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The American University in Cairo

School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

**INTERNATIONAL AGENCY IMPLEMENTATION OF WOMEN'S
EMPOWERMENT PROGRAMS UNDER SECULAR AND ISLAMIST
GOVERNMENTS: COMPARATIVE CASES OF UN WOMEN AND
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION EXPERIENCES IN
EGYPT**

A Master's Project Submitted to the

Public Policy and Administration Department

**in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Global Affairs**

By

Whitney J. Buchanan

December 2014

The American University in Cairo

School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

INTERNATIONAL AGENCY IMPLEMENTATION OF WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT
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A Master's Project Submitted by

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to the Department of Public Policy and Administration

December 2014

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Whitney J. Buchanan

Supervised by Professor Jennifer Bremer

ABSTRACT

This research compares two international agencies, the UN Women (UNW) and the International Labour Organization (ILO), and their women's empowerment programs specifically under the Mubarak government during 2010 and under the Morsi government during 2012 to determine how Islamist and secular government support shapes the effectiveness of international agencies' gender empowerment projects. This project is a "snapshot" of attitudes of particular ILO and UNW staff members from regional and national offices regarding their work during two different time frames, and not the institutional policies, experiences, or positions of the UNW and ILO bodies as a whole.

The principal investigator chose to focus on elements concerning authoritarian and Islamist administrations, as well as the transition possibilities between them, because there is a gap in literature concerning how these types of governments could holistically affect international agencies women's empowerment programs, and in turn, impact gender equality outcomes. As governmental changes have drastic social, economic and political impacts on civil society, government support for international agencies' programs concerning gender development and women's empowerment may shift when there is a transition between a secular government, and an Islamist government.

Case studies were completed of six projects implemented by the two agencies that extended from the Mubarak 2010 through the Morsi 2012 administration. The principal investigator used in-depth online and in-person surveys, as well as interviews with ILO and UNW staff members. Key findings show that the Morsi era was more disruptive to agency programming on a higher level and that there was a change in government support for the UNW and ILO women's empowerment programs between the two periods studied. In general, the exploratory study found that the change in environment, specifically during Morsi's presidency, led to alterations in the workplace and women's programs, which were deemed negative in nature for both the ILO and UNW employees. Findings strongly support that the projects, in regards to capacity building, implementation, and other elements, were viewed as more successful during the Mubarak 2010 administration. The findings also demonstrate the need to contemplate how changes of government can potentially affect programs when underlying values are challenged.

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I. Introduction and Problem Statement

For decades, women in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region have suffered from a grim insufficiency in human rights and empowerment. Sinha (2012, p.152,) defines empowerment as “a multidimensional process of [strengthening] civil, political, social, economic, and cultural participation and rights.” The role of women within MENA society has been a contentious issue for many years, and societal norms usually delay women’s development or improvement to some extent.

Although some women of the MENA region are repressed politically, socially and economically due to bodies of legislature, institutional entities, as well as cultural taboos and policies, there are numerous other women who remain resilient, and dedicated, to their beliefs regarding freedom and equality (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p.2). Women of this caliber have joined international agencies such as the United Nations Women (UNW) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) to provide guidance, resources, and technical assistance in the form of women’s empowerment programs within society.

These programs and gender equality projects coordinate local, national, regional and global efforts to integrate equality, positive outcomes and empowerment into efforts regarding democratic governance, fair labor, sustainable development and cultural acceptance (Official UN Women Website, 2014). The principal investigator chose to examine specific programs of the UNW because of interests concerning the previous merge of UNW and how programing approaches, techniques and transformations might be different in Egypt during the agency’s transition phase. The principal investigator also chose to examine gender equality programs of the ILO as it is the oldest UN agency and because it is not often considered an international agency that obtains a gender lens.

However, women's organizations in the MENA region and Egypt tend to face difficult choices concerning how to properly portray women's issues (Eyben, 2014, p.19) and perhaps this could be increasingly challenging due to ongoing changes and adaptations during secular and/or Islamist governments. The principal investigator chose to focus on elements concerning authoritarian and Islamist administrations because there is a gap in literature concerning how these types of governments could holistically affect international agencies women's empowerment programs, and in turn, impact gender equality throughout the region.

Furthermore, according to The World Bank (2004), governments in the MENA region are not as supportive as in other regions of the world (p.5), however conditions have only severely worsened in a few MENA countries including Iraq, Yemen, Palestine (Freedom House, 2010, p.3) and Syria. In resistant authoritarian governments (Ghosh, 2008, p.100) throughout the region have a tendency to avoid progressive legislation or policies that would empower women. Paxton and Hughes (2014, p.318) argue that military dominant societies rarely promote women's interests and that female rights are frequently set aside to accomplish other state goals. In some Islamist states within the region, such as Saudi Arabia, are known for pursuing policies of oppression (Doumato and Posusney, 2003, p. 240).

There are many perspectives, both positive and negative, regarding women's empowerment and rights within the country of Egypt. While some actively promote equality of women, the necessity for meeting basic needs and providing access to education, other members of society are disillusioned by institutional weaknesses in Egypt's government and legislature, and by a lack of public knowledge on the matter at hand (Katulis, 2004, p. 3). The Muslim Brotherhood (MB), for example, often takes the position that women should not and cannot lead countries, while women's representatives from the MB advises Egyptian female citizens not to

protest for their rights, “as it is more dignified to let their husbands and brothers demonstrate for them” (Paxton and Hughes, 2014, p.319).

Although there are numerous cases of political, economic and social oppression within the Egyptian society the UN Women and the ILO is working to enable gains for women in the international agency gender policy arena, despite multiple changes in government and complex transitions from a secular to Islamist administration. This reasoning is why the principal investigator will focus on the role of the previous Egyptian governments in shaping the effectiveness of international agency support for women’s empowerment programs.

This research will compare two international agencies, the UN Women (UNW) and the International Labour Organization (ILO), and their women’s empowerment programs specifically during the 2010-2012 Mubarak and Morsi administrations, while focusing on political, social and economic issues throughout these periods to determine how Islamist and secular government support shapes the effectiveness of international agencies gender empowerment projects. In the absence of other researchers' observations of these two agencies' work in the field of gender empowerment, the observations of ILO and UNW staff members made by the principal investigator cannot be linked to other observations, which limit the generalizations that can be made from it.

Readers of this study should thus consider the findings and inferences as "snapshots" of the perspectives of the particular ILO and UNW employees interviewed, and not necessarily representative of the experience or positions of these agencies as a whole. It is helpful to understand that the observations were gathered in the form of memories, statements, and beliefs from two contentious periods where the agency members focused on issues that were problematic from a number of perspectives in addition to attitudes toward gender empowerment,

including security and other concerns. As the staff members in the UNW and ILO saw the changes from one administration and time period to another, period to another, their opinions, memories, and perspectives were nonetheless highly valuable in assisting the principal investigator to form conclusions regarding the agencies' differing experiences during the two periods.

Both the UN Women and ILO aid the female populations living in urban and rural areas. Based on completed program descriptions and final reports from UNW and ILO staff, the assistance provided by these two organizations, as well as donors and other partners, appear to be very valuable to the development of women's empowerment and rights throughout Egypt. Activists and young women have stirred the Egyptian community with demands of equality and justice, that helped lead to the ousting of both Hosni Mubarak and Mohamed Morsi, as well as reform of women's empowerment programs.

This master's project will argue that many female citizens from all corners of Egyptian society, such as women in the labor force (Freedom House, 2010, p.106), married women, females wearing *hijab* (Freedom House, 2010, p.100), female students (Freedom House, 2010, p.90) and staff members in international agency organizations (Freedom House, 2010, p.97) such as the UNW and ILO, have felt a great deal of urgency throughout the 2010 Mubarak regime and the one year reign of the Morsi regime to develop the rights of women socially, politically, and economically. On the other hand, matters regarding gender inequality often remain one of the least understood fields in the development arena, as numerous policymakers tend to treat women's empowerment issues with peripheral concern (The World Bank, 2004, p.17). However, this issue matters because women's equality is absolutely necessary for good governance (The World Bank, 2004, p.13) in Egypt and because the unjust treatment of women and girls on

economic, political, and social levels are continuously felt throughout society (The World Bank, 2004, p.17).

As governmental changes have drastic social, economic and political impacts on civil society (Waylen, 2007, p.79), support for international agencies' programs concerning gender development and women's empowerment may shift when there are transitions from a secular to an Islamist government, or vice versa. It is important for the ILO and UN Women to continue their work in Egypt, particularly when other pressing issues such as poverty and environment are also affected by governmental transitions, to help determine how to influence women's rights within the state, increase their substantive and descriptive representation (Waylen, 2007, p.79) and make these often overlooked issues into priorities, as well as focusing on currently active programs to aid women throughout the nation. Women's empowerment in the MENA region and in Egypt specifically, as well as the different types of indicators and gender programming, will be further discussed in the literature review in order to better understand why gender equality and empowerment are of extreme importance.

Thus the aim of this research is to explore and compare whether the level of government support changed between the final year of the Mubarak (2010) presidency and the single year of the Morsi (2012) presidency, and whether or not these possible changes had certain impacts on the UNW and ILO women empowerment programs. This comparison will examine both how the environment for gender oriented programs, which will be explained in more detail during the literature review, differed (ILO Enterprises Department, 2008), if at all, and how the actual programming initiatives themselves differed, either in design or implementation.

In each case, the research will focus on the period before the popular uprisings that ended each president's term. In the literature review this study will briefly examine the general

approaches of these two leading international agencies in the area of women's empowerment, as a means to better understand and shed light on their contribution in the field of gender equality and empowerment.

II. Research Question

The main research question of this study is as follows,

Was there a change in government support for the ILO and UNW women's empowerment programs during the last year of the Hosni Mubarak administration (2010) and the one year presidency of the Mohamed Morsi administration (2012)?

The principal investigator is examining the implementation of UNW and ILO women's empowerment programs between 2010 and 2012. Perceptions of ILO and UNW agency members will be used, as well as other means such as newspaper articles and recent literature, to measure how the Egyptian government support for agency programs changed between the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 regimes. Furthermore, the principal investigator will ask staff members whether different types of agency projects experienced particular types of difficulties during the secular administration and the Islamist administration, and whether the differences described can be explained by the contrasting government support for the agency programs.

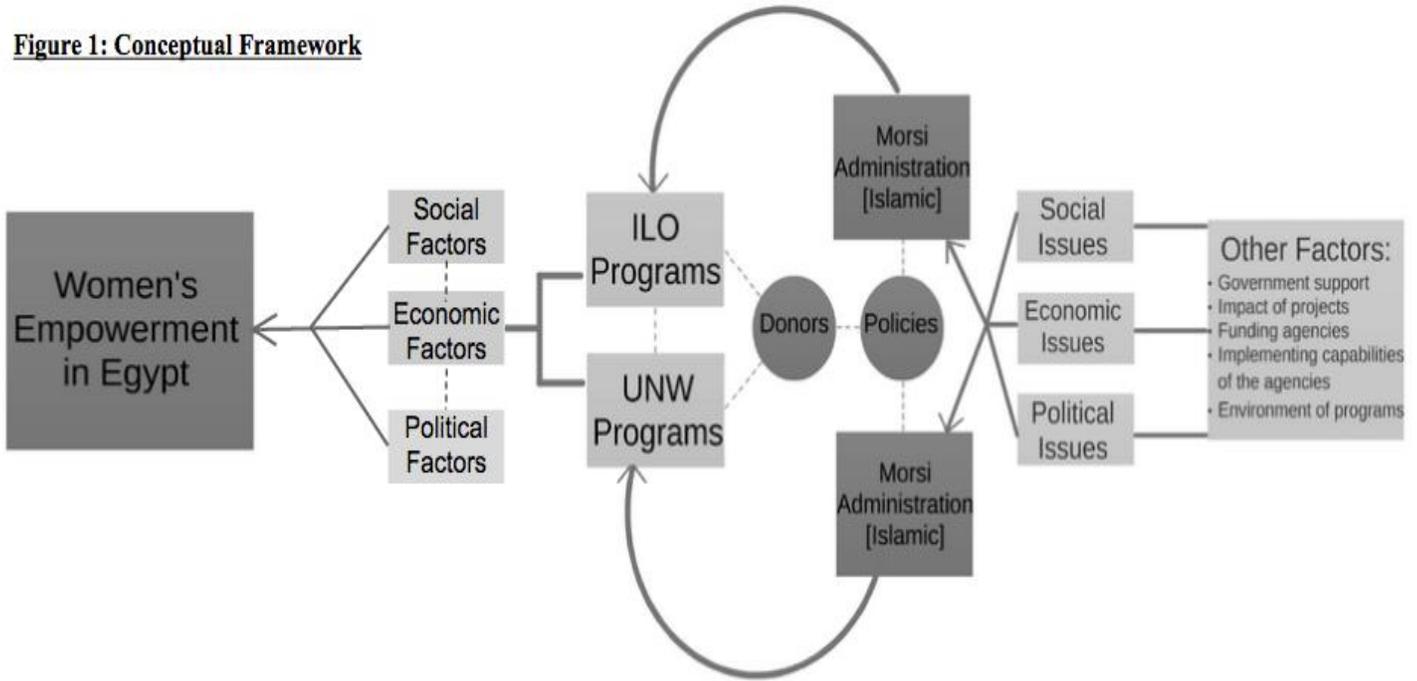
The setting in which the main question will be addressed includes the UN Women office in Cairo and the ILO Cairo Office. The exploratory analysis that has been formulated by preparing this master's project proposal is that the international agencies' programs were affected the most, in a generally negative nature, by the election and ruling of Morsi's Islamist regime. The principal investigator hopes to clarify questions which will lead to future research efforts, concerning the nature of authoritarian and Islamist administrations and how they impact

gender equality and empowerment efforts in international development program, by identifying the linkages between the levels of secular and Islamist government support, project type and design and project implementation based on ILO and UNW case studies, as well as a survey.

Other exploratory analyses include that the Mubarak 2010 administration was more supportive of the UN Women and the Morsi administration was more supportive of the ILO. Also that the Mubarak 2010 regime was more supportive of women's empowerment programs concerning social rights, while the Morsi regime was more supportive of women's empowerment programs concerning economic rights. Another hypothesis that will be analyzed is that the disruption of political changes had a great impact on the ILO and UNW projects, for example, reporting and budgetary documents were not readily available to identify outcomes of the programs, and different stages of implementation were not carried out exactly as planned.

As awareness and issues pertaining to women's empowerment are on the rise in Egypt, and numerous other countries in the MENA region, a clear understanding and conceptualization of the shaping and impact of women's empowerment programs is essential for promoting gender equality, peace and security, gender policies, leadership and participation, economic empowerment and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). **Figure 1** provides a conceptual framework for examining how the UNW and ILO women's empowerment programs were shaped by the Mubarak and Morsi administration's policies, as well as other factors, and how gender equality and women's empowerment was impacted by the process as a whole.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework



The main relationship that will be discussed in this research paper is how the UNW and ILO women empowerment programs in Egypt compared during the complex eras of Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 due to different secular and Islamic social, economic, and political variables that had varying degrees of influence on the gender programs. Specific details regarding the UNW and ILO programs will be covered in the methodology section.

III. Client Description

A. Relevancy of the Project to the Missions of the Clients

The clients will benefit from this projects as the findings of the research will shed light on issues of Egyptian secular and Islamist government support for women's empowerment programs in two types of international agencies, one agency [the ILO] that is traditionally focused on labor

and economic welfare across the board, and the other international organization [the UNW] which focuses entirely on women's issues.

The mission statement of the ILO is as follows, "The International Labour Organization (ILO) is devoted to promoting social justice and internationally recognized human and labour rights, pursuing its founding mission that labour peace is essential to prosperity" (ILO website, 2014). In the "What We Do" section of the UN Women's website the following information is provided, "All human development and human rights issues have gender dimensions. UN Women focuses on priority areas that are fundamental to women's equality, and that can unlock progress across the board" (UNW website, 2014). The findings of this master's project will align with the missions of both organizations as the project focuses on factors during Islamist and secular regimes that affect social justice, economic rights, and other dimensions of gender empowerment, such as political rights. The project will assist the organizations, as well as other local agencies, in grasping a better understanding of women's empowerment programs in Egypt that have prospered in both types of ruling administrations.

B. United Nations Women

The UN Women, previously known as UNIFEM, has established two offices in Cairo, one as the Arab States Regional Office and one other as the Egypt Country Office (UN Women website, 2014). UN Women has worked in Egypt prior to the revolution to promote gender equality in democratic governance, as well as reducing female exclusion and poverty (UN Women, 2011). Multiple programs have been established over the years to concentrate on the issues previously mentioned. For example, UN Women works to advance the trainings of female parliamentarians and is assisting with the establishment of the Convention on the Elimination on all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) convention in Egypt. Post-Arab Spring,

the international agency is also working on programs that help women fight against sexual harassment and assault (UN Women, 2012).

C. International Labour Organization

The International Labour Organization has been assisting Egypt since June 19, 1936. Although the ILO is not generally thought of as an international agency that focuses on women's equality and rights, ILO activities in Egypt have progressively developed over seven decades, and now incorporate women's rights and empowerment when focusing on issues such as labor standards employment and social protection (International Labour Organization, 2012). This is a main reason why the principal investigator chose this client for research purposes, in order to draw comparisons between an organization that is known around the globe for its efforts regarding justice and empowerment for women, and between an older agency that is recently encompassing women's descriptive and substantive representation in many areas. During the era of Mubarak, as well as post-Arab Spring, the ILO developed special projects and initiatives that focus on Egyptian women's roles in entrepreneurship, trade unions, and social dialogue. The ILO also works with local

IV. Literature Review

This specific portion of the proposal will discuss scholarly publications and documentation, initially focusing on international agencies, specifically the ILO and UN Women. The separate roles of the UN Women and the ILO will be examined as to lay the necessary groundwork needed to comprehend research, regarding the comparisons of their women's empowerment programs during the 2010 Mubarak administration and the 2012 Morsi administration within the methodology section.

The literature review will also cover the question of women's empowerment in Egypt and throughout the MENA region. The selected literature addresses development problems such as a lack of women's empowerment and gender equality, which international agencies focus on in order to assist with the creation of better policies, build capacities of local civil organizations, the private sector, and improve capabilities or service deliveries.

International development agencies often experience issues due to differences between policymakers (Beckman and D'Amico, 1994, p.150) governments, donors and other factors, such as policymakers using women's issues as a means to achieve other political goals which fit their own interests (p.150). However, Eyben (2014, p.18) has also said that numerous international donors and development agencies create normative narratives pertaining to poor women in developing countries to receive their own legitimacy and higher funding.

On the other hand, international agency programs usually necessitate good distribution of assets, employment, resources, and the establishment of policies or legislature (Eyben, 2014, p.123). Although international development agencies require very precisely formulated policies that fit their own procedures and goals (Beckman and D'Amico, 1994, p.151), changes may need to be made due to new policies, administrative tactics, donor agencies, societal traditions or a change in government.

Moreover, international agencies have begun to prepare principles and guidelines which assist their staff members while political transitions are occurring. Principles such as "A country's own political will for transition is key," "Do not commit rigidly to a single strategic course," and "Seize windows of opportunity to support local actors to advance peace and democracy, but recognize that creative initiatives are made more effective through sustained

effort and support” (USAID, 2014) assist agencies in generating valuable lessons and experiences during governmental administration transitions.

A. The Role of UN Women

The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UNIFEM) was originally established in 1976 as a United Nations organization dedicated to the empowerment of women and global gender equality. In July 2010 UNIFEM was merged into the UN Women (UNW) in order to bring together resources, goals and mandates for greater outcomes around the globe (Official UN Women website, 2014). UNW has three main approaches in which it tackles issues concerning gender discrimination, blindness and inequality, which includes supporting inter-governmental structures in their formulation of policies and global standards, assisting Member States with standards implementation to forge effective civil society partnerships while providing financial and technical assistance, and ensuring that the UN system is held accountable for all commitments concerning gender equality (Official UN Women website, 2014).

“UN Women supports UN Member States, such as Egypt, to achieve gender justice while working with society and governments to design laws, services, programs, and policies that will be beneficial to women and young girls” (UN Women, 2012). The international agency publishes global annual reports each year which focuses on priority areas of intervention, as well as standards for advancement within member regions. UN Women focuses on five priority areas within each member state, based on local priorities: “increasing women’s leadership and participation, ending violence against women, engaging women in all aspects of peace and

security processes, enhancing women's economic empowerment, and making gender equality central to national development planning and budgeting" (UN Women, 2012).

