

WOMEN AFTER ARAB SPRING FROM OPPRESSED CULTURE TO DEPRESSED EXPECTATIONS

Amany Massoud El-hedeny¹ & Iman Nour Eldin El Shamy²

¹Prof., FEPS, Cairo University. Egypt. Amanymassoud@feeps.edu.eg

²Assoc. Prof., Cairo University. Egypt. imannoureldin@yahoo.com

Abstract

The issue of Arab women rights is not separated from the cultural, political, and legal structure of the society. Academically, women issues have not been discussed away from the whole societal challenges. In spite of enhancing the women status by all holly religious codes, constitutions and international treaties, there is a gap separating the provisions of those constitutions and treaties, on one hand, and what is actually acquired. on the other. This gap is widening day after the other in spite of significant political changes and regardless the overwhelming efforts. By answering the question of why Arab Spring did not bring breeze to the Arab women participation? and through legal /political methodological approach, the paper discuss the dilemma of women rights of participation in the Arab World.

Keywords: Arab women. Empowerment. Politics. Formal participation. Substantive participation. Positive discrimination. Quota. Cultural challenges. Education. Illiteracy. Kuwait, Emirates. Libya.

Introduction

Seemingly the latest winds of political change exposed the historical facts of absenting the consciousness of the Arab woman from her political rights on purpose or – in other cases – by spontaneous ignorance which deepened the non-activation of this mechanism for decades. It is true that calls for the rights of the Arab women can be honest and desirable. but they remain just proposals derived from the western culture where cultural and political contexts are different from the society where the Arab women lives in explicitly and even implicitly.

This women right's mechanism resembles a "donation" from the political elites who fear or court the authority of the "First Lady" that may be connected to the head of the Patriarchal authoritarian regime. This may explains the retreat of the legal mechanism of the Arab women and its progressive speech vocabulary in an attempt to reach an equal standard with men and transforming to a mechanism that calls men themselves to donate or deprive women from some attained right during a long journey of struggle and a desire to find a place in the structure of power. That is why it is essential to know why women in politics is highly required (Pamela Paxton & Melanie M. Hughes, 2007, ch.1):

First: Politics are the essential domain where decisions are made to allocate the rare resources among people, hence if women are not represented in this political arena. they will be excluded from the distributive process. or rather. are restricted by men.

Second: Politics mean power. Only politicians can control power and run the foundations of the society like families. educational institutions. law-making foundations. then politicians acquire the power to +-always have to accept being submissive.

Third: The political status means the position of the citizen in the hierarchy of authority. then, legalizing an y decision made inside the society is connected to participation in the decision-making process. It is of crucial importance that women be a part of this process. since none will exert any effort to represent their benefits which are always attributed to the powerful.

It is important to realize that the political and constitutional rights of women are wrapped in three forms of political participation, (Lena Wängnerud, Vol. 12, June 2009, P.P.51-69), Legal participation which means the representation of women in the constitution and in laws. many states admit that women should enjoy the same legal rights men enjoy. Formal participation that means the balance between the representation of women in the political institutions with the proportion of its percentage in demographic map of the society and it does not mean the elimination of the political. social and economic inequality of the state, but it simply means the just numerical representation of women and Real participation that aims to to changing the hierarchy of power and include all the marginal sectors in the power structure.

Reading the mechanism of women rights in the light of this model of participation including its applications and consequences of these applications is essential to know how women rights model moves from forward phase to another. The Arab civil society in which women can play a role through training. exercising and leadership became a fragile society that lacks activities due to the absence of democracy (Amany kandel, 2010, P.23)

In spite that Tunisia has absorbed the concepts of the civil societies. democracy and human rights. it also possesses a vision regarding achieving these targets. Bourguiba administration worked hard to pacify the civil society and employ the women issues but did not allow the establishment of women associations which was tied by political considerations. (Arab Institute for Human Rights,(1996).

Legal Participation: What ought to be

On reading the Arab countries constitutions. it is noticed that most of them asserts the principle of equality among citizens. They also focused on the principle of illegitimacy of discrimination on basis of color. They also admit the necessity that women should enjoy their political. social and economic rights (Ali, Sawy, 2012, P.P.35-39).

