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PATRIARCHY AND SECTARIANISM: A GENDERED TRAP

BASELINE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report looks at how the influence of national measures and lack of consideration of women's issues have directly impacted women's involvement in politics. Lebanon has failed to ratify the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (est. 1982; UN) (CEDAW) articles that ensure proper distribution of tasks in families, as well as granting both women and men equal rights in terms of marriage, custody rights, guardianship and other measures that recognize women as first class citizens and as individuals who receive full and equal access to and benefit from all laws. This failure to do so, serves as a reminder of the Lebanese patriarchal political structure, a structure that claims to offer women access to the political space and points to a lack of legal barriers (for example, women have the right to vote and run) without actually supporting women in their attempt to gain access, this is best illustrated by the way in which the system reminds the Lebanese people that a woman's role is to be a mother and caregiver and are unable to make a decision about passing their nationalities to their children. By doing so, the Lebanese government, represented by the political parties, unions, and other political structures, has directly set limitations and obstacles to limit the personal status of women, and instead, has adapted it to fit religious and cultural expectations. Today, women in Lebanon are fighting for equal access to opportunities and rights and to enjoy being full citizens, without prejudice toward their gender, their expectations and their professional careers. The fight is still nascent and requires attention and analysis of the deep-rooted man-made structures that are by their very nature exclusive of women. When women do decide to become politically active, they are faced with many challenges pertaining to society's expectations of them, to the gender stereotyping of each and every woman, and the challenges related to resources and access to them. Women cannot stand alone in promoting political activism amongst women; everyone has a role to play, including the government that has a responsibility to design and implement measures to guarantee quicker and easier access to politics for all groups, with women being the top priority.

Finally, by its nature, politics in Lebanon is exclusive and is dominated by the political elite who have extensive financial resources, social networks and social power to exercise power and repeatedly attain it. It is even more exclusive of women, who, if they decide to become active in politics in a patriarchal society, would need to compete with men, with the media's image of how politicians appear, with a general discourse of clientelism and many other aspects of Lebanon's unique political system. This report acknowledges that access to formal politics in Lebanon is challenging for both genders, and all economic classes, and minorities, however it serves to highlight the different ways women are abruptly excluded from entering politics by being drawn into a vicious circle of constant challenges with little hope for progress and career advancement.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We would like to thank all those who contributed to this study, including the team at HIVOS, *People Unlimited* and the Country Coordinator, Ms.Doreen Khoury, who provided the research team with excellent support. Additionally, we acknowledge the time and advice provided to our team by key experts representing political groups, unions, and government institutions. We would also like to thank all research participants who took the time to assist us in exploring this topic, their contributions were essential to the work covered in the report.

This study would not have been possible without the contribution of the team members at Beyond Reform and Development.

We hope that it will achieve its purpose of guiding future programs seeking to promote women's political participation.

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HIVOS INTERNATIONAL

Hivos is an international organization that seeks new solutions to persistent global issues. With smart projects in the right places, HIVOS opposes discrimination, inequality, abuse of power and the unsustainable use of our planet's resources. The organization's primary focus is achieving structural change leading to its cooperation with innovative businesses, citizens and their organizations. HIVOS believes that every human being has the right to live in freedom and dignity. The organization has recently launched a programme 'Women empowered for leadership' that works in 6 countries to promote women's leadership at the political level, in public administration and within civic organizations. The programme focuses on the sub-national since that's where the decisions are made and policies are implemented. This programme seeks to form an enabling environment to promote women's participation in public life.

BEYOND REFORM AND DEVELOPMENT

Beyond Reform & Development (BRD) is a mission-driven consulting firm and a social enterprise working in the MENA region on policy research, public management reform and capacity development. We have been particularly focused on women and gender related issues leading large scale research projects for public institutions, international organizations and local NGOs. For instance, BRD has recently developed and conducted a regional mapping and assessment of women's needs in Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt for the creation of a regional multimedia platform. We have worked with on women leadership within political parties with the Ministry of Social Affairs, the National Commission for Lebanese Women (NCLW), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). We are renowned for our participatory, inclusive and comprehensive qualitative and quantitative assessments methodologies and tools applied for development research projects. We have been working with more than 200 civil society organizations and building the capacities of more than 6000 participants, including women, for the past 10 years in the MENA region.

RATIONALE

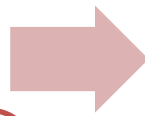
On a global level, women's participation in politics has made great strides around the world, with an increasing number of women joining ministries, parliaments, municipalities and other political bodies. However, events in Lebanon still fall short of the goals set out in international agreements such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979¹, that aimed at ending discrimination against women in all forms including in political and public life by ensuring that women:

- Vote in all elections, and public referenda, and are eligible for all publicly elected bodies;
- Participate in the formulation of government policy and implementation thereof, and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
- Participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

The CEDAW convention asks signatories to take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, without discrimination, the opportunity to represent their governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations. Lebanon ratified the agreement on April 16, 1997 with specific reservations.²

Article 9, Paragraph 2

- State Parties must grant ensure women's equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children



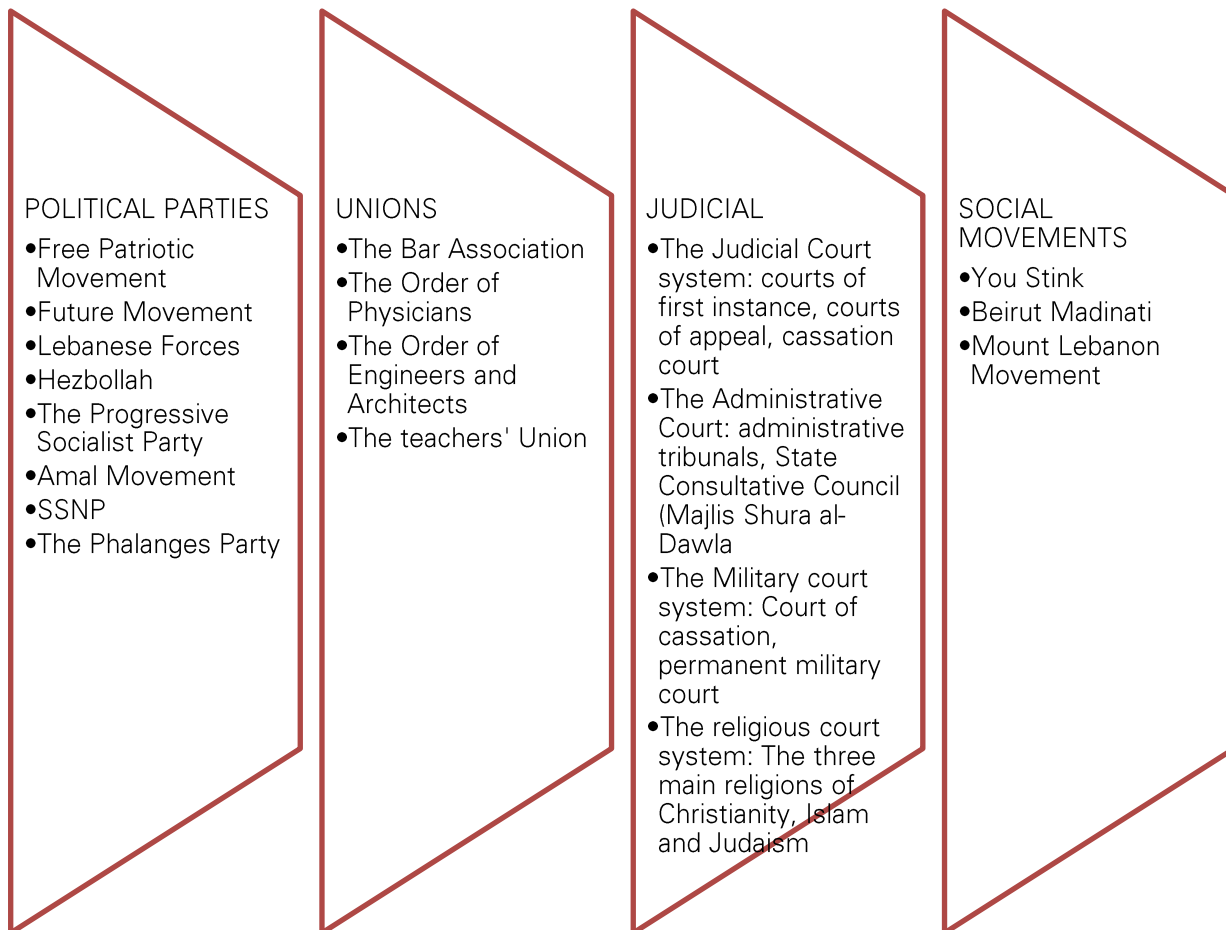
Article 16, paragraph 1

- Point c: ensuring the same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution
- Point d: ensuring the same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children and in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount
- Point f: ensuring the same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children
- Point g: Ensuring the same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation

¹ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women , Overview of the Convention

² Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, OHCHR

Today, Lebanon ranks 135th on the World Economic Forum for Political Empowerment annual report where: 9 % of legislators and senior officials are women³; 3.2% of parliamentary seats and 4.5 % of ministerial positions are occupied by women. Women in Lebanon face great challenges that limit both their capacity and chance of practicing or being engaged in politics: the lack of an enabling environment is a serious hindrance, as is the social and political patriarchal structure⁴ that is exclusive of women. This report seeks to understand and identify the key challenges facing women in the political and public sphere, more specifically in:



³The Global Gender Report, 2016.

⁴Patriarchy as defined by Merriam Webster: social organization marked by the supremacy of the father in the clan or family, the legal dependence of wives and children, and the reckoning of descent and inheritance in the male line; broadly: control by men of a disproportionately large share of power

METHODOLOGY

This research study seeks to look at women's political participation from a holistic perspective by examining the cultural, economic, social, religious, legal and institutional barriers that hinder women's participation in the political and public scene. As such, the methodology was designed so that the information retrieved would consider all the aforementioned barriers. Initially, the methodology included two data collection tools that would seek to validate each other as well as complement one another: Qualitative tools and quantitative data collection tools, as detailed in the following section.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of this research are to:

- Develop a **baseline** for women's participation in: political parties, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), the judicial system and unions and syndicates;
- Identify **challenges and obstacles** to women's participation: Socio-cultural barriers and structural and legal barriers;
- Document and analyze **previous efforts and programs** in the past five years, targeted at promoting women's leadership and political participation
- Arrive at a set of **recommendations** to promote women's political participation

DATA COLLECTION TOOLS

This research study includes a baseline, as well as an analysis of the barriers to women's political participation, thus requiring a combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection tools.

