amount of water which is released into the Nile is 3.8 billion m³ per year, out of which only 35% was treated properly as of 2004.⁶²

Is the economy well-coordinated? 40%

Occupying the northeast corner of the African continent, Egypt is bisected by the highly fertile Nile valley, where most economic activity takes place. Egypt's economy was highly centralized during the rule of former President Gamal Abdel NASSER but opened up considerably under former Presidents Anwar EL-SADAT and Mohamed Hosni MUBARAK.

From 2004 to 2008 the Egyptian government pursued business climate reforms to attract foreign investment and facilitate growth. Poor living conditions and limited job opportunities for the average Egyptian contribute to public discontent, a major factor leading to the January 2011 revolution that ousted Mubarak. The uncertain political, security, and policy environment since 2011 caused economic growth to slow significantly, hurting tourism, manufacturing, and other sectors and pushing up unemployment. In 2013, S&P lowered Egypt's long-term credit rating from B- to CCC+, and its short-term rating from B to C on worries about the country's ability to meet its financial targets and maintain social peace more than two years after President Hosni Mubarak was overthrown in an uprising, ushering in a new era.⁶³

Weak growth and limited foreign exchange earnings have made public finances unsustainable, leaving authorities dependent on expensive borrowing for deficit finance and on Gulf allies to help cover the import bill. In 2015, higher levels of foreign investment contributed to a slight rebound in GDP growth after a particularly depressed post-revolution period.⁶⁴

⁶² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Water_supply_and_sanitation_in_Egypt

⁶³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Egypt

⁶⁴ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/eg.html>

How equally is income distributed? 45%

For the first time in Egypt, the government set the minimum income law at 1200 LE. With effect from 01-01-2014.⁶⁵ The US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) reports that in 2001 Egypt's gross domestic product (GDP) was estimated at \$258 billion. The per capita GDP was estimated at \$3,700. The annual growth rate of GDP was estimated at 2.5%. The average inflation rate in 2001 was 2.3%. The CIA defines GDP as the value of all final goods and services produced within a nation in a given year and computed on the basis of purchasing power parity (PPP) rather than value as measured on the basis of the rate of exchange. It was estimated that agriculture accounted for 14% of GDP, industry 30%, and services 56%.

According to the United Nations, in 2000, remittances from citizens working abroad totaled \$2.852 billion or about \$42 per capita and accounted for approximately 3.1% of GDP. Worker remittances in 2001 totaled \$2.973 billion. Foreign aid receipts amounted to about \$19 per capita and accounted for approximately 1% of the gross national income (GNI).

The World Bank reports that in 2001 per capita household consumption (in constant 1995 US dollars) was \$1,013. Household consumption includes expenditures of individuals, households, and nongovernmental organizations on goods and services, excluding purchases of dwellings. It was estimated that for the same period private consumption grew at an annual rate of 13%. Approximately 44% of household consumption was spent on food, 7% on fuel, 3% on health care, and 17% on education. The richest 10% of the population accounted for approximately 25.0% of household consumption and the poorest 10% approximately 4.4%. It was estimated that in 1996 about 23% of the population had incomes below the poverty

line.⁶⁶ According to the Lexas ranking took the 115 place out of 144.⁶⁷

Is health effectively protected? 35%

The provision of public health care in Egypt is highly fragmented. Without one entity in charge of overseeing the sector, health care policy becomes complicated. According to a WHO presentation, the Ministry of Health provides 30-35% of services, mostly through primary care clinics. The Ministry of Higher Education provides more than 30% of services through respected university hospitals. The third strand of public health care consists of

⁶⁵ <http://www.wageindicator.org/main/salary/minimum-wage/egypt>

⁶⁶ <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Egypt-INCOME.html>

⁶⁷ http://www.lexas.de/naher_ostern/aegypten/index.aspx

independent ministries — defense, transport, aviation, electricity and interior — and the Health Insurance Organization (HIO), accounting for more than 10% of services.⁶⁸

Egypt has particularly high rates of Hepatitis C (22%), one of the highest worldwide (Pakistan (4.8%), China (3.2%)). It is believed that the high prevalence in Egypt is linked to a now-discontinued mass-treatment campaign for schistosomiasis, using improperly sterilized glass syringes. Avian influenza has also been present in Egypt, with 52 cases and 23 deaths in January 2009. With an estimated tuberculosis (TB) incidence of 11 new cases per 100,000 people, Egypt has relatively low levels of TB according to 2005 data from the World Health Organization.