The programs of UNW in the MENA region requires building and maintaining close relationships with numerous local and international actors, and especially with other UN Member States, who normally support UNW programs globally. Worldwide women empowerment programs concerning leadership and political participation, peace and security, economic empowerment, and ending violence against women predominant in UNW programing which focuses on key steps of governance and national planning throughout Africa, Asia, MENA, Europe, the Americas and the Caribbean. UNW incorporates the MDGs in most of its global projects, which are noted and analyzed in project reports written by UNW staff members, and has developed a post-2015 development agenda to initiate future projects in their five focus regions throughout the world.

Partnerships with business, foundations, civil society, national committees, and some government contributors play a key role in the work of UNW. For instance, CARE Egypt, Gender and Development Donors Subgroup (GAD Group) (UN Women, 2012), the Alliance for Arab Women (AAW), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Association of International Civil Servants (AFICS), and USAID (USAID website 2014) have partnered or supported UN Women in previous endeavors throughout the years (UN Women, 2011). Partners of UNW also support international commitment such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG).

Although there has been some progress regarding health and education for women in Egypt, political, economic, and social development have slowed due to transition governments

(UN Women, 2014) and other factors that will be determined for this thesis. As UNW 2014 stated,

For Arab women, pursuing gender equality is part of an agenda comprising functioning democracies and meaningful citizenship; equitable development; equality under the law; the closing of deficits in freedom; and the redressing of gender-based human rights concerns, such as violence against women.

In Egypt there are several ongoing gender equity projects concerning political, economic, and social development for women in rural and urban areas. These include two of the projects to be studied further during the research phase of the thesis: Gender Mainstreaming Strategy in the Pro-Poor Horticulture Value Chain in Upper Egypt (Salasel) and the Egyptian Women and Democratic Transition-The Women's Citizenship Initiative.

A main focus of UNW in Egypt, and other transitioning countries, is in fact women's leadership, citizenship, and political participation (UN Women, 2014) due to the nature of elections, parliament, and constitution building. One could assume that it is important for transitions to be democratic and transparent, so international agencies will be able to identify and respond to the needs of women and girls throughout the country, which is why UN Women (2014) has continued to push for gender responsive policies and the collaboration of women's networks with the transitioning government in Egypt.

In addition, women empowerment programs regarding democratic governance in Egypt, for example, have been created to support the Forum of Women Members of Parliament to progress preparation of women parliamentarians and to increase their voices in governance reforms and structures throughout Egypt (UN Women, 2012). Also, through the Arab Women Parliamentarians program, numerous workshops and participatory training have allowed for

gender-sensitive budgeting, and has allowed for women to lobby for gender equality in the Egyptian parliament (UN Women, 2012). From a regional perspective, discussions are being held to further establish a CEDAW Regional Support Committee with the League of Arab States, to build tolerance and understanding of CEDAW to help extend precise policy plans with the government and other partnerships in the future.

Partnerships and collaboration initiatives often include non-governmental organizations, such as the NCW and AAW, and scholarly networks from leading universities, such as the American University in Cairo (UN Women, 2012). International donors are also of great importance to UN Women, and a majority of financial information regarding donor support, and budgets for the duration of every project, for the agency can be found in UNW annual reports (UN Women, 2013).

UNW also contributes information to other UN Member States publications such as the well-received Egypt Human Development Report 2010, which focused on the youth in Egypt and building their future education, poverty, gender equality, entrepreneurship, and other important topics. “UNW in Egypt believes that a successful partnership builds strong bonds to develop a communal dedication which demands women’s rights and equality (UN Women, 2012).”

UNW has evolved on local, regional, and global levels while working to push the momentum for women's rights reform on all levels, particularly across the MENA region (UN Women, 2014). Due to issues regarding government instability and transition UNW is adopting efforts to make national budgets, policies, and plans committed to the support of gender equality. The agency is also evolving by broadening its spectrum of reach in regards to assisting women's networks in the region with advocacy implementation, collaborating with equality

groups and transitional governments, as well as developing strategies for future projects well in advance (UN Women, 2014). Other strategies, also known as feminist advocacy strategies, are now infused with the daily work of UNW individuals to guarantee that work is done to the best of their ability and is aimed at creating or improving essential decision-making processes (UN Women, 2013) and governmental policies that violate Egyptian women's rights.

Due to stressful situations during the Mubarak and Morsi eras, such as the relocation of UNW working offices due to the violence from mass protests (UN Women Egypt, 2011), UNW Egypt has opened its National Women's Complaints Office where any Egyptian woman, who faces gender based discrimination, at home or in the workplace, can bring complaints and concerns to a network of qualified lawyers that have been trained by UN Women (2011). These civil servants offer assistance to any Egyptian woman so she is able to prepare and file her case against the perpetrator (UN Women, 2012). The positive commentary and outcome of this service led many other women's rights NGOs and international agencies to offer the same type of assistance to beneficiaries.

B. The Role of ILO

The International Labour Organization (ILO) is a specialized agency of the United Nations and is the only tripartite UN agency that brings together workers, governments, and employers to focus on, and elaborate the labor standards and national policies that promote decent work initiatives (International Labour Organization, 2012). The ILO was established in 1919, which makes it the oldest United Nations (UN) agency, as part of the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War 1 (ILO official website). The ILO has created six main approaches which are used to support governments, beneficiaries and social partners (ILO Enterprises Department, 2008), such as developing information resources and tool to support growing enterprises,

providing counseling and technical assistance to member States, as well as providing support to organizations to promote employee rights.

However, ILO's main approach pertaining to women and girls empowerment is as follows, "...gathering and disseminating information on the relationship between policies responding to cross-cutting social issues, such as gender and the need to empower women, and the development of sustainable enterprises" (ILO Enterprises Department, 2008). ILO has established a familiar global stance regarding gender equality and women's rights in that social dialogue and tripartism are indispensable policy tools that assist countries, including those in the MENA region, to maintain social stability and advance gender rights in the world of work. ILO (2006) states the following,

When governments, employers and workers organizations engage in dialogue and consensus building, real progress can be achieved in designing and implementing non-discrimination legislation, policies and measures...More women need to have access to leadership positions in governments, and employers and workers organizations. The inclusion of women in social dialogue, including in collective bargaining, is a crucial step in eliminating sex discrimination and should be stimulated among all ILO constitutions...

The ILO Decent Work Team (DWT) for North Africa and the Country Office for Egypt, Eritrea, Sudan and South Sudan, both of which are located in Cairo. The agency often collaborates with other bodies, such as Egyptian ministries, labor and trade unions, and local NGOs to promote decent work and opportunities for employment (International Labour Organization, 2012). The ILO office in Cairo was established in 1959 and has expanded in scope, geographic coverage and size. The ILO office in Cairo works under the accountability of

the regional office for Africa, which is based in Addis Ababa (International Labour Organization, 2006).

ILO website literature (2012) shows that all ongoing programs in Egypt, of which there are currently nine listed for public view, have established objectives concerning the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women. Many ILO activities aims to address rights for women and female youth by focusing on empowering elements such as social protection and dialogue, employment, and labor standards throughout the country (ILO,2012). ILO Egypt has developed numerous gender-equity projects throughout urban and rural areas of the country, such as “The Way Forward After the Revolution; Decent Work for Women in Egypt and Tunisia” and “Decent Job's for Egypt's Young People” (ILO, 2014), which will be further elaborated on in the methodology section of this proposal. ILO literature mentions that these two programs have helped women's economic position by promoting safety at work, establishing anti poverty measures, and improving access to the labor market in Egypt (ElSharkawy, 2012).

The ILO found that many young female workers in Egypt (aged 16-20), working, in clothing factories were often excluded from medical insurance while being paid only 200 Egyptian pounds per month [the equivalent of about 30 U.S. Dollars] and working shifts of twelve hour or more each day (Longhi, 2013). This and similar findings led the ILO to work on an individual-beneficiary and local level (ILO, 2012) to help address massive issues such as this. The ILO compiles productive work methods that assists with fair income for women in Egypt, and promise security in the workplace, as well as protection for families in Egypt and other MENA countries. On the state level, the international agency has helped to pave a path for broader social fulfillment and economic growth, which could potentially lead to the reduction of poverty within Egypt and surrounding countries in the MENA region.

The ILO in Cairo focuses on essential principles and rights at work which incorporate fair treatment of women, freedom of association regardless of a woman's social class or background, and enterprise development, the latter primarily in Cairo. ILO also addresses issues regarding sustainable social and economic growth for women who work in stressful, inconsistent, and fast paced environments. Within ILO projects the agency also promotes providing social protection for women in the workforce (International Labour Organization, 2012).

There are multiple ongoing ILO initiatives in Egypt which address women in the workplace, such as the two previously mentioned, which have donors and partnerships as part of the projects. Frequent donors include the U.S. State Department, Spain, Italian Debt Swap, Canada, and the United States. Common collaboration partners of ILO in Egypt include UNICEF, WFP, UNDP, and GIZ (ILO, n.d.). Further information on current and planned ILO programs, as well as donors and partnerships with ILO in Egypt, will be collected by the researcher during field work for presentation in the final thesis.

Since the 1950's the ILO has been evolving and promoting rights regarding degrees of collective bargaining, and freedom of association within the workforce in Egypt. The country ratified most of the ILO core conventions, which ultimately benefited women workers as well. However it should be noted that women's participation and employment rates, as well as participation in the labor force through education attainment, were significantly lower than their male counterparts (UNDP, 2010).

Free unions are still banned and the state-controlled Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF) has made it difficult, indeed almost impossible, for other unions to form or collaborate (Longhi, 2013). The ILO and other independent unions, such as the Egyptian Federation of Independent Trade Unions (EFITU) and the Egyptian Democratic Labor Congress (EDLC),

have been determined to increase recognition of decent work-related problems within the public and Egyptian government (Longhi, 2013) in order to provide empowering programs, policy advice, and educational publications which could also be used throughout the MENA region concerning socio-economic and political problems that are plaguing the workforce under a possible authoritarian regime.

The deficiency of decent work, especially in regards to Egyptian youth, was one of the many reasons why uprisings led to the Egyptian Revolution. Given the current economic situation in which nearly two million Egyptians are living on a monthly minimum wage of approximately thirty-five Egyptian pounds [around five U.S. dollars], not including a succession of possible benefits and bonuses that could be used as persuasion (McGrath, 2014), and the complex transition to democracy, ILO is evolving along with the country in regards to continuing to identify the most pressing needs of the public.

ILO officials in Cairo and the ILO Director-General have continued to develop four main areas of intervention (ILO, 2006) within Egypt, which were also the focus of work under the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 regimes, and in other MENA countries such as Morocco and Tunisia (ILO, 2014). The first area of ILO intervention in Egypt concerns strengthening collective bargaining, freedom of association and social discourse. The second area pertains to creating opportunities for Egyptian youth and vulnerable groups, particularly women, university graduates, handicapped citizens, and informal sector workers. Thirdly, the ILO focuses on increased implementation and public awareness of specific labor standards. Lastly, the ILO considers variables that will enhance social safety and security in the workforce (ILO, 2006), which is also of great importance to female workers.

Both female and male workers in the workforce during Mubarak's 2010 authoritarian regime experienced tight control and preventive measures to keep collective action from occurring (McGrath, 2014) outside of the government controlled unions. An ILO survey of seventy-countries showed the nation's wages for male and female employees under Mubarak's rule in 2010 were among the very lowest, making Egypt on par with Thailand and Mexico, both of which have a significantly higher gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (McGrath, 2014). During the last year of Mubarak's presidency the MENA region saw the most sustained and ardent wave of strikes in Egypt since 1952 (Beinin, 2013). The labor protests greatly contributed to the economic and social contestation that led to the uprising against Mubarak, and Morsi as well (McGrath, 2014).

C. The Case of Women's Empowerment in Egypt

This section of the literature review will cover details concerning women's empowerment in Egypt, as well as the issue of gender during the Mubarak 2010 era and the Morsi era. Both the UN Women and ILO provide useful publications and data on women's status in Egypt related to women's empowerment (UN Women and ILO websites). Such documentation formulated by the international agencies, as well as other relevant literature from partners and donors, is extremely useful for other organizations to implement their own gender-equity projects (USAID website). Publications regarding feminist advocacy through lobbying strategies and meetings with ministries, in partnerships with organizations such as UNW and ILO, will help implement women's empowerment programs and prohibit national injustices (Evans, 2005).

Recommendations were extensively detailed in some literature to provide assistance to Egyptian civic groups, donors, organizations within Egypt, and government which was forming during Morsi's presidency. Freedom House (2010) suggests that these bodies should invest in

efforts to increase knowledge, as well as awareness, among the Egyptian people. Some objectives of women's empowerment programs, coalitions, unions, and local societies in Egypt have been made to explore channels which will lead towards democratic transitions.

Agency members reported that this will ultimately guarantee measures of social justice, good governance and gender equality (Development Leadership Program, 2011), in light of other hardships that Egypt may be facing. Furthermore, numerous scholars and politicians specializing in women's rights believe that conferences and projects that tackle political, economic, and social challenges facing women will be extremely beneficial for society as a whole (Development Leadership Program, 2011).

Other organizations and agencies, such as the National Council for Women (NCW) have been dedicated to women's empowerment, gender equality, and rights long before the Egyptian Revolution occurred. NCW was established in 2000 by first lady Suzanne Mubarak, the wife of president Hosni Mubarak, as an independent institution that aspired to advance the status of Egyptian women and their legal rights (Egypt State Information Service). Although the council was often considered a political vehicle during the time of Mubarak "the NCW was the quintessential expression of state feminism in Egypt in the past ten years..." (Azzam, 2014) and has worked to promote a deeper understanding of gender equality throughout the country. However, Field Marshall Hussein Tantawi issued a decree on February 11, 2012 that demanded a new formation of the NCW in order to revive the role of women after the outbreak of the Egyptian Revolution, although the wording within the decree itself could be considered sexist. According to the Egypt State Information Service,

The decree encourages women's participation in political and social activities for greater economic empowerment, which would contribute to greater benefits for their

families. The NCW would help women fulfill their time-honored mission of raising a coming generation with great potentials and even greater understanding and awareness; a generation capable of leading Egypt in the future.

Although the Egyptian public has continued to focus on their basic needs throughout the decades (Katulis, 2004, p.5), there have been numerous Egyptian efforts for the female population in regards to socio-economic, political and legal issues from national agencies such as the Alliance for Arab Women (AAW) (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p.129), the Center for Egyptian Women Legal Assistance (CEWLA), and the Egyptian Feminist Union.

According to the Egypt State Information Service (ESIS) Database, many agencies have been active in sustaining and supporting state efforts in empowering the female population in Egypt. However, more efforts must be made and sustained over time to empower women in fields of human rights, media, politics, health and education regardless of social disintegration (Katulis, 2004, p.6), economic discontent, and other prominent issues (Badran, 1995 p.142).

Many social aspects of women's empowerment have become a topic of debate during both the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 regimes. Literature explains that women's organizations began to grow and flourish during the Mubarak 2010 administration (Sika and Khodary, 2012, p.94) and more rights were granted to women than before, such as the the financial rights, marriage contracts and custody of children (Sika and Khodary, 2012, p.95). Many feminist movements and projects created from local NGOs have called for the creation of schools for girls and access to public universities, as well as healthcare (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p.130).

However, it has also been documented in literature that rising levels of sexual harassment and violence have become extremely prevalent in Egypt, and women have had to undergo “virginity tests” performed by military doctors and police (Sika and Khodary, 2012, p.91).

Regardless, Freedom House (2010) and scholars alike continue to publish relevant literature with concerns regarding young women's shortcomings in Egyptian schools and the actual decomposition of Egypt's academic systems.

Female circumcision, marriage at an early age, and declining access to healthcare (Amin, 2006), female political participation, shortcomings in the field of academia, such as illiteracy or lack of access to education, poverty and equal employment, socio-economic exclusion (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p.6), and female circumcision are just a few related topics that tend to arise while focusing on the multifaceted role of how government policy shapes the effectiveness of international agency support for women's empowerment and gender equality in Egypt.

Economic factors concerning women's empowerment are also of great importance, particularly in the regards of the shift from the state economy to a market economy during the last two decades according to (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p.132). Younger, educated women have found that it has become increasingly more difficult to find jobs and other opportunities, which are up to the standards of their elite education (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p.133). However, women in the Egypt are traditionally expected to hold certain jobs and they are often expected to solely bear family and social burdens, such as household chores and caring for the children (Abdulhalim, 2012, p.141). Egypt typically sees low levels of labor force participation and access to education for females (Farzaneh and Moghadam, 2003).

In regards to political empowerment in Egypt, Freedom House International has commented on women's unfortunate detachment from political participation with a low interest in voting, as well as very limited acceptance of women as political or governmental leaders, which also applies post-revolution (Freedom House, 2010). There have also been recent issues concerning political reforms concerning both secular and Sharia laws (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011,

p.133) in which society, including Muslim Brotherhood members and supporters, strongly disagree about matters regarding women's empowerment (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p.131). Despite the constant repression of women's rights and political freedoms, women in Islamist states have not lost their passion to strive for change in the social and political spheres (Freedom House, 2010).

The principal investigator believes that there may be a difference in women's empowerment between the 2010 Mubarak administration and the 2012 Morsi administration due to the nature of the secular and Islamist regimes that were present during their presidencies. This is important to the principal investigator because of how the environment of the regimes may have affected, both positively and negatively, aspects of UNW and ILO projects in Egypt. Furthermore, the administrations may have implemented social constraints, as well as constraints within the government, which could also have an impact on gender equality.

Since women's empowerment, gender discrimination and equality is a large area of focus for numerous organizations, such as the the National Council for Childhood and Motherhood (NCCM), the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights (ECWR) and the National Council for Women of Egypt (NCW), specialized programs have been created to support, and further implement, women's rights throughout Egypt. As previously mentioned, the NCW and Susan Mubarak played a large role in the empowerment of women during the secular regime of Hosni Mubarak (Azzam, 2014).

However, the principal investigator would like to question UNW and ILO agency members about their perception concerning the Mubarak 2010 administration specifically and whether or not it picked or supported issues, such as women's empowerment, which could be "given away" to other bodies such as the NCW so action could be delayed indefinitely in order

for the administration to seem cooperative without any efforts being made. Secularism has been prevalent in the Egyptian culture for decades (Al Ali, 2000, p. 86) which has caused women's rights activists and agencies to reanalyze how the context in which the gender equality movement will go forward (Al Ali, 2000, p. 51).

One author argued that “a call for secular democracy...as a prerequisite to ensure equal rights for women, or some semblance of human rights for all men and women is based on various reasons, most of them in contestation to an Islamic state” (Ghosh, 2008, p.106). When secular democracy was present in Egypt there were often conflicting interpretations of interest concerning Islam, as more women began to wear head scarves and other coverings with public and social spaces to an extensive degree, although this was not always the norm (Gosh, 2008, p.107)

Also, due to international pressure from some states, several agencies are working towards incorporating Islam, and its connection with gender and social change, into programing areas in Egypt (Buang and Suryandari, 2011, p.51) independent of the religious or secular orientation of the government. In prior years that was difficult due to the eternal *ibadat* (doctrines, rituals, and beliefs) of Egyptian families, government, and of the women themselves (Haddad and Esposito, 1998, p.4). Current stereotypes of Muslim women in Egypt include females who must choose what is socially accepted as particular careers, such as health and education professions, because they are the societal norm and also “religiously more doable” than some aspects of a political career (Buang and Suryandari, 2011, p.51); however this is not always the case.

Egypt's leadership may have changed hands from Mubarak to an elected government, but many women, as well as male allies, questioned whether or not the transition of Egypt's

administrations meant progress for women's rights (Langorh, 2011) and gender equality. During the transition it was discussed that there could be many limitations for the socio-economic and political progression of women in the future due to political leaders, religious matters and dialogues, and the Islamist ruling party of Egypt (Sholkamy, 2011). Many scholars are currently debating whether or not the Egyptian Revolution, and the number of women activists and general female citizens participating in the revolution, can realistically be said to have boosted women's empowerment in Egypt (Sholkamy, 2011).

