



## Egypt Report: Parliament Data Draft

This summary is compiled for the exclusive use of authors working on the state of the parliament in Egypt and ACRLI advisors. The findings reported below are extracted from the survey of expert users (Parliamentarians and Employees) carried out by Information International for the benefit of ACRI. The survey included a sample of 25 parliamentarians and 25 employees from Cairo.

An equal number of parliamentarians and employees was to be selected. The sampling procedures for the two groups however were different.

The total population of parliamentarians in Egypt is 454. Participants were selected from three parliamentary parties (كتل النيابية); democratic party (326 member) (الحزب الوطني الديمقراطي), الإخوان المسلمون (90 members) and the independent and small parties (38 members) (المستقلون والأحزاب الصغيرة). The stratified sampling procedure was used. After the refusal of كتلة نواب الإخوان to participate in the survey, 22 participants were chosen from the democratic group and three from the independent group.

As for employees, the method of sample selection relied on systematic random sampling of employees working in various لجان البرلمان and who were selected by the أمين اللجنة النيابية or the person in charge at the parliament (see Information International report for details; Appendix C).

Refusal rates reached 26.5%. This figure does not include كتلة نواب الإخوان. Taking this latter group into consideration, the refusal rate becomes 31.5%. The ability to generalise to the entire population should be made cautiously.

The findings from the survey are presented in two parts. The first part presents an overview of the major findings from the survey, while the second part presents detailed findings from the individual items in the survey. Appendix B presents the detailed findings for each item from the survey and will be referred to during the discussion of the main findings from the survey below.

### I. OVERVIEW OF KEY FINDINGS FROM SURVEY

#### Main Findings: Dimension Analysis

When items are combined to measure a dimension of a specific principles (e.g. items 1 & 2 as measures of “free and fair election”, a dimension of the general “representation and participation” principle), only three dimensions proved to be problematic for parliamentarians, while six flagged as significant for employees. The remaining dimensions did not cross the midpoint threshold.

The most important grievance for parliamentarians resided in their “Political financing rules for parties and Election campaigns” dimension [integrity]. Although still problematic, the least important complaint occurred in “conflict of interest” [integrity].



On the other hand, employees voiced grievances on the following five subsections consecutively: a) Independence in fulfilling mandates [independence], b) participation [representation and participation], c) Competence of parliamentarians [performance], d) Political financing rules for parties and Election campaigns [integrity], e) Effective oversight of public finance [performance], and f) Equal opportunities [representation and participation].

### **Main Findings: Item Analysis**

An important finding is that employees and parliamentarians have different evaluation perspectives of the state of the parliament in Egypt. Overall, employees had a significantly higher number of grievances about the state of the parliament than parliamentarians did. Of the core questions asked, 2 were rated negatively by parliamentarians only (i.e. these items are unique to parliamentarians), while 9 items were rated negatively by employees only. Interestingly though, 6 items were sources of common complaint from both parliamentarians and employees in Egypt; these 6 items are ranked from highest to lowest complaint in the table below (*Note*: Scores represent the average (mean) for each item on a scale from 1 to 5. Scores below 3 reflect a positive evaluation of the item, while scores above 3 reflect a negative evaluation):

1. Parliamentarians receive the adequate financial compensation that guarantees their independence (Item 15,  $x = 3.63$ )
2. Parliamentary staff are selected according to objective professional criteria. (Item 46,  $x = 3.25$ )
3. Parliamentarians participate in workshops for professional development (Item 52,  $x = 3.19$ )
4. Parliamentary staff regularly attend compulsory training sessions (Item 47,  $x = 3.18$ )
5. Candidates for parliamentary seats have equal access to private and public media enabling them to communicate with their constituents (Item 4,  $x = 3.14$ )
6. Parliamentarians resort to economists and financial experts to study and approve the budget (Item 27,  $x = 3.06$ )

One of the 6 items above is within the “representation and participation” (item 4), four others refer to “performance” (items 27, 46, 47 and 52), while the remaining one pertains to the “independence” principle (item 15).

The two items to which parliamentarians responded negatively (but not employees) are: a) Parliament has clear rules prohibiting conflict of interest (item 54), and b) Political finance is regulated by clear rules (item 57). These two items refer to integrity.

For an exhaustive list of items to which only employees provided negative feedback, please refer to appendix B.