With less than 1 percent of the population estimated to be HIV-positive, Egypt is a low-HIV-prevalence country. Unsafe behaviors among most-at-risk populations and limited condom use among the general population place Egypt at risk of a broader epidemic. According to the National AIDS Program (NAP), there were 1,155 people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) in Egypt by the end of 2007. UNAIDS estimates for 2005 were higher, putting the number of HIV-positive Egyptians at 5,300.

According to Egypt's National Council for Battling Drug Addiction, the use of recreational drugs among residents of Cairo over the age of 15 has rocketed from 6% to 30% since the Egyptian Revolution of 2011.⁶⁹

As a result of modernization efforts over the years, Egypt's healthcare system has made great strides forward. Access to healthcare in both urban and rural areas greatly improved and immunization programs are now able to cover 98% of the population. Life expectancy increased from 44.8 years during the 1960s to 72.12 years in 2009. There was a noticeable decline of the infant mortality rate (during the 1970s to the 1980s the infant mortality rate was 101-132/1000 live births, in 2000 the rate was 50-60/1000, and in 2008 it was 28-30/1000).⁷⁰

According to the World Health Organization in 2008, an estimated 91.1% of Egypt's girls and women aged 15 to 49 have been subjected to genital mutilation.⁷¹

⁶⁸ <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/07/egypt-health-care-hospitals-poor-illness-ministry.html>

⁶⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Health_in_Egypt

⁷⁰ <http://www.globalsurance.com/health-insurance/egypt/>

⁷¹ <http://www.who.int/reproductivehealth/topics/fgm/prevalence/en/>

The Egyptian government has been keen on extending the coverage of health insurance. The total number of insured Egyptians reached 37 million in 2009, of which 11 million are minors, providing an insurance coverage of approximately 52 percent of Egypt's population.⁷²

Are qualification and education, research and development well managed? 65%

Egypt has the largest overall education system in the Middle East and North Africa and it has grown rapidly since the early 1990s. In recent years the Government of Egypt has accorded even greater priority in improving the education system. According to the Human Development Index (HDI), Egypt is ranked 108 in the HDI, and 9 in the lowest 10 HDI countries in the Middle East and Northern Africa, in 2014. With the help of the World Bank and other multilateral organizations Egypt aims to increase access in early childhood to care and education and the inclusion of ICT at all levels of education, especially at the tertiary level. The government is responsible for offering free education at all levels. The current overall expenditure on education is about 12.6 percent as of 2007.⁷³

In 1966, illiteracy in Egypt was estimated at more than 70%; in 1995, it was 48.6% (males, 36.4%; females, 61.2%). For the year 2000, projected adult illiteracy rates stand at 44.7% (males, 33.4%; females, 56.3%). In 1952, primary schools had space for only about half the school-age children. However, marked progress has been achieved since then. By 1998 there were 7,499,303 students and 310,116 teachers in primary schools. At the secondary level, there were 4,385,938 students in general education, with 259,618 teachers. The pupil-teacher ratio at the primary level was 23 to 1 as of 1999. In the same year, 93% of primary-school-age children were enrolled in school, while 80% of those eligible attended secondary school.

The Education Act of 1953 provided free and compulsory education for all children between the ages of 6 and 12. Preparatory schools offer three-year courses leading to a basic-education completion certificate, which is the entrance requirement for three-year courses in secondary schools. The curriculum was updated in 1995 and includes a greater emphasis on vocational training, as well as on physics and foreign languages. The general secondary

⁷² <http://www.sis.gov.eg/En/Templates/Articles/tmpArticles.aspx?CatID=729#.V2D3DI7VyUk>

⁷³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Education_in_Egypt

education certificate entitles the holder to enter a university. A majority of primary-school graduates continue their education in preparatory, secondary, or vocational schools.

A decree of 23 July 1962 provided free tuition at all Egyptian universities. The traditional center for religious education in the Muslim world is Al-Azhar in Cairo, which in 1983 celebrated 1,000 years of teaching as the oldest continuously operating school in the world. Al-Azhar offers instruction in three faculties and 14 affiliated institutes and maintains its own primary and secondary schools. There are a total of 13 universities, and numerous institutes of higher learning. Egypt's universities had a total of 850,051 students in 1996. Universities and equivalent institutions had a faculty of 38,828 in 1994.

There is also the American University in Cairo, which offers a wide range of undergraduate and graduate courses, as well as an American school in Cairo and one in Alexandria. The American Research Center in Cairo is supported by US universities and museums. It was established in 1948 to encourage the exchange of archaeologists and other researchers in almost all fields of interest.