Fatma Raman, a founding member of EFITU and supporter of ILO, had commented in June 2013 that the new government and Muslim Brotherhood officials were adopting the same oppressive policies as the former president, and violence was still considered one of the only ways to hinder labor movements from happening (Longhi, 2013). It is also interesting to note that many Egyptian analysts have tended to look beyond the violent activities of the MB that occurred during the 1940s and 1950s, stressing that however the MB renounced violence in the 1970s and since then has worked actively to incorporate their organization into the ongoing political life of the country, to the extent possible given their status as a banned organization until this policy was changed by the Morsi administration. peaceful advocacy of the MB, which has been used since the 1970s to proclaim their dedication to harmonious environments in Egypt, is the aspect that most citizens remember. (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p.131).

Haghighat (2013, p.273) elaborates by stating the following, which can be applied to determine how international agency programs were affected by socio-economic indicators under the reign of Morsi and other similar authoritarian rulers in the region,

It is critical, however, to understand how Islam is used as an instrument of control in the hands of the governing elite; when expedient, Islam and historical traditions of

patriarchy supply a framework and a justification for impeding or limiting women's progress. At times, it has also been used in concert with government aims to slow population growth or secure female workers.

In February 2011, the ILO Director-General, Juan Somavia, made the following statement in regards to the future of social justice and empowerment in Egypt.

...Of specific and long-standing concern to the ILO has been restrictive legislation in Egypt which allows the operation of only a single approved trade union federation and obstructs free organization of workers in trade unions of their choice...In this regard, it is of fundamental concern to the ILO that no person should suffer discrimination or reprisals of any type for having practiced their fundamental rights...

However, the situation in the MENA region is changing and activists, along with international agencies such as the UNW and ILO, are challenging the status quo (Farzaneh and Moghadam, 2003, p.3) to create more socioeconomic and political opportunities for women and young girls, despite the activities and environment of the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 regimes, which will be further analyzed in the methodology portion of this project and during research efforts. Farzaneh and Moghadam (2003, p.3) made the confident statement, "The trend's intensity varies by country but is visible even in relatively conservative nations."

As previously stated at the beginning of the literature review, the principal investigator has noted that there is a gap in literature, including agency publications, concerning the impact of government transitions on donor-funded international agency programs in Egypt and the MENA region, and also government support for women's empowerment in shaping donor funded projects. This is the gap that will be filled by the principal investigator, who also acknowledges

that there have not been many turnovers from a secular to Islamist government in the MENA region, except for the exception of Iran and Turkey.

To summarize the literature review, it is evident that women's empowerment is a complex social, economic, and political issue of great importance to women all across the Middle East and North Africa. Gender programming from local and international agencies will help to address women's rights and gender equality in the region, which is one reason why it is necessary to further research the social, economic and political projects of the UNW and ILO in Egypt. In the case of Egypt it is important to examine all of the aforementioned material, as well as the secular and Islamic environments that were prevalent during the 2010 Mubarak and 2012 Morsi regimes in order to determine whether or not the agencies' programs were most affected by the election and ruling of Morsi's Islamist regime, along with the other documented hypotheses.

D. Women's Empowerment in the MENA Region

This particular section of the principal investigator's proposal includes literature review concerning the issue of women's empowerment and gender equality in the MENA region. The topic of women's empowerment has long been conceptualized throughout the history of the MENA region and within the international community (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p.11). Many scholars and activists believe that women's empowerment and rights have become a highly important topic for study, but that they often appear to be one of the most complex and controversial out of many problems in the MENA region (Sayed, 2004, p.1).

Ideologies concerning gender in Egypt and the MENA region have undergone drastic shifts within the past decades in regards to how women should be educated, what is acceptable for the female population to wear in public (Doumato and Posusney, 2003, p.8), how women

should be treated in the workforce, as well as how women can participate in electoral processes (Del PradoLu, 2013, p.137). Sinha (2012, p.152) defines empowerment as “as multidimensional process of civil, political, social, economic, and cultural participation and rights.” Another author believes that empowerment depends on the current framework that is most appropriate in each country (Ghosh, 2008, p. 113). The principal investigator states the following concerning empowerment for women, “Empowerment for women is embracing every woman's sense of self-belief and identity, regardless of religion, class or sexual orientation, while providing access to health, education, employment and the fundamental cultural, economic, and political rights without any sort of judgement or oppression.”

Generally the definition of women's empowerment for numerous MENA countries is hard to pin-point, however women within countries such as Morocco, Palestine, Egypt, Tunisia, Iran, Israel, and Algeria share certain traits and other parallels which makes the issue of empowerment pervasive and deep (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p.1). To fully understand the issue of women's empowerment in the MENA region, Sadiqi and Ennaji (2011, p.1) state that one must grasp “the importance of understanding the historical, socio-cultural, political, economic, and legal issues in the region.”

In regards to the underlying factors which are prevalent in many MENA countries, Ghosh (2008, p.113) states that if the current form of social empowerment for women leans towards Islam, feminists often work within that realm to empower women, however for feminists who are more secular minded, religion might still be viewed as an oppressive form of state institution, depending on their social background and cultural traditions. Ghosh also notes that it is ultimately up to women to exercise their agency in order to determine what empowering changes must be made (2008, p.113) economically, socially, culturally, and politically. Sinha (2012,

p.152) believes that women's empowerment in the MENA region will be achieved when women have fundamental access to resources and when there are available opportunities, such as employment and health benefits, for women and young girls.

Although there are numerous sociodemographic, environmental, educational, health, and economic related elements to assist scholars, activists and policy makers determine which indicators shape women's empowerment, the principal investigator of this study will focus on social, political, and economic elements during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 periods to identify how women's empowerment programs of the UNW and ILO agencies were impacted. More details concerning ILO and UNW agency programming will be covered in the methodology.

One must take a closer look at what defines social, economic and political empowerment in order to examine the barriers that prevent gender equality and empowerment in Egypt, and numerous areas in the MENA region. For instance, Cornwall and Edwards (2014, p.7) believe that social empowerment is evolving power relations, enabling self-confidence and individuality, as well as a collective process where women can act to change negative realities of injustice or oppression. However, poverty, illiteracy, and the negotiation of public spaces in which women live their daily lives are consistent barriers which impede social empowerment (Cornwall and Edwards, 2014, p. 25)

The numerous authors have noted that cultural mentalities are not progressing quickly and that a majority of social attitudes are still controlled by gender and patriarchy, both of which are space-based and created on a hierarchical level (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p. 8). Other authors have stated that massive amounts of social stress concerning political movements (Fish, 2002, p.32) in the MENA region have led to further social imbalances for women concerning relationships within families and local communities (Fish, 2002, p. 30).

Women also face issues concerning economic empowerment and independence, which are keys to gaining participation in the political and social sphere (Abdulhalim, 2012, p.141). The World Bank (2010, p.12) suggests that economic empowerment involves enhanced inclusiveness, greater accountability, and the expansion of assets. Laws, education, infrastructures, and the labor market are four types of policy levers (The World Bank, 2010, p.13) that can be used to strengthen women's economic equality. However, The World Bank (2010, p.1) also states that barriers consisting of low rates of female labor force participation, as well as discrimination of a population due to race, gender, religion and ethnicity, will reduce levels of economic development (p.3) and empowerment for women.

Furthermore, women often do not receive proper education and training to prepare them for employment in other professions and positions (Abdulhalim, 2012, p.141). Gender discrimination in the workplace is sometimes codified in MENA law and it is often found within civil law, or common family codes. In some cases women must have prior approval or permission from male counterparts, such as a father figure or husband, in order to travel within other regions, take out a loan, apply for employment opportunities, or start a local business. (Farzaneh and Moghadam, 2003, p.3.). Interactions between the MENA region's largely conservative culture and economic structure are mostly responsible for the traditional gender-roles and oppressive laws that have been created. (Farzaneh and Moghadam,, 2003, p.2).

Political empowerment for women can be defined as holistic inclusion in constitutional and governmental decision making, campaigns, and other legal processes (The World Bank, 2010, p.131). Barriers preventing women's political empowerment often include unjust hiring practices to constitutional or parliamentary bodies, lack of gender neutral legal language, and legislature which is only created in the male interest (Paxton and Hughes, 2014, p.4). Political

issues that affect women's empowerment are also prevalent within numerous MENA countries. Although many governments within the MENA region are aware of the social, political, and economic roles of women do not quickly react to such pressing issues (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p. 8).

It is important for the MENA governments to collaborate and build stronger bonds between international, and local, agencies and the ruling administrations (Sadiqi and Ennaji, 2011, p. 8). High education or certain religious beliefs does not necessarily mean that women in the region, would be more politically empowered (Buang and Suryandari, 2011, p.51) as there are other indicators involved. Political participation and empowerment is not entirely based on elections of government members or activities, it also includes women securing prominent positions and actively participating in local, national, and regional activities that affect decision making processes (Abdulhalim, 2012, p.137).

Throughout the MENA region women have been extremely active and have challenged authoritarian regimes at great risks (Sinha, 2012, p.152) in order to achieve their political goals. Ultimately, female participation in governments, particularly a transitional government such as the case in Egypt, is often considered to be a major entryway for gender-equality and awareness programs (Abdulhalim, 2012, p.139) created by local and international agencies. Abdulhalim (2012, p.140) also argues that women's involvement and engagement in local municipalities are essential to increase development and further awareness in service oriented fields.

On another note, issues concerning Islam and secularism have become even more prevalent in the changing MENA societies, however issues concerning secular regimes, such as the Mubarak 2010 administration, cannot be overlooked. Elhum Haghghat (2013,p.273) believes that it is incorrect to assume that Islam, or all methods of Islamic governance, are

predominantly responsible for oppressing women in Egypt and other MENA countries through limitations of employment opportunities, resources, healthcare, and social services. Some literature states that Islamist government procedures and institutions should be reformed to become more responsive of the demands of women concerning access to education and healthcare, equal participation in the labor force, share of seats in parliament, and other numerous other areas (Katulis, 2004, p.33).

One author in particular has other beliefs concerning Islam and its ability to empower women in the MENA region. Fish (2002, p. 24) states the following,

Muslim societies are distinct in a manner that may affect politics: the treatment and status of women and girls. Some scholars...have noted what appears to be an unusual degree of subordination of women in Muslim societies. Some have suggested that this factor may affect life not only in the family and immediate community but also at higher levels as well...

Now this project document will move toward the methodology and implications for the research of the principal investigator, which will address the gaps in the literature that will be partially filled through further research, and by the assistance of the chosen international agency staff members.

V. Methodology

This discussion of this master's project methodology addresses two issues. The first aim is the approach taken to show how the UNW and ILO women's empowerment programs were selected for analysis by the principal investigator, through efforts concerning in depth research, comparison, and examination of project purposes, activities, outputs, outcomes, budgets, main

partners and donors. The second aim of the study is to gather research regarding the implementation of the international agencies' programs during the Mubarak 2010 regime and Morsi regime through the execution of conducting online surveys and interviews. This section of the project will look at the methods employed to carry out a qualitative comparative study in of UNW and ILO women empowerment programs under the rule of Mubarak 2010 and Morsi by looking at the basic aim of the research, the design of the case studies, and the data collection plan.

Project reports have been documented from members of UN Women and the ILO international agency programs (UN Women, 2012). Research based on these project reports, and surveys from international agency members, will examine socio-economic and political paradigms that affected each program during the two Egyptian administrations, main issues and successes of each agency project, as well as possible policy conditions, both secular and Islamist, which may have impacted ILO and UNW women empowerment programs in Egypt.

As briefly mentioned, data from the feedback of online and in person surveys, and in-depth interviews, was taken from twenty-four current and previous staff members of the two international organizations. The information collected included pertinent data from UNW and ILO project leaders in regards to how programs in Egypt were implemented, how they evolved, and how they were impacted during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi regimes. Variables and other factors that influenced the staff members throughout the regimes will be mentioned at a later point in the data analysis, as this is a limitation of the methodology. Agency members were able and willing to give their personal opinions regarding the balance of programs and women's empowerment within the country during the reign of Hosni Mubarak and Mohammed Morsi, and whether or not factors such as the political climate and social attitudes affected them. Further

details concerning the online survey will be explained in a later portion of the methodology.

In regards to the two axes of study, the first concerns how projects were selected for case study analysis. Three main projects from each agency will be used for research purposes, although in some cases online survey feedback and commentary may address additional projects. The UNW and ILO projects, which will be covered in the next section of the methodology, were selected due to their project profiles and the timeframes in which they were implemented, either during the 2010 Mubarak administration, Morsi administration, or during both administrations. Also, the six projects were chosen due to their representation as a sample concerning socio-economic and political natures in regards to gender programming in Egypt, and because of the number of partners and donors which collaborated with the project.

As stated, three main projects from each international agency were chosen for comparison due to the aforementioned reasons in order to determine how social, economic, and political factors from the Mubarak 2010 regime and Morsi regime affected women's empowerment programming. The three projects from each international organization assisted in the formation of a detailed case study concerning detailed project analysis, barriers, issues, successes and other factors, which will be further explained in detail in the following portion of this methodology.

However, to ensure confidentiality and security for the UNW and ILO members, due to the small and close-knit atmosphere that the staff members work in, the principal investigator did not distinguish which project or project leader was associated with individual question group. The reasoning behind this action was so no one could be later identified or troubled in any way, from the national or international headquarters, international agency arena or the current secular government in control.

A. UN Women's Projects of Focus

- **Project I: Gender Mainstreaming Strategy in the Pro-Poor Horticulture Value Chain in Upper Egypt, Salasel (Duration 2010-2013).**
 - Project purposes: The main purpose of the project was to enhance the levels of productivity and efficiency in the Egyptian horticulture sector. The project also aimed to improve the working environment of agricultural workers and farmer, with a specific focus on women, in regards to the various nodes of the value chain (UN Women, 2013).
 - Project activities: The main activities of the UNW project consisted of adopting a gender mainstreaming strategy which would essentially cut across all areas of the project and a focus on awareness raising in regards to the farming community concerning gender inequalities and other related issues. Other activities included mobilizing Women Committees within local farming associations and working towards fortifying the general capacities of the post-harvest Centers where women work (UN Women, 2013).
 - Project outputs: Outputs of the project included adaptation of the the Gender Equity Model (GEM), which was developed by the World Bank in 2001 to further progress gender mainstreaming initiative. Other outputs included various methods of technical training concerning local committee members to advocate for women's economic and social empowerment in the rural areas, and assistance of properly developing committee structures (UN Women, 2013).
 - Planned outcomes: UN Women planned for the increase concerning gender sensitization of participants and the local community, as well as the reactivation

of local Women Committees to promote women's economic and work environment. Other planned outcomes included the upgrade or creation of small businesses for women, further development regarding the prestige of women within the committees, and entrepreneurial forms of organization established by small farmers in the area. (UN Women, 2013).

- Project budget: The approximate budget for this specific UNW project was documented as \$15,000,000 USD (Willott, 2012, p.1).
- Main partners: Partners of the project consisted of UNIDO, UNDP, ILO, post harvest centers, and national farm associations. Also, national counterparts, such as the Egyptian Ministry of Investment, the Ministry of International Cooperation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Industry and trade (UN Women, 2013).
- Main donors: Donors of the project consisted of the previously mentioned UN agencies involved in the project and Spanish MDG donors (UN Women, 2013).

- **Project II: The Citizenship Initiative: Egyptian Women and the Democratic Transition (Duration: April 2012-2015).**

- Project purposes: The main purposes of this UNW project is to empower women socially, politically, and economically through the facilitation of a national registration process, which includes the creation and issuance of Egyptian national identification (ID) cards to women. Another purpose of the project is to connect women with multiple business and financial development services in their area. This project was created due to respond to both the transitional and post-transition stages of the Egyptian Revolution (UN Women's Projects, 2013, p. 7).

- Project activities: General activities of the initiative included mapping out specific mobile units in all governorates in order to determine the amount of women without national ID cards. The initiative also created a “dashboard” which documented cardholders to better target where social and economic services should be located. This valuable information was formed into a database and used for awareness raising and capacity building in the areas of Giza, Minya, Assiut, Wadi Elgedid, and a few others (UN Women's Projects, 2013, p. 7).
- Project outputs: Notable outputs of this project included a press conference that assisted in launching the campaign, five public service announcements (PSA), a unique social media campaign, as well as the development and production of a documentary concerning Ids for women in Egypt. The project also produced a song “Nos El Donia” which was distributed to eight radio stations and approximately forty-five television channels in order to raise awareness concerning the initiative. Also, the “Development of a Citizenship Manual for Illiterate Women” was created to assist women for the duration of the project, and long after (UN Women's Projects, 2013, p.8).
- Planned outcomes: UNW project leaders expected the main outcome to be the an increased level of economic and political involvement of women in Egypt. Other outcomes involved strengthened capacities of civil society and governmental bodies in order to ensure citizenship as a basic right for women, as well as to further engage women in the economic and political processes concerning the Egyptian government and society (UN Women's Projects, 2013, p. 8).
- Project budget: The approximate budget for this program was recorded as

\$5,000,000 USD.

- Main partners: Partners of the initiative include the Ministry of State for Administrative Development, the Ministry of Interior and its Civil Status Organization, the Social Fund for Development (SFD), and the UNDP (UN Women's Projects, 2013, p. 8).
- Main donors: The project received financial support from the nation's of Austria and Spain (UN Women's Projects, 2013, p. 8).

- **Project III: Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls (Duration: 2010-2015).**
 - Project purposes: The project aims to drastically reduce sexual harassment and violence against women and girls in the public spaces of the Greater Cairo Region (GCR), which include the urban areas of Giza, Helwan, October, and Qalyobia governorates (UN Women, 2013, fact sheet).
 - Project activities: Main activities of the project include policy oriented advocacy, the creation and implementation of awareness raising activities with local NGOs and Egyptian ministries to raise awareness concerning women's rights and gender issues, and improving infrastructures such as shelters which will provide practical means to support women's and girls safety. Another main activity of the project is to build the capacity of the ministries and government to help prevent violence against the female population in private and public spaces in the GCR. Other activities include training, women's safety audits, surveys and data collection, as well as enhanced laws and prevention efforts (UN Women, 2013).
 - Project outputs: Main outputs of the project include the creation and

implementation of awareness raising activities with local NGOs and Egyptian ministries to raise awareness concerning women's rights and gender issues, and improving infrastructures such as shelters which will provide practical means to support women's and girls safety. Another main activity of the project is to build the capacity of the ministries and government to help prevent violence against the female population in private and public spaces in the GCR (UN Women, 2013).

- Planned outcomes: UNW staff have expected for outcomes to include the creation or further development of women's safety audits, which will also build women's safety partnerships in collaboration with local authorities. Outcomes also consist of the reduction in sexual violence and harassment, as well as Egyptian women's fear of using public spaces, and the increased comfort of women and girls as they work, live, and move within these spaces (UN Women, 2013).
- Project budget: The approximate amount budgeted for this project in Cairo is \$4,000,000 USD (UN Women Fact Sheet, 2013).
- Main partners: There are currently twenty-nine partners in Egypt such as the Cairo Giza Governorate, CARE Egypt, GIZ, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, UNICEF, Harass Map, National Council for Women, and the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights (UN Women, 2013).
- Main donors: Donors include European Union, UNICEF, and Ireland (UN Women Fact Sheet, 2013).

B. International Labor Organization's Projects of Focus

- **Project I: The Way Forward After the Revolution--Decent Work for Women in**

Egypt and Tunisia (Duration: 2012-2015).

- Project purposes: Main purposes of this specific ILO project included the support and awareness building of women's participation in the workforce, and educating female workers about their rights and ability to effectively participate in social dialogue. Other purposes included ensuring that labor market institutions are able to assist women at a local, regional, and national level, as well as helping to equip Egyptian women with skills necessary to find decent jobs (ILO Technical Cooperation Project Document, 2012).
- Project activities: General activities of the project consisted of capacity building workshops concerning gender related issues for government, trade union and ministry officials, the production of gender equality materials, and the organization of public awareness campaign regarding women's employment rights in the workplace. Staff members also created a web page and specialized hotline for trade union participation and women's rights (ILO Technical Cooperation Project Document, 2012).
- Project outputs: There were numerous initial outputs recorded in the ILO project document, however general outputs listed include the following:
 - Capacity building concerning gender related issues within the government, organizations, businesses, and trade unions;
 - Gender audits, training seminars, and dissemination of relevant information regarding women's empowerment in Egypt would be produced;
 - Strengthening of public employment services for women and they

improved legal environment for women in the workplace;

- Increased public awareness of girls, still in school or obtaining a degree, concerning their future career options and fundamental rights in the labor force (ILO Technical Cooperation Project Document, 2012).

