Women's Political Participation in Muslim Brotherhood between the Hammer of Ambiguity and the Anvil of Inclusion-moderation:

The Case of Egypt and Tunisia

Ida Bary

The Department of International Environment and Development Studies, Noragric, is the international gateway for the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU). Eight departments, associated research institutions and the Norwegian College of Veterinary Medicine in Oslo. Established in 1986, Noragric's contribution to international development lies in the interface between research, education (Bachelor, Master and PhD programs) and assignments.

The Noragric Master thesis are the final theses submitted by students in order to fulfill the requirements under the Noragric Master program "International Environmental Studies", "International Development Studies" and "International Relations".

The findings in this thesis do not necessarily reflect the views of Noragric. Extracts from this publication may only be reproduced after prior consultation with the author and on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation contact Noragric.

Noragric
Department of International Environment and Development Studies
P.O. Box 5003
N-1432 Ås
Norway
Tel.: +47 64 96 52 00
Fax: +47 64 96 52 01
Internet: http://www.nmbu.no/noragric

Declaration

I, Ida Bary, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature………………………………..

Date…………………………………………

Abstract

The political participation of women in the Muslim Brotherhood differs from country to country and depends on many factors. The aim of this thesis to shed light on the level of women's participation in the Muslim Brotherhood and explore the variation from one country to another. The Egyptian and Tunisian Muslim Brotherhood are presented in this thesis as case studies to show the range of differences of within the Muslim Brotherhood and the factors behind those differences. Tunisian women are more developed in political participation when compared to Egyptian women. The law itself guarantees gender equality between men and women in Tunisia, even though it is not totally applied in society. At the same time, Egyptian women in the Muslim Brotherhood still clash with local culture and patriarchic domination of life in Egypt.

The Muslim Brotherhood in Tunisia is open minded when explaining the narration of Prophet Mohammad regarding the level of women political participation.

Acknowledgement

Table of Contents

1.0 Introduction

The Muslim Brotherhood is the most influential Islamic organization in the world. It is also the most controversial, as many countries in the West and the Middle East have condemned it because of its ideology (Leiken & Brooke 2007). The Muslim Brotherhood's ideology is based on embracing Islamic teachings to resist the invasion of corrupt Western influences, Munson claims (Munson 2001). The basic mantra was to rid Egypt of Western imperial domination by adopting an Islamic path. However, the Muslim Brotherhood is often vague in applying this mantra to specific issues and translating it into clear policy proposals (Munson 2001). While it has called for an Islamic state, the Muslim Brotherhood also claims that true Islam is democratic (Munson 2001). The Muslim Brotherhood not only intervenes in large social and political problems but has also tied these problems to individuals' daily lives (Munson 2001). The Muslim Brotherhood argues that large-scale problems such as poverty, Western domination and immorality exist because people have fallen away from Islam; therefore, it calls for restricting standards of individual conduct (Munson 2001).

Restricted standards are not far from women in the Muslim Brotherhood (Sisterhood), as Islamists have restricted women's roles to be only mothers and wives (Timmerman 2000). Islamist movements define women's status regarding sexual differences in social and familial roles (Moghadam 1991). According to Ibrahim Alhudaiby, an Islamic researcher, women are neither allowed to participate in decision making within the organization nor to be members of the guidance office (Hamed 2013). Women in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood had traditionally restricted roles until the revolution of January 2011.

The Revolution of 25 January in Egypt formed a new phase of women's roles in the Muslim Brotherhood. Women started to participate in public life and to rebel against their traditional roles. Women gathered at Tahrir Square to demand the fall of Mubarak's regime (Hamed 2013). Moreover, women's roles were further highlighted when women from the Muslim Brotherhood participated in the parliamentary elections of 2012 (Hamed 2013). However, some researchers,

such as Alhudaiby, have not considered this change in women's roles as actual change; furthermore, Alhudaiby believes that the Muslim Brotherhood is still a closed-minded organization (Hamed 2013).

Unfortunately, women in the Muslim Brotherhood do not play an appropriate role in the Muslim Brotherhood. In other words, the Sisterhood does not have a weight similar to that of the Muslim Brotherhood. Furthermore, women are always dominated by men (Hamed 2013); this is the case in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. More than 2,000 kilometers to the west of Egypt exists a different experience of the Muslim Brotherhood representing the Alnnahda party in Tunisia.

The Alnnahda party or Renaissance Party is the most prominent of all Tunisia's Islamic parties under the leadership of Sheikh Rached Ghannouchi (Ismail 2011). Ghannouchi announces that half the seats in the constitutional assembly will be allocated to women (Maged 2011). It sounds as if Tunisian women rejected male domination and that the experience of Tunisian women is brighter in comparison to the Egyptian case. Although the Alnahda party in Tunisia is based on the same ideology as that of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, it has slightly different adjustments that were implemented by his leader Mr.Ghannouschi "who was affected by English and French culture[i]", Ghannouchi announced on 14 of July 2014 that he wouldn't mind if a woman becomes the president of the state (the Tunisian newspaper on 23.08.2015)[1].

The level of women's political participation in the Muslim Brotherhood varies from one country to another, and this is the motivation for writing this thesis, so the main research question investigated in this paper is:

Is women's political participation in the Muslim Brotherhood a real recognition of women's political rights?

Sub-questions:

1. 1.Why does the level of women's political participations in the Muslim Brotherhood vary from one country to another?
2. What are the hindering factors for women's political participation in the Muslim Brotherhood?

---

[1] www.aljarida.com.tn

The importance of this study is that it will provide a useful point of reference for further studies on Islamic movements in Egypt and Tunisia. Additionally, this study removes the curtain from the question of whether or not women in the Muslim Brotherhood have the same rights of political participation as men. This paper sheds light on the barriers or limiting factors that prevent women from political participation. The main aim of this study is to develop further an understanding of the Islamic groups in the Middle East.

This study will be a comparison between women's political participation in Egypt and Tunisia. It will start with the methodology chapter that shows how the data was collected, how it was analyzed and the research process. Secondly, it will shed lights on the theoretical context and literature reviews that discuss the position of women's participation in public life in both Egypt and Tunisia, in addition to the political rights women, enjoyed in both movements. Thirdly, it will show the findings concluded from the research. Lastly, it will discuss the conclusion.

2.0 Methodology

The main problem at hand for this study- how can the level of female representation be explained - will be a starting point for the method chapter. The purpose of the research questions is to get an understanding of what obstacles there are for women to participate in politics as well as looking into actors' role to increase women's political participation. It is, therefore, appropriate to carry out a qualitative methodological approach for this study. This study was conducted during a field study in Egypt, Tunisia, and Turkey, between October and November 2014. Additionally, telephone interviews took place. Qualitative in-depth informal interviews are the empirical base of the study, which focuses on women's political participation in the case of Egypt and Tunisia. Twelve interviews were done with representatives from political parties, women's organizations, female members of parliament, and gender experts in Egypt and Tunisia. The purpose of the informal interviews is to answer the overarching aim at hand for this study and the three more precise and delimited research questions that have been identified. This is a second and more specified purpose for the interviews in this study. For this type of question, it is preferable to a qualitative approach since I seek to explain rather than to describe the phenomena

of women's political participation. The qualitative textual analysis is used as a supplement to the interviews. The textual analysis does not take up too much room in this thesis, but it is important due to the contribution of other answers based on interviews that are similar to the ones made in this research. The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and Tunisian Alnnahda party are the two cases chosen for this study and it is, therefore, the difference in the level of women's representation in Egypt and Tunisia, which I seek to explain. In this research, I have chosen Egypt and Tunisia as two cases to study the women's political participation in the Muslim Brotherhood and the determinants of this involvement. I focused on those countries for certain considerations: Egypt represents an example of a state where women's role is very restricted, even though lately their role has increased. While Tunisia experienced an opened society and women in the Muslim Brotherhood, they participated more in public life.

Both Egypt and Tunisia have differences as well as similarities between them: both experienced Arab Spring and changes in their governments, for example. Thus, due to this, the female political participation in the Muslim Brotherhood is different for both of the countries. Egypt has taken as a more traditional and conservative stance regarding women's participation where women do not have much liberty. Conversely, Tunisia is a place where women have a better social place in society and can live with more rights and a higher level of political participation (Coleman 2011). However, the mission of the Muslim Brotherhood was conceived in 1928 when the movement of the Muslim Brotherhood started. Therefore, it is important to compare and identify that what factors determine the significant difference in women's participation in the Muslim Brotherhood despite the fact that both the countries experienced Arab Spring.

The following criteria were used: culture, absence/presence of women in the organizational structure, conformation with the state, conservatives/reformers, experienced women cadre, women's will, women's experience, patriarchal society and ideology. In this study, I have chosen qualitative research strategy to conduct this research because I believe it is the most suitable for answering my research questions because the qualitative research focuses on words to collect and analyze data (Bryman 2008). Additionally, qualitative research refers to the meaning, description and characteristics and meaning of things. This meaning requires consideration of the individual's perception that necessitates qualitative data. I have planned to

4

use an inductive approach since there are not many studies that discuss theory relevant to women's political participating in the Muslim Brotherhood. An inductive approach is an approach that deals with data in the form it is heard, observed and recorded when collecting and analyzing the data, where theory is generated out of the research (Matthews and Ross 2010), even though there is no pure inductive approach in research.

For Research Design, which is considered a framework for collecting and analyzing data (Bryman 2008), I have used the multiple-case studies design with a focus on comparative research to facilitate the aim of understanding the differences in the levels of women's political participating in both Egypt and Tunisia. This can be argued to be the most suitable design since going deeper into a problem and focusing on one context have the advantage of giving a more detailed answer which enables a deeper understanding of the problem. This can be fruitful when continuing studies are made with one or more cases. A "comparative design" as a research strategy includes studying two different cases using one or more identical methods (Bryman 2008). The comparative design enables the researcher to understand the phenomena better when comparing them. In qualitative research, the data collection will be in an outline form, and the cases could be organizations, nations, countries, etc. (Bryman 2008). The comparative research examines an issue in detail within each country or culture and compares them with the other country using common criteria (Matthews and Ross 2010). It includes not only similarities between the two cases but also the differences (Matthews and Ross 2010).