- Qualitative Data Tools: These tools assisted in understanding the formal and informal challenges that women face when engaging in politics. These include structural, legal, social, economic and cultural challenges. The conversations triggered by these tools helped form a holistic understanding of women's access to the political space, and their ability to advance, engage and develop in political arenas.
- Quantitative Data Tools: These tools helped draw a visual description of the status quo, including but not limited to: Which positions women have access to, the level of participation of women in different layers of management within political groups, a review of previous data on women's participation in different sectors, focusing on the political scene, and data on the level of participation in the public and private sphere.

Below is a breakdown of all data collection tools used throughout the study,

IN LEBANON	QUALITATIVE DATA	DATA
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Desk review of studies, reports and articles, etc. — <u>60 interviews</u> with relevant stakeholders from each of the aforementioned groups — <u>5 focus groups</u> with female candidates, civil society activists, political activists and women active in political groups — Review of <u>secondary data and reports</u> on the status of women in politics in Lebanon — Review of <u>government laws and policies</u> related to civil society groups and political parties — Review of the <u>bylaws of unions, political parties and courts</u> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existing literature on patterns and trends of socio-cultural, economic, political and structural challenges hindering women’s political participation in politics • The level of participation of female members in political groups: unions, political parties, social movements and the judicial system, • Studying of formal and informal challenges facing women who are active in politics, • Review of five development projects seeking to promote women’s participation in politics, and an analysis of lessons learned and recommendations for future projects.

ASSUMPTIONS, LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

ASSUMPTIONS

- Outdated reports and national statistics: The Central Administration for Statistics in Lebanon has not published any new or significant information since 2009.
- Interviewees representing their respective groups tended to be positive when describing the situation of women's involvement in their groups,
- The lack of proper documentation regarding gender in government institutions,
- The political context in Lebanon hindering the political parties' willingness and ability to share information about their constituencies,
- The competitive nature of political groups in general, which might influence answers and the information shared,
- 2017 was an especially eventful year in terms of women's rights, with the establishment of the new Ministry of State for Women's Affairs and the recent documented speeches of key political figures opposing some of the key rights of women, (such as Sayyed Hasan Nasrallah's speech calling for child marriages)
- Judges were the most reluctant to share information and data due to the nature of the judicial system's internal bureaucracy and the sensitivity of their positions.

DELIMITATIONS

- The lack of quantitative data from the perceptions survey resulted in an inability to conduct a thorough analysis of cultural barriers,
- Almost all groups studied in this research are based, and are most active in, Beirut and its suburbs, as such, the data collected does not represent the views of women and men in rural areas, an issue that could be solved with a regional survey at a later stage.

CHAPTER 1: WOMEN AND THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN LEBANON

Since the CEDAW (UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women) Convention (1996), academics, public institutions, foreign governments and other institutions have become increasingly interested in gender mainstreaming and equality in general, and specifically in the political scene. The discourse around women's political participation has developed over the years and includes groups that work on changing the culture or changing perceptions around women in politics, to concluding and designing policy reforms and initiatives to be more inclusive of women in all public and political positions.

GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT WOMEN IN LEBANON

The following table includes a summary of all numbers and statistics related to women's involvement in specific sectors or groups at the time of writing. It seeks to serve as a set of indicators for future development projects.

INDICATOR	
RIGHT TO VOTE AND RUN IN PARLIAMENT	1953
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT	3%
NUMBER OF WOMEN MINISTERS IN THE HISTORY OF LEBANON	1
	Only 8 women have been appointed to ministerial positions
	Only 10 female parliamentarians have been elected
RANK IN TERMS OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT	139 th (in the world)
NUMBER OF ACTIVE POLITICAL PARTIES	96
% OF WOMEN IN CATEGORY ONE EMPLOYMENT IN PUBLIC OFFICE	10.1% (2011) – 6.5% (2004)
% OF WOMEN IN CATEGORY TWO EMPLOYMENT IN PUBLIC OFFICE	24.1% (2011) - 18.75% (2004)
% OF WOMEN IN CATEGORY THREE EMPLOYMENT IN PUBLIC OFFICE	36.3% (2011) - 28.1% (2004)
% OF WOMEN IN CATEGORY FOUR EMPLOYMENT IN PUBLIC OFFICE	38.3% (2011) - 31.8% (2004)
% OF WOMEN IN THE INTERNAL	3.6% of total ISF personnel (2013)

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SECURITY FORCES	
INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES STATISTICS IN DETAIL	362 sergeants and 61 gendarmes out of a total of 1,805 sergeants and gendarmes (2013)
WOMEN IN GENERAL SECURITY	217 - 4.7% of total general security personnel.
WOMEN IN SPORTS FEDERATIONS	Women sit on the administrative bodies of 16 out of a total of 37 (2014) -8.5% of the total membership of the administrative bodies of the 37 federations.
SPORTING COMMITTEES	15.6% (women represented in six out of 9 committees)
WOMEN ON THE LEBANESE OLYMPIC COMMITTEE	6.6% (2014)
WORKING WOMEN BY SECTOR	60.2% in services, 21.5% in commerce, 7.5% in industry and 5.7% in agriculture (2014)
FEMALE POPULATION IN LEBANON'S PRISONS	7.91% (2014)
PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE AMBASSADORS	6.7% (2013)
FEMALE CANDIDATES IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS	6.9% (2016) 1,508 out of 21,932 candidates
FEMALE CANDIDATES FOR 'MUKHTAR' POSITIONS	381 candidates out of 8,135 candidates (4.7%) (2016) – 57 won (1.9%)

THE LEBANESE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Lebanon is a parliamentary democratic republic within an overall framework of confessionalism. It is a power-sharing system with a sectarian quota in all political positions. Article 7 of Lebanon's Constitution states, "All Lebanese shall be equal before the law" and thus guarantees inclusion and representation of all social groups in its societies.⁵ Yet, the deeply rooted patriarchal and discriminatory attitudes in Lebanon make it difficult for women to engage, participate and advance their status in the different spheres in Lebanon. This system presents additional challenges to women looking to attain high level management and leadership positions in political parties and government institutions.⁶ Article 8 of the Lebanese Constitution asserts the equality of rights and duties of all citizens, regardless of their gender,⁷ yet, there are 15 separate PERSONAL STATUS LAWS for the different recognized religious communities represent individuals in the community.⁸ This means that Lebanese

⁵Tanya H., Camille N., Zeina C., Increasing Women's political participation in Lebanon, *Journal of Politics and Law*, Vol. 8, No. 4; 2015

⁶Abdel Samad, O. (n.a). Women Political Participation. Beyond Reform Development

⁷ChemalKhalaf, Mona (2010) 'Lebanon', in Sanja Kelly and Julia Breslin, eds., (2010) *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa*, New York, NY: Freedom House; Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield

⁸Human Rights Watch, '*Unequal and Unprotected: Women's rights under Lebanese Personal Status Law*', 2015.

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individuals are treated differently under different laws when it comes to specific private issues in their lives: their personal status. In short, the Lebanese political system is established on the principle of separation of powers⁹ between two communities (Christian and Muslim) who have, since the creation of Lebanon, struggled for power and leadership. Within each of these communities, men dominate women, not only in practice but also through the legal framework, though the means differ between the two communities; this goes to show that women are not only second-class citizens in Lebanon, but that they are also used as bargaining chips or tools in legal conflict. For example, the right of a woman to pass on her nationality to her children is denied in Lebanon because one of the communities claims that women will then be able to marry men from different communities and risk changing the demographics of the Lebanese state, thus undermining the confessional system. Another example is the issue of civil marriage, where there is a fear that Christian men will marry Muslim women, thus again threatening the entire sectarian balance.¹⁰ Lebanon witnessed 15 years of civil war between different sectarian groups from 1975 to 1990 that ended with the 1989 Taif Agreement. The agreement reaffirmed the 1943 National Pact, which was designed to guarantee equal representation between all confessional groups, while at the same time preventing any from gaining a dominant position. As a result, the government recognizes 18 religious sects through representation according to the size of their respective populations.¹¹ As part of this system, the three major positions of government were divided among the three biggest sects in Lebanon as follows:

- The President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian
- The Speaker of the House is a Shiite Muslim
- The Prime Minister is a Sunni Muslim

Looking at three different eras of Lebanese history will result in a better understanding of the context and trends when considering women's participation in the political sphere:

1. The Pre-Civil war period,
2. The Civil war period,
3. The Post-Civil war period.

THE PRE-CIVIL WAR PERIOD, WOMEN AND POLITICS: TWO OPPOSITE POLES (1943 – 1975)

Before the eruption of the civil war in 1975, Lebanon was experiencing development and progress with regard to social values and norms; the country was famed as the Switzerland of the East and was known for being modern and extolling western habits and customs.¹² Yet, politics remained close for women as it was an 'outside'

⁹The Lebanese Constitution, 1995.

¹⁰YollaSharara: *'Women and politics in Lebanon'*, Jan 2013.

¹¹Henderson, T., Nelson, C., Chemali, Z., *'Increasing women's Political participation in Lebanon: Reflections on Hurdles, Opportunities and Hope'*, Journal of Politics and Law, Vol.8, No. 4, 2015.

¹²YollaSharara: *'Women and politics in Lebanon'*, Jan 2013.

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activity, a field that would require women to leave the house and stop caring for the family. At that time motherhood and homemaking were the two main functions or roles attributed to women, and women were even valued according to their motherhood and homemaking skills. Politics was predominantly a masculine activity, and a field where anger and aggressiveness were the norm. The conversation about women's political participation started in May 1934 when Deputy Sheikh Yusef Al Khazin asked for women to be allowed the right to vote, however, the bill did not pass.¹³ Between 1929 and 1953, women fought to gain the right to vote and run for elections.¹⁴

The Lebanese Arab Women's Union

1929

Established in 1929¹⁵, in order to bring together Arab nationalists and leftists¹⁶

Conversation About women's Right to Vote

May 29,
1934

Deputy Seikh Yusef Al Khazin asked for women's right to vote, only 3 voted in favor.¹⁷

Women Demand their Right to Vote and Run

1936

Women used the text of the Lebanese – French Agreement, which specified equal civil and political rights to all citizens to demand the right to run and vote.