- Planned outcomes: Outcomes were categorized into four groups concerning employment, protection, dialogue and standards. For example, a major planned employment outcome was that women and men would have equal access to decent work, employment, and income. An outcome regarding protection consisted of women's access to gender-friendly, and better managed, social security benefits. Another expected outcome, pertaining to dialogue, ensured that labor administrations provided effective services for women and up-to-date legislation. Lastly, a planned outcome regarding standards was listed to guarantee that forced labor would be eliminated (ILO Technical Cooperation Project Document, 2012).
- Project budget: The ILO requested a budget of approximately \$3,500,750 USD (ILO Technical Cooperation Project Document, 2012).
- Main partners: Other collaborating ILO units such as the Economic and Labour Market Analysis Department, Department of Communication and Public Information, and the International Training Center.
- Main donors: The donor for this ILO project is the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland.

- **Project II: Creating a Conducive Environment for the Effective Recognition of Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work in Egypt (Duration: 2011-2015).**

- Project purposes: focuses on raising the awareness of the women and men workers of Egypt on their rights and obligations; building the capacity of the labour administration to promote and implement labour policies and labour relations; and strengthening the capacity of employers and workers organizations to serve the interests of their members and participate effectively in labour market policies and in social dialogue.
- Project activities: Planned activities for this particular ILO project includes the education and training of the beneficiaries, which will be further researched and analyzed in the thesis, as well as mapping and research exercises that will be used to determine the work environments of women in Egypt. Also, the set up of a Gender Unit within the MOMM, intensive courses regarding international labor standards and legislation for women's equality, and services for employer and trade unions will be carried out as project activities (ILO Proposal for Cost Amendment).
- Project outputs: ILO staff recorded the following outputs, however numerous other outputs will be discussed during the thesis research:
 - Capacity building in the MOMM concerning women's rights and employment, as well as a gender unit established within the ministry;
 - The formation of a tripartite committee regarding women in the labor force and their fundamental rights, analyzed within a policy framework;
 - Further capacity building with working NGOs in the area of gender equality, assistance for women in the labor market, and the promotion of women's fundamental rights on labour markets to provide assistance for women in promoting their fundamental rights;

twenty-nine, with a special emphasis on young women and girls in rural areas of the country such as Aswan and outer areas of Cairo. This focus applied particularly to university graduates and Egyptians with disabilities. (ILO Official Project Document).

- Project activities: Main activities of the project are clustered into seven categories concerning policy advice, capacity building, technical assistance, awareness raising, skills development, project implementation assistance, and network and partnership building. This consists of conducting national awareness campaigns, the organization of open space discussions concerning gender issues, and the formation of inter-governmental tripartite working groups which would include young women (ILO Official Project Document)..

Project outputs: ILO provided detailed situation analyses for the selected

Governorate to find out about the labour market, institutional setting, key players and policies in place. It was reported that the capacity of partners at the Governorate level to develop a Regional Action Plan for Youth Employment was strengthened during this projects. Also, selected local initiatives were supported. Furthermore, the capacity of selected partners at the local level were improved (ILO Official Project Document).

- Planned outcomes: The ultimate expected outcome is an increased level of decent employment opportunities for young people, particularly women, in the Aswan governorate. Other planned outcomes include an enhanced labor market which functions more easily in regards to supply and demand, increased knowledge which will assist in improving working condition for women in the agriculture

sectors, and fostering stronger partnerships at a local and regional level in which services linked to youth employment will be increased (ILO Official Project Document).

- Project budget: AusAid donated a budget of \$3,027,000 to the ILO project.
- Main partners: The partners of this specific project included Australia, specifically AusAid, the Ministry of Manpower and Migration (MOMM), as well as the Cairo and Aswan governorates (ILO Official Project Document).
- Main donors: AusAid is the main donor of this program in Egypt (ILO Official Project Document).

Furthermore, agency performance gender-responsive indicators were used to measure project successes and issues during the Mubarak and Morsi regimes. The main project performance indicators include social indicators, such as youth literacy rates, school life expectancy, adult literacy rates, the effectiveness of the government's efforts to promote gender equality, etc. Economic indicators, such as labor force participation, unemployment rates, and the receipt of identification cards will also be used. Lastly, political indicators such as the number women in parliament and the number of ministerial seats shared were applied when executing the methodology.

Secondly, research regarding the implementation of agency programs during the two regimes and their overall impact were conducted through approved online and in-person surveys. Google Forms was used to administer a survey to gather comparative, qualitative feedback from members of the ILO and UNW. Survey feedback was taken from a sample of both male and female representatives of the international agencies in order to provide depth to the thesis, as similar to what Nuket Kardam suggested in her doctoral dissertation (Kardam, 1991, p.1), and to

determine how male and female counterparts perceived the programs, the impact of the programs, how the projects evolved during the time of Mubarak and Morsi, and how the level of administration support, as well as other factors, affected ILO and UNW programs. Surveys and interview were mainly conducted from the two main Cairo offices, while some respondents participated online through the Google Forms survey. Also, one interview with an UNW representative was held online via Skype. Translators and interpreters were not necessary for surveys or interviews, as English is a working language at the UNW and ILO offices, and all staff members had excellent English skills.

The data collection instrument received information regarding a minimum of six projects, including the aforementioned, to determine how the UNW and ILO empowerment program experiences in Egypt compared during the 2010 Mubarak administration and the Morsi administration. The survey was created in order to shed light on program implementation, government cooperation, project risks and pressure to make changes during disruptions. Exactly seventeen ILO and UN Women staff members took the online survey which produced the combined minimum of fifteen completed surveys for the study. Main themes were tackled through the online survey, which comprised of multiple choice question groups, numbered ratings, and open comment boxes. A document of informed consent for participation in the research study was sent to the IRB for approval and was positioned at the very beginning of the online survey. General details of the survey can be found in the data analysis section of this project document.

C. Methodology Approaches Suggested By Prominent Scholars and Practitioners

According to Sholkamy it is important to gather as many responses via interviews and

surveys for sound research analysis as possible, regardless of the complications or unforeseen issues the investigator may face (2014, p.137). Despite difficult circumstances concerning agency turnover in the past couple of years, and because of the current political climate in Egypt under the new secular regime in which the interviews took place, there were numerous noteworthy and helpful findings which are portrayed at a later point in this document.

It was also suggested by Waylen (2007, p.15) to examine the gendering of state policies and legislature, during both Islamist and secular regimes, to fully understand and measure outcomes for data analysis. One reason for this is because changes to gender policies, or decrees which influence women's places in society, is of growing importance and interest. Waylen states that, "This involves looking not only at institutions but also the roles of key actors both inside and outside the state in framing and articulating gender issues, placing them on the policy agenda and then ensuring that they are transformed into gender policy reform" (Waylen, 2007, p.15). The principal investigator elaborated on this approach by using the author's insights to investigate how Islamist and secular economic, political and social activities applied to women's empowerment through the outcomes of international agencies' projects.

VI. Case Selection

While doing initial research on the UNW and the ILO, the principal investigator viewed all of the recent, current, and ongoing documents from the two international organizations which were posted online. Six programs led by UN Women and ILO project leaders at the national offices in Cairo were chosen by the principal investigator as the major case studies due to how the specific programs encompassed aspects of women's empowerment, development and rights on possible social, economic and political bases. The UN Women and the ILO both had

numerous ongoing projects concerning specific issues such as transitions to employment, business creation and the promotion of durable solutions, however, the chosen programs best represented projects that focused on creating efforts which would train, assist and educate women in Egypt.

Another scholar in the field of global affairs and international development, or with interests regarding women's empowerment in the MENA region, would find these specific cases and data collection to be valuable as there is a gap in literature pertaining to the development of women's programs within a society that has undergone extreme changes in government, from secular to Islamist administrations (and later back again). In this case, it is not just a simple question regarding Islamists with conservative aims, but of a government with conventional ideologies that are considered to be less favorable to the purposes and content of international agencies projects, as the administration does not generally favor government efforts concerning women's empowerment. As this is a very broad issue this topic will be interesting to a broader audience, possibly politicians, scholars of religion, and human rights activists in the MENA.

Also, other academics might find this project appealing due to the uprisings in the MENA during recent years. As awareness and issues pertaining to women's empowerment are on the rise in Egypt, and numerous other countries in the MENA region, a clear understanding and conceptualization of the shaping and impact of women's empowerment programs during both secular and Islamist administrations is essential for scholars and activists to work together to promote gender equality, peace and security, gender policies, leadership and participation, economic empowerment and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) regardless of whether or not the next government of Egypt is Islamist or secular in nature.

Some academics may object to the approach taken, objecting that gender-based programs would not be influenced by whether the government is secular or Islamist. Other practitioners may argue that a government in Egypt or the MENA would not have that much effect on the women's empowerment projects established by international agencies. However, I would address the first main concern by stating that it is not possible to examine women's empowerment in the MENA region without examining international agencies relationship's with local partners and government organizations, as well as social, economic and political elements that interfere with their lives on a daily basis under any kind of regime, be it Islamist or secular, in order to make future recommendations based on the successes of gender-based programs during a specific type of administration.

VII. Analysis of the Case

Initially the principal investigator sought a stratified sample that covered the ILO and UNW staff at the national office locations. However, the samples also became snowball samples of the agency members, in the sense that the principal investigator was given contact information of other UNW and ILO representatives to interview as the research was conducted. These contacts were located at the regional offices and/or used to be employed as staff members by either organization during the time of Mubarak 2010 and/or Morsi. A total of nine ILO agency members and eight UN women agency members took the surveys and answered all questions accordingly. There were surprisingly not any questions skipped, except for subsections asking for extra information or opinions if the participant had any, meaning all charts, graphs and tables in the analysis represent the entire number of observations, which is seventeen. A total of four in-

depth interviews were held with ILO agency members while three extensive interviews were held with UN Women staff members.

Furthermore, it is very important to be concise and clear about what this master's project does not represent. The two international agencies discussed are not meant to be a representative sample of all the actors within the international organization arena; rather these agencies are exhibited as case studies meant to give academics, activists and agency members a closer look at how factors of secular and Islamist regimes might impact women's empowerment related activities in Egypt and the MENA. The two international agencies traditional focus and efforts vary substantially in the same policy area regarding human rights and empowerment, which is why they were chosen to compare and portray possibly different international organization characteristics during Islamist and secular regimes.

There were also limitations of this study as every inference in the analysis made by the principal investigator was couched in the fact that all the insights gathered from the ILO and UNW staff members were relevant and useful for this particular project. However, it should be noted that the results of the surveys, interviews, and inferences are not hard data or process tracing. The observations made by the principal investigator are not linked to other observations and this final masters project is limited in the generalizations that is made from it.

The findings to be presented demonstrate that there are socio-economic and political issues for women throughout the MENA region regardless of the authority in power. As an ILO staff member stated,

...the beneficiaries here feel the pressure of their society because they are women who would like to have more freedom and who are suffering, and when we meet with them they are really happy to have the chance to gain some economic independence, because

they also see it as a way of personal empowerment versus their society and family surroundings...Their problem is with the local symbols of authority and power, whether it's of the local government, family, village and with the conservative society that they face every day.

It was determined that not only does the Egyptian government impact project implementation, but so do broader social values, religious beliefs, taboos and pressures that may go against societal norms. To further explore how the administrations affected the UNW and ILO programs, the next section of this data analysis will examine government support during each regime.

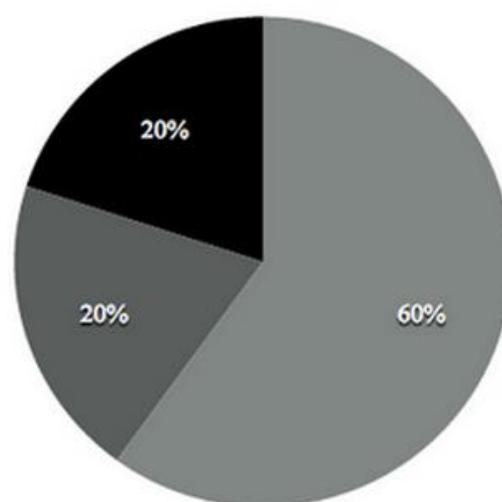
How did the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi administrations compare with regard to support for UNW and ILO projects

After in depth interviews and survey analysis with the ILO and UN Women staff members, it was determined that a large

majority of respondents from both international agencies believed that the 2010 Mubarak administration was more supportive of their projects and agency endeavors, as shown in **Figure 2**. A UNW respondent to the survey noted, “The Mubarak 2010 administration was supportive of enterprise development elements of my

Figure 2
UNW & ILO Perceptions of Government Support for Their Programs

- Mubarak
- Morsi
- Both
- I Do Not Know



Source: Author's analysis.

program through meetings, facilitation efforts, connections with ministries, and general cooperation.”

A survey respondent made an additional comment concerning Morsi’s support for a specific project concerning work for women in Egypt, “During the first year of the project’s implementation the Morsi administration only focused on field activities, what we were doing on the ground [with our beneficiaries in trainings and workshops]. Our partnerships at that time was...sought with civil society organizations.” A UN Women survey respondent comment further on the very general lack of support their project received through the Morsi government by stating, “Economic empowerment for women is a very important issue, especially women in Upper Egypt and those with disabilities. They need[ed] a lot of training and capacity building opportunities, more important than financial support...which the Morsi administration did not provide.”

These statements and survey responses imply that the 2010 Mubarak administration made more effort to remain in contact with the UNW and ILO regarding trainings and meetings, in order to continue developing elements of women’s empowerment and equality programs. Programs created through local and international partnerships were very important to both international agencies. This matter is further analyzed during the survey analysis and will be focused on in following section.

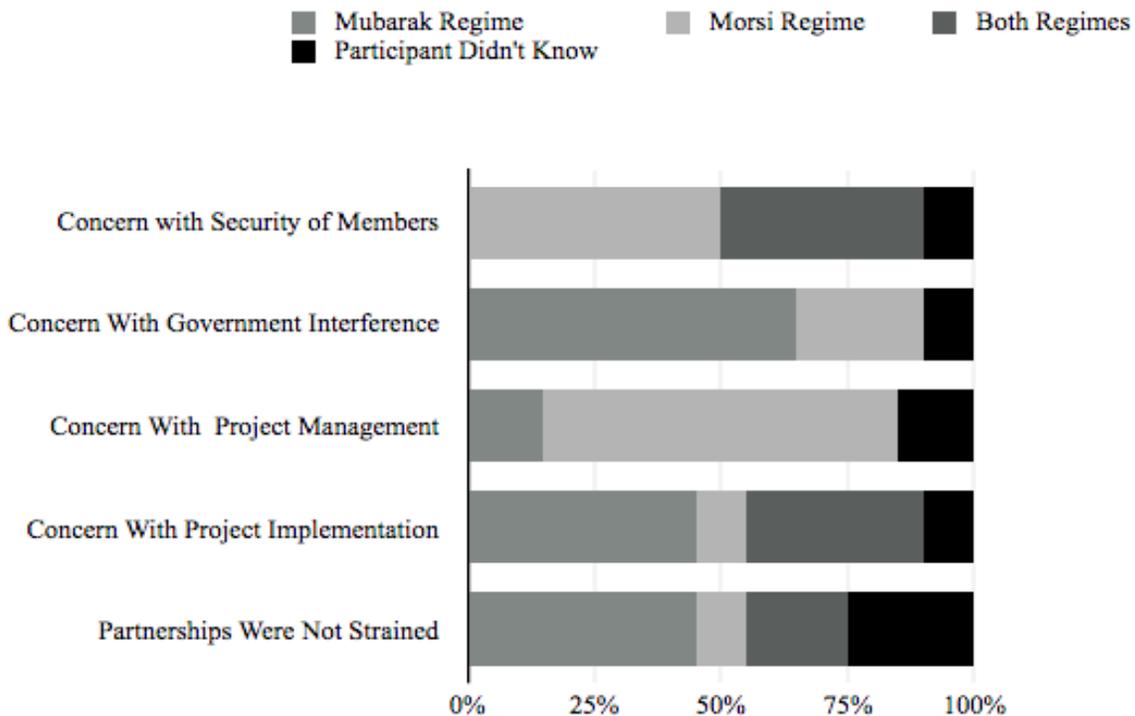
How were ILO and UNW partnerships with international or local organizations perceived during the Egyptian administrations?

The UN Women and ILO staff members were interested to discuss partner relationships that their projects developed with international and local development organizations during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi administrations. A large majority of survey respondents stated that

their international agency had developed more partnerships during Hosni Mubarak’s 2010 administration, while approximately one-fourth of survey respondents stated that partnership abundance remained the same during both regimes.

Staff members from both international agencies stressed the importance of building partnerships with local, regional, and international organizations. Surveys from the respondents show that there were strains in partner relationships during both the 2010 Mubarak regime and Morsi regime, as illustrated in **Figure 3** below.

Figure 3: Concerns of Strains in Government and Agency Relationships



Source: Author's analysis.

The survey data shows that there was on average equal amount of strain between the two agencies and their partners during the Morsi administration and the Mubarak 2010 administration, but that the specific sources of concern regarding the strains were somewhat different. When asked to choose on a scale from one (not strained) to ten (extremely strained), a

large majority of UNW and ILO staff members chose a score between eight and nine, specifying that partner relationships were quite strained during the Morsi regime compared to the vast majority of agency members that chose four, in relations to the strain experienced during the Mubarak's regime's final year.

One ILO member explained during an interview, “Due to the political [factors] during...Morsi's regime, we had a delay in implementing many of our partner activities, and there was also a low delivery rate.” However, another ILO member expressed the contrary, “Partner relationships were not concerned with constraints related to the national administration. However, decent work at the policy level was affected.”

These survey results suggest that even though there was actually an equal amount of strain between the local and international partners, there were outside variables (as well as possible personal views of the professional survey respondents) that caused the staff members to associate higher partnership stress with Morsi's era. As noted in the methodology section above, such variables and other factors that may have influenced the staff members will be mentioned at a later point in the data analysis. To continue with the topic at hand, the following section will cover matters concerning agency donor relationships that developed between the programs and the organizations and/or nations that funded the projects of the ILO and UNW. Donor relationship strains due to variables during each regime will also be examined.

Were donor relationships closer during the Mubarak 2010 or Morsi administration?

Relationships the agencies had with their international and regional donors, such as the European Union and USAID, were extremely important during the last year of Mubarak's reign and the year that Morsi was in office. Both the UN Women and the ILO had to stay in close

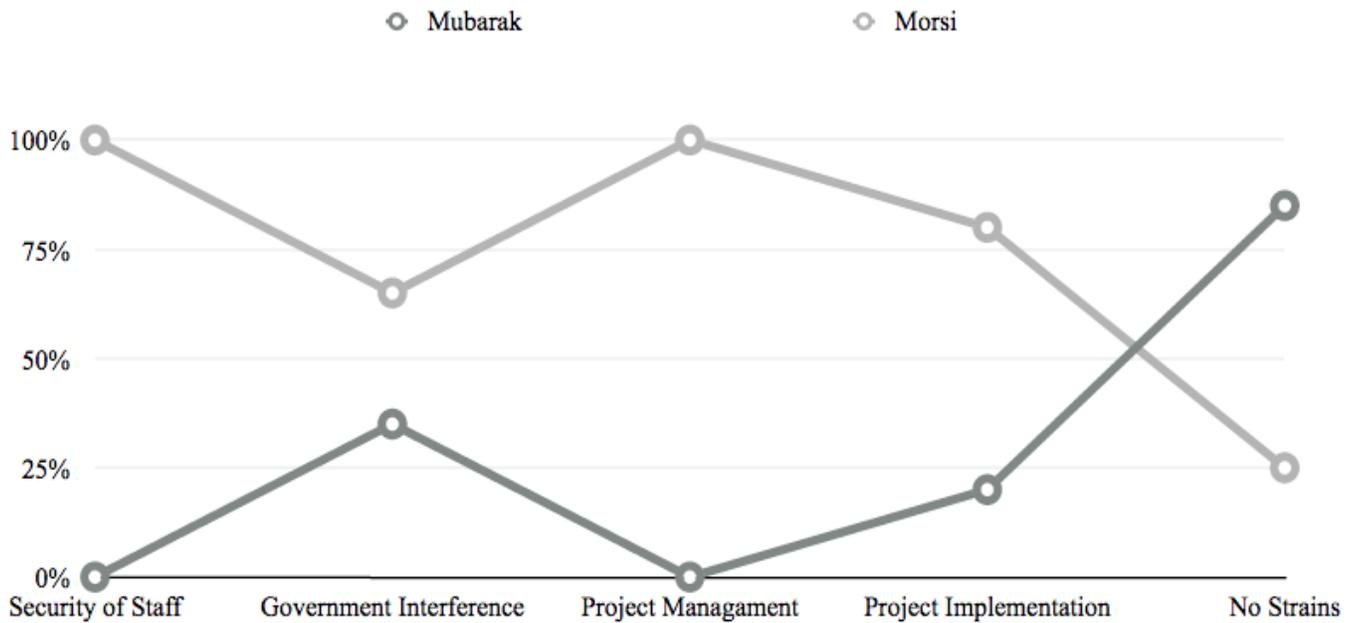
contact with the donors to keep them up to date on project affairs, particularly during weeks of heightened unrest. During an interview one staff member elaborated on their project's donor relationships,

Activities were postponed during the periods of unrest. Also, governorate elections were not taking place. The donors understood the challenges and many are still here now. We had problems during implementation efforts; implementation on the ground was delayed especially when the state of emergency [in Egypt] was here. We had about 4 months of slowing down our work because of the situation that was occurring in 2013.