Amazingly, some constitutions in what is called first group admit the rights of woman in a discreet way since some of them did not mention any kind of discrimination to a certain group. in addition. some positively discriminated women without reducing the rights of the other – men in this case- and this has been seen as a confirmation of respecting the social type. In **Kuwait**, the constitution asserted the fact that citizens are equal in rights and duties and there should not be any discrimination due to sex. In **Emirates**. there is a concentration on equality, social justice, security, social peace and equal opportunities to citizens with no discrimination. Whereas in 1951. in **Libya**. Article (11) of the constitution stated that all citizens should enjoy social, civil and political rights beside the equality of opportunities. and it connected this also with the equality in duties and public responsibilities. similarly. the Algerian constitution stated plainly in article (29) that sex cannot be the ground of any discrimination. and article (31) asserted this principle through stating that foundations must guarantee the equality of male and female citizens as far as rights and duties are concerned. and all citizens should not be hindered from participating in the political. economic. social and cultural life.

In **Lebanon**. the constitution linked between social justice and equality and asserts the unity of the Lebanese people and their equal rights. The **Bahraini** constitution shed also the light on the same point. It is mentioned in the fourth article that there must not be any discrimination between citizens over gender. Whereas the Sudanese constitution confirms the equality of all citizens in front of law and their right to live without any discrimination based on gender (article 31). Article 32 stated -plainly- that women and men have equal social, economic, political and cultural rights including their right to gain equal pay and equal workload. Article 82 of the same constitution to oblige the national government to establish a non-central system considering the cultural, ethnic. religious and language diversity. and equality between men and women. It also stated that in case of declaring the emergency status. there should not be any discrimination based on gender during it. In the Jordanian constitution. Article (6) stated that Jordanians are legally equal and enjoy the same rights and duties. and that the state should be responsible for providing citizens with work opportunities. education. social peace and equality.

The principal **Palestinians law**, stated in article (9) that all Palestinians are equal legally and in courts without any discrimination based on gender.

Saudi Arabia stated in article (8) of the Basic System of Governance that equality is one pillars of the state according to Islamic Sharia.

The **Egyptian** constitution adopts the same concept regarding rights and public duties. It clearly declares that there must not be any discrimination based on gender.

In **Tunisia**, before the revolution, the constitution asserts the equality among citizens regarding rights and duties. Whereas the **Moroccan** constitution asserts in article (19) that men and women are equal regarding, political, economic, cultural and environmental and civil rights and the state exerts utmost efforts to accomplish equality among men and women and eliminate all sorts of discrimination. The articles (25) and (26) of the **Syrian** constitution asserts the equality of opportunities among citizens and the right of every one of them to contribute to the political, economic, cultural and social life. Mauritanian constitution, article (1) stated asserted the concept of equality Without any sort of discrimination based on gender. The same applies to **Qatar**, article (35) of its constitution stated that all citizens are equal legally and no discrimination based on gender. In **Sultanate Oman**, all citizens are equal and no discrimination based on gender. In all its laws, Oman does not discriminate men or women, article (f), article (58b) of its constitution stated the right of direct free voting and banned any nomination discrimination. Article 58 b organizes the conditions of nomination whether for males or females, it also organized the formation of other state councils like the municipal councils in all areas. Direct free elections are the system adopted in those councils. In **Yemen**, women are partners of men and enjoy the same rights and duties according to Islamic Sharia, this is clear in the text of article (31) of the constitution. While in **Iraq**, the constitution stresses that Iraqis are equal legally with no discrimination based on gender. Finally, in article (15) of the **Somali** transitional federal charter, there is a stress of the principle of equality between genders. (National Council of Women in Egypt, 2013, P.P. 1-15)

As far as the right to practice the direct political rights are concerning, and for the purposes of the study, the Arab states can be classified into three categories, the first category – the states whose constitutions did not include any political rights to women such as Kuwait and Emirates. The Kuwaiti constitution has been amended lately to grant women with this right.

The second category of the constitutions stated clearly in their constitution on the political rights of women ; such as Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, Lebanon, Yemen, Bahrain and Qatar. Meanwhile, Egypt bans any political activity or the establishment of any political party based on gender discrimination. While Bahrain, stressed the right of all citizens, men and women, to participate in the public affairs and enjoy the legal rights. Similarly, Tunisia's constitution supported the rule of the political parties to educate women and enhance their participation in the national life, as well as encouraging the concept of providing women and men with equal opportunities regarding electoral positions.