Women in Demonstrations

1943

Women joined men in their demands for the release of Sheikh Bshara El Khoury, Riad el Solh and other members of the cabinet from prison, and then the declaration of independence. Eveline Boutros, (then president of the Lebanese Women's Union) led a number of demonstrations in 1943.¹⁸ Ibtihaj Qadoura, a union leader proclaimed in 1945: *'Woman is no longer solely for the home, because the whole world can no longer do without her services'*¹⁹

The Lebanese Women Solidarity Association

1947

Founded in 1947 and composed of elites and haute bourgeoisie female representatives from twenty Christian organizations throughout Lebanon²⁰

¹³Shehadeh, L.R., *'Women and War in Lebanon'*, p.31-32, University Press of Florida

¹⁴Shehadeh, L.R., *'Women and War in Lebanon'*, p.31-32, University Press of Florida

¹⁵Thompson, E., 'Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon'.

¹⁶Stephan, R., *'Four Waves of Lebanese Feminism', E-International Relations'*, November, 2014.

¹⁷Shehadeh, L.R., *'Women and War in Lebanon'*, p.31-32, University Press of Florida

¹⁸Dombrowski, A, N. *"Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted with Or Without Consent"*

¹⁹Dombrowski, A, N. *"Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted with Or Without Consent"*

²⁰Stephan, R., *'Four Waves of Lebanese Feminism', E-International Relations'*, November, 2014.

First Arab Women's Conference December 1944	The First conference was held under Huda Sha'rawi's ²¹ leadership in Cairo. ²² The conference highlighted women's claims to political participation above and beyond their reiterated calls for social reforms. ²³
Lebanese Women's Council 1952	Formally established in 1952 under the notice 3752/AD, as the result of the merger between the Association of Lebanese Women (1947) and the Coalition of Women's Committees (1920)
The Formation of the Executive Committee of Women Groups April, 1950	First general assembly on June 10, 1950 to ask for the amendment of article 21 ²⁴ of the electoral law to include the word 'females'
First Petition Submitted February 5 th , 1951	The Executive Committee of the WG submitted a petition to the cabinet asking for the amendment of article 21 to include the word 'females'
Mobile Demonstrations February, 1951	The Executive Committee of the WG organized a mobile demonstration formed of convoys of cars that headed to the presidential palace
Second Petition Submitted March 2 nd , 1951	The Executive Committee of the WG submitted a second petition to the prime minister
Right to Participate in Municipalities March 14 th , 1951	The cabinet granted women the right to participate in municipal elections
Massive Demonstrations March 20, 1951	A massive demonstration of women from all parts of Lebanon gathered in front of the parliament during the parliament's weekly sessions. Other demonstrations took place in all parts of Lebanon asking for full political rights.
The Roxy Movie Theater January 11 th , 1952	All women's groups met at the Roxy Movie theater under the sponsorship of the First Lady, and asked for full suffrage. ²⁵

²¹Huda Sha'raw was a women's rights activist in Egypt, and the founder of the Egyptian Feminist Union. She cast aside her veil in a public place in 1923 after attending an international feminist meeting in Rome.

²²Keddie, R.N., *Women in the Middle East: Past and Present*, p.98.

²³Dombrowski, A. N. *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted with Or Without Consent*

²⁴Article 21 then: 'Every Lebanese man who has completed his twenty-first year is an elector provided he fulfills the conditions stated by the electoral law'.CEDAW – Lebanese NGO Forum, Women's Rights Monitor Project, March 2000

²⁵Shehadeh, L.R., *Women and War in Lebanon*, p.31-32, University Press of Florida

Not the Perfect LawNov 24th, 1952

The government granted the right to vote only to educated women. This was rejected.

Unconditional Political Rights

February, 1953

Women were granted unconditional political rights.

Women gained the right to run for and vote in elections in 1953, but the literature suggests that women would largely go with their fathers or husbands to vote and that they were often told who to vote for; thereby denying women's right to vote and participate in politics.. Society had told women what was and was not suitable for them, and running for elections was not seen as suitable for women. Lebanon had six parliamentary elections between 1953 and 1975 (before the civil war),²⁶ during which only one woman reached parliament (because her father died while in office). Over this period, seven women in total ran for elections, with three of them running several times (Mounira Solh ran three times, Nuhad Sayyed ran three times and Emilie Ibrahim ran twice) increasing the total of female candidacies to 12 over the period..

First Parliamentary Election in Lebanon

1953

Emilie Fares Ibrahim (Baabda) ran for parliament. She was not elected^{27, 28} (She ran in seven elections in total but was never elected).

Second Parliamentary Election in Lebanon

1957

One woman ran: Laura Tabet. She ran for the Maronite seat in Beirut. She received 652 votes, compared to Pierre Edde who received 17,560 votes.²⁹

Third Parliamentary Election in Lebanon

1960

Two women ran for elections: Mounira El Soleh who ran for the Sunni seat in Beirut against Saeb Salam, and lost with 2,165 votes, while Salam received 17,357 votes.³⁰

²⁶Shehadeh, L.R., *'Women and War in Lebanon'*, p.31-32, University Press of Florida

²⁷ Joseph, Suad, ed. *Gender and citizenship in the Middle East*. Syracuse University Press, p.127-128, 2000.

²⁸ El Khazen, F., *'Lebanon's First postwar Parliamentary Election, 1992: An Imposed Choice' – Part Two*, American University of Beirut

²⁹ El Khazen, F., *'Lebanon's First postwar Parliamentary Election, 1992: An Imposed Choice' – Part Two*, American University of Beirut

³⁰ El Khazen, F., *'Lebanon's First postwar Parliamentary Election, 1992: An Imposed Choice' – Part Two*, American University of Beirut

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Renee Hajj ran for the Maronite Seat in Jezzine and lost with 601 votes against Bassel Abboud who received 6,400 votes.³¹

First Female Parliamentarian

1963

Myrna Boustany was elected into office to finish her deceased father's term. She served for one year.

Fourth Parliamentary Election in Lebanon

1964

Two women ran: Ibriza al Meoushi, who ran for a seat in the Shouf area and withdrew her candidacy before the elections. Munira Solh ran for the Sunni seat in Beirut and lost with 999 votes.

Nuhad Sayyed Runs for Parliament

1965

Nuhad Sayyed ran for the Maronite seat in Jbeil after her husband (Parliamentarian Dr. Antoine Sayyed passed away) and lost with 9,544 votes.

Fifth Parliamentary Election in Lebanon

1968

Two women ran: Munira Solh ran again for the same seat in Beirut, but withdrew her candidacy before the elections. Nuhad Sayyed ran again for the Maronite seat in Byblos and lost again with 10,917 votes (while her opponent Raymond Edde received 11,173 votes).³²

Sixth Parliamentary Election in Lebanon

1972

Nuhad Sayyed ran again for the same seat in Byblos, and lost with 9,863 votes (while Raymond Edde received 13,484 votes). Three other women ran, Zakiya Salman, Emilie Ibrahim and Nazira Trabay, all of whom withdrew.³³

The Lebanese Women Democratic Gathering³⁴

1976

The Lebanese Women Democratic Gathering was founded in 1976 as per notice 25/A.D. It works with democratic forces to achieve full gender equality in all fields and combat violence. It takes international bills and treaties as its reference.

³¹ El Khazen, F., 'Lebanon's First postwar Parliamentary Election, 1992: An Imposed Choice' – Part Two, American University of Beirut

³² El Khazen, F., 'Lebanon's First postwar Parliamentary Election, 1992: An Imposed Choice' – Part Two, American University of Beirut

³³ El Khazen, F., 'Lebanon's First postwar Parliamentary Election, 1992: An Imposed Choice' – Part Two, American University of Beirut

³⁴9th session the Universal Periodic Review 2010, Report prepared by the Lebanese Women Democratic Gathering

THE CIVIL-WAR PERIOD, WHERE ARE THE WOMEN? (1975 – 1990)

'They were proud of their sons who died fighting, they were defending their land and their families',³⁵ documentary filmmaker Zeina Aboul-Hosn suggests, explaining and re-emphasizing that women within Lebanese culture (especially in times of war) are there to guard and care for the men as themselves cannot have a political opinion over which to fight. Another article³⁶ asked 'Why were women fighting?', explaining that during the civil war women took part in the fighting and men were proud to have women fighting alongside with them as it confirmed that the civil war was a people's war. However, these articles do not tell the complete story: women faced sexual and verbal aggression; they had to prove that they were courageous, they had to prove their competency and at the same time they had to fight.³⁷ In addition, women served as first aid teams, cared for the injured and served at hospitals. In short, women recreated an facsimile of family life: The women take care of the family, the men go out and fight for a decent life – and if any individual switches roles, they would be ridiculed.

POST-CIVIL WAR PERIOD, WOMEN REPRESENTING POLITICAL FAMILISM (1990 – PRESENT)

After the civil war, politics became a dangerous game in Lebanon due to the 29-year long Syrian Occupation (1976 – 2005)³⁸, Israel threatening Lebanon's borders, and leaders of the political parties who fought during the war, now dominating Lebanese politics. The first elections after the war were in 1992, during which five women ran for seats and three won, however these women were either the widows of deceased politicians or had some form of relationship to one of the (then) powerful male politicians: Bahiya El Hariri was the sister of then prime minister Rafik Hariri, Nayla Moawad was the widow of assassinated president Renee Moawad, and Maha Khoury Asaad was able to win by a mere 41 votes in Byblos only because Christians boycotted the elections³⁹. Given these results, the state of women's political participation in Lebanon became worse after 1992. Women who won seats in Lebanon were all affiliated with elite families, powerful politicians, or related by blood or marriage to a deceased, martyred or politically powerful man, they all entered politics with the help of their fathers, brothers, or husbands. Most of the women who ran for parliament in Lebanon had no prior political career, but their affiliations helped them win; a privilege that not many Lebanese women enjoy.⁴⁰

³⁵Zeina Aboul-Hosn, 'Where were the women', Al Araby Al Jadid, April 2015.