Adult education, under the Ministry of Education, is increasingly important. Since 1993 the government conducted a campaign against illiteracy. Business firms are required to combat illiteracy among their employees. Recent university graduates are being hired to lead literacy classes, and armed forces recruits are also expected to teach. In addition, the government has set up 3,000 one-class schools to teach a nontraditional study plan. These schools are aimed at girls who are unlikely to attend formal schooling, and as a result, are likely to remain illiterate. The schools provide vocational training and lessons on income generating businesses, in addition to the more traditional classes in Arabic, religion, sciences and arithmetic. As of 1999, public expenditure on education was estimated at 4.7% of GDP.⁷⁴

There are also German, French, Armenian, Spanish, Turkish and other schools. Also there are private Canadian, German and French Universities available in Cairo.⁷⁵

Founded in 1971, the Academy of Scientific Research and Technology in Cairo is the national body responsible for science and technology. Egypt also has 12 specialized learning societies in the fields of agriculture, medicine, science, and technology. The National Research Center, also in Cairo, carries out research in pure and applied sciences. The Ministry of Agriculture

⁷⁴ <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Egypt-EDUCATION.html>

⁷⁵ https://www.google.de/#q=international%20school%20in%20egypt&rflfq=1&rlha=0&rlag=30036607,31187173,23296&tbn=cl&tbs=lf:1,lf_ui:2&rifi=hd:,si:

has 20 attached research institutes in Cairo and Giza. Twenty other institutes conduct research in medicine, science, and technology. In 1987–97, research and development expenditures totaled 0.2% of GNP; 341 technicians and 459 scientists and engineers per million people engaged in research and development.

Located in Cairo are museums devoted to agriculture, geology, railways, and marine technology. In addition to polytechnic institutes in Cairo and Mansoura, in 1996 Egypt had 13 universities offering courses in basic and applied sciences. In 1987–97, science and engineering students accounted for 12% of college and university enrollments.⁷⁶

The illiteracy rate has decreased since 1996 from 39.4 to 25.9 percent in 2013. The adult literacy rate as of July 2014 was estimated at 73.9%. The illiteracy rate is highest among those over 60 years of age being estimated at around 64.9%, while illiteracy among youth between 15 and 24 years of age was listed at 8.6 percent.⁷⁷

Ecological and financial sustainability 55%

Egypt faces significant economic, social and environmental challenges, especially in the period of transformation currently taking place. Its financial reserves have fallen from \$36 billion in December 2010 to \$16.5 billion in December 2013. This amount covers less than three months of imports, putting the country in a critical situation. Real gross domestic product growth is now estimated at 2.2%, while it was about 4.7% in 2008. Furthermore, the unemployment rate was estimated at about 13% at the end of 2012, meaning 3.5 million people are searching for jobs.

Commenting on the study, Achim Steiner, the executive director of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), said, ‘Challenges such as Egypt’s rapidly growing population — which could reach 100 million by 2020 — coupled with an ecological footprint almost three times its available bio capacity, according to the Arab Forum for Environment and Development, are opportunities to implement an inclusive green economy strategy that can revitalize and diversify the economy and achieve social equity while also conserving the environment and improving health and human welfare.’ He pointed to the available ingredients for such a transformation, in particular the resilient banking sector in Egypt, the abundance of labor and entrepreneurial skills, and the active public and private sectors.

⁷⁶ <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Egypt-SCIENCE-AND-TECHNOLOGY.html>

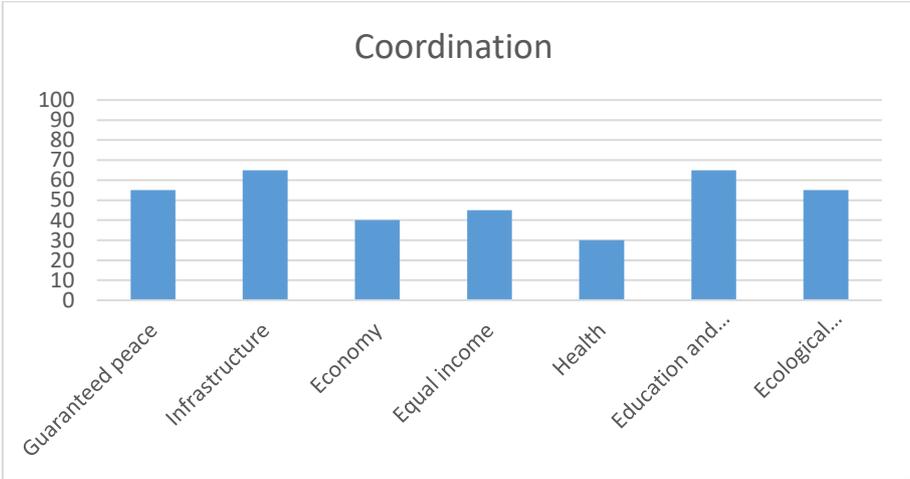
⁷⁷ <http://egyptianstreets.com/2014/09/09/more-than-25-of-egypts-population-illiterate/>