However, the Moroccan constitution summarizes the political rights of women in her right to vote ignoring other political rights. This matter reflects the degrading look to women who are considered as an electoral quantities only exploited during election campaigns.

Same text is found in both Iraqi and Mauritanian constitutions, as they state that every man and women should enjoy political rights after puberty. In Syria, positive discrimination is clear since the texts of the constitution implies that the state should be responsible for eliminating any ban which may hinder the development of the political life and the participation of women in building the society. On the other hand, Iraq also showed a positive discrimination in the favor of women through the elections law which states that women should occupy one fourth of the parliament chairs. The transitional Somali charter stated that number women constitute 12% of the Somali parliament members. While, on the level of the cultural, social and economic rights, Emirates stated in the constitution that all citizen have the right to occupy public jobs. Libya did the same regarding the **free education** of both boys and girls.

The Jordanian constitution stressed the importance of specifying the working conditions of women, and in Sudan, the constitution stated that the national government and the government of South Sudan are have legislative and executive rights to enhance the role of women. Bahrain also adopted the principle of equality regarding jobs. In Morocco, merits was the key reason for citizens to occupy public jobs. Similarly, Oman there is equality regarding the occupation of public jobs. In Iraq, the state claims responsibility over children and women as far as social and medical insurance and living needs are concerned. The state also banned sexual trafficking of children and women (Article 35). Whereas in Somalia the civil society organizations – including women organizations –required that the state should guarantee accurate environment to enable women to actively participate in the political, social and economic life.

Significant Analytical Remarks

Noticeably – from this primal readings of those constitutions – that the constitution of Palestine was the only one which imposed punishments on whoever hinders the rights of women. The Arab constitutions stressed the right of women to participate in political life and some states guaranteed that. However, all Arab constitutions and legislations are free from any article that defines the principle of equality between men and women or defines the principle of justice and equality in acquiring rights. This has been reflected on the legal verdicts whose rationale did not explain those principles. and most of the international reports issued about the Arab states related to CEDAW agreement or others that are concerned with women. do not contain analysis to state the consequences of these laws and their applications on the principle of equality.

On the international level. many Arab states signed many agreements. one of those is the international agreement on the political rights of women (signed in March 1953 by Egypt (1981). Libya (1989). Jordon (1992). Lebanon (1956). Morocco (1976). Mauritania (1976). Tunisia (1968). Yemen (1987). Then the International Covenant on Civil and Human Rights. signed by Algeria (1989). Egypt (1982). Iraq (1971). Libya (1970). Jordon (1975). Kuwait (1996). Lebanon (1972). Morocco (1979). Syria (a979). Somalia (1990). Sudan (1976). Tunisia (1969) and Yemen (1978). Then first optional Protocol adjacent to the International Covenant on Civil and Human Rights was signed by Algeria (1989). Libya (1989) and Somalia (1990). It provides women a path for women who are discriminated to achieve an international treatment to this matter since the application of the protocol started in 2000 and contained to mechanisms that allow to hold the governments responsible for their obligations.

As far as CEDAW is concerned. which is the international treaty calling for banning all discrimination against women. the signing states were: Algeria. Saudi Arabic, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Jordon, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, Mauritania, Tunisia and Yemen. The Human development Report (2007-2008_ issued by the United Nations mentioned that the last Arab states that signed the agreement were (Syria 2004. Emirates 2004. Oman 2006). While the states that did not sign till now are : Qatar. Somalia and Sudan. It is worth mentioning that many Arab states signed the treaty but had reservations regarding many of the included articles.

Political/cultural depression: What is!

In spite of all those anticipations from most of the Arab states. reality is a different matter because it is linked to the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of women. implanting **willingness and ability** to apply this system or depriving her of both as far as her political rights are concerned. Statistics of the Arab Human development Report for 2004 show that the percentage of women working as administrators and managers in from 1985 till 1997 was high in Bahrain. it reached 21%. then Egypt follows with 16 %. then Iraq with 13%. then Tunisia with 9%. The lowest percentage was in Qatar (1%). in Emirates and Djibouti(2%) and in Syria (3%). (Arab Human Development Report,2004).

The report mentioned that the percentage in some Arab states is 0% due to the absence of any information. Those states are : Saudi Arabia. Somalia. Sudan. Yemen and Libya. Naturally, this percentage is very low. with the exception of 3 Arab countries (almost).