³⁶Yolla Sharara: 'Women and politics in Lebanon', Jan 2013.

³⁷Yolla Sharara: 'Women and politics in Lebanon', Jan 2013

³⁸The New York Times, 'Syrian Troops leave Lebanon after 29-year occupation', April, 2005

³⁹El Khazen, F., 'Lebanon's First postwar Parliamentary Election, 1992: An Imposed Choice', American University of Beirut.

⁴⁰NadyaKhalife, 'A Woman's Place in Lebanon', Human Rights Watch, July 2009

1991

Nayla Moawad elected to parliament (after her husband's assassination shortly after becoming president) ⁴¹

First Election After the Civil War

1992

Six women ran for parliament, three won, constituting 3.2% of the total number of Members of Parliament. However, at the time, voters were boycotting the elections, which could explain why candidates won with a very small number of votes (Especially in Byblos and Mount Lebanon): **Nayla Moawad** ran for the seat in Zgharta and won with 90,599 votes – some claim that she received so many votes because people empathized with her over her husband's assassination a few days after being elected president. **Bahiyya Al Hariri** ran for the seat in Sidon, and received the highest number of votes (117,761). She is the sister of (then) ex-prime minister Rafik Hariri, who had a great number of organizations and charitable institutes operating all over Lebanon and was therefore able to support her candidacy while he also ran for a seat in Beirut. **Maha Khoury Asaad** ran for a seat in Byblos and won with 41 votes only. Bushra Al Khalil ran for a seat in the South and lost with 14,677 votes, and Mona Hobeish ran for a seat in Keserwan and lost with 156 votes ^{42, 43}

Second Election After the Civil War

1996⁴⁴

Eleven women ran for election and only three won: Bahiyya Hariri with 141,338 votes, Nayla Moawad with 108,631 votes, and Nuhad Sayyed in Byblos with 7,195 votes. (Voter turnout in 1996 was 44%, higher than the low participation of 1992)⁴⁵

CEDAW

1997

Lebanon signs and ratifies CEDAW⁴⁶

Third Election After the Civil War

2000

The electoral campaign was characterized by the Inter-Parliamentary Union as the most corrupt since the termination of the civil war.⁴⁷ Sixteen women ran for election that year, and only three won: Bahiya Hariri (who kept her seat in Sidon), Nayla Mouawad in Zghorta, and Ghenwa Jalloul who ran for a seat in Beirut (with three other women on her list (?)) and won with 24,845 votes. Jalloul was an ally of Rafik Hariri.

⁴¹El Khazen, F., 'Lebanon's First postwar Parliamentary Election, 1992: An Imposed Choice' – Part Two, American University of Beirut

⁴²Shehadeh, L.R., 'Women and War in Lebanon', p.31-32, University Press of Florida

⁴³El Khazen, F., 'Lebanon's First postwar Parliamentary Election, 1992: An Imposed Choice' – Part Two, American University of Beirut.

⁴⁴Inter-Parliamentary Union, Lebanon

⁴⁵Shehadeh, L.R., 'Women and War in Lebanon', p.31-32, University Press of Florida

⁴⁶UNDP, 'Women's participation in elections', UNDP Lebanese Elections assistance programme

⁴⁷ Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Parliamentary Chamber: Majlis Al-Nuwwab, Elections Held in 2000". (2000). http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2179_00.htm

First Ministers 2004 ⁴⁸	Female	Leila Al Solh (daughter of former Prime Minister Riad Solh) was appointed Minister of Industry, and Wafaa Hamza was appointed Minister of Health (Hamza is politically close to the Speaker of Parliament Nabih Berri) ⁴⁹ . But this cabinet did not last, and another was formed where only one woman participated: Nayla Moawad as Minister of Social Affairs.
Fourth Election after the Civil War 2005	Election	Voter turnout stood at only 28% after the assassination of former prime minister Rafik Hariri. ⁵⁰ Ten women ran (14 initially ran, but 4 withdrew) ⁵¹ for election that year and six won. This was the highest number of female Members of Parliament since the creation of Lebanon: Bahiya Hariri (sister of the former prime minister Rafik Hariri), Nayla Moawad (widow of former president Renee Moawad), Sethrida Geagea (wife of the leader of the Lebanese Forces Party), Solange Al-Gemayel (wife of Bashir Gemayel, former leader of the Lebanese Forces and Phalanges party who was assassinated), Ghenwa Jalloul (ally of Rafik Hariri) and Gilebrt Zwein (ally of Michel Aoun, leader of the Free Patriotic Movement). Nayla Moawad was appointed Minister of Social Affairs.
Fifth Election After the Civil War 2009	Election	12 female candidates from a total of 528, from whom only 4 were elected: Nayla Tueni (daughter of Gebran Tueni), Sethrida Geagea, Bahia Hariri and Gilberte Zouein. Solange Al Gemayel relinquished her seat in the interest of her son and Nayla Moawad stepped down to allow her son to run, he lost later on in the election. Bahia Al Hariri was appointed Minister of Education, Rayya Hassan was appointed Minister of Finance, Mona Ofeish was appointed State Minister for Women and Children.
Female Minister 2014		Alice Chabtini was appointed Minister for Displaced Persons

In 2006, a bill was drafted by the National Commission on Electoral Law combining the majoritarian and proportional systems, this bill recommended a quota whereby at least 30% of parliamentarians should be women. Again, in 2011, the Ministry of Interior and Municipalities prepared a parliamentary election bill proposing the adoption of a quota for women of 30% at the candidacy level: this meant that a 30% quota for women should be enacted on each list of candidates –the lists must contain at least 30% of each sex among the candidates – numbers which were consistent

⁴⁸Alami, M., 'Parliamentary presence sticking point for Lebanon's women', Al Monitor, March 2015.

⁴⁹Worldwide Guide to women in Leadership, 'The Republic of Lebanon',

⁵⁰Inter-Parliamentary Union, Lebanon

⁵¹UNDP, 'Women's participation in elections', UNDP Lebanese Elections assistance programme

with the CEDAW⁵² international convention to which Lebanon had joined. The bill was passed to the Chamber of Deputies pursuant to Decree no. 8913. The new electoral law was passed in 2017 but did not recognize any quota for women despite wide ranging efforts by civil society groups and promises made by political leaders during the various discussions of the law prior to its passing. Since 2009, Lebanon has been politically stagnant as the parliament extended its mandate for another term, a president was elected after almost three years of failed attempts, and a new cabinet was formed.

WOMEN AND POLITICS IN LEBANON

Today, three patriarchal⁵³ structures stand at the core of all discriminatory practices against women in Lebanon: The family (and community), the sect, and the state.⁵⁴ While Lebanon is one of the few countries in the Middle East that is relatively politically open and claims to enjoy 'religious freedom' as well as a culture that supports and promotes women's academic and professional advancement, it has one of the lowest rates of female political participation.⁵⁵ Lebanon is one of the bottom three countries on the Political Empowerment Sub index, having closed less than 3% of its political gender gap,⁵⁶ the current (and historical) political structures and culture in Lebanon impact women's political participation both as voters and candidates.⁵⁷ This has put women in a position where they are vulnerable to abuse and dismissal from the system as they are not encouraged to formulate an independent political opinion, an independent choice as to whether or not to enter politics, or to embark upon an independent political career.⁵⁸ Reports suggest that in 2013, 44 women (out of 705 candidates) ran for parliament and this represents the highest number of women to have ever run (6.2% of the total number of candidates), however, the government unconstitutionally extended its mandate and postponed the elections three times, in May 2013, November 2014 and June 2017⁵⁹. To the date of this report, the next general elections are supposed to take place on May 6, 2018.⁶⁰

WOMEN IN LEBANESE CABINETS

The first Lebanese Cabinet was formed in September 1943 under President Bchara el Khoury, and included 13 ministries, 61 years later women were first selected to join a

⁵²Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women, fourth and fifth periodic reports of States parties in May 2014.

⁵³ Patriarchy, as defined by Merriam Webster is a social system in which males hold primary power and predominate in role of political leadership and social privilege: in short, it is a system that values masculinity over femininity

⁵⁴Heinrich Boll Stiftung, "Women's political participation in Lebanon", September, 2013.

⁵⁵ Henderson, T., Nelson, C., Chemali, Z., 'Increasing women's Political participation in Lebanon: Reflections on Hurdles, Opportunities and Hope', Journal of Politics and Law, Vol.8, No. 4, 2015.

⁵⁶World Economic Forum, 'Results and analysis, Country Coverage, 2016'.

⁵⁷ Henderson, T., Nelson, C., Chemali, Z., 'Increasing women's Political participation in Lebanon: Reflections on Hurdles, Opportunities and Hope', Journal of Politics and Law, Vol.8, No. 4, 2015.

⁵⁸World Economic Forum, 'Results and analysis, Country Coverage, 2016'.