The vast majority of both ILO and UN Women staff members agreed that donors were more abundant for their projects, and for the international agencies' in general, the last year Mubarak was in office, in relation to the year that Morsi was president. In an interview a UN Women staff member commented, “There is a lot of donor interest in general concerning women's rights...There is still a steady amount of interest in this area post-Morsi too.” According to the surveys that were conducted, approximately 75% of staff members found that donor partner relationships were significantly more strained during the year that Morsi was in charge.

Figure 4 demonstrates the main concerns the ILO and UNW had with donors during the Mubarak 2010 era and Morsi era, and how those concern, such as government interference and security of their staff personnel, caused varying strains within the agencies project's.

Figure 4: Donor Relationship Strains During the Mubarak and Morsi Administrations



Source: Author's analysis.

In an interview with a UN Women staff member, the principal investigator asked if economic, political and social factors during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi administrations were a reason for donors to give more assistance during those times. One interviewee stated, “Yes, definitely...all those factors were issues. Maybe we weren’t completely sustained on the same level from [Morsi’s period] until now, it’s had ups and downs, but I think the donors are seeing this transition as an opportunity.” As there was not extensive literature concerning the agencies and their donors, the principal investigator asked a staff member to expand on this point during an interview. The ILO member stated, “...We did meet the donors, they came last year and we spoke together. They were quite supportive.”

Survey and interview analysis implies that it is necessary for these national offices of the international organizations to continue building relationships with both donors and partners in order to create new projects in the future, regardless of whether or not there is a secular or

Islamist administration in power, and to ensure good outcomes for existing projects. When asked in an interview whether or not the ILO will receive more donors during the year of 2015 a staff member enthusiastically replied,

Well, actually I asked the director that question and he said, "Listen, it depends on how well you do your job and it also depends on how well you write a project proposal which shows that you understand why you need the donation and what you need the funds for." I mean, the point is the ball is in our court so it depends how well we are able to convince for funds, what we need to worry about is getting the job done.

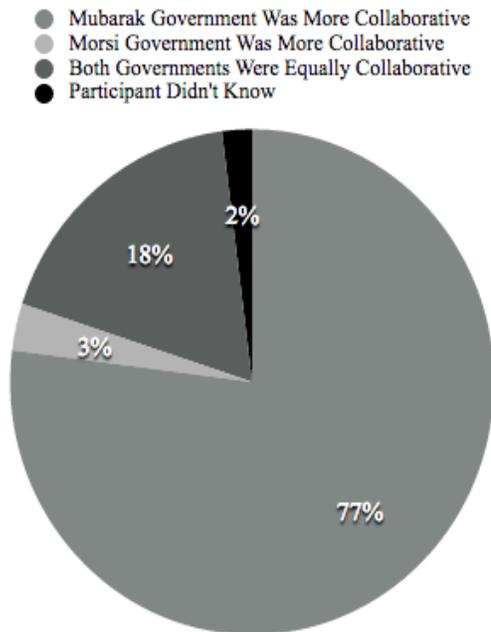
For donor and partner relationships to remain healthy and abundant it was important for the international agencies to report project activities and efforts regularly (UNW interview, 2014). Government collaboration efforts also impacted whether activities and aims stayed on track. In the next section of the analysis this matter will be covered in detail, as well as changes in government openness from the Mubarak 2010 regime to the Morsi regime.

Were government collaboration efforts with the ILO and UNW more abundant during the Mubarak 2010 or Morsi regime?

Agency members were also asked survey and interview questions which explored government collaboration efforts in regards to their project's activities during the Mubarak 2010 era and Morsi era. For example, whether or not programs were restricted and if government officials were easier to work with. **Figure 5** indicates the perceptions that the agency members had concerning how collaborative the governments were. The UNW and ILO staff believed that the Mubarak 2010 government was significantly more collaborative than the Morsi administration.

Furthermore, the combined average responses from the UNW and ILO showed approximately 87% of staff members felt that there was a very strong change in government

Figure 5: UNW and ILO Perceptions Regarding Government Collaboration Efforts



Source: Author's analysis.

collaboration efforts with their projects between the time of Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012. An ILO project leader gave an example of the change in collaboration efforts during Morsi's presidency, *Women activists feared during Morsi's administration that the government was trying to undermine and limit the*

achievements reached regarding women's rights during Mubarak's 2010 administration. For example, the constitution that was drafted during Morsi's government slashed back several rights that women gained, including their quota in parliament.

Though the Mubarak 2010 government sometimes interfered with projects, as shown in the previous **Figure 3**, the majority of UNW and ILO respondents believed that the 2010 Mubarak administration was still more collaborative than the Morsi regime, as seen in **Figure 5**. This is mostly because there were not any large scale efforts during the specified time of Mubarak's ruling which focused on cutting back on policies pertaining to women's political rights and gains in Egypt.

As the large majority of UNW and ILO members believed collaboration and openness differed from the 2010 Mubarak to Morsi administration it is also important to measure whether

or not that transition had a direct impact, which is examined in the following portion of the analysis. Information pertaining to project element alterations are also included.

Did the Mubarak 2010 to Morsi 2012 transition have an impact on the organizations' projects?

Research concerning the impact between the 2010 Mubarak and 2012 Morsi eras on UNW and ILO women empowerment programs was also carried out through surveys and interviews. Approximately 70% of both international agencies thought that their projects were drastically affected by the change of government, while approximately 20% of agency members responded that their projects were only somewhat affected by the administration transition. Only about 10% of staff members believed that their programs were not really affected. One ILO staff member made the following comment during an interview,

I understood from the project team, who were available before I joined, that they were able to adjust their activities and programs to meet the transition period needs. For example, the administration under Morsi gave way to the emergence of independent associations. Hence, the project worked towards building the capacities [of our partners] as well.

While interviewing a staff member, she elaborated on the transition from Mubarak 2010 to Morsi 2012,

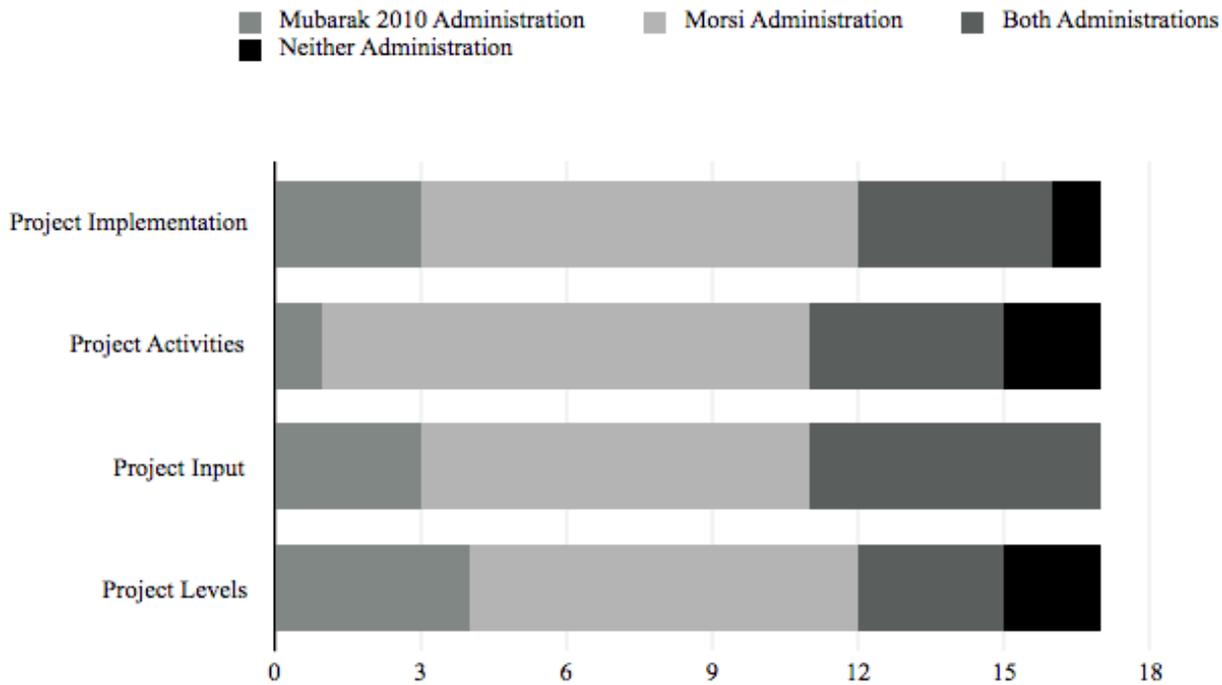
I think it's the mindset. Because the party was newly elected and they were trying their best to show that they were cooperating with everyone. I mean, we did meet with the ministry several times and even the minister himself. He said, "Yes, I am supportive" and he was really quite supportive. The mindset, the lack of strategic planning, the lack of institutional building during the transition...if you were to compare between Egypt and

Tunisia for example...I mean, Tunisia already had strong institutions and labor unions which were independent from the state so they were able to continue. They were able to force the Islamic state over there to follow the people's agenda, whereas here there is a lack of vision on what is really needed.

As the ILO staff member mentioned, existing ideologies that tend to adhere to societal values and norms are main reasons why powerful local institutions and structures are able to thrive. However, unlike the case of Tunisia, [Islamic] ideologies and policies that the Morsi administration needed to possibly succeed past the one year in office did not exist. Perhaps this was due to a flaw in Islamism and modernization of Egyptian culture, or because the Morsi regime was not ready, or capable, of governing.

To continue, **Figure 6** below shows the recorded responses of both international agencies' members concerning the types of elements that were altered during this time period, such as the capacity building commentary mentioned previously.

Figure 6: Project Elements Altered Due to Uprisings



Source: Author's analysis.

Furthermore, on a scale of one (being the least successful) to ten (being the most successful), the largest majority of staff members from both agencies chose “five” and “six”, showing that there was some project success from Mubarak 2010 to the Morsi era. Approximately 15% of staff personnel chose “three”, suggesting that their projects were not very successful managing during the transition phase. As interview commentary and survey results imply, many elements of the UN Women and ILO projects were altered, in a somewhat negative manner, due to the transition from the Mubarak 2010 to Morsi administration.

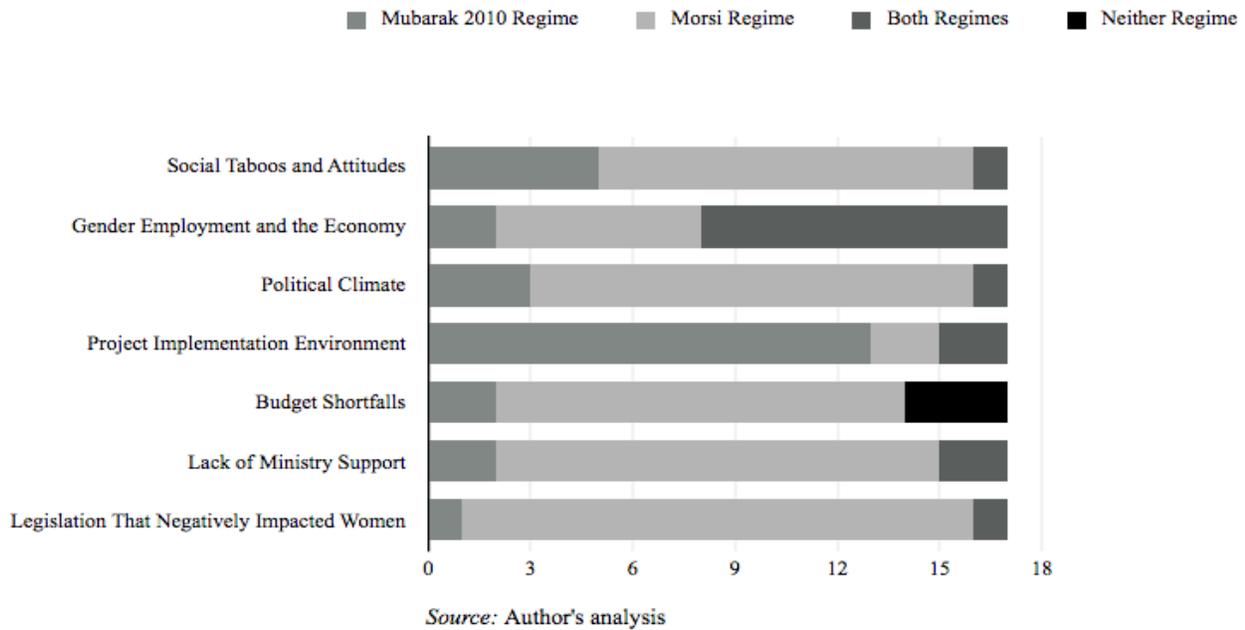
The alterations in the projects during both regimes ultimately led to obstacles that both international agencies faced. The following part of the case analysis will focus this matter to determine whether or not social attitudes, political climates, and other factors formed due to the nature of the Egyptian administrations.

What barriers did the UNW and ILO projects face during the two periods?

A group of survey questions focused mainly on the barriers of UNW and ILO projects during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi regimes. Barriers in the case of the Egyptian administrations meant political climates and social attitudes, which formed due to the nature of the specified Mubarak and Morsi eras.

As shown in **Figure 7** below, social attitudes and taboos, gender employment and the economy, as well as the political climate, were factors that caused obstacles during both the administrations.

Figure 7: UNW and ILO Project Barriers



The project implementation environment was the largest obstacle that both the UNW and ILO faced during the Mubarak 2010 regime. On the other hand, oppressive legislation and “overnight political decrees” (UNW interview, 2014) during Morsi’s administration were the biggest barriers that caused issues for both agencies. In an interview discussion of barriers during Morsi’s rule, an ILO member added,

The project had to move around some walls as there were disruptions due to ministerial shuffling. This led to slight communication issues between our end and contact with the ministry, but it was not really detrimental...we just had to readapt our cooperation strategies.

There was also obvious concern regarding the Islamist ideologies and actions which were more present in society during the time of Morsi. Some UNW agency members feared that their projects, or even organization activities, would be affected by the government or by Muslim Brotherhood supporters due to the focus of some initiatives concerning women’s equality and

rights in general. In another interview a UNW staff member also commented on hindrances during Morsis' time, which affected both the society in general and the project she was working on with her colleagues,

It was really much more complicated during the time of Morsi. There were all these issues with sudden curfews, this was before his government declared the state of emergency in Egypt, which scared people more than usual because of all the Muslim Brotherhood activities and large gatherings everywhere. I thought, okay we still have to work...will the Islamists step in and just, you know, say we have to stop progress and try to control everything? That didn't happen, thanks to God, but the curfew issue really hindered our implementation activities. At one point the UN security office even told us that we couldn't implement anything during that time [in the governorates]. So there were a few months where the issues really, you know, made conducting our work difficult...our meetings and trainings were often postponed because of what Morsi and the Islamist [supporters] were demanding.

Although there were obstacles in both the UNW and ILO projects, the staff members worked with the ministries, their partners, and donors to keep the issues to a minimum. It can be determined from in-depth interviews and survey responses that the ILO suffered fewer barrier issues, compared to UNW, even though its traditional agenda is ideologically less sensitive in regards to to the scope of women's empowerment. During another interview an ILO staff member made the following statement,

We don't mind providing updates, as that's what we do... But this was no difference really between the work under the Morsi or Mubarak [2010] government, it was really

the same or similar. We still hope that they are interested in what we are doing and we are trying to keep a good balance and autonomy.

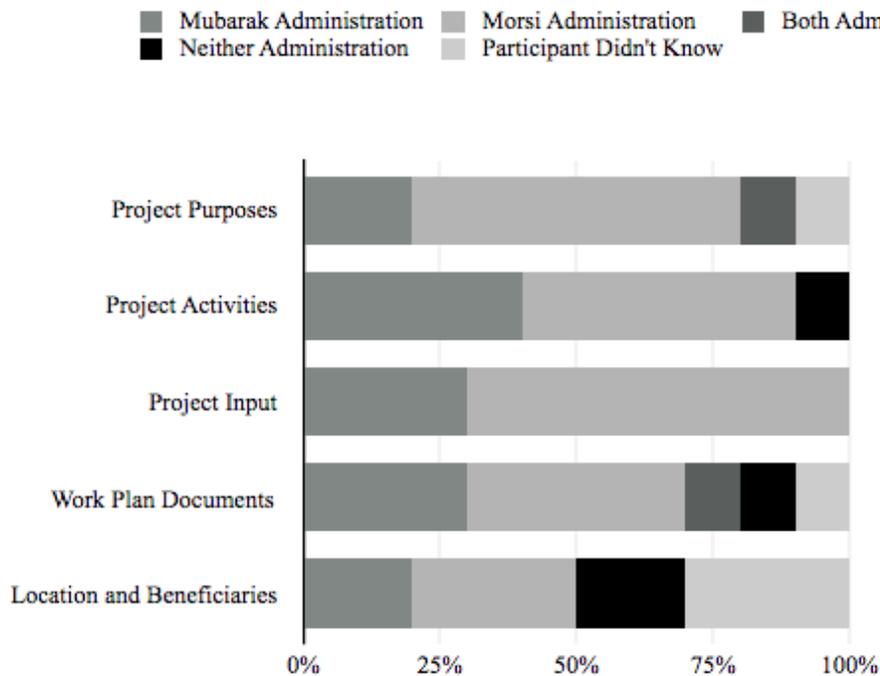
The information gathered shows that there were many more social, economic, and political factors which caused substantially more disruptions during Morsi's rule than in the last year of Mubarak's presidency. Although the disturbances were quite severe at times, the agencies managed to adapt to the changing environment through internal strategies and efforts. Such practices will be of use in the future if there is a change from the current secular administration of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi to an Islamist regime, or if the factors during Morsi's rule also appear in secular administrations throughout the coming decades.

As unforeseen obstacles and disturbances often lead to disagreements, the following portion of this analysis will consider whether or not either administration had disagreements with UNW and ILO project elements, and if any compromises resulted from the discrepancies.

Did disagreements and/or compromises occur between the Egyptian administrations and the projects?

A more seemingly sensitive subject for the UNW and ILO staff members involved sources of disagreements between the Morsi 2012 and Mubarak 2010 governments, on the one hand, and the projects carried out by the agencies, on the other. **Figure 8** below shows the main sources of disagreements identified by ILO and UNW agency personnel. To clarify, project purposes included increasing women's access to social services, representation of women in ministries and gender awareness raising. Sources of disagreements pertaining to project input involved funds from donors, regional and international partners, as well as logistic support.

Figure 8: Sources of Disagreements with the Governments and Project Programing



Source: Author's analysis.

Project activities were classified as skills development, mobilizing local communities, training efforts, and capacity building. As demonstrated above, the survey data showed that the largest majority of UNW and ILO agency members reported that it was somewhat difficult to resolve issues during the Mubarak 2010 regime, while also stating that it was very difficult to resolve disagreements under Morsi’s administration.

Due to the sources of disagreements between the projects and the governments there were also compromises that took place, as demonstrated in **Table 1**, during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi administrations, which sometimes led to projects delays.