The comparative research uses a multiple case study design to study the similarities and differences between the two cases. (Matthews and Ross 2010). However, the case study design is widely criticized for not being able to generalize the results. According to Yin, the case study approach would be most suitable when questions are of the type "how" or "why," aiming to understand or describe some social phenomenon (Yin 2009). The questions that are used to answer the researchable issues in this study are all of descriptive and explanatory character. Those types of questions fit the case study research design (Yin 2009).

The research design is the framework for research methods, which includes sampling approach, data collection, and data analysis. Samples are the tools allow researchers to collect information

about a larger population using a smaller one (Berg & Lune, 2012:50). The sampling strategy employed in this study was purposive sampling, which is a non-probability type of sampling. I believe this way of sampling is relevant to the research questions, even if it cannot be generalized to the larger population (Bryman, 2008:415). I choose the purposive sampling because it enables the researcher to consider specific goals when he/she chooses the sample, and the units or sites are selected because of their relevance to the subject matter under study (Bryman, 2008:416).

In collecting data, I used semi-structured/standardized interviews, thus avoiding both structured standardized and completely unstructured interviews (Berg & Lune, 2012:112). I used semi-structured interviews because it gives the researcher the freedom to reorder the questions while interviewing the informants. Besides that, the semi-structured interviews granted flexibility in the wording of the questions and adjusting the language level during the interview (Berg & Lune, 2012:109). In other words, researchers using a semi-structured interview have the freedom to introduce the questions in different ways and to allow the informants to answer the questions in their manner using their words (Matthews & Ross, 2010:221).

Eight interviews were carried out with female members of Parliament, representatives from parties and NGOs that are working for women's rights. The interviews took from 60 to 120 minutes. All the interviews were conducted in Arabic and analyzed. Data analysis and data management are related (Berg & Lune, 2012:55). The data I received from transcribed interviews is represented as raw data. To manage and organize it, I used an indexing system (Matthew & Ross, 2010:332). Indexing entails listing the different data from all interviews and assigning symbols, or flags, like numbers, or letters, or even colors to each particular type of data (Matthew & Ross, 2010: 332). Indexing is different from coding in that; an index is a system to tell users where the data can be found. The way in the study, I indexed my data is using different colors, representative the main point in the research. I created this index by using the headings and questions in the interview guide (Matthew & Ross, 2010:332). Therefore, it was easier for me to find the data later and facilitate analysis.

Analyzing data consists of three actions: reduction, data display, and conclusion and verification. (Berg & Lune, 2012:55). Reduction and transforming (coding) should be applied to the qualitative data to make them accessible and understandable. To make the data more understandable, researchers should display data in an organized table (Berg & Lune, 2012:56). In this study, I implemented the coding table technique. (Berg &Lune, 2012:56). This technique was based on the interview guide. Data reduction and data analysis are both key components of the analysis process. (Berg & Lune, 2012:56).

In the analysis process, I employed thematic analysis approach, which is a "process of segmentation, categorization and relinking of aspects of the data before final interpretation" (Matthew & Ross, 2010:373). So it is a process to describe the data, interpret the meanings of the data, look for the relationships between the different parts, and find out identify the similarities and differences in data (Matthew & Ross, 2010:374).

In data collecting, I cared about ethical considerations and limitations. In my research, I took into account ethical practices from beginning to the end, and I did no harm to any of the participants (Berg & Lune,2012:61). The informants were voluntarily involved, as voluntary participation is a concept that should always be respected and considered (Berg & Lune,2012:80). Debriefing the subject is another ethical rule I considered, and I explained the questions to the informants (Berg & Lune, 2012, 89).

Following research ethics, I asked the informants to choose to participate in the interview and informed them that this choice is free from any fraud or unfair manipulation. (Berg & Lune, 2012:90). In other words, I ensured that the respondents participated in the study by their choice (Berg & Lune, 2012: 90). Additionally, it was explained to the respondents that the information gathered from the interviews would be recorded and transcribed.

Because this study engaged in qualitative research and focused on the experiences, and feelings of people, I took into consideration some ethical rules that should be followed in semi-structured interviews. For one, the information provided by participants was confidential and was only viewed by researchers. Additionally, the recorded and transcribed information remained in a

secure location. Furthermore, the informants were aware of the research topic, a comfortable place was provided for the participants, and they were free to stop the recording at any time. (Matthew & Ross, 2010:221).

I faced some limitations in this research based on levels of time, finance, personal security and a shortage of resources available. The time was very limited; this subject needs more time to be examined. Due to the financial shortage, I had to conduct the interviews with the Tunisians via the phone because it costs money to travel to Tunisia. On the level of personal security, I faced it in Egypt, because the Muslim Brotherhood is a very sensitive issue in Egypt currently, even when I went to meet academics. However, I felt insecure; I was accused of being Norwegian, which implies that I support the Muslim Brotherhood. I also faced a problem in finding scholarly Arabic sources. The English sources I found were inaccessible due to their cost.

3.0 Theoretical Context

3.1 Political participation

The debate on forms of political participation goes back to the ancient days of Greece when citizens assembled to decide on their daily lives. In contemporary times, this debate represents the idea that there is no democracy without political participation by all citizens. Political participation involves any activity that influences the performance, structure, decisions, type, and behavior of the government. Such activities could have different forms: they could be either passive or active actions, legal or illegal, support or exert pressure, and could be collective or individual. Therefore, political participation includes different categories such as voting, community activity, political campaigns, protest activity, and individual activity.

Political participation can be divided into two groups based on the degree of individual integration: institutional and non-institutional political participation. While institutional political participation concerns the governmental mechanisms such as referendum and election, non-institutional political participation focuses on activities that are not part of the official channels

8

of establishing policies, such as demonstrations and electoral campaigns. The aim of these activities is to exert pressure on officials without involving them (labani et al. 2009).

3.2 The inclusion-moderation theory

The success of processes of democratic change is often predicated on the moderation of anti-systemic and extremist parties. The literature on such parties argues that such moderation, namely the acceptance of democratic procedures and human rights, comes about through inclusion. This seems to be confirmed when one analyzes some Islamist parties that have contributed to the progressive democratization of their respective countries. The Tunisian case, however, offers a different perspective on moderation. This article argues that it has been exclusion through repression and social marginalization that has led the Islamist party *Alnnahda* to move from its extreme anti-systemic position of the 1970s to become the mainstream conservative party it is today (Cavatorta & Merone 2013). My main argument is how much the inclusion-moderation theory could be applied in the case of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and the Alnnahda party in Tunisia. Inclusion-moderation or moderation theory means that the groups holding extreme political positions will be forced to moderate their ideological positions if they are included in the governance's institution due to political demands such as attracting votes and working with other political groups.

When the ideological parties are included in politics, they become more rational, more realistic, pragmatic and more respectful of the democracy. Furthermore, when the extremist parties are included in the political arena, they will leave violence and be involved in the electoral politics. This thesis will examine the prospects of moderation among Islamic groups, using two of the most well-known groups, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and the Tunisian Alnnahda party as case studies. Despite the fact that the two groups are different in the level of women's freedom and political participation, the both have practiced signs of moderation.

This thesis seeks to develop understanding of Islamist groups and their commitment to moderation by examining to what level of political participation they give to women and to examine the barriers that hindering women from full political participation (Wheatley 2011). According to Wheatley (2011), "ideological moderation is the gradual transformation of a movement's core values and beliefs from rigid and fixed, to flexible and tolerant". Moreover, this is the case of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood as:

9

"the organization switched from a very antidemocratic, mysterious organization to a modern one that is led by educated and professional leaders. This modernization appears in the organization' transformation in the way they view women's right and democratic values, which contradicted Hasan Albanna ambivalence towards democracy" (Wheatley 2011).

3.3 Muslim Brotherhood and women's political participation: an exercise of ambiguity

Meijer (2013) argues that the Muslim Brotherhood's views have changed; it became a moderate movement that embraces democratic values such as human rights and equal rights, even though the current debate on women's equal rights is ongoing. Despite this turn in the Muslim Brotherhood's views, there are many doubts about this change. There is no certainty whether these changes are real change or are limited to the liberal persons among the leadership, what the eventual goal is, and what the actual position of the movement is. It us unclear whether a decision to commit one way or the other will be made.

Meije (2013) asserts that the reasons behind the opinion changes of the Muslim Brotherhood can be explained by the fact that ambiguity surrounds the political terminology of the Muslim Brotherhood. Meije (2013) recommends that Michael Freeden's theory of ideologies is very applicable in explaining the ambiguity of the political thought of the Muslim Brotherhood:
"He makes a distinction between core and adjacent concepts and demonstrates the manner in which their changing relationship can be mapped". This is important because the Brotherhood has maintained all of its concepts but they have oscillated between the center and periphery over time. The repositioning of their concepts is evidence in the shifting of their ideology (Meijer 2013).

4.0 Literature reviews

4.1 Women in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood

Abdalatif (2009) argues that the political work of women in the current Muslim Brotherhood contrary to what was said by Hassan al-Banna, in his letters and defined the role of women, where he said in his book "Messages" under the title "Women message": they knew women what is needed by virtue of her career and function, created by her God; home runs, and caring for children (Abdalatif 2009).

According to Wafaa Mansour, a prominent leader of the Muslim Sisterhood, the Sisterhood branch was established to raise girls to become good wives and mothers; its role was limited to social work, such as organizing religious lectures for girls and participating in community service (Hamed 2013). Ibrahim Alhudaiby, an Islamic researcher, agrees with Wafaa Mansour as he believes that women in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood are neither allowed to participate in decision making within the organization, nor to be members of the Guidance Office (Hamed 2013). Women in the Muslim Brotherhood had traditional, restricted roles until the revolution of January 2011.

Abdlatif (2009) argues that despite Hassan Albanna's recommendations, during the revolution of 2011 the Muslim Brotherhood pushed women to carry out a political role represented in political participation. She believes that it was a political exploitation that the group resorted to strongly after the decline of the male Muslim Brotherhood's ability to persuade, which was a result of the loss of confidence after control of the group was taken from Parliament in 2011 without providing something for those who elected them.

According to Umaima Abdalatif (Abdalatif 2009), in 2007, the Muslim Brotherhood stressed the need to empower women to assert their rights in the public domain, which is not inconsistent with the fundamental societal values, and declared their vision that is based on "fully equality" between men and women. Despite this declaration, women's role in the Muslim Brotherhood and its organizational structure is invisible (Abdalatif 2009).