⁵⁹NadyaKhalife, 'A Woman's Place in Lebanon', Human Rights Watch, July 2009

⁵⁹UNDP, 'Women's participation in elections', UNDP Lebanese Elections assistance programme

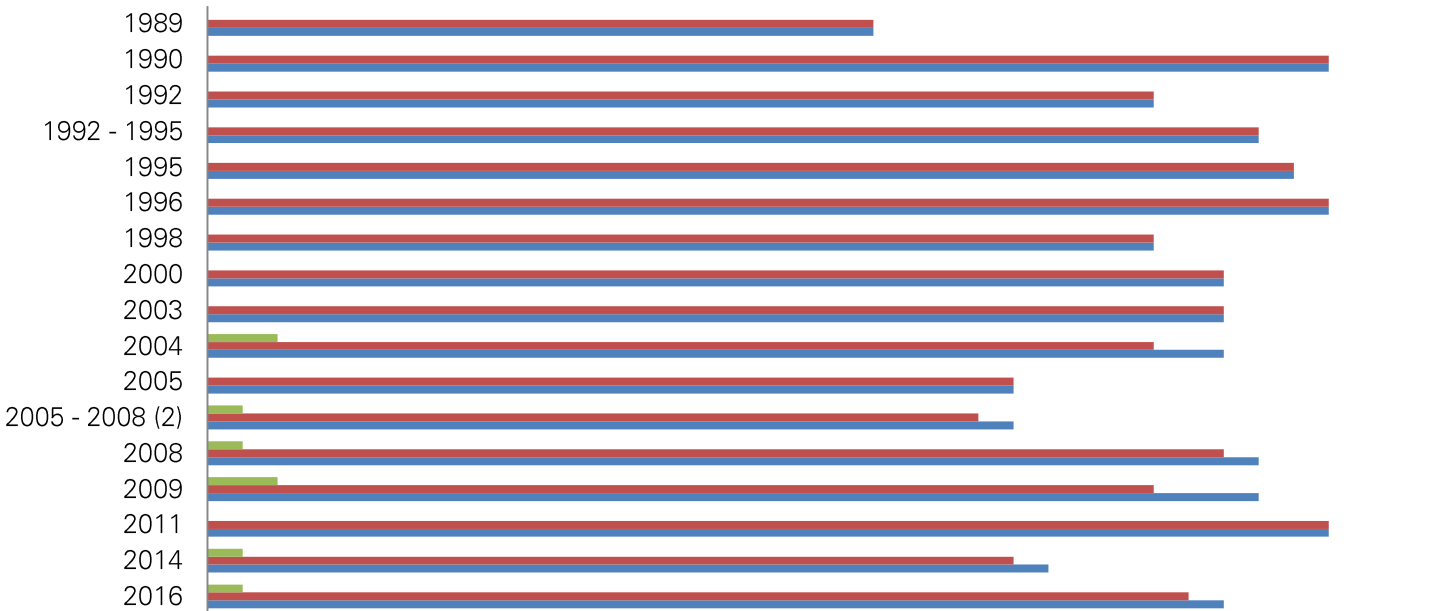
⁶⁰ Joseph A. Kechichian (2017, June 14), "Lebanon to hold parliamentary elections in May 2018", *Gulf News*.

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cabinet. For 61 years, only men were able to influence governance and executive matters in Lebanon. The below list shows a breakdown of the years of absence of women from the first Cabinet to the 67th in 2004 and Cabinet positions held since:

In 2005, women constituted less than 3% of all parliamentary candidates, compared to 1.7% in 2009 while women make up 51.2% of registered

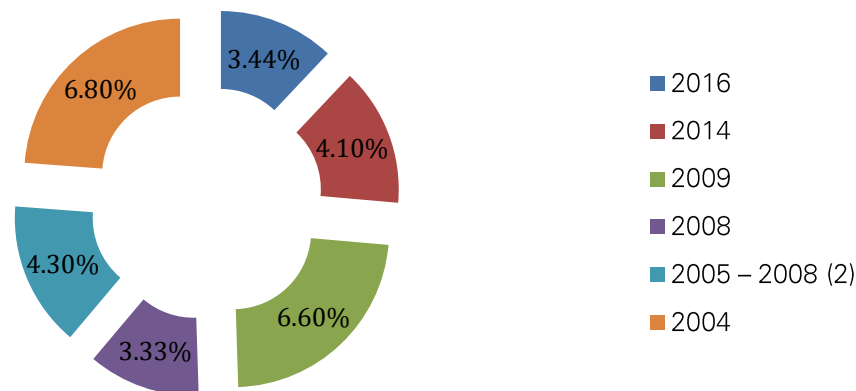
- 2004: Ms. Layla Solh Hamade, Minister of Industry
- 2004: Ms. Wafaa Dika Hamze, Ministry of State for Parliamentary Affairs
- 2005: Ms. Nayla Moawad, Minister of Social affairs
- 2008: Ms. Bahia Hariri, Minister of Education
- 2009: Ms. Raya Hassan, Minister of Finance
- 2009: Ms. Mona Ofeich, Minister of State
- 2014: Ms. Alice Chabtini, Minister of the Displaced
- 2016: Ms. Enaya Ezzedine, Minister of State for Administrative Development (74th Lebanese Cabinet)



	2016	2014	2011	2009	2008	2005 - 2008 (2)	2005	2004	2003	2000	1998	1996	1995	1992 - 1995	1992	1990	1989
■ Female Ministers	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
■ Male Ministers	28	23	32	27	29	22	23	27	29	29	27	32	31	30	27	32	19
■ Total Number of Ministers	29	24	32	30	30	23	23	29	29	29	27	32	31	30	27	32	19

Since 2004, the Cabinet with the highest percentage of female participation was that of 2004, when two women were appointed to ministerial positions.

% OF WOMEN IN THE 6 LEBANESE CABINETS



WOMEN IN LEBANESE PARLIAMENTS

Lebanon ranks 139th in the world in terms of female representation in parliament: Only four women (3.1%) of the 128 MPs are female at the time of writing this report.⁶¹ The following charts and graphs highlight the discrepancy between men and women in attaining public office. Although women were granted full political rights in 1953, no woman was elected to parliament until 1992, and the three women who were elected were directly connected to a strong political figure. In Lebanon, the Parliament has the power to:⁶²

The first cabinet to include a woman was in 2004, when two women were appointed ministers in a 29-ministry cabinet. Since then, 8 ministerial positions have been led by female

- Confirm or disapprove the formation of the Cabinet
- Oversee the performance of the Cabinet and its ministers, and vote them out of office when necessary
- Elect the president of the Republic
- Ratify certain categories of international treaties and agreements
- Approve the annual budget of the state

⁶¹Naharnet, 'Lebanon at Bottom of Rankings of Women in Parliament', March 2014

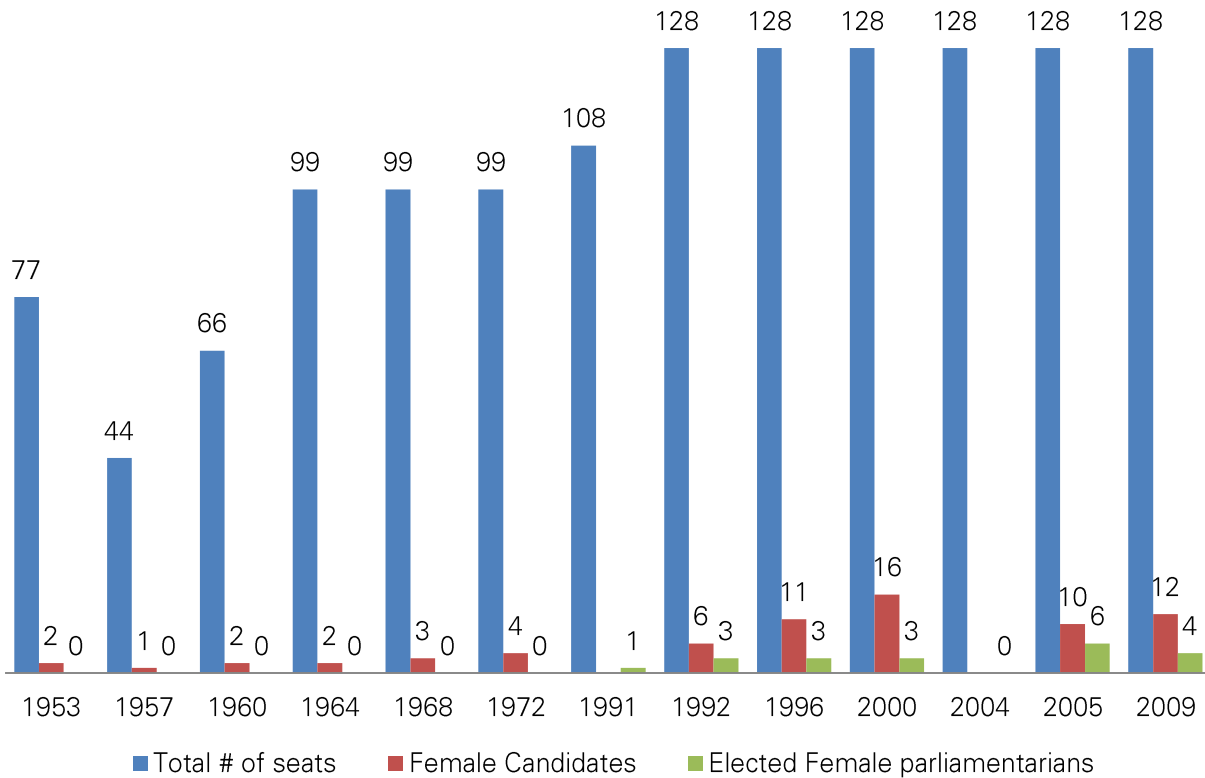
⁶²Lebanon Constitutional Law and the Political Rights of Religious Communities, The Law Library of congress

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- Be the “single body” exerting the legislative power⁶³ and adopting the laws⁶⁴, as well as one of the two bodies having the right of legislative initiative, along with the Cabinet.⁶⁵

Women are largely unable, in terms of both voice and opinion, to exercise these powers, thus indicating that elected presidents are voted for by a group of men, who constitute only half of the population, without proper representation of women’s voices in those elections. Additionally, the legislative power: the power to make, design, and amend laws that affect the everyday life of Lebanese citizens, is in those same hands, hands that represent the needs and interests of only half the population.

The below graph shows women’s level of participation in Lebanese parliaments since 1953, when women received the right to vote and run for parliament. The highest participation occurred in 2005, when six female MPs were elected into office out of 128 parliamentarians.