Table 1: Summary of Project Alterations Due to Compromises with the Regimes

	Morsi Regime¹	Neither Regime	Both Regimes	Participant Didn't Know
List of Alterations	No. of Responses ²	No. of Responses	No. of Responses	No. of Responses
Limited Project's Impact Ability	15	0	0	2
Reduce Efficiency and Effectiveness	16	0	0	1
Decreased Advocacy Reach and Networking	13	0	3	1
Disruptive Shift in Target Group Selection	4	12	0	1
Less Effective Project Strategies	16	0	0	1
Reduced Project Sustainability	13	0	3	1
Issues Forming New Partnerships	12	2	2	1
Lack of New Donors	14	2	0	1
Disruptive Shift in Area of Operation	13	1	2	1

Notes: ¹ Information regarding compromises with the Mubarak 2010 government specifically, resulting in ILO and UNW project alterations, were not included in this chart. This is due to the fact that none of the survey respondents chose only the Mubarak 2010 regime to represent project compromises.

² Representative of the 17 UNW and ILO participants who took the IRB approved survey.

Source: Author's analysis.

Also, the survey data implies that there was a severe amount of project delay during the Morsi administration due to the aforementioned compromises and changes in the individual UNW and ILO projects. Less than half of survey respondents reported a slight delay in projects during the Mubarak 2010 regime due to the shifts and compromises made. Regardless, the delays sometimes led to implementation issues which will be examined in the following paragraphs.

Did the agencies encounter any implementation issues during either regime?

Due to fear of unforeseen obstacles that could potentially damage project activities, as well as donor or partner relationships (UNW survey response, 2014), project implementation

remained of utmost importance for both UNW and ILO agencies during the last year of Mubarak's reign and the year that Morsi was in power. When surveyed about potential implementation problems that the projects experienced during either regime, the following results were recorded.

All agency members from both international organizations stated that the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi governments never made a public decision to stop the support of their project or organization. Approximately 26% of agency personnel problems including security issues linked to protests and elections, a lack of commitment from the ministries, insufficient decision making structures due to unforeseen changes in the government, slow progress and growth of the project, as well as higher levels of women's inequality, during both administrations.

About $\frac{3}{4}$ of the agency members recorded the aforementioned implementation problems strictly during Morsi's regime, along with other factors regarding delayed progress of the projects resulting in a lack of ability to fulfill donor and partner mandates, as well as other issues since the government did not allocate resources to implement policies and deliver services. It was interesting to note that none of the ILO or UNW agency members reported any implementation problems as occurring only during the Mubarak 2010 administration. This suggests that the socio-economic and political environment during the last year of Mubarak was more conducive for project implementation, in comparison to the time of Morsi's presidency.

As project implementation was successful on some levels, it is also essential to measure success of the projects regarding their purposes and activities. The following data section refers to information from ILO and UNW survey responses and interviews regarding these successes during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi periods.

What were the successes of the projects during both administrations?

Despite issues that the UNW and ILO encountered during both the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi administrations, their projects still experienced program successes, which is examined in this portion of the data analysis in terms of project activities and purposes. **Table 2** below gives detail to the specific project purposes and activities that were most successful for the majority of both international agencies. In general, the vast majority of agency project activities and purposes experienced the most success during the last period of Mubarak. Partner acquisition was the most successful project activity during the Mubarak 2010 regime, while increased representation of women in key decision making positions in the public and private sector was the most successful project purpose.

Table 2: Summary of Most Successful Project Activities and Purposes

	Mubarak Administration	Morsi Administration
Project Activities	Number of Responses	Number of Responses
Training	13	4
Capacity Building	11	6
Reactivation and/or Mobilizing Local Communities ¹	16	1
Awareness Raising	11	6
Skills Development	14	3
Project Implementation	15	2
Donor Acquisition	14	3
Partner Acquisition	17	0
Project Purposes	Number of Responses	Number of Responses
Increased Representation of Women in Key Decision Making ²	17	0
Increased Women's Employment and Opportunities	14	3
Strengthened Women's Access to Education and Literacy	15	2
Engagement of Civil Society, Partners, and Young People ³	13	4
Improved Access to Social Services for Women	16	1

Note¹: Information regarding this portion of project activities focused on women's empowerment within the local communities, particularly in Upper Egypt (UNW and ILO interviews, 2014).

²The decision processes making took place in both the public and private sectors.

³This portion of the project purposes concerned supporting awareness of women's empowerment and gender equality.

Source: Author's analysis.

A survey respondent added, “I believe that if my project was functioning during the Mubarak 2010 administration, it would have been more successful.” These attitudes suggest that agency members were more easily able to perform project activities, and that beneficiaries might have received more socio-economic and political benefits from the projects, due to the nature of reported program success during the Mubarak 2010 regime. Most UNW and ILO employees also felt that their project was more successful in achieving its aims during the final year of the Mubarak administration in comparison to Morsi’s presidency, this could be mainly due to Islamic values and ideologies that were heavily prevalent, and largely oppressive to women’s rights according to agency members, during Morsi’s administration. This matter regarding

gender equality and empowerment is further examined in the following portion of the data analysis, as well as at a later point.

Did either regime consider women's rights and empowerment?

As evidence of women's empowerment projects' successes appeared in the survey and interview data, it is important to elaborate on women's rights and equality during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi governments, as well as female participation in the UNW and ILO programs. The majority of agency members reported that rights and empowerment for the female population in Egypt stayed about the same during both governments. Less than half of staff members reported that the environment regarding women's empowerment worsened during the Morsi administration, relative to the last year of the Mubarak 2010 administration.

Most of the UNW and ILO members also reported that violence against women was more prevalent in society when Morsi was in power, in comparison to the final year of Mubarak's presidency. Also, the vast majority of agency staff stated that there was equal female beneficiary participation and enrollment during both administrations. An ILO agency member made a lasting comment during an interview concerning women's empowerment in Morsi's era,

During Morsi's time they really tried to cut back women's roles and wanted them to be seen more as "mothers", this was done more indirectly. They cut women from the constitution and their quota with the parliament. They didn't have the guts and nerves to do it directly.

A UN Women staff member also expressed concern for women's rights and empowerment in Egypt, particularly during Morsi's time as president, as she made the following statement,

The most conservative voices were only increased during Morsi's time. We were working on violence against women...and the economic empowerment of women, as those were noncontroversial issues...During that time we were hearing voices talking about FGM again and attempted changes of the law. For example, during the constitution drafting it was really difficult to get articles of quality within the constitution...but there were articles of great concern talking about society taking part in preserving the traditions, the Egyptian traditions. Some of those articles were of valid concern because you didn't know who would be reading the article and how. So basically work on social norms and changing perspectives [on empowerment for women] were the most effective for us during that time.

Another ILO agency member elaborated further on issues concerning women's rights during both regimes, also commenting slightly on the subject of Islamic ideologies playing a role in impacting empowerment for women in Egypt.

During the Mubarak regime more rights were really give to women. I mean "real rights", change in the constitution and changes in several laws. For example, women's right to give her nationality to her kids was approved. The National Women's Council was an independent institution affiliated straight with the president's office, so it was given a lot of autonomy and a lot of support, and it was the main institution that really supported women's rights. More rights were really given and able to reach the constitution and the law making procedures during Mubarak's call in 2010. During Morsi's call, I mean there was a feeling that yes, the Islamic values were beginning to have more effect, but you have to taken into consideration anyway that Egypt is a traditional Islamic society. The thing is that during Morsi's administration it seemed that

there was more freedom of speech somehow, maybe because so many people were opposed to him and the Muslim Brotherhood ideologies from the very beginning, so I mean, everyone thought they could speak out against that as it may not have been institutionalized. It may have been like, “Okay, so we are a new government and we will give you freedom of speech”, but yes it was felt that in the constitution women were really sent back to becoming mothers and housekeepers, so that was the most annoying aspect.

Before recognizing implications regarding women’s empowerment during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi regimes, it is important to note that Islamic ideologies and values appeared to have an influence on societal values, as mentioned in the previous interview commentary. The following section of the data analysis will further address this matter by focusing on information that was examined in the surveys and interviews pertaining to Islamic values affecting women’s rights in Egyptian society throughout the specified administrations.

Did Islamic values impact women’s empowerment or the projects during either administration?

The final group of questions posed in the survey prompted agency members to discuss how Islam may have affected women’s empowerment and gender issues during both regimes. Survey data reports the majority of the ILO and UNW staff members believed that Islamic values and religious culture negatively affected women’s empowerment during Morsi’s regime, as seen in **Figure 9**. A UN Women member commented in an interview, “Definitely the social norms part was worse during Morsi, it would be easier to work on with a secular regime and because there was lots of resistance during the Islamist regime.” Only a quarter of agency

members felt that Islamic traditions during the regime did not have an impact on women's equality or rights in general. When the principal investigator asked an ILO staff member during a survey to elaborate on their thoughts regarding the topic, the member replied,

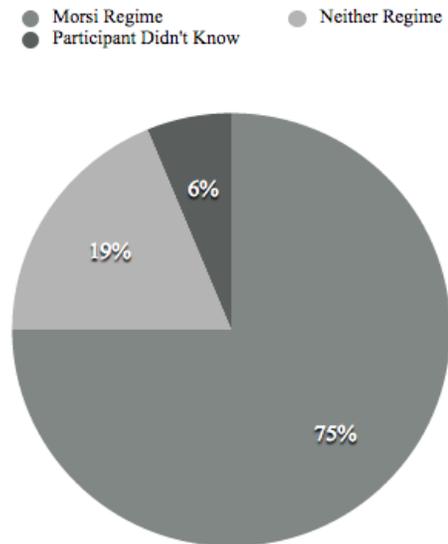
Women's rights are better under the secular for sure. The Islamists are more concerned with the social

welfare, we even find it when you meet with the NGOs. An example is that the NGO's receive local donation and local funds, it's more of a charity kind of fund. So we met an NGO where we asked them, "What about the women's program?" and they said, "Yes, we do have a women's club". But most of the time it's like sewing or cooking. They do perform awareness raising sessions with nutrition, health, and childcare whereas their priorities are always youth unemployment and male unemployment. Don't forget that this is a society that views men as the main breadwinners. So, vulnerable women, right? We give them a sewing machine, if we can, and that's it. So, I think it's more of this society stereotyping.

One UNW agency member elaborated on her thoughts regarding Islamic ideologies during the time of Morsi and how they infected the work environment, as well as society in general,

...but there were these new articles being published of great concern talking about society taking part in preserving the Islamic traditions, the Egyptian traditions. Some of those

Figure 9: Women's Empowerment Affected by Islamic Values and/or Culture¹



Source: Author's analysis.

Note: ¹ The Mubarak regime is not represented in this graph, as the survey respondents did not think Islamic culture or values negatively impacted gender equality during that time.

articles truly became valid concern because you didn't know who would be reading the article and how [they would interpret them] in a backwards way. So basically work on social norms and changing perspectives were the most effective for us during that time.

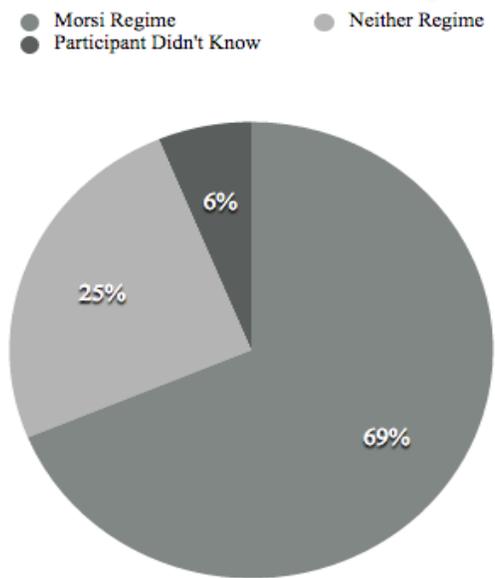
On the contrary, another ILO staff member expressed a belief that Islamic values did not have any effect on their project or on women's empowerment. This agency member said the following,

Yeah, we never felt that Islamist beliefs [applied to the projects specifically], you know, because the MB administration had issues with the project adjectives. It was rather the controlling tendency that was applicable to all administrations. It was the case during the revolution and it is still the case now...

However, 65% of survey respondents from the ILO and UNW reported that projects were impacted to some degree due to Islamist decrees or policies during Morsi's rule, as represented in **Figure 10**. Also, a large portion of staff personnel reported that their program and international agency as a whole did not experience any open opposition from the Muslim Brotherhood during either administration.

Survey results also showed, on a scale of 1 (extremely negative) to 10 (extremely positive) the vast majority of UNW and ILO staff members chose a rating between two and four to represent how the culture of the Islamist regime negatively impacted women’s empowerment. A large percentage of agency members chose “six” and “eight,” indicating that religious culture during Mubarak’s 2010 regime had an overall positive impact and did not have such a negative impact on gender equality for women at that time.

Figure 10: Islamic Decrees and/or Policies That Impacted Projects¹



Source: Author's analysis.

Note: ¹ The Mubarak regime is not represented in this graph, as the survey respondents did not think Islamic culture or values negatively impacted gender equality during that time.

Although survey and interview data show that gender equality for women and women’s empowerment programs were not well received during the Morsi regime, there are still issues in secular administrations concerning gender welfare and equality that must be addressed, regardless of what type of government is in power. As one UN Women member stated in an interview, “The political participation issue really needs a lot of work with Islamists and with the secularists...women should be included in all political parties, and all areas of society, and both of these institutions need to be convinced either way.” Analysis implies that urgent policy recommendations regarding social, economic and political empowerment for women are important for Egyptian society, for future governments, and for the progress of ILO and UNW gender empowerment programs.

VIII. Conclusion

International development organizations are important role models when it comes to defining, molding, and dispersing societal norms that can contribute to shaping, defining and diffusing societal norms (Barrett and Finnemore, 1999, p.96). The UNW and the ILO in Cairo organizations can function as arenas for producing gender-based knowledge and activities which will support women's empowerment on social, political, and economic levels during secular and Islamist administrations. This study is an important addition to what is currently known and can contribute to literature that is slowly growing, in regards to the role of international development organizations in women's development within secular and Islamist governments, with special reference to the case of Egypt.

It must be clarified that this project is a "snapshot" of attitudes of particular UNW and ILO employees from regional and national offices regarding their work during two different time frames, Morsi 2012 and Mubarak 2010, and not the institutional policies, experiences, or positions of the UNW and ILO bodies as a whole. These were two contentious periods where the UNW and ILO worked on issues that were problematic during a time of considerable turmoil, particularly under Morsi; nonetheless, because the staff members were direct witnesses to the changes taking place as an authoritarian but largely secular regime replaced by a democratically elected but Islamist regime (after a complex interregnum), the agencies' staff were able to report their experiences and perceptions during both regimes, providing valuable and unique perspectives on the impact of the change in government. However, it should be noted that the Morsi era was more disruptive to agency programming on a much higher order, both because of the different ideologies involved which might have been expected to be particularly unfavorable to projects regarding women's empowerment and because it was the first change of government in approximately forty years.

In regards to the main research question the findings provide strong evidence that there was a change in government support for the ILO and UNW women's empowerment programs between the two periods studied, the last year of the Hosni Mubarak administration and the presidency of the Mohamed Morsi administration. In general, the exploratory study found that a change in environment led to alterations in the workplace and women's programs during the time of Morsi were quite negative, for both the UNW and the ILO in regards to the exploratory analysis that was previously made. Findings strongly support that projects, in regards to implementation, capacity building and other elements, were viewed as more successful during the Mubarak 2010 regime. After intensive data collection and analysis, from online and in-person surveys and interviews, the main finding provides support that the international agencies' programs were affected the most by economic, social and political factors that were evident during the ruling of Morsi's Islamist regime.

Operational findings show that there a few areas of the UNW and ILO programs that experienced particular difficulty, highlighted by this research, which were evident during both the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi regimes. The most sensitive area for both international agencies was reported as project implementation. Project activities, as well as [finalized] work documents, were also sensitive program areas which experienced obstacles and issues throughout both administrations, specifically during the time of Morsi. These three main target areas may need specific attention when a more supportive Egyptian administration is replaced by one that is less supportive to women's rights and empowerment as a whole.

There is no manual that tells these agencies how to function during an Islamist regime or during the rule of the secular regime, or when the public climate changes due to political social and economic factors which arise during during these times. However, this research could help

other international agencies determine if their programs concerning women's empowerment could be affected if there was a regime change in their country. The international organizations could better prepare for changes which might affect their program implementation, activities, or outcomes by viewing what staff members stated during interviews and surveys, as reported in the data analysis section of this master's project.

Another hypothesis received strong support from the data collected, which is consistent with a finding that the disruption of political changes had a great impact on the ILO and UNW projects. For example, reporting and budgetary documents were not readily available to identify outcomes of the programs and different stages of implementation were not carried out as planned. However, the data analysis did not confirm one hypothesis, as it was found that political changes only severely impacted the women's empowerment projects during the end of both regimes, when the political uprisings began. Even then many of the UNW and ILO program leaders were determined to continue working despite the factors which hindered implementation activities.

One ILO staff member stated the following,

...I was on the way to training at Cairo University while molotov cocktails were being thrown, it was truly chaotic. Our trainees were horrified and terrified due to demonstrations outside of the university premises. I was sure the participants would be less than half but the classes were all full, they were determined during Morsi's time.

Even though Egypt has long been a Muslim country and has a comparatively small population of Coptic Christians and other minorities, some of the staff members interviewed reported that Morsi's administration saw more social and governmental changes that excluded women, such as the constitution structuring process and lack of women being offered positions

in the national parliament. A UNW staff member commented that although Morsi was only in charge for one year, compared to Mubarak's thirty years as president, the rate at which Morsi excluded women from their rightful place in the political, economic and social arena was quite alarming, and that it would be easy to imagine other oppressive policies and decrees which might have been made if Mohamed Morsi had remained in office longer than one year. In this instance, based on the data analysis, one can argue that it is necessary to examine the implications of a shift from a secular to a highly conservative Islamist administration for gender equality and women's empowerment programs in Egypt.

A. Implications of the Findings

What needs to be better understood and researched in regards to the topic at hand is how international agencies, such as the ILO and UNW, can potentially support and encourage women's empowerment policies in Egypt, and even influence other governments and legislation in surrounding MENA countries. As both the UN Women and the ILO have field offices which have established cooperative development activities concerning women's equality and have gender-sensitive staff members, they are in a position to respond appropriately to the Egyptian administrations, and the local conditions created by each regime's political, social and economic elements. Thus, the agencies' should continue working to create local and international partnerships. By building partnerships, and remaining in close contact with donors when either an Islamist or a secular regime is in power, each international agency can continue to engage productively and elicit the cooperation of the government regarding women's empowerment projects.

As indicated by survey and interview results, Morsi's government hindered implementation efforts of the UNW and ILO projects to a somewhat greater degree than did the Mubarak regime in its last year. This could result not only from the more conservative policies of the Morsi regime but also from the fact that the ex-president's era was a time of consistent uncertainty, with many issues left behind from the previous regime. This naturally caused project barriers, although it had little to do with ideological differences as such. There was often sensitivity of political activity regarding the international organizations and many agency members did not seem used to handling the changes that took place during Morsi's era, as Egypt did not have any change in governmental regime after the 1952 Free Officers' Revolution (although there were four different presidents and varying degrees of political opening during this period). As a result, such an unprecedented change as the overthrow of the Mubarak 2010 regime, an extended period of uncertainty, and the old regime's replacement with an elected Islamist leader was bound to be disruptive to elements of the projects.

The UN Women, although it is not a political organization, has encouraged and influenced women's empowerment policies within the development community during both the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 regimes, despite factors which hindered their progress during the end of both administrations. UNW activities have gone beyond providing women with social assistance only and have become a main voice in Egypt which works to advance the concerns and interests of women through the assistance of partners such as the NCW, as well as ministries such as the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Interior.

The ILO, though not an international organization focused solely or primarily on women's economic empowerment, has succeeded in creating projects with goals and procedures which allow the consideration of gender equality in order to increase women's economic

productivity. The ILO has become more willing to directly tackle issues regarding economic participation for women in the workforce and has voiced their concerns on the matter with numerous ministries, particularly the Ministry of Manpower, during both regimes. The ILO programs which include elements geared towards women's empowerment can become a catalyst to build links with future Egyptian governments, which may be secular or Islamist, as well as other international organizations and donor agencies which focus more on elements of workforce, labor, and economic objectives.