### **Items Rated Most Negatively**

As depicted above, many aspects of the state of the parliament were negatively evaluated. The five items least favourably evaluated by parliamentarians and employees lead to the following conclusions:



	P	E
46 Parliamentary staff are not selected according to objective professional criteria.	X	X
4 Candidates for parliamentary seats do not have equal access to private and public media enabling them to communicate with their constituents.	X	
12 Parliamentarians do not consult with civil society organizations on the issues submitted to parliament.		X
15 Parliamentarians do not receive the adequate financial compensation that guarantees their independence	X	
21 Parliament frequently delegates its legislative power to the executive		X
47 Parliamentary staff do not regularly attend compulsory training sessions.	X	
52 Parliamentarians do not participate in workshops for professional development.		X
57 Political finance is not regulated by clear rules.	X	
60 Anyone can not access the minutes of parliamentary sessions without restrictions		X

Parliamentarians ranked items 15, 57, 4, 46 and 47 consecutively as the least favourable in the state of the parliament in Cairo; one of these items refers to the “representation and participation” principle (items 4), one to the integrity principle (item 57), one to independence (item 15), and two pertain to performance (items 46 & 47).

Employees ranked items 60, 21, 12, 52 and 46 consecutively as the least favourable in the state of the parliament in Cairo. One item (item 60) refers to the integrity principle, one to independence (item 21), one to “representation and participation” principle” (item 12) and the remaining two refer to performance (items 46 & 52).

### Items Rated Most Positively

On the more positive end of the analysis, the five items most favourably evaluated by parliamentarians and employees lead to the following conclusions:

	P	E
2 Candidates have the means to contest the election results.	X	X
35 Parliamentary committees effectively study and debate draft laws before submission to the plenary assembly	X	X
48 To what extent are the parliament’s documented resources adequate (library or research centre or data bank)	X	X
14 Parliamentarians are not subject to threats of physical harm	X	
43 Parliamentary groups work according to their own internal organizational rules		X
39 Internal parliamentary rules are clear		X
60 Anyone can access the minutes of parliamentary sessions without restrictions	X	

Parliamentarians ranked items 14, 2, 60, 48 and 35 consecutively as the most favourable in the state of the parliament in Egypt; one of these items refer to “representation and



participation” (item 2), two pertain to the performance principle (items 38 & 45), while the fourth relates to integrity (item 60) and the last one to independence (item 14).

Employees ranked items 2, 43, 48, 39 and 35 consecutively as the most favourable in the state of the parliament in Egypt. One of these items refers to “representation and participation” (item 2) and the four remaining pertain to the performance section.

### Frequencies of Specific Items

The table below presents the percentage of participants who believe that the election campaigns are financed by several sources and that the parliament is influenced by several sources as well.

	P			E		
	Good/ Fine/ Significant	Neutral	Poor/ weak/ insignificant	Good/ Fine/ significant	Neutral	Poor/ weak/ insignificant
5 Generally, to which degree are Election campaigns financed by Personal funds of the candidate	88%	12%		59.1%	18.2%	22.7%
6 Generally, to which degree are Election campaigns financed by Individual donations	33.3%	6.7%	60%	40.0%	35.0%	25.0%
7 Generally, to which degree are Election campaigns financed by Corporate donations		10%	90%	27.8%	38.9%	33.3%
8 Generally, to which degree are Election campaigns financed by Public funds			100%	27.8%	38.9%	33.3%
9 Generally, to which degree are Election campaigns financed by Other sources						
18 To which degree is the Parliament influenced/pressured by The government	33.3%	50%	16.7%	47.4%	21.1%	31.6%
19 To which degree is the Parliament influenced/pressured by Non-governmental entities		50%	50%	16.7%	22.2%	61.1%
20 To which degree is the Parliament influenced/pressured by International entities		60%	40%	7.7%	30.8%	61.5%

### Opinions on Most Needed Reform in Parliament

The questionnaire administered to the sample of employees and parliamentarians included a series of “reform” questions. Participants were asked to rate the importance of reform in each of the subsections of the state of the parliament questionnaire.



The five domains that require the highest need for reform according to parliamentarians and employees are presented:

	P	E
3 Reforms are needed to reinforce the freedom and fairness of elections	X	X
31 It is essential to have specialized financial experts assisting parliamentarians in reviewing and overseeing the budget	X	X
42 Reforms of the internal parliamentary rules are needed to improve the efficiency of parliament	X	X
10 Reforms are needed to ensure equal media and campaign funding opportunities for all candidates	X	
34 Parliament should be more active in overseeing the executive	X	
45 Encouraging the creation of parliamentary blocks would increase the efficiency of Parliament		X
50 Improved staffing and equipment would strengthen the ability of parliament to function effectively		X
59 Reforms of political financing rules are needed to strengthen the integrity of the Parliament	X	

Parliamentarians ranked items 34, 59, 10, 31, 42 and 3 consecutively as the most needed reforms in the state of the parliament in Egypt. Two of the domains highlighted above refer to “representation and participation” (items 3 & 10), three pertain to the performance principle (31, 34 & 42), while the last one relates to integrity (item 59). Such clustering is highly indicative of the concerns of parliamentarians in Cairo.