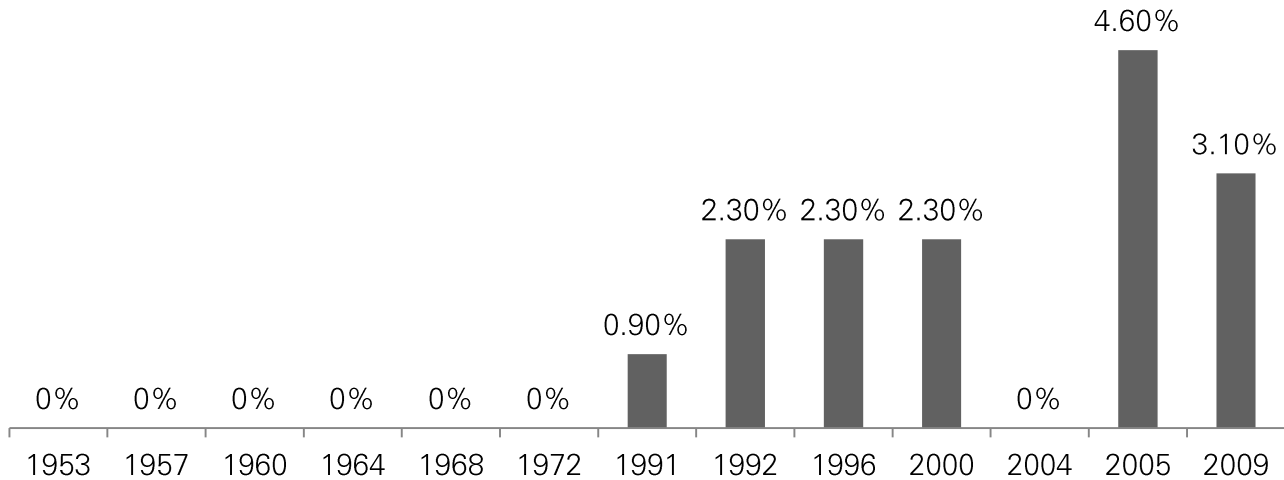


⁶³ Article 16 of the Lebanese Constitution.

⁶⁴ Article 18 of the Lebanese Constitution.

⁶⁵ Article 17 of the Lebanese Constitution.

% OF FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN LEBANESE PARLIAMENTS



BREAKDOWN OF WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES

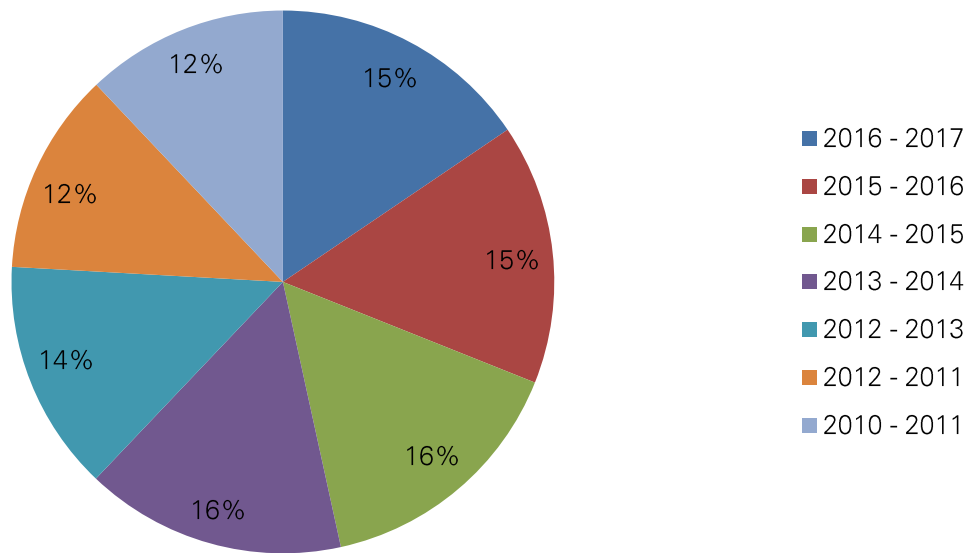
Unfortunately, low rates of female involvement in national governance is not limited to the number of seats in parliament, but also in terms of the number of women assigned to parliamentary committees and appointed to conduct work and design policies on specific issues. The Lebanese Parliament has had 16 parliamentary committees in the past 6 years (2010 – 2016), a breakdown of women's involvement in the conversations related to a specific agenda or topic shows how even on the national level, women are constrained to working on issues related to tourism, women’s rights, children’s rights, youth and sports, education and the environment. It could be argued that these numbers are to be expected, given that there are only four female representatives in parliament. Below is a table that describes where women have mostly been active in parliamentary committees, (committees that have the responsibility of suggesting legal reforms and drafting new laws):

COMMITTEES WOMEN HAVE PARTICIPATED IN	COMMITTEES WOMEN HAVE NEVER PARTICIPATED IN
Education, Higher education and culture committee (headed by Bahia Hariri)	National defense and internal affairs,
Agriculture and tourism committee	Health, Labor and social issues,
Environmental committee	Energy and Water,
Media and communications committee	Finance and Budgets committee,

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Youth and sports committee	Foreign Affairs committee,
Human Rights committee	Economy, industry and trade committee,
Women and children's committee	And information technology committee.

% OF WOMEN FROM ALL PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE POSITIONS



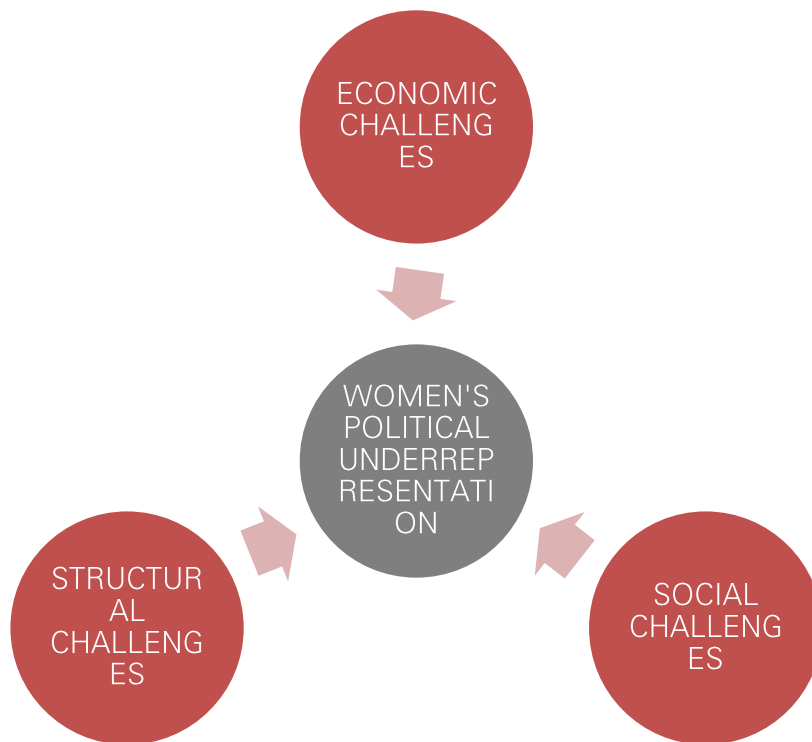
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A breakdown of the committees in which women have been participating in since 2010:

		2016 – 2017		2015 – 2016		2014 - 2015		2013 – 2014		2012-2013		2011-2012		2010-2011	
		W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Finances and Budget Committee	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17
Governance and Justice Committee	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17
Foreign affairs and migration committee	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17
General works, transportation, energy and water committee	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17
Education and Higher education and culture committee	12	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11
Health, labor and social issues committee	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12
National defense, internal affairs and municipalities committee	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17	0	17
Immigration committee	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12
Agriculture and tourism committee	12	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11
Environmental committee	12	2	10	2	10	2	10	2	10	1	11	1	11	1	11
National economy, industry, planning and trade committee	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12	0	12
Media and communications committee	12	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11
Youth and sports committee	12	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11
Human Rights committee	12	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	1	11	0	12	0	12
Women and children's committee	12	2	10	2	10	2	10	2	10	2	10	2	10	2	10
Information technology committee	9	0	9	0	9	0	9	0	9	0	9	0	9	0	9

CHALLENGES TO WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN GENERAL

There is a general agreement that the technically the doors are open for women wishing to run and engage in politics, however in practice adequate female representation in the political sphere is yet to be seen, and this is due to a variety of reasons that put women at a disadvantage. Throughout the implementation of this study, the research team interviewed and met with representatives from eight political parties, four labor unions, three civil society campaigns, judges, as well as government officials and representatives of donor agencies. This section highlights the key findings related to challenges hindering women's proper representation in politics, as expressed by the interviewees and participants in this study. The challenges were divided into the following three categories;



ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

In a study conducted in 2015 on the economic empowerment of women in Lebanon, it was found that around 50% of the workforces in Lebanon are women, however only 31% of managers and senior executives are female⁶⁶ proving that women are rarely appointed to leadership positions and are often seen as excelling at administrative and secretarial work. Economic issues were commonly mentioned as challenges that limit women's ability to advance in politics.

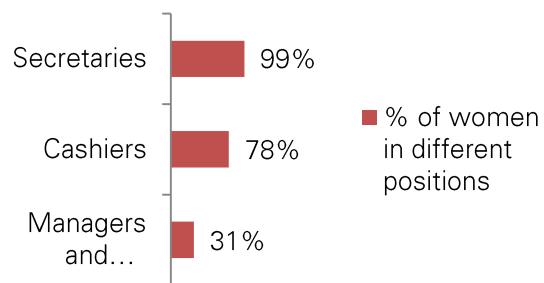
“One way of motivating women to run for national elections is to work on removing the fees for candidacy for women that would allow women to feel less burdened by money and more focused on their political career”, a senior female politician

— THE COST OF ENGAGING IN POLITICS

In Lebanon, pursuing a political career is very expensive, especially due to its clientelistic nature that requires politicians to pay for and otherwise cover the expenses of services in order to nurture popular support. Women are less financially capable than men, and this is mostly due to social notions that did not allow women to work (and still do not in some areas) until recently in history. Assuming a woman is financially capable of covering the candidacy fee to stand for parliament (almost 7,000 USD) and campaign fees (not less than 20,000 USD), she would still face great challenges when campaigning as women enjoy less access to social and political networks that are commonly male-dominated, to promote her campaign and achieve popular support. Due to the gender gap, women are paid less than men for the same work. The same applies to unions, as research respondents confirmed that the cost of registering and becoming a member of a union is high (see Annex C for more details).

— GENDERED EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Additionally, married women face a specific challenge when gaining employment opportunities as employers expect them to get pregnant and take maternity leave, as explained by some of the female interviewees, which is not convenient for the employer. Along the same lines, it would be harder for a woman to travel and attend weekend trainings or workshops due to familial commitments placed upon her by societal norms; this is a challenge that was voiced by almost all female



⁶⁶Hamdar, B., Hejase, H., Hakim, F., Le Port, J., Baydoun, R., 'Economic Empowerment of Women in Lebanon'. World Journal of Social Science Research, vol. 2, No. 2, 2015.

participants in this study when discussing the influence of their social roles on their everyday lives and future careers.