After the revolution, the Muslim Brotherhood founded the Freedom and Justice Party in April 2011, and again the Muslim Sisterhood became active members of the new party. However, they are still a separate entity from the Muslim Brotherhood's hierarchal structure, and the Muslim Brotherhood still claims that they excluded the women from the movement's hierarchical structure to keep them safe (Farag 2012). Unfortunately, women in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood still do not play an appropriate role in the Muslim Brotherhood. In other words, the Sisterhood does not have a weight similar to that of the Muslim Brotherhood. Furthermore, women always are dominated by men (Hamed 2013).

This change in the Muslim Brotherhood's behavior towards women doesn't reflect a real recognition of women's political rights in the movement, Hani Suleiman (2014) argues that the development of the role of the Brotherhood's women is due to the absence of the man of the Muslim Brotherhood, which doesn't reflect the ideological shift in the Muslim Brotherhood. He explains, "to lead to the political and organizational empowerment of women, a change should be in the movement's vision towards women, and even altering the women's outlook to themselves and their role in their society, additionally to defend her freedom" (Suleiman 2014).

Wichham (2004) argues that many prominent studies discuss the issue of radicalisms who moderate their agenda to exploit the chance in election participation. This is the case for the Islamic movement or the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood applied some changes to is an ideology to be involved in the democratization process, but still they violate the main principles of democracy by restriction the women's political rights (Wickham 2004).

The temporal phase of the strongest women's participation in the Brotherhood's political work is the period that followed the revolution of January 25, which has been credited with the emergence of women in the Muslim Brotherhood on the Egyptian political scene. Here we must point out that allowing the Guidance Office for Women Brotherhood's political participation in the first parliamentary elections after the January revolution is not due to the faith of the organization on the idea of the state of women, which arose for a long time among the leaders of the Guidance Bureau. This is due to the election law in the first transitional phase in 2011, which required a woman on each party list, bringing the number of Brotherhood candidates to

115 women. It included a list of nearly 222 deputies, of whom six were women (The Islamic movements gate 2014).

Coleman (2012) agrees with the opinion of "The Islamic movements gate's" website, when he compares the Egyptian quota and the Tunisian quota, Coleman explains that the Egyptian quota was less effective version of the Tunisian quota system in the parliamentary election, in the Egyptian quota system the parties were required to include one woman on the election list, that's why there were only 10 women elected to the 498 parliamentary members, three of those women were from the Freedom and Justice Party which represents the Muslim Brotherhood (Coleman 2012).

It was also found that women were allowed to apply for any position in the political system of a state, but the position of al-imama-al-kubra (to be Calif[2]) was only reserved for men. Abdel-Latif (2008) also highlighted the fact that, however, there were several problems that were resolved in order to provide equal rights to women (Abdel-Latif 2008); but, with such issues it is still evident that the changes made for women's rights have been overruled and have deprived them to be the head of a state. Moreover, the developed platform for providing women their political rights was only at the testing stage when it was banned and deprived women of political participation. Due to this, several questions were raised that focused and analyzed the Islamist movement's standpoint for women and the role of the sisters inside the Muslim Brotherhood. The Islamist movement, once, took a strong step concerned with women as their names were suggested in the municipal and parliamentary elections of the year 2002, 2005, and 2007. It was also found that women also participated in different political actions such as election and street protests (Abdel-Latif 2008). However, women were considered as the key role players in political context, but due to the ban on women, it was seen as a retreat of several steps taken by the Islamist movement.

Suleiman (2014) argues that despite the presence of women in the movement of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood since its inception, women's regulatory status and political role is restricted to the ideals of the movement, which believes in the division of roles in society on the basis of

---

[2] Calif is an Arabic word which means the president of the whole Muslim nation.

biological difference, and stresses the primacy of the role of women in the private space and the central function of the family

According to the Islamic gate's website, the political role of women in the Brotherhood, is represent in what is known as the "political exploitation", and the pushing women by the leaders of the Guidance Bureau, and the operation of periods of parliamentary elections, local elections, where you see the group's leaders that the bloc voting women used for political purposes.

According to the testimony of the leadership of the Brotherhood Intisar Abdel Moneim in a press dialogues, the primary engine known as the political exploitation of women is rooting for Forensic idea of elections, and that the Brotherhood had pushed women politically in line with their goals, and given legitimate bail, even said to have a new women's thought, which is the culture of the Muslim Brotherhood originally agreed (The Islamic movements gate 2014).

Abdel-Latif (2008) argues that the Muslim Brotherhood included women on its candidate list for the parliamentary elections to escape pressure from security confrontations with the state, as well as to help change the Muslim Brotherhood's perception among Egyptians.

Moreover, women's roles were further highlighted when women from the Muslim Brotherhood participated in the 2012 parliamentary elections (Hamed 2013). Unfortunately, some researchers, such as Ibrahim Alhudaiby, did not consider this change in women's role as a real change; furthermore, Alhudaiby believes that the Muslim Brotherhood is still a closed-minded organization (Hamed 2013). Although 60% of the parliament's seats went to the Islamic movement, only 2% were women (Farag 2012). Farag argues that the increasing numbers of Muslim Sisters in the media and in politics do not indicate growth in gender equality within Egypt (Farag 2012).

4.2 Women at Alnnahda Tunisian party

Tunisia has been known for its liberal and progressive legislation since 1956 when it is personal status code gave women full and equal legal rights. It is considered the most progressive country

related to women's rights legislation in the Arab world. However, what is happening on the ground is somewhat different (Petre 2014).

Leaders Ghannouchi and Alnnahda have softened their political rhetoric and announced that the new government should be realistic and align with Tunisian society's real life. However, secularist feminists did not believe the Alnnahda party and accused them of "double talk." They claim that "double talk" is a central political strategy of the Alnnahda Party. Moreover, they claim that Alnnahda would use religion to oppose civil liberties. An example of "doubletalk" comes from Souad Abdelrahim, a candidate and head of an Alnnahda, who remarked, "I am ashamed of those who try to make excuses for people who have sinned" referring to couples who have children out of wedlock. She added, "We cannot impose alien concepts on the Tunisian society…We cannot work on legitimizing the existence of single mothers in Tunisia." When the press and women groups criticized her statement; she retracted her statement, claiming that her intention was misunderstood, saying "I made this statement to test public opinion" (Tchaïcha & Arfaoui 2014).

Petre (2014) asserts that women at Alnahda party occupy prominent positions in the National Constituent Assembly (NCA). In the year 2011, there was an enormous debate about gender in the new constitution in 2012. Moreover, women were successful election candidates. The Alnahda Party nominated 49 women for the election and 42 women were successfully elected and became members of the constituent assembly. Marks (2013) argues that this success for women is an ironic success, 42 out of 49 were elected and represented in the Alnnahda Party because of two reasons: the first one is that Alnnahda party is the only party that respect the rules for electoral lists, and the second reason is the efforts of the Alnnahda Party in mobilizing female activists to win over undecided voters and attract people to the polls. Additionally, the victory of the Alnnahda Party cannot be considered as opening the doors for women but rather that it could wage an Iranian-style fight for women rights and finally returning feminist women to their kitchens (Marks 2013).

Women in the Alnnahda Party themselves insist and work hard to be involved actively and forcefully in political life (Petre 2014). Petre (2014) claims that the status of women remains unclear even after the adaptation of the final constitution.

Petre (2014) justifies his opinion by explaining the debate regarding gender in writing the constitution. He mentions that the word "complimentary" was written to explain the relation between men and women, it was drafted in the article 28 that "the women's role in the family a complimentary to the men," this caused many people to demonstrate until the word complementary was deleted from the constitution. Strangely, women from the Alnnahda Party defend this term "complimentary" claiming that other women from the opposition party misunderstand the term, and even one of those women assures that there is no absolute equality between men and women (Petre 2014). In the beginning, it was written in the constitution that women are complementary to men, which means that women have equal but different role than men in the society, which made many people angry, and they demonstrated in the streets after the Alnnahda Party, which dominates the constitutional assembly, wrote the constitution. The writer claims that this view is common for a religious party such as Alnnahda, those parties believe that God created people in pairs with a different role to each gender (Alyafai 2012). Such groups believe that recording the society based on religion principles will solve the modern life challenges (Alyafai 2012).

Almaliti (2015) claims that Ghannouchi is trying to cope with the 'Tunisian Environment.' So the Islamic Alnnahda Movement seeks to add new features to its image by promoting the idea that it is a Tunisian movement that draws from certain ideals of the Tunisian reform project and the religious and political legacy of the national movement experienced by the country since the second half of the nineteenth century. This gives them legitimacy since the republican system announced leader Habib Bourguiba in 1956 following the country's independence from French colonialism (Almaliti 2015). Political analysts say that Ghannouchi, who returned to Tunisia after twenty years of exile in London on January 31, 2011, was surprised by the existence of political thought that Alborguiba stuck in the minds and consciousness of young people who did not live in that era, and that's the reason Ghannouchi found that he should keep the burqibah teachings (Almaliti 2015). Other scholars such as Marks (2013) think that Islamism, including the Alnnahda Party itself, is a threat to Tunisian women's rights (Marks 2013).

4.2.1 the relation between the Alnnahda party and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood

The Alnnahda Party neither declares a direct link to the Muslim Brotherhood nor denies the connection, even though Ghannouchi, Al-Nada's founder, is a member of the International Guidance Bureau of the Muslim Brotherhood (Maged 2011). However, members of the Alnnahda party do not refer to themselves as the Muslim Brotherhood and do not declare belonging to the Muslim Brotherhood movement. Regarding the relation between the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and the Alnnahda Party, "There is no direct relation between both movements, some people claim that Alnnahda party based on the ideology of Muslim Brotherhood, in fact, there is nothing called "Muslim Brotherhood ideology, there is Islamic ideology and Alnnahda party is based on the Islamic ideology, Islam is our reference, we belong to Tunisia and our work is locally in Tunisia. We do not exist in any international organization like the Muslim Brotherhood" (Zaitoun, 2015) The relation between the Alnnahda Party and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt is such that when the Alnnahda Party was established during the 1980s, it was impacted by the ideals of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. We sympathize with all Muslims in the world (Zaitoun 2015). There is a strong relation between the thought of the Muslim Brotherhood and the thought of Alnahda party, both movements have the same Intellectual incubator, and the Muslim Brotherhood affects the Alnnahda Party (Labidi 2015).