Although the constitutions of many Arab states acknowledges the equality of men and women regarding civil and political rights, the existence of constitutional guarantees for the rights of women does not necessarily symbolize a reality in which women achieved their full civil, legal and political rights. In addition. the poor representation of women in decision making positions. deprived the women constitutional rights from their core meaning which is need to insure their participation in political life. In reality, this can be explained via discussing two phases regarding the activation of the Arab women legal rights. The first phase goes beyond the independence of these states. It is a phase of building the Arab societies in which the Arab feminism groups called for their political rights in states like Egypt and Sudan. Egyptian women achieved the right to nominate and elect in 1956. and the Sudanese women achieved their rights in 1964. (EENI, Escowa, UN.,2004)

In addition. the feminist move in Tunisia succeeded in pushing for the election of the constitutive national council which consisted only of males and was criticized since 1957 by women considering it a non-democratic establishment. As a celebration of the first elections in Tunisia. all Tunisians – men and women – were granted political rights.

The second phase is connected to the era in which many Arab states acknowledged the political rights for their citizens. their right to participate in the parliaments and supported the participation of women either via appointment of election in some countries like Oman. or via acquiring the right to elect and nomination and running for the municipal elections in Qatar or participate in monitoring the Saudi Shura Council.

In spite of all efforts. the participation of women in the political life is still limited. Women number does not exceed 5.7% of the members in the Arab parliaments. it is the smallest percentage comparing to all parliaments in the world. In 2002. women participation percentage was 15% while in Europe it was 39.7%. in Asia 15.2% and in Africa 13.6%. In addition. there are differences inside Arab countries. for example in Tunisia. Syria and Morocco. they are 10%. while in Lebanon and Egypt. they are 2% and less than 2% in Jordan and Yemen.(Hafiza Shoker,2004). Bahrain and Kuwait -followed by Oman- are the major Gulf states where women enjoy leadership and administrative positions.

In Bahrain. women occupied ministerial positions and diplomatic position as well as administrative positions in the universities. However, her participation in the parliamentary life is still humble.

It is true that the Bahraini women benefits from the state's civil, commercial, political and cultural rights theoretically. and it is true that there are no clear texts differentiating between men and women. but discrimination against women is socially and politically deeper than any law obligations. Unfortunately, reality is not as positive. the rights system was not activated due to **law illiteracy**. Most of the owners. merchants and business are men. and business ownership by women are mostly nominal only issued to the male under the name of the female because law bans him from working in trade so he registers the business under the name of his sister. mother. wife or grandmother then holds an official mandate from her to manage the business or the project. The project may profit or lose. in the first case. the money goes to the pocket of the man. while if woman bears the loss alone. Therefore, she enters into a dark tunnel of legal and legislative complications due to her **law illiteracy**.((Khory Fouad, 1983, p..p. 141-143).

The Bahraini case is not an exception. **the dependence of women on men** is an obstacle that hinders the activation of this legal system. The dependence of the Arab woman on a man and his full control in the house. plus her inability to take a decision solely. is not only an image to be seen inside the family but also in all the governmental and civil society foundations. The same applies also on the social and professional foundations. The control of men on decision making policies made the existence of women not linked to her proficiency and talents but just a scenery that copes with the international progressive calls!! (Sasy, Sophian. 2004, Civilized Dialogue, *Hewar Motamadeen*, Vol. 1050)

As for Yemen, available statistics show that the participation of the Yemeni women in different public affairs in the country is minimal and limited. This is related to the representation of women in the elected parliamentary assemblies or in the civil society foundations and women occupation of leadership and superior posts in the state or the percentage of her representation in the diplomatic corps.(Saber balol, 2009, p. 2). The same applies to Jordan. in 1979 a woman reached – for the first time – a position as a minister. but the nature of the jobs occupied by women are mostly non leading jobs. The Jordanian woman was unable to work in diplomatic corps as an ambassador till the end of the 70s of last century. She was also unable to participate in political parties in the Arab states. regardless of the political backgrounds of these parties. The later did not give much interest in women as a leading cadre. on the contrary the issues of women were the weak link in the programs of the political parties or even were subject to neglect completely. There were cases where those issues were a subject for bargain for political and social considerations. The masculinized Arab political parties prevailed and banned female activists with political ambition from joining the parties and participate in the political life. The same applies to workers' syndicates. each syndicate has its own rules. Women are willing to join the supreme commission of the syndicates but rarely participate in the activities. Undoubtedly the feminist movements in the Arab states still **lack a vast more general vision to women and their political role.**