— ECONOMIC FACTS CONCERNING WOMEN IN LEBANON

- 71.4% of all female-headed households in Lebanon are at risk of extreme poverty⁶⁷
- Women in Lebanon are economically active mostly between the ages of 20 and 29⁶⁸
- 29% of employed women are married, compared to 51% of employed men,⁶⁹ while 68% of female employees are single, compared to 47% of employed men
- According to a study conducted by UNDP on Household Living Conditions in 2007 (the last study of its kind), women are mostly active in the service sector, and least in construction, business and telecommunications in comparison with their male counterparts,⁷⁰
- All five categories⁷¹ of permanent employment in the private sector include women, however the percentages are striking: 10% of category one employees are female, 24.1% of category two, 36.3% of category three, 38.3% of category four and 19.8% of category 5.⁷² These percentages translate to eight female staff compared to 71 male staff in category one, 57 female staff and 179 male staff, 778 female staff and 1,361 male staff, and 2042 female staff and 3280 male staff, and finally 161 female staff and 652 male staff in category five, respectively.)
- In rural areas, only 1.3% of healthcare providers are female, compared to 30.7% of employees in the agriculture sector, and 7.3% in education.⁷³

⁶⁷ Delphine Tailer, 'The Legal Framework and challenges to women's economic empowerment', CRTD-A, Oxfam Quebec, October 2010

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

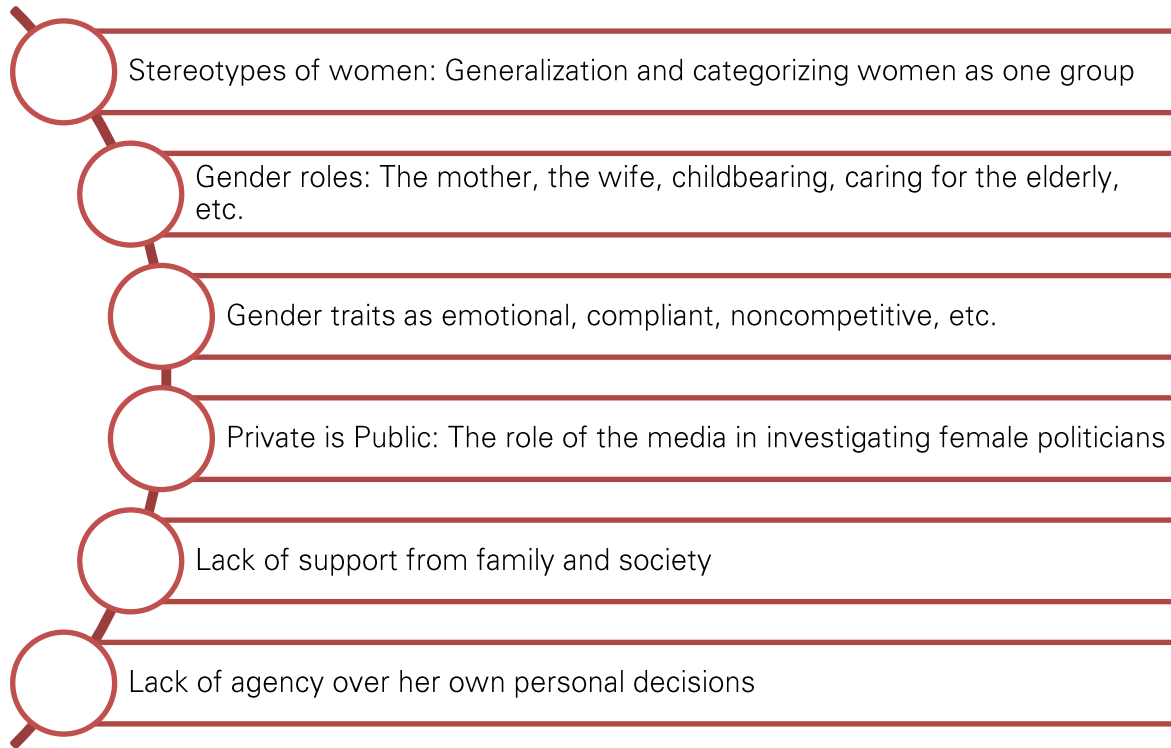
⁷⁰ UNDP Lebanon, 'Living Conditions of Households 2007', October 2008. <http://www.lb.undp.org>

⁷¹ Five categories of employment

⁷² National Commission for Lebanese Women, National Yearly Report, CEDAW, 2014

⁷³ National Commission for Lebanese Women, National Yearly Report, CEDAW, 2014

SOCIAL CHALLENGES



In Lebanese culture – but also generally speaking – women are expected to fulfill the roles of mother, wife, child bearer, primary carer for children, caring for the elderly, maintaining social relationships, building homes and supporter of the breadwinners, who are in this context male. This teaches women from a very young age that education is not instrumental to their future, neither is their professional career, as at some point in their lives – usually in their 20s – they will be required to marry, form a family, and support their husbands in furthering their own careers. This also teaches men what is expected of women.

“Women who do courageously decide to enter politics, have to continuously fight for their choices, and manage their homes while also engaging in politics and most likely working a formal full-time job and an informal housebound full-time job”, *research participant*

“But why would any smart, successful woman want to subject herself to a barrage of criticism, aggressive questions, and the possible embarrassment of making a public mistake that could end her career”, *Research respondent*

— SHE HAS TO PROVE SHE CAN

Women, from a very young age, are brought up to support the partner, father and family, as the famous saying goes, ‘Behind every great man, there is a great woman’, however, the Lebanese culture doesn’t have a similar saying for women, suggesting and reaffirming the culture’s gender roles are in favor of women taking care of the

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household and the family to allow the man to build a career and achieve great things. When women do gather enough resources and courage to enter a patriarchal political system, they are held to higher standards than men, as a great number of respondents claimed, 'Yes we support women engaging in politics, but we don't want just *any* woman to run or make it to public office', this is a common statement expressed by both men and women who are engaged in politics, explaining that 'we need the *right* women to run, not daughters or wives of politicians.'

— WOMEN ARE GENERALLY NOT INTERESTED IN ENGAGING IN POLITICS

Women are judged differently than men when children are involved. A woman is viewed as being a terrible mother for leaving her children at home for days at a time (with their father) so that she can go into politics. One rarely hears that being said of a man doing the same thing.⁷⁴ In September 2016, a number of senior female politicians in the EU and UK were reported on as being 'childless politicians', but the *Sunday Times*, the reporting newspaper, failed to add pictures and names of men in the same situation.⁷⁵ Interview respondents in this study stated that 'women who have children are less likely to run or get involved in politics', this is true to some extent, but it is a fallacy to assume that all women with children won't run for office without looking at the responsibilities that are generally associated with being a mother, such as household tasks, childbearing tasks, childcare, etc.

'We don't want just any woman to run. She has to have the right qualifications',
*female political activist with the Free
 Patriotic Movement*

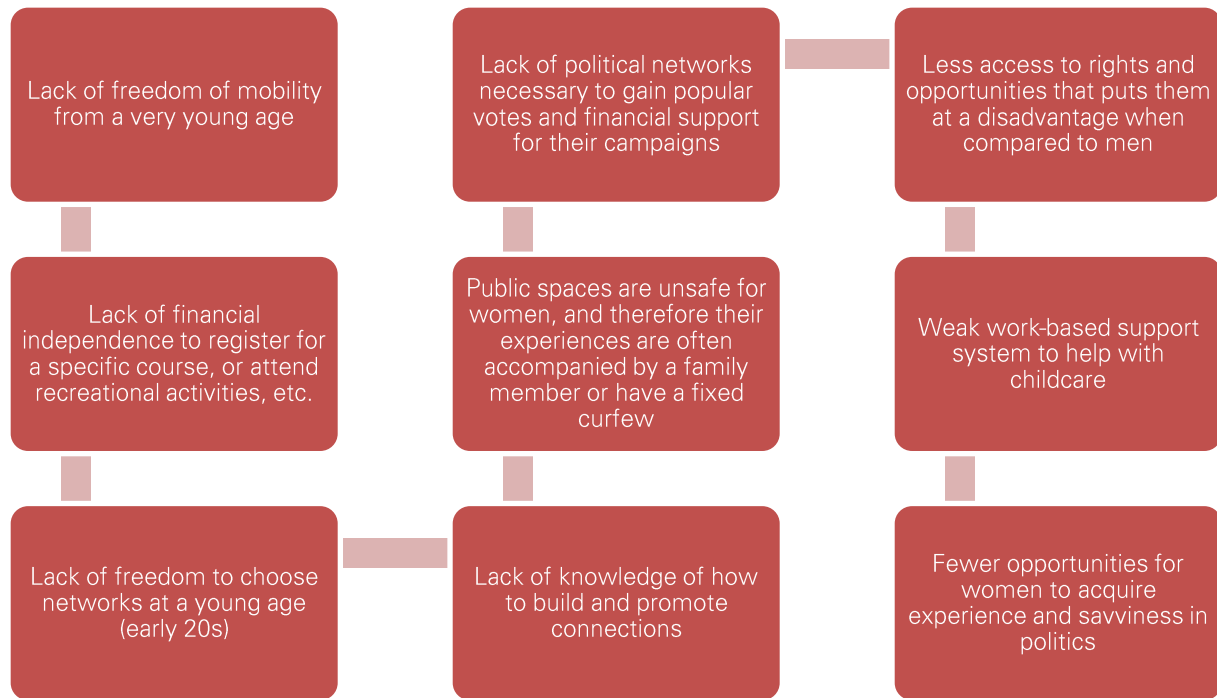
⁷⁴Driedger, M., 'Challenges for women in politics', *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, Autumn 2013

⁷⁵The Guardian, 'Sunday Times criticized for portrayal of female politicians without children', September, 2016

STRUCTURAL CHALLENGES

During the interviews, it was commonly claimed that men hold on to their positions because of their strong networks of support, (which are financial, political, social and cultural), men dominate decision making and tend to bypass female candidates in order to preserve their seats as well as the political structure they helped build or are familiar with. In Lebanon, both the political and financial networks are largely controlled by men, and informal acts of consolidating relationships within said networks play to male modes of interaction, such as smoking, playing sports, meeting at inconvenient night hours, drinking, etc.