Again, employees identified items 3, 50, 42, 31 and 45 consecutively as those requiring reform in the state of the parliament in Egypt. Four of the domains relate to performance issues and one pertains to “representation and participation” (item 3).

## II. DETAILED FINDINGS FROM SURVEY

### **Representation and Participation**

Respondents indicate that the Parliament is both representative of and participates with the constituents. The free and fair elections, the equal opportunity for candidates, and the parliamentarians’ regular consultation with the constituents makes the Parliament more representative.

#### *Free And Fair Elections*

- Sixty-six percent agree that elections are administered in a free and fair manner without pressures, and 83% think that candidates have the means to contest the elections results.

#### *Equal Opportunities Of Candidates*

- Forty-four percent think that candidates for parliamentary seats have equal access to private and public media enabling them to communicate with their constituents.
- Respondents agree that election campaigns are financed by the personal funds of the candidates (74%). According to respondents, corporate donations (53%) and public funds (47%) are not used to finance election campaigns. There are mixed views on whether individual donations fund election campaigns (disagree 40%, agree 37%, neutral 22%).

#### *Participation*



- Seventy-five percent report that parliamentarians communicate periodically with their constituents on issues pertaining to public life, with 68% who agree that the parliamentarians also consult with civil society organizations on the issues submitted to Parliament.

#### *Reforms*

- Ninety-percent think that the parliamentarians should consult more frequently with constituents and civil society organizations to make the parliament more representative. Reforms are needed to ensure equal media and campaign funding opportunities (89%) and to reinforce the freedom and fairness of elections (87%).

#### **Independence**

Respondents cite a few concerns over the independence of the Parliament, including the lack of adequate financial compensation for the parliamentarians and the degree to which the Parliament is subject to outside influence. Overall, respondents depict a parliament that struggles with achieving independence.

#### *Protection Of Parliamentarians*

- Sixty-six percent disagree that parliamentarians are subject to threats of physical harm.
- Respondents agree that parliamentarians do not receive adequate financial compensation that guarantees their independence (48%).
- A majority of respondents do not have an opinion on whether parliamentarians occasionally legislate laws under undue pressures, both internal and external (53%, 34% disagree, 12% agree).

#### *Independence Of Parliament In Fulfilling Its Mandate*

- Respondents indicate that non-governmental entities pressure the Parliament (41%), but international entities do not have any influence (55%).
- There are mixed views on whether the government pressures the Parliament (40% agree, 35% neutral, 24% disagree).
- Respondents remain mixed as to whether the Parliament frequently delegates its legislative power to the executive (39% agree, 36% disagree, 24% neutral).

#### *Reforms*

- Respondents agree that reforms of the Parliament's administrative agencies are necessary to reduce the influence of the executive (87%). Reforms are needed to guarantee that parliamentarians fulfill their duties independently (81%) and additional measures are also necessary to increase the protection of the parliamentarians (78%).

#### **Performance**

Respondents report that the Parliament performs effectively and efficiently. The legislative process, oversight of public finance, the oversight of the executive, the parliamentary committees and groups, and the performance of parliamentarians according to internal parliamentary rules strengthen the overall efficiency of the Parliament. Respondents are concerned with the administrative and technical bodies in the Parliament. The inadequate selection process and training of parliamentary staff weakens the performance of the Parliament. Additionally, respondents are not completely confident in the competence of the parliamentarians.



#### *Efficiency in the Legislative Process*

- Sixty-five percent agree that parliamentarians study and debate draft laws seriously and in detail before approving them, and 60% think that the Parliament refers to experts when studying draft laws.

#### *Effective Oversight of Public Finance*

- A majority of respondents think that the parliamentarians refer to the previous year's budget numbers to correct and estimate the project year's budget (58%).
- Only 42% think that the Parliament effectively monitors the disbursement and collection of the funds in the budget, 34% disagree.
- Fifty-nine percent agree that the parliamentarians use the reports of the Court of Audit to correct the expenditure of public funds.
- There are mixed opinions on whether parliamentarians resort to economists and financial experts to study and approve the budget (41% agree and disagree, 16% neutral).

#### *Effective Oversight of the Executive*

- Forty-eight percent agree that the Parliament effectively oversees the government in all of its activities, with 51% who think that the Parliament also effectively investigates matters of corruption and mismanagement of public funds.