4.3 Sisterhood and political participation in Egyptian MuslimBrotherhood: the cases of ambiguity or real recognition of women political rights.

4.3.1 Women in the thought of Hassan Albanna the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood

Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt was founded by Hassan Albanna, who was himself affected by the beliefs of Mohammad Rashid Rida, who is a Syrian reformist and the founder of the Almanar school. The Almanar school was a product of the mixture of the reformists views of Jamal Aldin Alafaghani and Mohammad Abdu from one side, and the Wahabi thought on the other hand (Altahhan 2008). Altahhan (2008) asserts that it was clear in the thought of Hassan Albanna how important women are for Islam in forming the future generation of men and women and in supporting their husbands in bearing the burdens of the Islamic preaching (Altahhan 2008). That is why he established the Sisterhood section in 1933, five years later after the releasing of the Muslim Brotherhood as a movement (Alalbani 1988).

On one side, Hassan Albanna (in his message to Muslim women) assures that Islam recognizes women's personal, civilian, and political rights. He mentioned a verse of the Quraan in Al Emran chapter [3.195]."Moreover, indeed, their Lord answers them: 'I do not waste the labor of any that labors among you, male or female you are from each other" (The Holy Quraan), which means that Islam raises the value of women and treated women as partners of men in the rights and duties. On the other side, he contradicted himself when he put limits for women's fields of education and restricted their roles to being a mother and a wife. He explains that women do not need to study different languages or technical science. Furthermore, women do not need to study laws and rights deeply, and it is enough for women to know those sciences in general. Hassan Albanna recommended: "Teach the woman what match her main mission and employment that God created her for, which is to be a mother and manage her home" (Alalbani 1988).

Hassan Albanna thinks that women should learn reading, writing, math, religion, history of Muslims, home management skills, principles of children raising, in addition to any knowledge helped them to organize their children and to take care of their kids. When he has been asked about women's participation in public life, especially the fact that there is no explicit text in Islam which prevents women from public involvement, Hassan Albanna argues that when Islam asked woman to cover herself, not to be alone with other men, and to pray at home, he means that Islam prevented her from participating in public life. Hassan Albanna assures that the fundamental and the natural mission for a woman is to take care of her kids and be a wife. He adds, if there is a social necessity for her to practice a job outside the home, she should consider the Sharia constrictions mentioned above, which guarantee to keep women away from men (Alalbani 1988).

4.3.2 Women's political participation in the eyes of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood

Despite the presence of women in the movement of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood since its inception, women's regulatory status and political role is restricted to the beliefs of the movement, which divides roles in society on the basis of biological difference, and stresses the primacy of the role of women in the private space and the central function of the family. The year 2000 was the first time women's traditional roles in the Muslim Brotherhood were challenged because it was the first time that a woman was nominated for the Muslim

Brotherhood's list of candidates for the parliamentary elections. Even though she did not win the election due to pressure from the government, it is still a significant moment. The miracle happened for the second time during the 2005 parliamentary election; although up to 21 women from the Muslim Brotherhood were nominated in the initial list of candidates, only one woman won an election and succeeded in becoming a member of the parliament (Abdalatif 2009). The years 2005 and 2006 were the first time that the Muslim Brotherhood pushed women to protest in the streets and to demonstrate. Women in the Muslim Brotherhood played a significant role in protesting and demonstrating; when much of the Brotherhood was imprisoned, women again kept the movement alive. Women activists in normal cases constitute half of the demonstrators (Abdel-Latif 2008).

There are a growing number of women members of the Muslim Brotherhood concerned about the lack of representation of women and they are looking for ways to increase their numbers in senior positions in the movement itself so that when the time comes they can participate more broadly in state policy. These women want, primarily, to obtain the formal advisory positions in the pyramid leader of the Muslim Brotherhood (Abdalatif 2009).

During the short period of democratic openness that followed the revolution of January 25, 2011, women's political participation in the Muslim Brotherhood was strengthened. After isolating President Mohamed Morsi on July 3, 2013, women went out of the typical framework and roles drawn from them. They went down to the street and led, for the first time in the history of the Muslim Brotherhood, the opposition protest movement against the political system (The Islamic movements' gate).

The Revolution of 25 January in Egypt formed a new phase of women's roles in the Muslim Brotherhood. Women started to participate in public life and rebel against their traditional roles. Women gathered at Tahrir Square to demand the fall of Mubarak's regime (Hamed 2013). On 25 January 2011, Tahrir Square was filled with men and women from different backgrounds: Islamists, leftists, liberals, and other all joined the revolution as Egyptians with one goal: to force Mubarak's corrupted regime to leave. At the beginning of the uprising, the Muslim Brotherhood decided to step back and not participate in the revolution; however, by the time it changed course

and decided to be a part of the revolution, it joined as Egyptians, rather than as a religious movement (Farag 2012). One goal united all: to regain Egyptian dignity and restore their rights.

Muslim sisters were not far away from the revolution; they were at Tahrir Square, but they were not silent partners or shadows of the Muslim Brotherhood anymore. They were active, and their roles changed. They ensured the security of Tahrir Square and stationed themselves at security checkpoints, and they provided all kinds of support, including food, medical support, and even shelter to others from different backgrounds. Moreover, they helped the protesters and fought with them (Farag 2012). The demand for women in MuslimBrotherhood to be politically participated was met with the objection by Muslim Brotherhood leaders such as Mohammad Habib, despite the group guide opinion who initial approved the women's demand.

There is no doubt that the Muslim Brotherhood did not ignore the role of women, and given the opportunity to participate in the Community, Shreds called affiliated women's group called "Sisters" where their work is limited to the case side only, while on the political level, it is not for women any role or effective representation mentions, represented in parliament does not represent the small number of women's aspirations are not discussing issues that serve women's issues (2015)

Fortunately, for these sisters some of the main characters in the women's group are daughters and wives of senior leaders of the group. Some of them are daughters of family members that have a high-level position, such as Shater and Essam El-Erian. For example, a female activist in the Sisters group Jehanalkhalfawi, who was the first female political candidate in the group, is the wife of Ibrahim Zaafarani, a senior member of the Alexandria branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. Due to these contacts, women make their voices heard despite the lack of an institutional mechanism to consult women at the top levels of power (Abdalatif 2009).

Also, more men in the group today are convinced that the current situation of women in the movement is a "weak point" and needs to be dealt with seriously. The group is routinely criticized because of its position on women's issues, especially since they present themselves as liberal about politics, but are seen as a conservative when it comes to women's issues. The majority support group for women who occupy middle positions in the Muslim Brotherhood call

for increasing women's leadership within the movement, as well as a large number of candidates from the Muslim Brotherhood movement in national elections. Many point to a redefinition of the roles of women in this group as a "rebellion sisters." However, the members of the group consider the broader claim Women's participation as a matter of course that the group has evolved over time and became able to contain a wider electoral base and changing political and social factors (Abdalatif 2009).

Although these female activists have real complaints and demands for change, they are not willing to sacrifice the unity and interdependence of the group for increasing representation in the community and among political candidates. Moreover, many of them feel strong that they gain these rights and that the case is just a matter of time. The fact that the Muslim Brotherhood nominated a woman in the 2000 parliamentary elections for the first time is largely considered a result of pressure by many of the sisters (Abdalatif 2009).

4.3.3 Factors preventing women in Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood from full political participation

In spite of these limited changes in the level of women's political involvement in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, there are many limiting factors preventing women from full political participation such as: ideological factors, absence of structure in the Muslim Brotherhood Movement, the lack of women in the Brotherhood's structure, confrontation with the State, the conservative and Salafist[3] view, lack of experienced women in the Muslim Brotherhood. All of these factors will be explained in details in the following lines.

In the foreground of all factors comes the ideological factors, Ideology is "a set of doctrine or beliefs that are shared by the members of a social groups or that form the basis of a political, economic, or another system" (The freedom dictionary). In response to the ideology that political leaders or people, especially men, in Muslim countries share, it can be said that they consider women as a part or the main component or part of the household. However, in Islam, men and women are given equal rights, but due to different social influences, it has become quite difficult to maintain the integrity of women and provide them equal rights in the Muslim

---

[3] Salafists is an Arabic word which describes the very religious and fundamental groups in Islam.

21

Brotherhood as well. Moreover, it was found that due to several issues, women were not given priority in activities that were quite necessary for a state (Abdel-Latif 2008).

The Muslim Brotherhood's ideology, which is based on Islamic thought, is considered to be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, from the moment that the organization was established, it restricted women to the home as and mothers, adding preaching to her role (Timmerman 2000). On the other hand, the organization's ideology was the main motivation for women to vote in parliamentary elections. Women are considered to be effective political recruiters for the Muslim Brotherhood's nominees, as their veils give an impression of the popularity of the of Muslim Brotherhood's candidates (Blaydes & El Tarouty 2009).

Abdalaziz[ii]claims that theoretically, ideology is not considered to be an obstacle that prevents women from political participation in the Muslim Brotherhood. Women can fully participate in public political life, parliamentary elections, and the Guidance Office for the Muslim Brotherhood, and they can even be nominated for the presidency (Abdalziz 2014). As mentioned earlier as well, women are usually considered as a part of the house, as depicted in the social structure. Normally our society just mentions men as the sole bread winner for the house and all such outside-the-home activities are meant for men (Abdel-Latif 2008a). However, in this contemporary world, it has become a greater point of an issue as with the advancements, women have also advanced, and there have been several questions regarding gender stratification that have been raised. Therefore, it can be said that social structure of the Islamic countries, or places such as Egypt, significantly affects the participation of women in politics or national legislatures. The ideology set up by our society has made lives of women difficult compared to men as they are being liberated, and women are being restricted from doing anything. Although, these were not the teachings of Islam and in Islam, as well, women are allowed to do what they wish to do. Therefore, it can be said that ideological influences make changes and alter the way women participate in politics in any state (Abdel-Latif 2008a).