The study, prepared by the UNEP at the request of the Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency and the Egyptian Ministry of Environment, suggests interventions and investment options, shows expected benefits and describes policy approaches that can be adopted for “greening” four priority sectors (agriculture, water, energy and waste).⁷⁸

Egypt CO2 emissions reached 2.6 in 2011. Poverty has increased from 16.7 % in 1999 to 25.2 % in 2010. The Gross enrollment ratio, primary, both sexes reached 106%.⁷⁹

The CCPI 2014 results illustrate the main regional differences in climate protection performance within 58 countries across the world. Although there are lower growth rates of the global CO2 emissions that give reason to hope for a successful climate protection in the future, for now no country has performed well enough to reach the category ‘very good’ in the CCPI 2014. Egypt received a moderate score in line with Germany, moving up to rank 26 from 61.

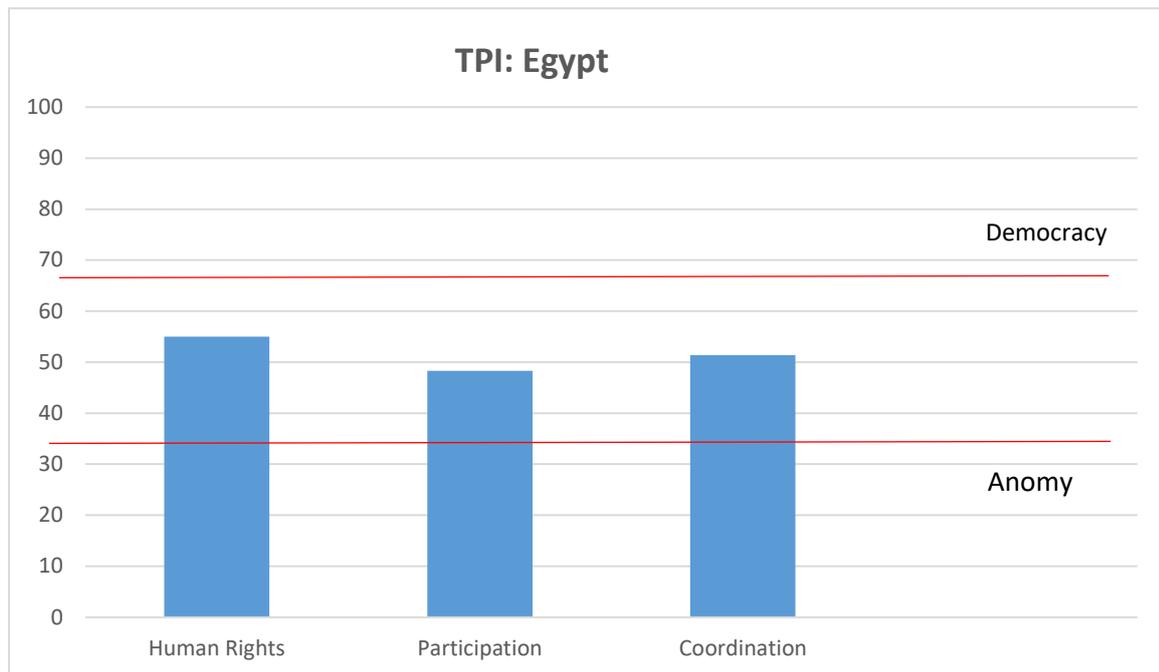
Summed up score Coordination: (55+65+40+45+35+65+55)= 360/7=51,4 %



⁷⁸ <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/business/2015/05/egypt-green-economy-development-strategy-environment.html>

⁷⁹ <http://data.worldbank.org/country/egypt-arab-republic>

3. Summed up Results



Human Rights: 58, 3%

Participation: 48, 3%

Coordination: 51, 4%

See on the TPI criteria of democracy (over 66,7%) and anomy (lower than 33,3%)

<http://diberlin.info/tpi%20structure%20profiles.htm>

Conclusion:

Egypt: A specific country between democracy and anomy