In spite of the Qualitative excellence of women in the political life. on the level of decision making. this excellence is linked – in many cases – with the willingness of the political authority and that the process of their election and hiring is linked to their membership in the governing party which is a guarantee that all instructions related to the public policies will be applied and a ban on the free will of women. Egyptian case is a clear example. After the 25th Of January revolution and the crippling the 1971 constitution. the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) called for constitutional amendments regarding 9 articles of that constitution and called for referendum in March 19th. 2011. (National Association for Defending of Rights and

Freedoms, NADF, 2012, p. 13). In spite of the effective participation of women in January revolution. the committee responsible for the constitutional amendments did not include any woman. In addition, the amendments themselves were disappointing to the hopes of women. Article 75 stated that the nominee for presidency should not be married to a foreign wife. tacitly this means that the post will go to a male. Consequently, women are not present in the committee responsible for amending the constitution which is a pure marginalization of her existence in the Egyptian political life. Before the revolution. the case was the same. The elections were done in a legal environment, some supporting the participation of women and others not supporting. SCAF issued a decree law (108 / 2011) to amend some articles of law (38 / 1972) to:

- Cancel the appointment of seats in Constituencies where women are the only nominees (what is called the legal quota).
- Change the electoral system from the solitary to the dual system which combine solitary and party lists providing that every list contains at least one female.

The report of NARF refers to the situation in Egypt and highlights the status of women during the period following 25th of January revolution and the changes that took place on many levels politically and socially. The introduction of this report sheds the light on the situation of the Egyptian woman before the revolution and her marginalization. in addition to her sufferings from violence. The report mentioned that women were never appointed as governors. only 1 – 3 ministries were appointed to women in the governments that followed the revolution. It is true that the participation of women in the voting process was noticeable (The parliament elections). but women got eventually 11 seats which equals 2%. 9 female MP were on political parties lists and 2 were appointed.

In this context. we can swiftly compare this percentage with that of years 2005 and 2010 to conclude that the percentage of women representation in the parliament after the revolution did not differ from that before the revolution since it was 2% in 2005 and 13% in 2010. but the latter is considered a special case due to the fact that the quota system was applied granting 64 seats for women.

Many voices called for the amendment/cancellation of some family laws because they are linked to the “ex” regime. but some laws were saved and others were amended such as ; the laws for guardianship ...etc. In this context. there was a refusal for a law which was planned to be calling for the cancellation of “KHOLA” law (Women possessing the right to divorce husbands).

On the social level, in spite of the role the women played during the demonstrations in the first days of the revolution and its aftermath. there were many accidents and violations the woman was subject to such as the assault of the feminist gathering celebrating the international day fro woman in 8th March,2011 and the dispersing of the sit-in in Tahrir square by force. on the following day, and the arrest of some participants including 18 girls who were subject to insults and violations that reached to mean level by exposing girls to virginity tests. this case caused a lot of hassle. In addition the girls were beaten and dragged during the event which was called : “the Event of Mohamed Mahmoud and the cabinet“. in those events the violations were very clear. On the level of other legislations also. there was a positive side. SCAF issued a decree toughening punishments in crimes of rape and harassment. the accused in these case may face life in prison and execution in some cases.

However. those violations were not the only issues happening to women. but there were some light at the end of the tunnel. Women were granted seats in the labor syndicates and achieved international prizes. In addition. there is a trend calling for the establishment of feminist political parties.

It seems that **the confusing social and economic situation and the wavering between traditions and modernity** in many Arab states affected the possibility to interpret those constitutional and legal rights into reality. The social foundations still adopt the biological minuses to deprive women from enjoying the least political rights. It is enough to know that the Saudi woman is realistically deprived from presenting a complaint because she cannot speak to a police officer or enter a police station unless accompanied by one of her relatives (Wally). In addition. the local laws forbade women from travelling alone. and she cannot have a visa or a passport without a family permission. women cannot even board a plane without such a permission. Women in Saudi Arabia cannot drive cars in a country where cars is of a very essential need and not an image of luxury.