Some people, especially the activists' women in the Muslim Brotherhood, blame the culture and consider it as a reason behind the lack of female political participation in the Muslim Brotherhood. Abdalatif asserts that the female activists in the Muslim Brotherhood who call for

an Islamic political system through the Muslim Brotherhood movement activists believe that Islam brought justice to women. These activists insist that the lack of equal rights now has to do with cultural, political and social realities of their group through which more than it has to do with the movement itself. Culture is the reason for the failure of women in the Muslim Brotherhood in obtaining adequate representation and reflects their contribution to the political struggle of the movement, to the conservative culture of the group, accompanied by a social and political content of the unjust. It will help to involve women and integrate them into the organizational structure of the Muslim Brotherhood to change the prevailing perception that the group follows the patriarchal system far away from democracy. It will also provide recognition of the central role that women play in the struggles of political and social movement (Abdalatif 2009).

Cultural factors affect the level of women political participation. Cultural factors have shifted drastically from one place to another. The steps taken in respect to culture resulted in literary access and women's awakening in Egypt. At this moment, women were allowed or were encouraged to gain access to such educational fields and also to achieve freedom (Darlene 2011). However, this step or literary success on journals, which were only accessed by a limited part of the population made a significant impact on the role of women in the Muslim Brotherhood (Darlene 2011). Due to this, women were freed from different household and traditional work and roles. Moreover, women all across Egypt and other parts of the world were contacted (Darlene 2011).

Another factor that prevents women from full political participation is the absence of structure in the Muslim Brotherhood movement. Women in the Brotherhood always rescue the men of the Brotherhood when they face the state; thus, the main mission of women in the Muslim Brotherhood is to keep the organization alive, even though their status inside the movement has not improved (Abdel-Latif 2008b). No woman has ever been part of any of the two main structures of the Muslim Brotherhood's movement: The Shoura Council and the Guidance Bureau. In other words, the women's division in the Muslim Brotherhood could be described as "organized entity" but not as an "organizational structure." Contact between women and the

Guidance Office should be through a man who coordinates women's activities (Abdel-Latif 2008b).

Additionally, the absence of women in the Brotherhood's Structure is considered an obstacle for women political participation. The Muslim Brotherhood's hierarchy consists of the following chambers: The Supreme Guide, the Guidance Bureau, the Consultant Council, and the administrative bureaus in every governorate of Egypt. Women are only placed in the administrative bureaus; there is one male member in every bureau who is in charge of women's activities and coordinates between women and the headquarters in Cairo (Abdel-Latif 2008b).

After reviewing the structure of Muslim Brotherhood (Abdel-Latif 2008), it was found that all the main sections in politics were designated by men and majority of the sections did not address women as a contributor in the political system. Also, according to the findings of Abdel- Latif, it was found that two significant changes should be integrated into the Muslim Brotherhood; first, the Sisters' division should be integrated into the political system as it is completely cut off from the activities of Muslim Brotherhood (Abdel-Latif 2008). Moreover, secondly, women should also be considered in all kinds of decision-making activities. From this analysis, it was concluded that women should have the right to represent their views and their voices should be heard as the contemporary world does not allow such practices. Women should be represented in all decision –making bodies   (Abdel-Latif 2008).

While considering women in Muslim Brotherhood, it is important to understand that although women were not considered in the political system, they were taken as an important aspect in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood; this was because they provided a source of mobilization. The structure of Muslim Brotherhood consisted of a section for women in their activities and it was shown that they used to train and field women or female candidates in the elections from the year of 2000.

Confrontation with the State stands in the way of women fully political participation in the Muslim Brotherhood; The Muslim Brotherhood claims that it excludes women from positions of power because of the state's "ruthless war" against it and to prevent being arrested by the

government. Some activists argue that this could be a survival tactic among the Muslim Brotherhood, and, therefore, women will be the shadow brothers (Abdel-Latif 2008b).

The Conservative and Salafist[iii] view prevents women from having their full political rights. Some conservative voices within the Muslim Brotherhood insist that women should keep their traditional roles as mothers and wives, and stay away from political life or being political actors. These conservative voices represent the old generation in the Muslim Brotherhood, yet they are the majority. Although these voices have been challenged by the younger generation of the Brotherhood, these critiques have not been heard because they are the minority view in the Muslim Brotherhood (Abdel-Latif 2008b). Upon review of others, it was found that men perceived women involvement in politics as a conspicuous act that would be involved in the policy if women were integrated into the political system. Abdalatif mentions that father's or husband's permission should be requested before women are fielding an election (Abdel-Latif 2008a). In other words, it can be stated that women were particularly excluded from the political system, and this was defined more accurately by the Salafi members of the movement that, according to their view, women should only be present in cases where they can offer their traditional roles while being a sister, mother or wife. Apart from these roles, it is not important for women to be an active role player not even in politics or other kinds of related movements. However, this ideology and perception of the Orthodox world have been challenged by several younger generation of the youth of Muslim Brotherhood, but it has nor gained much success as it is a minority group (Tadros 2011).

Lack of experienced women in the Muslim Brotherhood takes women away from politically participating in public life. The exclusion of women from positions of power in the Muslim Brotherhood has led to a lack of experienced women, as the Muslim Brotherhood has not trained women to be political actors (Abdel-Latif 2008b). Several women were known for their contributions in the Muslim Brotherhood. One such example is of Zainab- Ghazali, as discussed in the previous section as well. She has been well known due to her enormous support to the Muslim Brotherhood (Abdel-Latif 2008a).

4.4 Women's political participation at Alnnahda Tunisian party: promising future or religious, political game?

4.4.1 Women in the thought of Rashid Alghanoushi[4]

Rashid Ghannouschi - the founder of the Alnahda Tunisian party - believes that women and men are alike and equal. In his book "Woman between Quraan and the Muslim's reality," Ghannouchi asserts that political participation is a fundamental right for Muslim women. He lists several examples from the era of prophecy that prove women's political participation alongside men - the first martyr in Islam was a woman, the one who taught science was a woman, the women migrated to Ethiopia in the Prophet Mohammad's era, her opinion was considered as she was consulted when to appoint caliphs. Commenting on these examples, Ghannouchi says," If all this is not a political post, what could it be political participation?" Ghannouchi considers the fatwa of the prohibition of women in political participation is ashamed fatwa, saying "this fatwa is shameful at the time that Israeli women attack our cities and mosques (Ghannouchi 2011)."

On the second claim that any Muslim women's participation is not as voters but as candidates, Rashid Ghannouchi has tried to refute the foundations on which the Sheikh Mawdudi position to exclude women from participating in public life as voters and candidates. It was considered by Sheikh Mawdudi that "manhood condition in the membership of the Shure Council as well as a nomination for the presidency of the state, politics and government are outside women business circle" referring to that verse number 34 of Nisa chapter and the narration of Prophet Mohammad which says "Such people as ruled by a lady will never be successful (SahihAl-Bukhari)."

Ghannouchi explains that verse of Quraan that stewardship (Quammah) men over women are applied in married life. However, the mandate of women outside the house is allowed, and there is nothing to prevent it. As long as women are educated and have the knowledge to advise others, then there is no problem to be a member of the Alshoura Council (advisory council), there is no legitimate evidence prevents women's membership in the Council of Shoura.

---

[4] Alghannoushi is one of the founders of Alnnahda party, graduated from alsourbon university in France and was transferred to London in 1993 as political refugees, and he sayed there until 2011.

For the narration of Prophet Mohammad, which says "Such people as ruled by a lady will never be successful," Ghannouchi asserts that the narration had been received about a particular incident, so the narration doesn't fit as a reference to the subject of constitutional law, there is nothing in Islam preventing woman from participation in public and political life. The woman has the rights of participation in public and political life including the head of the state. Many Muslim scholars such as al Qaradawi and Imam Alghazali, who had authorized the woman appointed as a judge in one of the public positions. Ghannouchi asserts that al Qaradawi says that there is no concept in Islam prohibiting a woman from holding any position in public life as long as she is qualified for that position, including the head of the state (Ghannuchi 2012).

4.4.2 Women's political participation in the Tunisian Alnnahda party

On January 2011, Bin Ali left his office by the early of 2011 in a revolution called the Jasmine revolution (Arieff 2011).On January 30, 2011, Rachid Ghannouchi, the founder of Renaissance Party or Alnnahda party, returned from exile to Tunisia after the government announces a general amnesty, and Alnnahda party that was banned by Bin Ali government, after the Jasmin revolution, became a legal party because the new government granted it a legal status, furthermore it was included in the political reforms.Ghannouchiis shown as a moderate person who calls for woman rights and supports her equality with the man (Arieff 2011).

Alnnahda party characterizes by calling for democracy and moderation, it's not like other Islamic parties in the Arab world, this can be traced in the writing of Ghannouchi who believes in Tunisian specificity, Ghannouchi assures that the Salafi orientation of the Islamic thinkers like HassanAlbanna, and sayed Qutb doesn't fit Tunisia because the law and the society in Tunisia are affected by the European culture (Pickard 2014). Although the Alnnahda party is known as an Islamic party, its leader, Rachid Ghannouchi insists that it is a " moderate brand of Islam". Ghannouchi assures the freedom of women and recognizes females members as male partners(Melkonian 2015).

27

All the Islamic ideologies look at women's role according to the way they explain the narration of Prophet Mohammad, which said" "Such people as ruled by a lady will never be successful." (SahihAl-Bukhari). For Alnnahda party they develop their explanation for the narration of Prophet Mohammad, Mehrezia Labidi[5], claims that Alnnahda party develops the religious discourse in a feminist vision, and we discuss this narration, we found the answer to the book of Mohammad Alghazali which named" alsunnah between the people of fiqh[6] and the people of hadith" This book was issued in the late of 1980s.It was a controversial issue, Alghazali explained why Prophet Mohammad said that hadith, and in which occasion. Moreover, Alghazali recommends not to consider this hadith as a general rule to be applied to Muslim women, they are many smart and qualified women who can rule people. This is the basis that Alnnahda party built their vision for women political participation, the same hadith, the Salafi use to prevent women from political participation (Labidi 2015).

Mehrezia Labidi asserts that, we are in the age of democracy, so the ruler doesn't rule alone, it's a cooperation and interactive process distributed between the parliament, the executive cabinet and the president, so Alnnahda party doesn't mind if the head of the state is woman, in the Holy Quraan, Allah praises a woman called Balqees because of her good political mentality and the way she rules her people, so why should we deny the right of women to be a president of the state or occupy any public position? (Labidi 2015).