#### *Efficiency of Parliamentary Committees*

- Respondents indicate that the parliamentary committees effectively study and debate draft laws before submission to the plenary assembly (84%).
- A majority think that the committees effectively oversee government activity (62%), but the meetings are run in an efficient manner (68%).

#### *Performance of Parliamentarians According To Internal Parliamentary Rules*

- A strong majority report that the internal parliamentary rules are clear (74%) and implemented in a way that guarantees the ability of the Parliament to fulfil its mandate (62%).
- Respondents report that the parliamentary sessions are managed in full conformity with internal rules (67%).

#### *Efficiency of Parliamentary Groups*

- Seventy-three percent agree that the parliamentary groups work according to their own internal organizational rules.
- According to respondents, parliamentarians regularly attend the parliamentary block meetings and follow a set agenda (68%).

#### *Efficiency of Administrative and Technical Bodies*

- Forty-two percent do not think that the parliamentary staff are selected according to objective professional criteria, nor do the staff regularly attend compulsory training sessions (41%).
- Respondents report that the parliament's documented resources are adequate (85%), but only 44% indicate that the parliamentarians regularly use these resources.

#### *Competence of Parliamentarians*



- Forty-nine percent agree that the parliamentarians have effective access to government documents.
- There are mixed opinions on whether the parliamentarians participate in workshops for professional development (44% disagree, 42% agree, 12% neutral).

#### *Reforms*

- According to respondents, it is essential to have specialized financial experts assisting parliamentarians in reviewing and overseeing the budget (94%).
- Reforms are needed to improve staffing and equipment (88%) and the internal parliamentary rules (89%) to improve the efficiency of the Parliament.
- Eighty-six percent think that the Parliament should be more active in overseeing the executive.
- Respondents report that parliamentarians should be assigned to committees based on their expertise (84%), and 83% encourage the creation of parliamentary blocks to increase the efficiency of Parliament.
- Seventy-five percent think that there should be more specialized training for the parliamentarians (75%).
- Seventy-one percent agree that the use of independent research centres by parliamentarians would make the legislative process more efficient.

#### **Integrity**

Respondents indicate that overall the Parliament in Egypt possesses integrity. The clear conflict of interest rules and the adherence to these rules strengthens the Parliament's integrity. Respondents do not have complete confidence in the political financing rules, but the transparency of parliamentary activity enhances the integrity of the Parliament.

#### *Conflict Of Interest*

- A majority of 56% agree that the Parliament has clear rules prohibiting conflict of interest and 55% think that the parliamentarians effectively adhere to these conflict of interest rules.

#### *Political Financing Rules For Parties And Election Campaigns*

- Only 44% agree that parliamentarians declare their financial assets in an accurate and honest manner, 34% disagree.
- A slight plurality thinks that political finance is regulated by clear rules (43%), but 38% disagree.

#### *Transparency Of Parliamentary Activity*

- Respondents indicate that anyone can access the minutes of parliamentary sessions without restrictions (54%).

#### *Reforms*

- Respondents identify a need for reform of the political finance rules (89%) and increased transparency in parliamentary activity to improve the integrity of the Parliament (81%).
- Sixty-seven percent think that effective enforcement of conflict of interest rules is needed to ensure the integrity of the Parliament.





### III. Missing Data Analysis:

An analysis of missing data yielded significant findings that warrant attention. The overall pattern of missing responses did not exceed 4%. This indicates that the questionnaire, on the whole, did not create unexpected complications for participants. However, closer attention to the pattern of missing data points to

- 1- **Item 20** “To which degree is the Parliament influenced/pressured by International entities” had the highest rate of missing data with 64% of participants reporting their inability to assess this item. Either participants felt the item to be too sensitive or they did not feel confident enough to provide an assessment on that question.
- 2- Two items hovered around the 53% rate of missing data; these are **Item 8** “Generally, to which degree are Election campaigns financed by Public funds” as well as **item 19** “To which degree is the Parliament influenced/pressured by Non-governmental entities” met with lower but still significant figures, with 54% and 52% of missing data respectively.

These three items seemed to be the most problematic for our samples. Other items with lower values of missing data may be of interest to authors, and are provided in appendix C, p. 4.

### IV. LIMITATIONS

It is important to note that the study does not allow sweeping generalizations about the state of the parliament; the survey used a random sample of parliamentarians and employees, but the sample size is too small to allow for confident generalizations. Furthermore, difficulties accessing these population (see refusal rates) limit the ability to generalize to the population since those that accepted to participate in this survey and those that refused may have different characteristics and perspectives.