As there is a large gap in literature drawing comparisons concerning women's empowerment programs and gender equality and how they may be affected by the presence of an Islamist regime as opposed to a secular one, this research contributes to improving our understanding of how best to advance women's equality of rights and outcomes. At this point it is important to note that the works of Nuket Kardam, which include published literature in the forms of books, journal articles and a doctoral dissertation, is a seminal contribution to the literature on how women's empowerment interacts with [secular and Islamist] regimes in the MENA region. Therefore, the principal investigator brought in selected observations from Kardam's writing, as they are among the most relevant out of all the literature cited, throughout this section of the project to frame and support the research findings.

Many studies have examined how regimes form, work, and decline over time but few trace how regimes affect policy formulation and implementation within specific international organizations (Kardam, 1991, p.2). As women's empowerment is a major issue in the MENA, and a very complex one regardless of country or government in place, it is beneficial to examine and learn about how these two specific international agencies structured their programs during both types of regimes.

A leading scholar on the topic of women's issues in international development programs, Nuket Kardam, often elaborates on the women's movement in regards to engagement and changing the way development issues are defined, particularly in Turkey and similar areas. She believes that as norms and rules begin to change to include or exclude women and gender development, assistance agencies may respond in various ways, depending on the missions of the agencies as well as the voices of the international women's movement (Kardam, 1991, p.1). Kardam (1991, p.1) states that there have been numerous international studies that researched how agencies and regimes work, form and decline together, but very few which examine how the secular and Islamist regimes affected implementation efforts within international development agencies or policy formulation in general. Looking back at how the ILO and UN Women programs fared during these two periods, one can say that both international agencies made the best out of their situation in the Morsi era as well as in the waning days of the Mubarak 2010 regime.

Gender issues were put on the agenda of development agencies as a result of the international women's movement that emerged early in the 1970's (Kardam, 1991, p.107), but the agenda is far from accomplished. Gender issues should therefore continue to be pushed to the forefront of international agencies, particularly in Egypt and other MENA countries, regardless of ongoing political and social changes within society or even because of them. Women continue to seek empowerment and a voice through social, economic and political structures that are controlling their lives under both Islamist and secular regimes, which is why it is important that the UN agencies continue their efforts in changing the rules, norms, and procedures to encourage gender equality with their programs and support partners and initiatives in the country (Kardam, 1991, p.107). It is important that the UNW and ILO mainstream women's issues into their daily

activities, so the Egyptian government (regardless of whether it is secular or Islamist), donors and partners will consider women and address their development concerns within their policy and sector-related work (Kardam, 1991, p.108).

IX. Recommendations

In general, international agencies should be more comprehensive and holistic when it comes to creating, adopting, and/or changing fundamental organizational priorities and policies regarding women's empowerment. For example, from project reports and brochures it can be determined that the UNW relies heavily on the social aspects of their programs, while the ILO largely focuses on elements of their projects concerning economic factors which affect women in society. A UNW staff member stated, “The political participation issue really needs a lot of work with Islamists and with the secularists...women should be able to be included in all political parties and both of these institutions need to be convinced either way.” By adopting this mindset and expanding on the aforementioned elements within agency projects, both organizations can enhance their programs and potentially make a stronger impact in the lives of the beneficiaries they are assisting, regardless of whether or not the regime is secular or Islamist.

Another ILO staff member stated, “When you speak and focus on women's economic rights you can't actually speak about those unless you tackle the social issues, laws and regulations as well...” While social, economic, and political factors are important to examine and focus on for enhancing gender equality in Egypt, it is even more important to understand that they are all interlinked and it would be beneficial for agencies to fully address this point in their manuals or fieldwork activities.

The data analysis shows that it would be more beneficial to examine social, economic, and political factors during periods of Islamist rule as the ILO and UNW programs were most affected during this regime. At the current moment it seems as if an excellent opportunity has arisen for the UNW and ILO to work in a holistic development approach concerning women's empowerment efforts, as political issues are in the forefront of the Egyptian society due to upcoming elections at the local level, and because of the additions which will be made to the Egyptian constitution and parliament in the future.

Also in coming years, if there is another Islamist ruler in Egypt, the international agencies should work to stay in close contact with their donors and partners so they can better understand the challenges that could arise and learn from their experiences when similar challenges and hindrances were present under the Morsi administration. As there were problems during implementation efforts and as activities on the ground were delayed more during Morsi's time, it would be beneficial for the international agencies to make preparations in case work efforts are slowed down for one reason or another due to future abrupt shifts in government policy that may have a negative effect on programming implementation.

Since there were issues concerning capacity building in some projects of the ILO and UN Women, particularly during Morsi's regime, numerous staff members could continue working on these problems in order to support future governments and develop strategies for women's social, economic, and political rights. An ILO staff member stated,

...we would like to leave a social impact and we are hoping to make joint activities to support the government in the development of a national strategy for women's employment. This is in the pipeline and we are very enthusiastic, if we manage to do that it will be our collaborative action with the ministry. They seem happy about it so that

would say we had the right approach regardless of the issues that we faced during the Morsi regime. We really want to collaborate more with the government, when it is useful for everyone.

In another in-depth interview a female UNW agency member stated that there should be a package of legislative changes any organization should be looking into in case the next leader of Egypt is Islamic. She stated,

Political participation for example, is very important, you know, and our agencies should work on this just in case of what could happen the next round [of elections]. You never know and now, after this interview, I think we really should be more prepared as the country has changed very much in a few years. I also think that it's extremely important that there are labor union laws, more laws for young girls, and social protection laws that are more sensitive to gender, gender roles and gender issues.

For women-specific programs in the UNW it would be beneficial for the international organizations to consult with policy experts, versed in the MENA government transitions and women's rights in the region, including those outside of the agency who can provide advice and help with refinement of project strategies, implementation, and evaluation. While staff members in the UNW Cairo office are specialized in gender programs, they should continue to review international headquarter policies to make sure their own national documents are up to date (Kardam, 1991, p.111) in order to prevent inclusion, or erosion in rights and understanding of how programs should be implemented on local and national levels. There should also be recommendations to provide special money for promoting women's rights projects across the board, and allowing the staff to make small individual and institutional grants for women's equality program development and evaluation specifically during Islamist regimes to protect

programs that otherwise not be able to continue in the face of a less favorable government policy regime.

The ILO should consider discussing women's empowerment issues in a majority of their appraisal reports to make sure the reports accurately reflect what happened with project beneficiaries during implementation processes. It would be also be useful to set up specific procedures to facilitate the inclusion of women's gender equality and empowerment policies in all activities of the ILO, and to formally involve staff members in the creation of those policies, particularly during an Islamist regime. It is also recommended that the ILO in Cairo form more women's empowerment units, work plans, strategies, and even a gender advisory board for labor force related activities. Further consideration of women's empowerment within the Egyptian labor force depends more on the focus and interest of staff members and management willing to uphold program values that promote gender equality.

A further recommendation for the UNW and ILO is to work to guarantee that funds will be used to build the capacities of their local partners under both types of regimes, to ensure that the latter will have a better chance of refinancing themselves and functioning properly in the future, despite hindrances that could occur during an Islamist or, for that matter, a less favorable secular administration. Both agencies should be committed to guidelines and recommendations, that are supported by empirical knowledge, to enhance policies and actions that support women and their political, economic, and social advancement in society.

The UNW and ILO should encourage an evidence based debate on needed policies for women's empowerment in Egypt, while also contributing knowledge and helpful program document components to scholarly databases for future research purposes. As it was complicated to received numerous documents and reports, from the UNW particularly, it would be beneficial

for their webpage to be updated with helpful and relevant information for scholars who will research this topic. Many efforts must be made before women's development issues and matters concerning gender empowerment become a main component of international development agencies on all complex levels. Instead of proposing paramount alterations in Islamist or secular government power structures, it can be argued that it is better to start with a bottom-to-top approach in order to modify current programs and efforts within the UNW and ILO agencies, so women are more included in future institutions (Kardam, 1991, p. 109).

It is also to be hoped that the ILO and UNW agency members will continue to collaborate with scholars who want to do more research on this topic. By sharing their concerns of women's empowerment programs during Islamic regimes, or during secular administrations, ILO and UNW agencies in the MENA region can further expand the understanding of how international agencies women's empowerment programs may be affected by regime changes or other major changes in the policy environment, which will give them more opportunities to build donor and partner relationships in preparation for such eventualities.

A. Recommendations for Policy Makers in Egypt

UNW and ILO recommendations for policy makers, based on the results of the empirical study, should stress the importance of holistic laws which will benefit women empowerment on social, economic and political levels during secular and Islamic regimes alike, to ensure future declarations and treaties will not hinder the progress of international agency projects. The UNW and ILO should also encourage policy makers to maintain international commitments, particularly those based on international treaties, so that future laws and policies do not lead to an erosion in the process of adopting international standards, regardless of the regime in power.

It would also be a significant move if policy makers were to support the ILO and UNW women's empowerment programs, and help in raising awareness for women's political and civic rights to achieve greater continuity across regime changes. Lastly, it is recommended that both international agencies collaborate with women's rights advocates and lawmakers within secular and/or Islamic regimes to build a great consciousness, which will help to shift broad societal norms in Egypt, concerning the importance of women's contributions and participation in the public sphere.

B. Further Research to Expand on the Findings

This final project could become the basis for a "time series study" which would mandate a detailed follow-up concerning the analysis in approximately two years under the current [quasi-authoritarian] administration, or when a new government is installed in Egypt. The questions involved in the study would be restructured during the next time of transaction and the project could potentially make a major contribution through the development of a detailed time series study. A section regarding donors and their level of satisfaction, or the effectiveness of their collaboration with the current Sisi administration and the administration in charge during the time of the follow-up analysis, would enable the research to examine how the international agencies were altered while contemplating the key barriers to effectiveness during the designated period of examination.

Another point that should be reexamined during a future time series study is the validity of the current framework and assumptions underlying this study, which were formed on the basis of intensive literature review and information gathering from both the ILO and UNW, and posit a difference in the effective level of support for women's empowerment programming during

secular and Islamist regimes throughout the MENA region. If it is found that such programs continue to face comparable difficulties under a secular regime in the future, or to face fewer difficulties under an Islamist regime, then the source of the difficulty should be reexamined. For example, it could be that the difficulties experienced were due to other characteristics of the regime, largely unrelated to its position on gender empowerment.

Knowledge and research regarding women's empowerment activities and gender equality programs, as well as the methodologies and procedures that convert women's issues into agency project documents, during Islamic and secular regimes are still scarce (Kardam, 1991, p.109). Further research should be done on how such shifts have restrained the responses and actions of actors within agencies such as the UNW and ILO, particularly as these organizations are more decentralized than trade or monetary organizations, which make them more challenging as a subject for research.

For future empirical analysis, variables that could be taken into consideration are other countries and international organizations that focus on women's empowerment programs in the MENA region, that have undergone political transitions similar to the case of Egypt. In addition, future research concerning international agencies and the beneficiaries in the women's empowerment programs during both types of regimes, and during possible transitions, should be explored. Direct surveys and interviews with the beneficiaries of the women's empowerment programs during the next administration of Egypt would be helpful to further analyze how they perceive the programs were impacted and how these programs are continuing to evolve.

Lastly, it would be very beneficial for future research to examine how women's rights advocates engage in Islamic and religious discourses in the the MENA region. According to An-Naim (1995, p.11), "the dichotomy between the so-called religious and secular discourses in

Islamic societies” will continue for years due to little cooperation or dialogue between women’s empowerment advocates and the regimes they live in. However, as the ILO and the UNW stated that their gender inequality programs were much more negatively affected during Morsi’s regime it would be beneficial for future scholars and academics to spend time analyzing how international agencies were also affected under Islamist regimes throughout the MENA region to determine what can be done to preserve progress in similar situations arising in the coming decades.

Without addressing this pressing issue in the future, the notion of lasting women’s advancement through empowerment programs in secular and Islamic societies will remain an ambiguous concept. It is important that academics, ILO and UNW staff members, as well as women’s rights advocates and local policymakers, educate themselves in the secular and Islamic discourse (An-Naim,1995, 59)

In conclusion, this particular case concerning gender is only a small category within a broader dilemma, where a change of government in the host country can often lead to differences in international agencies’ project support. This project is generalizable in that it can be a tool for potentially examining how international projects fare when an incoming regime has a very different political stance than the government that approved the project, be it on labor issues, healthcare, or the environment, as well as education and legal reform. However, is imperative to realize that when talking about the relationship between the Egyptian administrations and their effect on UNW and ILO women’s empowerment programs, these processes are extremely important for the future of gender equality and equal opportunities. As Kardam (2004, p.91) said, “Yet, agreement on the value of gender equality and women’s rights is certainly not widely shared. Tensions and contradictions among normative principles in international life will persist

since there are competing values and understandings of what is good, desirable and appropriate that form the basis of politics.” Strengthening and carrying out international agency programs, regardless of what kind of regime is in power, will give women in Egypt the chance to be recognized as fundamental, irreplaceable economic and political parts of society.

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Appendice

Appendix A

Survey Given to UN Women and ILO Participants. *The survey was altered depending on whether or not the staff member belonged to the ILO or the UNW. The survey below is representative of the survey form given to a UNW staff member.

Welcome Screen:

Hello UN Women/ILO Member!

Thank you so much for taking this important survey for my AUC master's project titled

"International Agency Experiences with Women Empowerment Programs in the Mubarak and Morsi Eras: Comparative Cases of the UN Women and International Labor Organization in Egypt."

An invitation to share your experiences with gender programing in Egypt:

*You are being asked to participate in a confidential research study. The purpose of the research is to gain knowledge regarding how the experience of international agency women's empowerment programs differed between the administration of Hosni Mubarak 2010 and that of Mohammed Morsi 2012. The findings may be published and/or presented. The expected duration of your participation is approximately 10-15 minutes. The procedures of the research will consist of multiple choice question groups, as well as comment sections, regarding international agency project purposes, input, activities, risks, indicators, and factors that affected the program(s). None of the procedures are experimental.

*Participation in this study is voluntary. Refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or the loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

*Please provide your name and date in the comment section below before beginning the survey so I can follow up if needed for clarification purposes. No one but me, the principal investigator, will see your name. Thank you!

*Questions about the research or your rights as a participant should be directed to Whitney J. Buchanan at whitney@aucegypt.edu
Whitney is graduate student in the Public Policy and Administration Department at AUC.

*There will be benefits to you from this research. The findings of this research will shed light on issues of Egyptian government support for women's empowerment programs, there will be a better understanding of such programs in Egypt and the MENA region, and other international, as well as local, agencies can learn from the findings.

*The information you provide for purposes of this research is confidential. No staff member names or positions will be mentioned in the thesis of the principal investigator, and any comments quoted from this survey will not be identified as to source beyond the name of the agency. All collected information from this survey will be disposed of once the thesis is completed on December 1, 2014.

*There could be certain minor risks or discomforts associated with this research. For example, if you, as an agency member, say something that you are not authorized to say and your organization disapproves of the commentary. However, you will be provided with anonymity and disclosure. No names or agency positions will be used in the principal investigator's master project for the American University in Cairo (AUC).

Question Group 2:

Which of the following programs are you most familiar with?

Description: Please answer all of the questions in this survey based on the experience of the project you indicate below.

Choices:

- A. Gender Mainstreaming Strategy in the Pro-Poor Horticulture Value Chain in Upper Egypt, Salasel
- B. Egyptian Women and the Democratic Transition: The Women's Citizenship Initiative
- C. Safe Cities Global Initiative: Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls
- D. Other

Question Group 3:

The following questions address the support your agency received from the Egyptian administrations.

3A. Which government was more supportive of your program and/or agency endeavors?

Choices:

- A. Mubarak administration
- B. Morsi administration
- C. Both administrations were equally supportive
- D. Neither administration was supportive
- E. I do not know

3B. How do you think the government was supportive of your program and/or organization?
Please give details.

3C. On a scale of 1 (not supportive) to 10 (extremely supportive) how supportive was the Mubarak administration and the Morsi administration of your program(s) and/or agency?

3E. Please feel free to provide any additional comments, information, or examples that you think would explain your project's experience more fully.

Question Group 4:

This question group discusses the partner relationships that your program(s) had developed during the Mubarak and Morsi administrations.

Partner relationship strains during each regime will also be examined.

4A. Under which presidential regime were partnerships more abundant for your program and/or organization?

Choices:

- A. Hosni Mubarak
- B. Mohammed Morsi
- C. Neither
- D. Both

4B. Did your agency experience a strain in its relationships with other international agencies due to the following factors under the reign of the Mubarak administration, the Morsi administration, both administrations, neither administration, or you do not know?

Choices: [Combined into one question, participant will be able to choose the following choices under each president]

- A. Regional and international partners were concerned with security of their staff members.
- B. Partners were concerned with government interference.
- C. Partners were concerned with active project management.
- D. Partners were concerned with implementation of the program(s).
- E. Partnerships were not strained.
- G. Other

4C. On a scale of 1 (not strained) to 10 (extremely strained) how strained were partner relationships during the Mubarak and Morsi regime?

4D. Please feel free to provide any additional comments, information, or examples that you think would explain your project's experience more fully.

Question Group 5:

This question group discusses the relationships that developed between your program and donors during the Mubarak and Morsi administrations.

Donor relationship strains under each regime will be examined.

5A. Under which presidential regime were donors more abundant for your program and/or organization?

Choices:

- A. Hosni Mubarak
- B. Mohammed Morsi
- C. Neither
- D. Both
- E. I do not know

5B. Were donor relationships ever strained during the reign of Mubarak or Morsi?

Choices: [Combined into one question, participant will be able to choose the following choices under each president]

- A. Yes. Regional and international donors were concerned with security of their staff members.
- B. Yes. Donors were concerned with government interference.
- C. Yes. Donors were concerned with active project management.
- D. Yes. Donors were concerned with implementation of the program(s).
- E. No. Donor relationships were not strained during the reign of Mubarak.
- F. I do not know.

5C. On a scale of 1 (not strained) to 10 (extremely strained) how strained were partner relationships during the Mubarak and Morsi regimes?

5D. Please feel free to provide any additional comments, information, or examples that you think would explain your project's experience more fully.

Thank You Screen:

Thank you for your help with my survey!

Question Group 6:

This question set will explore government collaboration efforts in regards to your program(s) activities. You will also be able to rate the change in government openness during the transition from the Mubarak to Morsi regime.

6A. Which administration was more collaborative in regards to [gender-equality and women empowerment] program activities?

Description: I.e. Programs were not restricted, government officials were easier to work with, etc.

Choices:

- A. Mubarak administration
- B. Morsi administration
- C. Both were equally open
- D. I do not know

6B. Please indicate how strong the difference in government collaboration efforts was between the Mubarak administration and the Morsi administration, regardless of which was better or worse.

On a scale of 1 (no difference) to 10 (drastic change).

6C. Please feel free to provide any additional comments, information, or examples that you think would explain your project's experience more fully.

Question Group 7:

The following question group will first ask about the impact of the Mubarak to Morsi transition on your agency's women empowerment programs in general. Then the following questions will examine elements of your specific project during the Mubarak administration and during the Morsi administration.

7A. Do you think your organization's women-empowerment programs was affected by the change of government from Mubarak to Morsi?

Choices:

- A. Yes, drastically
- B. Yes, somewhat
- C. No, not really

7B. Which of the following program elements were majorly altered due to the growing unrest during the [last year of the] Mubarak administration, during the [year of the] Morsi administration, during both administrations, during neither administration, or you do not know?

Choices:

- A. Project implementation. (Increase women's employment, representation in decision making, access to education, etc.)
- B. Project activities. (Training, capacity and network building, creating policy advice, advocacy, creating policy advice, etc.)
- C. Project input. (Money from donors, qualified staff, logistic and technical support, work plan documents, etc.)
- D. Project levels. (Policy level with ministry capacity building, partnership level, 'on the ground' level with pilot projects, etc.)
- E. I do not know

F. Other

7C. On a scale of 1 (being the least successful) to 10 (being the most successful) how well did your project manage during the transition from the Mubarak to Morsi regime?

7D. Please feel free to provide any additional comments, information, or examples that you think would explain your project's experience more fully.

Thank You Screen:

Thanks again for your valuable insight and help!

Question Group 8:

This group of questions focus on the disruption of your program, first during the Mubarak regime and then during the Morsi regime.

Description: (I.e. Disruption in this case means factors, such as the political climate and social attitudes, which formed due to the nature of the end of the Mubarak and Morsi administrations.)