Labidi added, "So for us at Alnnahda party, we believe that the qualified person should run the government, regardless the gender. We have to overcome the narrow vision and give the woman the chance to participate politically. We have to reread our history in the feminist eyes and grant the woman the role she deserves. I can say that we are at Alnnahda party "pro- feminism," we liberate the human by liberating the woman. We have many women examples from the era of Prophet Mohammad for women who were active in their society" (Labidi 2015).

After the revolution, the women participation's quota became 50%, which meant that any electoral list should contain 50% women. In the last parliamentary election, the party nominated

---

[5] Mehrezia Labidi is an MP and head of the women commission and vice Chair of the National Constituent Assembly

[6] The word "fiqh" is an Arabic word which means doctrine.

217 persons, almost 50% of these were women. The same quota was set for municipality election i.e. women should be 50% of the nominated persons. At the advisory council (alshoura council), women representation was only 15%; the party is planning that in the next meeting for the conference to increase women representation to at least 25%. The structure of Alnnahda party mainly contains the followings chambers: the conference, the Shoura Council, and the executive office. The conference consists of 1500 persons elected from the governances; the conference members meet every four years. The Shoura Council elected from the member of the conference consists of 150 persons. The conference members elect a hundred of these. These hundred then appoint the remaining fifty persons considering the women representation (Zaitoun 2015).

The Alnnahda party considers the quota as a positive discrimination against women to guarantee a proper political participation for women in public life and force them to participate. We mean that women politically participate, we appoint specific central office for women, it manages several activities for women, and it empowers women and teach them to be leaders and decision makers. This office is considered an independent organization for women.

Women political participation is a new phenomenon; in practice women did not have any political influence in the age of Bin Ali. After the revolution and the 50% quota, many women who are politically qualified appeared. Alnnahda party was the first political party that called for the 50% quota, and all Tunisian police parties agreed on this.

Alghannouchi who is one of the founders of Alnnahda party and who studied philosophy and live almost 20 years in a democratic society like Britain, he was strongly affected by democracy and women respect. (Zaitoun 2015)

Women are the same as men at Alnnahda party; we worked hard on the national assembly to make the parliamentary quota is 50 percent. We are trying to make quota in the Alnnahda conference itself to be minimum 30 percent.Unfortunately, there is no quota right now. Some women at Alnnahda party itself refused quota system because they believe it is discrimination against women. The Shoura Council consists of 26 women and 124 men, we are not satisfied withthis ratio, we are working to increase it in the future. We depend relative election list by alternation gender, some list headed by a man, others by a woman. Next meeting for Alnnahda

party conference will discuss the quotes of women in the conference, as women we agree to require a quota between 25- 30 percent.(Alzaghlami 2015)

In the last parliamentary election, there was strong women participation. In the parliament Alnnahda party won 69 seats, 27 of those seats are for women. The reason why the women didn't get 50% of the seats, Mrs.Mehrezia explains that men headed not all the list led by men, 33 of lists nominated by Alnnahda party , while only 3 lists headed by women, for example if a list that consist of 10 persons got 10% of the votes in a certain district , it means only the head of the list won and were a member of the parliament, even though most lists are ranked by alternation depending on gender (a man, then a woman, then a man,then a woman,etc.) (Labidi 2015)

Alnnahda party has a department for women to empower women and prepare them to be leaders; those women learn leadership skills and all necessary skills that I required for enable women to be involved in the political process. (Alzaghlami 2015)

We still in the beginning as we suffered lots in the era of Bin Ali, women were prevented from their studies, they did not have the freedom for doing anything including to wear hijab. Bin Ali sent women men who belong to Alnnahda party to the jail, women are the ones who took care of the houses and kids, and this experience strengthens the women in Tunisia.

In alshoura council, even though women are only 26 members out of 150 members, however, the decision are made on the council by consultation women and men, we discuss, negotiate, and finally the decision is made, and the policy is created. There is lots of respect for women inside the Shoura Council. (Alzaghlami 2015)

We are demanding to apply the constitutional principle and give the women the quota even inside the Shoura Council. Men headed 30 election lists, and women headed only three lists, this is not enough, we are working to divide those lists into2 halves; half led by men and half by women. The 50% quota is applied in all general committees in Tunisia and all public agencies, which needed its candidates to be elected.

We established an executive office to empower women and teach them many skills such as leadership, management, and election. We firmly believe in the equality and equity between men and women in the society. We believe that all citizens regretless their gender, they are equal in front of the law. Labidi asserts that women are the ones who put themselves in the political life,

of course with the support of men; how a woman can participate without the blessing of her husband who believe in her rights.(Labidi 2015)

For Alnnahda party, it does not matter that the woman can be the head of the state or even the lead the advisory council of the party. "No problem for us that the head of the advisory council " alshora council" be a woman (Labidi 2015).

For Alnnahda party, they do not mind if the head of the state is a woman Lotfi assures that the women can be a president of the country. He assures that the narration of ProphetMohammad, which say" Such people as ruled by a lady will never be successful."(Sahih Al-Bukhari).Lotfi explains that this narration is only applied when the women asked to be Calif, women cannot be Calif" (Zaitoun 2015).

Alzaghlami agrees with the previous opinion that the women can be the head of the state. "We at Alnnahda party believe that a woman can be ahead of the state, a woman can also be the head of Alnnahda party itself."(Alzaghlami 2015)

We at Alnnahda party reject the western opinion when to describe us that we practice dissimulation, we believe in democracy, we strongly believe that women have full right exactly like men; we firmly believe that women should have 50% of any political participation. What we have now is natural development, we practice democracy because we think that it is the shortest way for development any society and because we believe that democracy is the least bad, we focus on two men because we believe that their role is vital in political life (Zaitoun 2015).

During bin Ali era, the women were nominated for political positions while they are not active or even skillful. After the revolution the situation became different, the political action was liberated from custody, the women freely participate in political arena (Labidi 2015)

Tunisia's new constitution, passed on 26 January, is the first constitution in the Arab world which give all Tunisians – men and women- the right to run for president, also the representation of men and women in every governorate should be the same number of candidate for all elections. Women still are not satisfied, they asked for more participation in Tunisian politics, they requested that half of all candidates on any list would be women who are called" horizontal parity" (Petre 2014)

Tunisia has one of the highest quota for women's political participation in the parliamentaryelections, its 50%, which means that every party has to nominate the same number of man and women in their lists, alerting candidates by gender which I called" zippered list", by this it is guarantee that women will win number of seats in the parliament. In the parliament, Alnnahda woman has the lion's share of the votes for women (Coleman 2012).

Bourguiba idea that is based on the joy of life and the right to development and the mainstreaming and women's freedom and the status of Tunisia modern education among nations and prestige civil state (Almaliti 2015).

4.4.3 Factors affecting women's political participation at Alnnahda party

WomenatAlnnahda party face many obstacles in their way in entering political life, on the top of those obstacles that the world we live in it is the "man world" ,the lack of political discourse to women to convince them to be active in political life, the lack offemale political models additionally, activities timing.

Activities timing or the timing of the the party's meetings isone of the serious obstacles prevent women from being politically active. Since many meetings of the assembly take place in the evening, which is difficult for women with children to attend, family issues for the Arab women, in general, are on the top priority (Jeribi & Ounissi 2014).

According to Waseela alzaghlami, the head of women and family unit at Alnnahda party Women did not fully participate in political life because they are busy with their families and kids, kids for them are the priority. The problem that all of the Alnnahda party's meetings usually take place late in the nights, so women cannot attend the sessions because of family issues. They are many voices inside Alnnahda call for decreasing the working hours or even sharing the man in kids caring. (Alzaghlami 2015).

The women political participation is weak, even women themselves are not satisfied with it. The problem that women do not have time to participate, they have to take care of their families, Alnnahda party is trying to resolve this issue(Zaitoun 2015). The social obstacle still exists; many young mothers still don't have time to public life because they need to take care of their

kids at home. We are working on offering them a solution to resolve this problem; we are trying to apply the Scandinavian model, by offering child care for the children and byshortening that working hours, additionally to encourage the husbands to share responsibilities with their wives (Labidi 2015).

One of the obstaclesis the family and kids issues, the member who is a mother cannot attend Alnnahda meeting because it is usually held at night. The location of the meetings that help in places far away from where those women live (Labidi 2015). In an interview with Lotfi Zaitoun, he asserts that women at Alnnahda party are treated exactly like men, it was agreed at the end of the 1980s that women can occupy any position at Alnnahda party in concrete and in the public life in general. However, the women representation is considered weak at the basic level, this is due to some reasons related to women themselves, as they are busy is their work and the family issues, it is still the society does not consider the women as qualified members to participate in public life. This case does not only exist in the Tunisian society, but also in every society including a society such as British society (Zaitoun 2015).

Women themselves are not encouraged to politically involved, there are no enough women who are willing to be politically active; quantity is equally important as equality(Alzaghlami 2015).

The woman herself is an obstacle. Some women do not believe in their role in building their society and participate political arena. It is not easy to convince those women to change their minds. What we are doing is to give those women intensive training course in many fieldsespecially the importance of their participation in public life. Women need a female model, who is a successful leader who can imitate, our job at Alnnahda party to offer that model for them (Labidi 2015).

Lack of experienced women is an important issue that one should consider; it is an important reason that explains why women do not politically participate as men in Tunisia. It is necessary that the political party build the female capacity as election candidates, should support women and strengthen their skills in campaigning managements and leadership (Petre 2014).Changing people mentality takes time (Petre 2014).

"Still we lack professional women in politics. However we work on that, we work to empower women and provide them with skills they need to be experts in politics. Political experience requires practice and this come by time"(Zaitoun 2015).

Patriarchy society, domination of manhood in the Tunisian society as any traditional Arab culture, is an obstacle that prevents women from being politically active. The reason behind the limited women participation is that the men do not like women to compete with them. Politicalparticipation is men's field, not women's (Zaitoun 2015). Politics, in general, is the men's world, not only in the Arab world but also in the international community (Labidi 2015).

Culture is an important factor that determines the women role in political life, as Tunisian culture is an Arab cultures that reflects strictly on women role, especially in politics.

> "There are many factors affect women political participation in Tunisia in general and in Alnnahda party in specific. On the top, it comes to the culture of the Tunisian society" (Labidi 2015).