Historically, governments will never grant women – or an marginalized group – in the Arab states due rights based on the fact that rights may not be given but the government must create a suitable environment for the societies in those states to accept the image of women. What did the Arab governments did in this domain?

In spite of the fact that Iraq was the first Arab country that allowed women to work as judges – H. H. Zakyia Ismael was the first judge in the country according to a presidential decree issued in 1959 –some states deprive women from this right. For Example Article (18) of the legislation authority of Emirates (law number

3/1983) stated the following : “Those who occupy posts as judges in the courts of the union must be fully eligible Muslim male “. Although article (35) of the Emirati constitution states : “all citizens have the right to occupy public jobs – bearing in mind they enjoy the same circumstances according to the provisions of law. Public jobs are public service. The public employee aims to serve the public welfare via practicing his/her professional duties”. It is worth mentioning that the Emirati legislation law has been amended to allow women to work as judges according to the Emirati strategy aiming at the empowerment of women. At the end of 2007. an Amiri decree was issued to employ the first 2 prosecutors deputies in the Amiri legislation circuit. Abu Dhabi. both were women. This decree allowed women to occupy posts in the legislation system ... Qatar appointed the first female judge in March 2010 !

Internal change to the situation of Arab women – desired by the Arab states- is linked to external factors more than being a change resulted from political and social development. The Arab woman is a part of the Arab society. so what the society faces affects her one way or another. Believing that the political scenery in the Arab societies means that the political concerns of women erupted suddenly has to be reviewed. Some of those concerns were purchased while some have been assembled by men of the family. the tribe and the ruling group. Syria. Lebanon. Jordan and Palestine achieved big scores more than other Arab states in the field of political rights of women. Lebanon is the most liberal Arab state but the traditional parental system still prevails specially in politics. Women can be seen working in the artistic and commercial domains but she is absent from the political life. In the cases when some women entered the parliament. that was due to their relation with males belonging to prestigious families socially and politically such as; Mrs. Bahyia Elhariry. sister to ex-prime minister Mr. Rafik Elhariry and Mrs. Nayila Moawad widow of Mr. Reinee Moawad. (Asmaa Sabah, 2011, *Civilized Dialogue, Hewar Motamadeen*, Vol. 3510).

The women are not elected if not linked to the masculine hierarchy politically. socially and as far as kinship is concerned. Palestine is not an exception. (Nasser A. 2014, P. 67).

Whereas in Egypt, in spite of the fact that the period after 2011 revolution witnessed the nominations of Muslim Brotherhood which included women as a new move – the political party of Muslim Brotherhood nominated 46 women comparing to 13 women in 2010 elections and 1 single nominee in the elections of 2000 and 2005 – but women won seats that constituted only 2% of the seats in the legislation councils.

Analysis the shocking speeches of the Islamic political powers regarding women explains a part of the reasons behind non-activating the rights mechanism for women.

In the first feminist conference held by Nour party. Dr. Yaser Burhamy. deputy chief of the Salafy movement stated that **they are obliged to nominate women** because the law governing practicing political life imposes that women should be present on the lists of the party but they are placed last. and no woman was nominated individually.

Liberal parties placed women in the first level. Wafd. Eslah. Tanmia and ELthoura Mostamera parties nominated one woman. but those parties did not get considerable votes comparing to the Islamic parties. and women had no chance to benefit from the second or the third levels.

After presenting this realistic image shows that there are many reasons behind the non-activation of the women's rights mechanism and they can be considered as enemies of women participation. Surprisingly enough, some of those reasons are related to the women's ignorance of their rights. their lack of a generalized vision regarding their political role, their dependence on men. the culture of the society and the values output which was eternalized although it contains tribal loyalties that will never support women to participate in building modern states as we wish or for a political reason such as the society's dictatorship and suppression.

Unfortunately. Arab constitutions and legislations did not gain the liberal and democratic touches from an internal self-development process of the social relations. hence. the obligations to comply with them is mere formality. the same applies on the issues of women.