8A. Which factors disrupted your program during the Mubarak administration, during the Morsi administration, during both administrations, during neither administration, or you do not know.

Choices:

- A. Social attitudes and taboos
- B. Gender employment and the economy
- C. The political climate
- D. Project implementation environment
- E. Budget shortfalls
- F. Lack of ministry support
- G. Legislation that negatively affected women
- H. I do not know

8B. On a scale of 1 (minimal disruption) to 10 (maximum disruption) please rate the amount of disruption your program(s) experienced during the Mubarak administration, as well as the Morsi administration.

8C. Please feel free to leave additional comments regarding disruptions that your program experienced.

Description: Thank you!

Thank You Screen:

I appreciate your time and assistance, thank you!

Question Group 9:

Criticism of your organization and/or program(s)

Description: (I.e. The administrations disagreed with some aspects of your program, the administrations disliked some program(s) messages or documents, you had strong differences concerning program strategies, activities, input, etc.)

9A. Which of the following were sources of disagreements with the government regarding your program during the Mubarak administration, during the Morsi administration, during both administrations, during neither administration, or you do not know?

Choices:

- A. Project purposes (i.e. increasing women's access to social services, awareness raising, representation in ministries, etc.)
- B. Project input (money from donors, regional and international partners, work plan documents, logistic support, etc.)
- C. Project activities (Skills development, mobilizing local communities, training, capacity building, etc.)
- D. Choice of project location and beneficiaries
- E. Work plan documents
- F. Program strategies
- G. I do not know
- H. Other

9B. How difficult was it to resolve these disagreements and issues in general with the Mubarak government and the Morsi government in general?

Choices:

- A. Very easy
- B. Somewhat easy
- C. Somewhat difficult
- D. Very difficult
- E. I do not know

9C. Did the compromises with the government cause any of the following to occur during the Mubarak administration, during the Morsi administration, during both administrations, during neither administration, or you do not know? Please select all that applies.

Choices:

- A. Limited the programs ability to have an impact
- B. Reduced program efficiency and effectiveness
- C. Disruptive shift in target group selection
- D. Decreased reach of advocacy and networking
- E. Less effective project strategies
- F. Reduced project sustainability
- G. Issues forming new partnerships

- H. Lack of new donors
- I. Disruptive shift in area of operation
- J. I do not know
- K. Other

9D. On a scale of 1 (no delay) to 5 (extreme delay) please rate the delay due to changes within the program during the Mubarak administration and during the Morsi administration.

Question Group 10:

The following questions concern program implementation issues which your program encountered during the Mubarak and Morsi administrations.

10A. Which of the following potential implementation problems, if any, did your program experience during the Mubarak administration, during the Morsi administration, during both administrations, during neither administration, or you do not know?

Choices:

- A. Security issues linked to protests and elections
- B. Lack of commitment from the ministries during the uprising
- C. Insufficient decision making structures due to unforeseen changes in government
- D. Government was not willing to allocate resources to implement policies and deliver services
- E. Economic crisis lead to slow progress and growth of the program, and higher levels of women's inequality
- F. The government decided not to support parts of the program and/or organization
- G. Delayed progress of the project(s) resulted in lack of ability to fulfill (donor and partner) mandates

10B. Did your program experience more implementation problems during the Mubarak administration or the Morsi administration?

Choices:

- A. Mubarak administration
- B. Morsi administration
- C. I do not know
- D. Other

Thank You Screen:

Thank you so much for participating!

Question Group 11:

This group of questions measure the success of your program during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 administrations. You will be able to determine what project activities and purposes were the most successful.

11A. Which project activities were most successful during the Mubarak administration, during the Morsi administration, not applicable, or you do not know?

Choices:

- A. Training
- B. Capacity building
- C. Reactivation and/or mobilizing local communities (toward issues of women's empowerment)
- D. Awareness raising
- E. Skills development
- F. Project implementation
- G. Donor acquisition
- H. Partner acquisition
- I. Other

11B. Which project purposes were most successful during the during the Mubarak administration, during the Morsi administration, not applicable, or you do not know?

- A. Increased representation of women in key decision making positions in the public and private sector
- B. Increased women's employment skills and opportunities
- C. Strengthened women's access to education and literacy
- D. Engagement of civil society, partners, and young people in supporting awareness
- E. Improved access to social services for women
- F. Other

11C. Overall, do you feel as if your program was more successful in achieving its aims under the Mubarak administration or under the Morsi administration?

- A. Mubarak administration
- B. Morsi administration
- C. Neither administration
- D. I do not know

11D. Please feel free to leave additional comments concerning the success of your program during the Mubarak administration and during the Morsi administration.

Question Group 12:

This question group discusses women's rights and empowerment in Egypt during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 administrations, as well as female participation in your program.

12A. Do you think women's rights and empowerment got better or worse during the Morsi administration, relative to the last year of the Mubarak administration?

Choices:

- A. Better

- B. Worse
- C. Stayed about the same
- D. I do not know

12C. Was violence against women more prevalent in society during the Mubarak or Morsi administration?

- A. Mubarak administration
- B. Morsi administration
- C. Both equally
- D. I do not know

12D. Was female participation in your program higher during the Mubarak or Morsi administration?

- A. Mubarak administration
- B. Morsi administration
- C. Equal participation during both administrations
- D. I do not know
- E. Other

Question Group 13:

This question group concerns your agency's experience with other UN agencies in Egypt.

13A. Are other UN agencies in Egypt, particularly UN Women, the ILO, UNDP and UNICEF, generally seen as valuable development partners?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. Sometimes

13B. Which of the agencies listed is the most valuable development partner for your program?

- A. UN Women
- B. ILO
- C. UNDP
- D. UNICEF

13C. Which of the agencies listed is the least valuable development partner for your program?

- A. UN Women
- B. ILO
- C. UNDP
- D. UNICEF

13D. Did these organizations develop strong working relationships with the Mubarak administration?

- A. Yes

- B. No
- C. I do not know

13E. Did these organizations develop strong working relationships with the Morsi administration?

- A. Yes
- B. No
- C. I do not know

Thank You Screen:

Thank you so much for your efforts! Now for the final group of questions.

Question Group 14:

This final question group concerns Islam and issues concerning women's empowerment during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 administrations.

14A. Did Islamic decrees or policies impact any areas of your programming during the Mubarak regime, during the Morsi regime, during both regimes, during neither regime, or you do not know?

Choices:

- A. Mubarak regime
- B. Morsi regime
- C. Both regimes
- D. During neither regime
- E. I do not know

14B. Were Islamic values and the religious culture negatively affecting women's empowerment more during the Mubarak regime, during the Morsi regime, during both regimes, during neither regime, or you do not know?

Choices:

- A. Mubarak regime
- B. Morsi regime
- C. Both regimes
- D. During neither regime
- E. I do not know

14C. Did your program and/or international agency experience open opposition from the Muslim Brotherhood during the Mubarak regime, during the Morsi regime, during both regimes, during neither regime, or you do not know?

Choices:

- A. Mubarak regime
- B. Morsi regime
- C. Both regimes
- D. During neither regime
- E. I do not know

14D. On a scale of 1 (extremely negative) to 10 (extremely positive), how were Islamic values and religious culture affecting women's empowerment during the Mubarak regime and the Morsi regime?

Question Group 15:

Do you have any additional comments, opinions, or final thoughts that you would like to share?

Description: Thank you again for all of your help!

Final Screen:

Thank you so much for your time and assistance! I look forward to sending my completed thesis to your organization.

Best wishes,

Whitney J. Buchanan

whitney@aucegypt.edu

Please pass this survey on to current and previous members of your organization. Thank you! Shokran!
[Sharing buttons for participants are enabled: Facebook, Twitter, and Googleplus]

Appendix B

Information provided by the UN Women in Cairo regarding projects during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 regimes.

- **Project I: Gender Mainstreaming Strategy in the Pro-Poor Horticulture Value Chain in Upper Egypt, Salasel (Duration 2010-2013).**

ADVANCING GENDER EQUALITY: PROMISING PRACTICES

Case Studies from the Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund

EGYPT

GENDER MAINSTREAMING STRATEGY IN THE PRO-POOR HORTICULTURE VALUE CHAIN IN UPPER EGYPT (SALASEL) MDG-F PROGRAMME

1. Introduction

The Pro-poor Horticulture Value Chain in Upper Egypt (SALASEL) Joint Programme (the Programme) aimed at enhancing the efficiency and productivity of the horticulture sector in Egypt and improving the working conditions of small farmers and agricultural workers, especially women, along the various nodes of the value chain. The Programme adopted a gender mainstreaming strategy that cut across all programme areas, while focusing on raising awareness among the farming community about gender-related issues and inequities; mobilizing Women Committees within the Farm Associations and strengthening the capacities of women working in the Post-Harvest Centers.

2. Initial Situation

The rationale for the intervention is grounded in a number of realities, the first one being the significant presence and critical role of women in a key sector of Egypt's economy: agriculture. Agriculture and farming provide a livelihood for 55 per cent of Egypt's population and employ 30 per cent of the labour force. The 2012 World Development Report on Gender Equality and Development indicates that 46 per cent of Egypt's female work force is employed in agriculture.¹ Women perform agriculture and farming-related activities on family owned land as unpaid labor, as well as for non-family members, as paid workers. Women form the majority (75 per cent) of the work force involved in harvesting, handling, sorting and packing processes within the post-harvest centers (PHCs). Over 40 per cent of people working in agriculture or fisheries are women. However, women have little control over land or productive resources, even if they own the assets.² Women's working conditions and the benefits that they receive from their labour are neither commensurate with their role in the work place nor with their responsibilities at home and in the community. Furthermore, the increased phenomenon of men's migration in search of gainful work has eroded traditional gender-based roles in rural areas. Yet, traditional gender norms remain tenacious, the result being that women and girls are at a disadvantage in both the public and private spheres.

The second reality is the persistence of regional disparities in Egypt's economic growth detracting from progress in meeting the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs), particularly MDG 3. Poverty in Egypt, according to the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, is on the rise. In Upper Egypt, poverty rose in both urban and rural areas from 21.7 per cent and 43.7 per cent, respectively, in 2008-2009 to 29.5 per cent and 51.4 per cent in 2010-2011.³ Moreover, the dissimilar role and status of women as compared to men is most evident in Upper Egypt. The mobility of women, their access to education, infrastructure, social and health services and their control over resources is even more restricted than that of their counterparts in the Delta or in urban governorates.

Source: http://www.unwomen.org/mdgf/B/Egypt_B.html

- **Project II: The Citizenship Initiative: Egyptian Women and the Democratic Transition (Duration: April 2012-2015).**

PROJECT OVERVIEW

The Citizenship Initiative is three-year project co-funded by the European Union aimed at “ensuring women’s basic citizenship rights during the democratic transition in Egypt”, through assisting poor and disabled women and those in rural and marginalized areas to have an impact on the political choice as voters and their economic and social identity as citizens.

The project’s main objective is increasing women’s political participation and enhancing their economic positioning through facilitating the issuance of national ID Cards for women, and



The ID Cards will also enable them to access government services including medical care in a public hospital, processing for a property title or deed, literacy programs, banking services, working positions and Social Fund for Development loans facilities.



For million of poor women living in Egypt, to exercise their rights as full citizens without ID Cards and birth certificates is impossible.

linking women to finance facilities.

The project aims to issue **2 million National ID Cards for Egyptian women**, whereby mobile registrars are going to reach out to the marginalized areas where these women live. The registration will enable women in the short run to access polls, vote, and seek membership in political parties.

CONTEXT

During the revolution of the 25th of January and in recent national events, Egyptian women played a key role as agents of change, as leaders of protests and, behind the scenes, as political organizers using social media. **The transitional period offers significant opportunities to promote women’s participation in politics**, and to sustain their influence on a process that is inclusive and responsive to the needs and priorities of Egyptian women and girls.

Source: UN Women Egypt Office “UN Women’s Projects” Document

- **Project III: Safe Cities Free of Violence Against Women and Girls (Duration: 2010-2015)**

Scope of Public Spaces

Focusing on gender-based sexual harassment and sexual violence against women and girls committed in urban public spaces % such as streets and other public neighborhood spaces (i.e. neighborhood squares, alleys, abandoned buildings, construction sites, etc.); public spaces of work, both in terms of women's productive and reproductive roles and responsibilities (e.g. markets, water distribution sites, river beds); public transportation (e.g. buses, taxis, trains); routes to and from schools and educational institutions; temporary public spaces (e.g. carnivals, festivals, fairs); public parks and other recreational and sports facilities (soccer fields, including for girls games); other public recreational spaces, such as bars; and key public facilities and infrastructure (e.g. public sanitation areas toilets, wash rooms, etc).

Strategies of Implementation:

1. Capacity-development of duty bearers, rights holders and other key actors at community, local, city and national levels.
2. Policy-oriented advocacy with local and national authorities and other key stakeholders on measures (including policy and practical measures) to prevent and reduce SV in public spaces, increase economic opportunities for women, integrate gender in economic and social development plans, including gender responsive budgeting.
3. Facilitation of constructive dialogue and partnership building between local governments and community organisations with a key role played by women's grassroots groups
4. Outreach and partnership with the media
5. Increasing public awareness and community mobilisation, including outreach to men and youth of both sexes to promote gender equality and end VAWG
6. Facilitation of policy linkages and coordination within and across local, district, provincial and national levels

UN Women- Safe Cities Goal

To produce, test and ultimately offer for wide application a model for preventing and reducing violence, particularly Sexual Violence, against women and girls in public spaces in Greater Cairo, enabling them (women and girls) to move more freely and safely, and to increase their ability to exercise their right to enjoy such spaces. The model(s) should be capable of adaptation and upscaling, thereby having the potential to make cities around the world safer.

The Safe Cities approach will make a significant contribution to one of the most neglected, but most pressing and strategic areas, within the field of programming on ending violence against women: prevention.

Partners in Egypt:

1. Cairo, Giza Governorate
2. Ministry of Education
3. Ministry of Local Development
4. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
5. Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Development
6. Ministry of Health
7. General Organization for Physical Planning
8. Information and Decision Support Centre
9. Social Fund for Development
10. National Council For Women
11. Islamic International Center for Population Studies and Research - Al Azhar
12. Regional Center for Training- Ain Shams University
13. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
14. United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)
15. UN Habitat
16. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
17. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)
18. UN RC
19. Al Shehab Foundation for Comprehensive Development
20. Egyptian Center for Women's Rights (ECWR)
21. GIZ
22. CARE Egypt
23. Hawaa El Mostakbal
24. Spirit of Youth Association
25. ASPIRE for consulting and training
26. HarassMap
27. Not Guilty for Family Development
28. Ana El Hekaya Group
29. Nefsy Movement

Women not only perceive and experience cities differently than men, but they also use public spaces in different ways.

Source: UN Women given to the principal investigator by UNW communications officer from the national office in Maadi, Cairo.

Appendix B

Information provided by the ILO in Cairo regarding projects during the Mubarak 2010 and Morsi 2012 regimes.

- **Project I: The Way Forward After the Revolution--Decent Work for Women in Egypt and Tunisia (Duration: 2012-2015).**

Project Document



International Labour Organisation

Decent jobs for Egypt's young people - tackling the challenge of young people in agriculture

Duration:	48 months
Geographical Coverage:	Egypt: National and Aswan Governorate
Project Location:	Cairo and Office in Aswan Governorate
Project Office:	ILO, Cairo
Project Language:	English and Arabic
Executing Agency:	International Labour Organisation
Donor:	AusAid
Donor Contribution:	USD 3,027,000 (AUD 3,000,000)

The project aims at increasing decent employment opportunities for young men and women, especially vulnerable groups in rural areas and at increasing awareness on and fighting against bad working conditions through five principal approaches:

The project aims at increasing decent employment opportunities for young men and women, especially vulnerable groups in rural areas and at increasing awareness on and fighting against bad working conditions through five principal approaches:

1. Through a competition¹, select one rural Governorate that will develop a Regional Action Plan for Youth Employment for this Governorate and strengthen the performance of local partners (Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Government Organizations (GO)) in this Governorate to provide services related to youth employment (outreaching to 1000 young people);
2. Develop the capacity of training institutions to provide skills and learning experiences that can increase the likelihood of finding employment. Interventions include the development of modern apprenticeship systems for young people in the informal sector, the development and delivery of entrepreneurial skills packages in agriculture and related industries, specialized entrepreneurial capacity development for poor rural women and skills development and labour market integration for people with disabilities in rural areas (2500 direct young beneficiaries);
3. Strengthen the capacity of local public employment services, youth organizations, and enterprises to efficiently match skill supply and demand, allowing young people to find jobs and employers to retain badly needed workers (800 youth beneficiaries);
4. Promote enterprise development and self-employment through a promotional campaign, improved policy environment, and strengthened business services. The project will directly support the accompaniment of 250 new businesses launched through the project and at least 500 young people will profit from improved business services;
5. Improve the knowledge, awareness and legal setting in Egypt on priority areas in the area of conditions of work especially for women in the agricultural sector.

Overall more than 5000 youth will directly profit from project interventions and many more will indirectly profit from the improved policy framework, the created networks, the improved institutions and the better equipped partners.

The project is accompanied by a rigorous monitoring and evaluation plan, and project results will be shared and publicized to allow for maximum analysis and replicability of good practices.

Source: Project document given to the principal investigator by the ILO project leader in Cairo, Egypt.

- **Project II: Creating a Conducive Environment for the Effective Recognition of Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work in Egypt (Duration: 2011-2015).**

<p>Training for employment of vulnerable women in the Textile and Ready-Made Garments Sector</p>	
<p>The Forum for Training and Education (FORTE) of the German-Arab Chamber of Industry and Commerce (GACIC), and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Project "Creating a conducive environment for effective recognition and implementation of women's fundamental principles and rights at work in Egypt" signed a one year Implementation Agreement (IA) in November 2013 to train and employ low-income Egyptian women. The agreement is to improve the skills of 1,000 Egyptian women and assist them find jobs in the textile industry. The initiative is geared specifically towards the promotion of women employment.</p> <p>The participation of women in the labour market will increase their options to sustainable livelihood opportunities and improve the welfare of their households. The initiative also includes capacity building of workers and employers on fundamental principles and rights at work and social dialogue.</p>	 <p>Creating a Conducive Environment for the Effective Recognition and Implementation of Fundamental Principles and Rights at work in Egypt</p>  
 <p>The Implementation Agreement was signed by Dr Yousef Qariouti, Director of ILO Decent Work Team (DWT) for North Africa and Country Office for Egypt; Dr. Rainer Herzog, CEO of the German Arab Chamber of Industry and Commerce (GACIC), and Eng. Mahmoud Mohamed Ahmad, Chairman of the Forum for Training and Education (FORTE). The signing ceremony was also attended by the Minister of Manpower & Immigration, Mr Kamal Abou Elta, and the Assistant Minister of Social Solidarity, Mr Hany Mehana and other officials.</p>	<p>The IA is part of the initiative for providing a suitable environment to activate the "Fundamental Principles and Work Rights for Women in Egypt". The ultimate beneficiaries are a group of 1000 unemployed vulnerable women in Egypt who will have acquired new skills in textile and ready-made garments manufacturing, and will have a one year renewable contract to work in the textile and ready-made garment factories in the poverty-stricken areas of Cairo including: <u>Shoubra El Kheima, El Obour, Mataria, Umbaha, Zietoun, Mokatom...</u></p> <p>This initiative aims at supporting sustainable, private sector employment for vulnerable women. Only the skills training is subsidised and the availability of sustainable job opportunities are ascertained prior to the delivery of the training. Furthermore, the capacities of employers to improve their productivity and competitiveness are reinforced.</p>
<p>The ILO is piloting Training for Employment schemes in different sectors and with different target groups. Experience gained through this implementation agreement shall be a pilot case for future government programmes. Capacity built with the German Chamber Network and its participating members will facilitate future implementation of Training for Employment schemes at national level to improve the labour market prospects of vulnerable people, and women in particular, in Egypt. The growth in an earlier period in Egypt has not been generating</p>	

Source: Project document given to the principal investigator by an ILO staff member in Cairo, Egypt.

- **Project III: Decent Job's for Egypt's Young People (Duration June 2010-2016).**

The principal investigator was asked not to circulate the internal document that was shared with her by the ILO staff member who led this specific project. At the time of this master's project the project did not produce publications or statistics that it could share publicly. The project focused mainly on end activities with beneficiaries and social partners.