One of many reasons prevented women from full politically participate in the public life in Tunisia was a confrontation with the state in the era of Bin Ali. Bin Ali banned men and women from Alnnahda party to be involved in political life. Bin Ali sent many women to prison, sent their husbands to the jail, women stand alone to face the regime bin Ali, women were exposed to torture by the police in bin Ali's era. After the revolution or the Jasmin, women became free of the state confrontation (Labidi 2015). There some people at Alnnahda party who consideredSalafi and bear Salafi views in their minds, but this is not affected Alnnahda party' thoughts and opinionbecause the number of those people is small number"For Salafi thought, yes we have, but they have little effect on the ground, their voice are not high enough to be heard, there is no conflict between them and us because they are few, they have no effect on reality" (Zaitoun 2015).

The Salafi thought is an obstacle, some women in Tunisia started to be affected by Arab GulfTV,which has Salafi thought and trying to convince women to stay at home claiming that their place is at home so they should not politically participate.

We have to raise awareness between a woman and spread the free ideas about Islam. We have laws, but what are the benefits of law if we do not find the women who apply the law? The lack of experience women considered as an obstacle preventing women from fully politically participation. Women did not practice political in the age of Bin Ali (Labidi 2015).

Salafism were not happy nor willing to listen to what Alnnahda wanted to include in the state. However, an outrage from Salafi or the conservatives was seen when Alnnahda suggested that sharia laws should not be included or should not be imposed in the state (Lillevik 2012). Along with this, since Salafi were conservative people (Chelsea Marie Flenar 2013), they wanted to see all kinds of rules and regulations just the way they should be in any Islamic state.

On the other hand, there are many factors promote women political participation, the position of women in the society, the education and educated women, the Bourqaiba teachings, and the law which guarantee the 50% for womenin any public participation and election.The wide spread of education and openedculture, the broadparticipation of women in the revolution, the oppression of women by the previous regime but sending them to jail, torture and beating by the bin Ali regime.All of this make the women strong, the absence of men in the prison gave the women the opportunity to be alone responsible for the family and empower them. Alghannoushi encouraged women to participate in the public life (Zaitoun 2015).

Many Women at Alnnahda party exposed to torture and prison in the era of Zin Aladideen bin Ali, this reflect positively on the women personalities, they started to be politically aware, they gained experience in politics, they became Campaigners and human rights defenders. Because of her struggle and suffered, the Tunisian woman found her way to the leadership after the Jasmine revolution. Because of her suffering she gained he legitimacy to politically participate. During the period where husband in prison, the Tunisian women taught herselfand became a producer in the society, she also took care of her kids and taught them her children (Labidi 2015).

Women themselves at Alnnahda always demands the same rights and duties like men (Labidi 2015).The women who proved themselves and put themselves in the political arena, those women suffered lots in the era of Zain alabedeen bin Ali. those women lost their husbands in jails, many of them were in prison themselves, many of them were tortured, and many of them take care of their family and kids alone while their husbands were in jail. So those women

35

became strong, they became strong because they suffered lots, so when the revolution came, they had strong attendance (Zaitoun 2015).

A critical factor that could make difference and increase the level of female political participation is the commit to the constitutional requirements to protect women rights and even promote women political participation, without this commitment,gender equality in political life will not be real (Petre 2014).

> "We at Alnnahda party reject the western opinion when todescribe us that we practice dissimulation, we believe in democracy, wefirmly believe that women have full right exactly like men, we firmly believe that women should have 50% of any political participation. What we have now is natural development, we practice democracy because wethink that it is the shortest way for development any society and because we believe that democracy is the least bad,we focus on women because we believe that their role is very important in political life" (Zaitoun 2015).

5.0 Findings and discussion

5.2 Women in Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood

The EgyptianMuslim Brotherhood in Egypt is affected by the Egyptian environment and culture, when HassanAlbanna founded the MuslimBrotherhood in 1928, he was considered as a reformist in that agebecause were traditionally at home.The EgyptianMuslim Brotherhood have developed very slowly, always the men were worried about the sisters,so they prevented them from politically participate, there were afraid of the state confrontation.

In the Egyptian MuslimBrotherhood there is a significant gap between theory and practice, the current brothers and sisters deny that their inequality between men and women in the movement, as Dr. Ahmad Abdalziz assure that women have the same political rights as men in MuslimBrotherhood. He said" HassanAlbanna is a human,not prophet ,when he determined the role of women to be at home and to raise her kids, taking care of her husband, and even

determine the kind of education she should learn, he did his best, however it doesn't necessary for us to follow his teachings"(Adalaziz 2015).

In their vision towards women, Muslim Brotherhood was affected by Salafi thought. In the revolution of 25th January 2011, life change for Muslim Brotherhood, those women widely participate in the protest and demonstrationagainst Mubarak regime, some human rights activist like Niveen Ebeed believe that the women in Muslim Brotherhood have no value, they are not equal to men, men in Muslim Brotherhood exploit he women for their benefits and the movements benefits. The sisters in MuslimBrotherhood denied this "unfair" vision towards them, and they assure that they choose to participate in political life. After the collapse of Mubarak regime, there was a big chance for Muslim Brotherhood to be tested if they believe in gender equality. Unfortunately, they failed in the test.

Egyptian sisterhood worked hard to prove themselves, and they believe in their rights, that is why they found a little chance to be represented in the parliament elections.
Many factors affect the level of women political participation in Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. First of all is the Egyptian culture which is characterized as conservative culture when compared to the Tunisian culture, the quota system is slight, as atleast one women should be on the election list, and this reflects on the little number of women who are representing in the parliament. As I mention above, the Salafi thought still affect most of MuslimBrotherhood in Egypt. The absence of women in the structure of the Muslim brotherhood movement and being in the local offices away from decisionmaking; this is a strong sign that women are not equal in MuslimBrotherhood in Egypt. The dictatorial regime of Mubarak, which tortured men and women, makes women be away from the state confrontation. The lack of experienced women affects the quality and quantity of political participation in MuslimBrotherhood.

In theory, Muslimbrother in Egypt does notmind if the woman is the head of the state while they do not give her the chance to be represented equally with men neither in the movement itself nor the parliament. When you see what's going on the ground, it is not difficult to discover that practically the Egyptian MuslimBrotherhood is far away from gender equality. They claim that

they believe in the equality of political participation and political rights between men and women.

Ahmad Abdalaziz[7] said that Hassan Albanna founded Muslim Brotherhood in 1928, Hassan Albanna is a normal person who read up and created the MuslimBrotherhood; we respect his thought. However, it does not mean that we have to follows what he thought of his time, especially what is related to women. In the age of Hassan Albanna, women were oppressed and kept at home, in those circumstances it was difficult to do more than what he did for women. If he dealt with women with little ignorance and didn't give her the proper care, it does not mean that he is any enemy for the women. However, he did not ignore her totally, if he dealt with her the way, for example, the Salafi deal with women, we would not see women walking in the streets in our current time. I believe that that according to Hassan Albanna, the women role was a secondary role, she did not enjoy the proper role (Adalaziz 2015).

I think that Muslim Brotherhood were affected by Salafi thought in dealing with women, they did not give her a prominent and leading positions. Moreover, if this happened it means they were forced to do this, and because the women put themselves in the political arena. The women did not have the role in the 1970s, 1980suntil the mid of 1990 s.

When MuslimBrotherhood gave the women role in the legislation council and nominated some women to be members of the parliament, it was a reaction to the women demand, there was no vision about giving women role in the MuslimBrotherhood.

The revolution of January 25th, 2011 was a turning point in women's role in Muslim Brotherhood, the women proved that they were strong enough to participate and equal the men. Many women went to the streets for demonstration and asked for the collapse of Mubarak regime, the women themselves who decide to participate, not the movement that forced them to participate.

When we talk about "the ideology" of Muslim Brotherhood towards women, we cannot use the word "ideology" ideology means the movement has already positioned itself against women. There is a big difference between ideology and practice. There is a significant gap between what Muslim Brotherhood think about women and what is going on in practice. Muslim brothers did

---

[7] Ahmad Abdalaziz: was the media consultant and political advisor for the ex-president of Egypt "Mohammad Morsi

not use the women for their benefits, as I said the women themselves decide to participate in the election.

According to Muslim brotherhood's thought, the women can be a president of the state, there is nothing prevented women from being the head of the state and even to politically participate in any political and public position in the state (Adalaziz 2015).

Men restricted the women public participation in Muslim Brotherhood because they were afraid of the state confrontation; they did that because they protected the women. Muslim brothers did not exploit women; sisters participated because they wanted to express themselves and their well, they were free to do that. The woman can be a head of the state, there is nothing prevent her to be nominated to be the head of the state, the only position woman cannot be being Calif for the whole Muslim nation. Before the revolution,the women participated in the parliamentary election.

If Hassan Albanna recommends that women be a wife and mother, his thought is not Quraan, it can be changed. In the future,I expect that the women will participate more in political life especially after what happened in the revolution and the way they participated. The MuslimBrotherhood started to review its policy on everything especially regarding women's position in the political life. We are not satisfied with the level of women political participation in Muslim Brotherhood(Alsayyed 2014).

5.3 Women's political participation at Alnnahda party.

Alnnahda party has a unique experience in women political rights and political participation. Women at Alnnahda party are treated in a better way than in Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. Despite Alnnahda party was established basing on the thought of MuslimBrotherhood. However, they do not behave the same way as MuslimBrotherhood, at least in the issue such as women political participation. Alnnahda party goes much farther than the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, from the first moment when the Alnnahda party won the majority votes at the national assembly constitute, they confirm the principle of gender equality in the constitution. Even though a significantdebate on this issue, still the constitution guarantees 50% of women participation in any general election including the parliamentary election. This openedmentality couldbe explained in many ways; first Tunisia is the first Arab country thatsupport women rights and

freedom. Second; the opened minded Ghannouchi the founder of Alnnahda party, Ghannouchi,who lives almost 20 years in Europe especially Britain, its naturally for him to gain the knowledge about the importance of women, gender equality and democracy.Ghannouchi aims to build a modern Tunisia based n equality and respect for human rights. There is no such big difference between the reality and theory as the case in Egypt, Tunisia in general and Alnahda party working hard on the ground to build qualified women and empower them on the political level and participation.