Women rights inside the family do not change. she is still being beaten and humiliated and the Arab World did not witness any new law to govern the situation of women. In spite of adopting the different legislations mentioned in the international treaties. there remains a wide gap separating reality and actuality. Moreover, some internal legislations ban assigning political and legislative jobs to women most of the pretexts came from historical traditions not from Islam. Those traditions besieged women in certain zones mixing social visions and traditions related to the inferiority of women with the absolute man power and the social gains women achieved. In discussing the activation of the political role for women. figures do not mean a lot – as far as female ministers and deputies are concerned. For example. the distribution of ministerial posts constitutes the worst example related to the discrimination based on gender. Women are handed the responsibilities of the ministry of education, social affairs and culture while the ministries of decision making are under the masculine control.(Othman Abd El Salih,2009, p.29)

In the oriental societies. state oppression represented by security men. usage of the traditional cultural language. tribal values. sexual oppression through sexual harassment or defamation and the usage of the "honor concept" are mere means to prevent and hinder the participation of women from being a formality to being a realistic.

In Egypt during the administration of Hosny Mubarak, female nominees were threatened by thugs and "face mutation" to retreat or give up for the government nominees. that was the main way to deal with women politically under the rule of a regime that called for "women empowerment"!!!

There is no place in all theories of political maturity to explain how can Saudi Arabia appoint 30 women in the Shura Council which includes 150 seats. while women occupied 2% of the seats!!.

In Egypt, the Egyptian woman herself can help to solve the puzzles regarding the application of her rights since it is enough to have a look at the elections publicity in 2011 when a female nominee placed a rose instead of her own "covered" picture in Dokki and Agouza districts (Nominee of the El Nour political party). Some asserted that the picture is not a sinful deed since God looks at our works not at our faces !!! In another example, the picture of the husband of another nominee was placed instead of his wife's and her name was mentioned as : A wife of Mr. B.. and the name of the husband was mentioned!!!

Generally, Arab constitutions did not discriminate men and women towards law, and regarding responsibilities and duties. and stated that each has the right to occupy public jobs and be assigned in the state administration based on qualifications and certifications. law protected some rights for women and there is still a wide gap between the reality of the legislation and the malfunction of real application. Women are still deprived from participation in the state hierarchy and from the decision making positions. Women still cannot affect the political and economic decisions. The representation of women in the Arab World is the smallest in the world. The quota system and the portions enabled women to participate in the parliament but this system was not applied honestly and effectively most of the time but it was unfortunately a good reflection of male domination on the political arena.

Conclusion

1- Discussing the issues of women and their contribution to politics is not but a part of the necessity to "democratize" the social issues in the Arab World. it has never been a case of a group since women empowerment meant society empowerment as a whole. With the declining of good governance and the absence of the decision making process. women capabilities will never develop. Discussing the rehabilitation of the political foundations as a whole through application of law supremacy and the principles of transparency. in addition to corruption elimination, is more important than discussing the political problems of women. Consequently. the issue of women is the issue of the society and women inclusion is related to the inclusion process of all society groups. Dealing with the political rights of women has been always related to the many complicated factors including traditions. cultural inheritance and misunderstanding of the religious texts. Only explanations were derived from Sahria and radical jurisprudence were used. thanks to this many Arab states refused the CEDAW treaty based on the allegations that it is opposed to Islam. in spite that many Muslim states – more radical – have signed the treaty. Before calling women to change their culture, Arabs should fight the enemies of rights such as illiteracy. poor political awareness and tribe tradition that still consider women as just "subject"..

2- The legal and constitutional frameworks do not discriminate men or women in many Arab states, but women remain a neglected cultural and social value who has no free will to choose. Arab women is not liberated yet from the traditional education dogma or her alienation from professionalism and serious commitments.

3- Although many Arab societies acknowledge the political rights of Arab women. this is not enough. The correction of her mutilated image in the mass media and her lack of economic dependence and protecting here from physical and moral assaults in the family and in the society distances these societies from the possibility to change the theoretical values scheme into reality. In spite of all the anticipations in most Arab states. reality remains a different fact because it is connected to a depressing or establishing context for women implanting **will and power** inside her soul to activate this scheme or extract them from her to prevent a realistic practice of her political rights. Theoretically, there are no constitutional or legal restraints on the participation of women in political parties, the parliament and the government or in the decision making positions. the gap between the legal articles related to her participation- without discrimination- and the exercising the political authority on the society is reflected negatively on more. in addition to the traditions that limit her political participation. Authority in many Arab countries – in addition to traditions-hinder this participation and affects the actual application of the principle of law supremacy. The control of the parental authority mingled with the values of dominance. superiority and oppression obstacle the application of these just legal articles in the favor of women.

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