Alnnahda party established a woman and family unit in the party, the mission of this unit is to empower women and encourage them toparticipate in public life, and teach them about their rights. Alnnahda party reread the narrations and the teaching of Prophet Mohamad in feminist vision, they reread the debatable narration of ProphetMohammad, which says "Such people as ruled by a lady will never be successful." This narration is the source of difference in all Islamic parties in the world; some scholars explain it as the women are not allowed to participate in any public or political life. Others explained it like Alnnahda party, and they claim that this narration is not valid and applicable in their case. Furthermore, the women can occupy any public position except being Calif.

Many factors affect the level of women political participation in Alnnahda party.Some factors promote women political participation for women at Alnnahda party, the promotion factors such as; women education, the 50% quota system, the suffering of women in the era of Bin Ali made women stronger, and the women themselves who insist on being politically active.

Other factors are considered hindering factors that prevent women from full political participation such as; the meetings of the party usually take place in the night,and the women who have kids need time for their children, as kids are the toppriority for the mothers. The lack of professional women is another factor that prevent women from progress.

6.0 Conclusion

Both the Muslim Brotherhood and the Alnnahda party agree that Islam does not oppress women's rights, and that women in Islam can occupy any political position including being a president of the state and the only position women cannot occupy is "calif". Despite the two

movements, the Alnnahda party and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood have the same ideological roots and related thought; they are different in the ground, especially in the issue of women's political participation.

There is a big difference between the level of political participation for women in the two movements; while the Alnnahda Tunisian party gives the women a significant amount of freedom and rights to participate in political life, the Egyptian Muslim brotherhood restricts the role of women in political life. Although the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt didn't exploit women, Hassan Albanna came in an era that tradition and conservative culture dominated the Egyptian society. He is considered as reformer in his age, if he asked women to go out, then the whole society would revolt against him and reject his thought. Most of the time the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt perceive the woman as a weak person who needs to be protected and didn't want to expose her to the confrontation of the state, which reflects negatively on the level of women's political participation.

On the ground, the Tunisian women of the Alnnahda party have gone further and forced their political rights on the law and the society. Women in Tunisia in general and in the Alnnahda party succeeded in obtaining 50% quota in the parliamentary election, which is considered one of the highest quotas in the world. While the Egyptian women still demand to have the right to participate in the structure of the Muslim Brotherhood, it is important to note that the women in Alnnahda participate in all levels of the structure of Alnnahda party.

The relatively high level of women's political participation in the Alnnahda party is due to many reasons; the leadership of Alnnahda, Ghannouchi who is open-minded and impacted by western culture, the 1956 principles of the president Bourqeeba which empower women and give them freedom and rights, the education level of the Tunisian women, the suffering of Tunisian women during the Bourqeeba era which strengthened women in the Alnnahda party, and the will of women themselves.

Despite all this success, still there are many barriers that stand in the Tunisian women's way toward full political participation, and along the way it is necessary to apply the quota law in all aspects of Tunisian life. A few examples of those stumbling blocks include the salafi orientation in the Tunisian society, lack of experienced women, family issues and the bad timing of the Alnnahda meetings which take place in the night while it is the mothers' time to take care of their kids.

Taking care of the kids is not the main barrier that preventing women in the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood from full political participation. The Egyptian culture is one of the main barriers, in addition to the lack of experienced women, state confrontation, the structure of the Muslim Brotherhood, the absence of women from decision-making and the salafi views inside the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt. All of those factors reflect negatively on women's political participation in the movement.

In sum, the two movements are on the right track towards women's political participation, however, the Alnnahda party is advancing further than the Muslim Brotherhood. The two movements are based on the Islamic ideology, however in practice, the Alnnahda party is in an advanced stage of women political participation. It is recommended to conduct deep research on women's political participation in both Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and the Alnnahda party, identify the strong points in both movements and make efforts to improve upon both.

7.0 References

Abdalziz, A. (2014). *women's role in muslim brotherhood*. Bary, i. (ed.).

Abdel-Latif, O. (2008a). In the Shadow of the brothers. *Carnegie Paper*: 13: 1-23.

Abdel-Latif, O. (2008b). "In the Shadow of the Brothers. The Women of the

Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. *Carnegie Papers*, 13.

Adalaziz, A. (2015). *Women's political paricipation in muslim brotherhood*. Bary, I. (ed.). Master thesis

Almaliti, M. (2015). *Alnnahda Party has to rapprochement with Tunisia Bourguibism*. London Middle East Online. Available at: http://www.middle-east-online.com/?id=208371.

Alsayyed, I. (2014). *Women Political Partcipation in Muslim Brotherhood*. Bary, I. (ed.). Master Thesis

Alyafai, F. (2012). *A losing battle as Ennahda tries to define Tunisian women's role*: The National Available at: http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/comment/a-losing-battle-as-ennahda-tries-to-define-tunisian-womens-role (accessed: 12.10.2015).

Alzaghlami, W. (2015). *Women political parcipatin at Alnnahda party*. Bary, I. (ed.). maser thesis

Arieff, A. (2011). Political transition in Tunisia.

Blaydes , L. & El Tarouty, S. (2009). Women's Electoral Participation in Egypt: The Implications

of Gender for Voter Recruitment and Mobilization *Middle East Journal*, 63 (3): 364-80.

Cavatorta, F. & Merone, F. (2013). Moderation through exclusion? The journey of the Tunisian Ennahda from fundamentalist to conservative party. *Democratization*, 20 (5): 857-875.

Darlene, N. (2011). ADVOCATING FOR GREATER POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: FEMINISMS IN EGYPT AND THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: Georgetown University.

Ghannuchi, R. (2012). *The woman beween Quraan and muslims' reality* Dar alshurooq

Hamed, E. (2013). *Egypt's 'Muslim Sisterhood' moves from social work to politics*

. Available at: http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/11/egypt-muslim-sisterhood-social-work-politics.html (accessed: 31.08.2014).

Ismail, F. (2011). *Tunisia Islamist trends back to the forefront*: Alarabya news channel. Available at: http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2011/01/20/134294.html (accessed: 23.10.2015).

Jeribi, L. & Ounissi, S. (2014). *Tunisian women push at the political glass ceiling*. England Middle East Eye. Available at: http://www.middleeasteye.net/in-depth/features/tunisian-women-push-political-glass-ceiling-1788637247 (accessed: 9.10.2015).

labani, S., Kaehler, C. & Dio Ruiz, P. (2009). Gender analysis of women's

political participation in 7 South-East Asian

countries. *ENJAMBRA CONTRA LA EXPLOTACIÓN*

SEXUAL AND PAZ Y DESARROLLO.

Labidi , M. (2015). *Women political partcipation at alnnhda party* Bary, I. (ed.). Master thesis

Leiken, R. S. & Brooke, S. (2007). The moderate Muslim brotherhood. *foreign affairs*: 107-121.

Maged, A. (2011, 3.11.2011). Muslim Brothers in Tunisia and Egypt. *Alahram*.

Marks, M. (2013). Women's Rights before and after the Revolution. *The Making of the Tunisian Revolution: Contexts, Architects, Prospects*: 224-251.

Meijer, R. (2013). The Muslim Brotherhood and the political: an exercise in ambiguity. *Columbia University Press*: 291-320.

Melkonian, E. (2015). *Women's rights in Tunisia: promising future or religio-political game?*: Opendemocracy. Available at: https://www.opendemocracy.net/openglobalrights/ (accessed: 12.10.205).

Moghadam, V. M. (1991). Islamist movements and women's responses in the Middle East. *Gender & History*, 3 (3): 268-286.

Munson, Z. (2001). Islamic Mobilization. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 42 (4): 487-510.

Petre, C. (2014). *Tunisian women push at the political glass ceiling*. England: Middle East Eye. Available at: http://www.middleeasteye.net/about-middle-east-eye-1798743352 (accessed: 18.10.2015).

Pickard, D. (2014). 1 Al-Nahda: Moderation and compromise in Tunisia's constitutional bargain. *Political and Constitutional Transitions in North Africa: Actors and Factors*, 7: 4.

Tadros, M. (2011). The Muslim Brotherhood's Gender Agenda: Reformed or Reframed? *IDS Bulletin* 42(1): 88-98.

Tchaïcha, J. & Arfaoui, K. (2014). Governance, Women, and the New Tunisia. *Политикологија религије* (1): 135-164.

The freedom dictionary. Available at: http://www.thefreedictionary.com/ideology.

Timmerman, C. (2000). Muslim women and nationalism: the power of the image. *Current Sociology*, 48 (4): 15-27.

Wheatley, S. (2011). *From Violence to Voting:*

Toward an Islamist Theory of Moderation Texas Baylor University, Department of Church-State Studies. 195 pp.

Zaitoun, L. (2015). *Women's political paricipation at Alnnhda party* Bary, I. (ed.). Master Thesis

8.0 Appendices

Questions to Alnnahda party representatives:

1. What women mean in the thought of Alnnahda party? ( ) ماذا تعني المرأة في حزب النهضة؟
2. What is the role of women at Alnnahda party? ما دور المرأة في حزب النهضة
3. Do women participate at the parliamentary election? Is there any quota? هل المرأة في حزب النهضة مشاركة في الانخابات البرلمانية ؟؟ هل يوجد كوتا لها ؟ كم نسبة مشاركتها؟
4. Do women participate in the municipality election ? هل تشارك المرأة في حزب النهضة في انتخابات البلدية ؟
5. Can a woman be a head of shoura council? هل ممكن ان تترأس المرأة مجلس الشورى؟
6. Can women be head of the guidance office ? هل ممكن ان تترأس المرأة مكتب الارشاد؟ هل ممكن ان يكون المرشد مرأة؟
7. Does the woman have a role in public life?
8. Can the woman be a member of the shoura office or the guidance office ?
9. How many women at the shoura office?
10. Is there a women organization at Alnnahda party?
11. Can the woman be a state president?
12. What is the relation between Muslim brotherhood movement and Alnnahda party?
13. Do you believe in gender equality?
14. Is the women who initiate to be politically active?
15. What do you think about democracy?
16. What factors affect women political participation ?
17. What gains the women achieve on political level?
18. Is the Alnnahda party has the same ideology as Muslim brotherhood?
19. What is the role of "bourqeebah adjustments" in women political rights?
20. What is the role of culture , customs and traditions in determination of women political participation ?
21. To what extent can the woman participate in political life?