Factors Limiting Female Political Engagement



— WOMEN CAN'T HEAD POLITICAL PARTIES

'Men draft and make laws; they won't make laws that don't put them in favor' *Female Senior member of the Amal Movement*

In Lebanon, not a single political party that has seats in parliament is headed by a woman, nor has there ever been a female political party leader in the history of the current eight political parties. The issue of underrepresentation of women as party leaders is crucial when

considering the election of more women to office, especially because women have limited access to networks, financial resources, and social support when compared to men. This underrepresentation is a result of the belief that women have less chance of getting elected and that their personal interests are influenced by the men in their

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lives. Women are portrayed as weak and incapable of making intelligent decisions. They have been depicted for generations as only capable of dealing with trivial matters, constantly engaged in gossip and hearsay, utterly incompetent and less intelligent.⁷⁶ At the same time, almost all political parties in Lebanon have highly centralized decision-making processes that are usually controlled by a number of well-known leaders (men), leading to the environment being less receptive to any relative outsider climbing the hierarchal ladder and even less receptive to women who attempt to do so.

— WOMEN CAN ONLY WORK ON ISSUES RELATED TO CHILDREN AND WOMEN

There is an assumption that women are by default only interested or informed about causes related to women and children, however this is clearly not the case. The same applies to men; the fact that they are men does not mean that they cannot work on issues related to women and children. At the same time, within political parties only women are found on the Women's Committee, yet on the national level political parties do not shy away from encouraging their male ministers and MPs to talk about women's issues; these same politicians also almost always see women's issues as less important on the national scale. At the same time, in a study conducted by UNICEF in 2006, it was concluded that a third of all ministerial positions held by women fall under the areas of family, children, women, social affairs and youth, while women accounted for only 13 Ministries of Defense (1.5 per cent) and nine Ministries of Economy (or 1 per cent) worldwide.⁷⁷

⁷⁶Komath, A., 'The patriarchal barrier to women in politics', IknowPolitics, August 2014.

⁷⁷ UNICEF, 'Women and politics: realities and myths'



FINAL REPORT – PART 2 | 14.07.2017

PATRIARCHY AND SECTARIANISM: A GENDERED TRAP

BASELINE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON

Commissioned for the Hivos Women Empowered of Leadership (WE4L) Programme, which is funded through the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs Funding Leadership and Opportunities for Women (FLOW) Programme. Research conducted by Beyond Reform and Development..

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CHAPTER 2 - WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LEBANESE POLITICAL PARTIES

Lebanese political parties depend on sectarian, family and clientelistic relationships with their voters.⁷⁸ Below is a breakdown of political parties' representation in parliament:

Political Party Seats in the Parliament⁷⁹:

POLITICAL PARTY	SEATS IN PARLIAMENT
Future Movement	29
March 14 Affiliated Independents	15
Lebanese Forces	5
Phalanges	5
Democratic Gathering Bloc	11
Democratic Left Movement	1
Jama'a Islamiyah	1
National Liberal Party	1
Ramgavar	1
Liberation and Development Bloc (Amal Movement)	13
Free Patriotic Movement	19
Loyal to the Resistance Bloc (Hezbollah)	13
Marada Bloc	4
Ba'ath	2
Syrian Socialist National Party	2
Tachnak	2
Lebanese Democratic Party	2
Haghnag	2

⁷⁸ *Clientelism as the Link between Voters and Political Parties*, LCPS, May 2015.

⁷⁹ The Lebanese Transparency Association, 'National Integrity System Study' Lebanon 2011

WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTIES

The political parties that emerged in French Mandate Lebanon were largely reserved for male members.⁸⁰ The increase of female activism in post-colonial Lebanon was reflected to a certain degree within political parties, including the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP).⁸¹ In her article in the *Journal of Revolutionary Socialists of the Middle East*, Yolla Sharara⁸² suggests that in 1975, as part of the activities of International Women's Day, the Democratic Party initiated a meeting between representatives of all parties to discuss women's issues and to possibly agree on common course of action in that regard. Ironically, all the political parties had included paragraphs devoted to promoting women's rights in their programs and it seemed that all parties were supportive of civil marriage, equal pay, equality between men and women, and education for women.⁸³ The outbreak of civil war ended the possible agreement over women's issues as the question of women sat at the heart of the negotiations between the right and left, as it also became the point of rupture, and it was actually the left (then represented by Kamal Jumblatt) who compromised the independence of personal status for unity with its Muslim allies and thus put the question of civil marriage and women's rights aside.⁸⁴ Since all political parties from across the political spectrum were supportive of women's rights, the question has to be asked, why in 2017 do political parties still fall short on the issue of women's representation?

In the past, women resorted to establishing their own separate organizations and associations as they understood that opportunities for engaging in political parties and militias were limited.⁸⁵ Some examples of those associations are: the Union of Female Progressives, the Democratic Assembly of Lebanon Women (RDFL), and The League of Women's Rights (LWR). RDFL and LWR are still active today.⁸⁶ Efforts have been made to promote and increase women's political participation in political parties through NGO programs, largely in collaboration with ministries and INGOs. Some local NGOs working on the issue include the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections (LADE) that has worked on promoting women's participation in elections and Lebanese Organization for Studies and Trainings (LOST) that held trainings and seminars to promote women's political participation; the UNDP, Women in Front and RDFL among others continue to work on the issue of women's representation. Despite the efforts made to counter the status quo, Lebanese political parties are still

⁸⁰Thompson, E., 'Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon'

⁸¹Kingston, P.Dr., 'Women and Political Parties in Lebanon: Reflections on the Historical Experience'

⁸² In 1975 the women's organisations held a congress to discuss the laws relating to personal status, and demanded optional and non-compulsory civil marriage. A law forbidding discrimination against women in the family was presented by women from the Democratic Party, Yolla Sharara

⁸³Yolla Sharara: '*Women and politics in Lebanon*', Jan 2013.

⁸⁴Yolla Sharara: '*Women and politics in Lebanon*', Jan 2013.

⁸⁵Lebanese Women and Political Parties: History, Issues and Options for Reform Dr Marguerite Helou

⁸⁶Kingston, P.Dr., 'Women and Political Parties in Lebanon: Reflections on the Historical Experience'

not overly representative and inclusive to women, especially in executive and senior positions.

To better understand female participation in political life, this study looked at the different levels of participation, classified under positive (participation in meetings, in board meetings, in committees, in leadership positions within political parties, etc.), and negative participation (women are physically present, but are not active, or are assigned to carry out soft tasks, etc.).

Level of Participation	
Active Participation	Women are nominated by the political group to municipal elections
	Women are nominated by the political group to parliamentary elections
	Women are nominated by the political group to union elections
	Women head committees, based on their competencies
	Women participate in executive committees
	Existing mechanisms to support female participation in a political group
Negative Participation	Women are assigned to positions that help the political group gain popularity
	Women are only responsible for hosting conferences rather than chairing them or facilitating the conversations
	Women are assigned to positions that are not within their areas of expertise

EXCLUSION OF WOMEN IN AND FROM POLITICAL PARTIES

The first and most obvious instance of discrimination against women is found at the national level. Women are critically underrepresented in state institutions, as only 4 out of 128 parliamentarians are women (3.12%) and 1 out of 30 ministers is a woman (3.3%), with the Minister of State for Women's Affairs being a man. This exclusion of women from politics is also reflected at the level of political parties, with only one out of the biggest eight parties having a female Secretary General (the Lebanese Forces).

	% of female parliamentarians	% of female ministers	Secretary General's gender
FPM	5.56 (1/18)	0 (0/2)	Male
Future Movement	3.80 (1/25)	0 (0/2)	Male
Lebanese Forces	12.5 (1/7)	No position	Female
Amal Movement	0 (0/13)	33 (1/3)	Male
Hezbollah	0 (0/12)	0 (0/2)	Male
PSP	0 (0/7)	0 (0/2)	Male

BASELINE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON

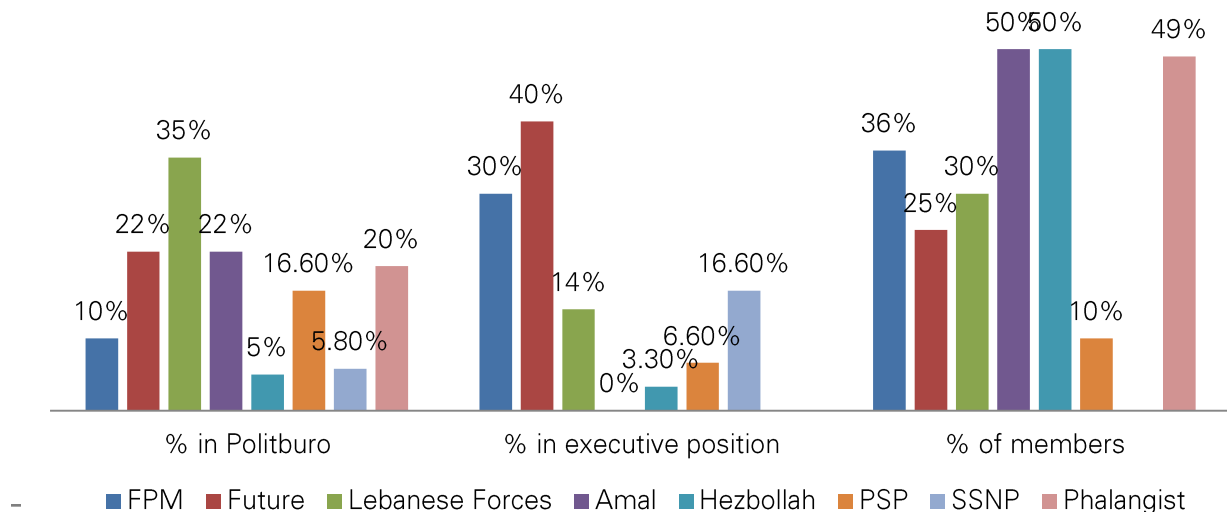
SSNP	0	(0/2)	0 (0/1)	Male
Phalangist	0	(0/5)	No position	Male

When interviewing political leaders and political activists, the research team found that the general discourse is usually very positive towards female participation in politics. In fact, the discourse often encourages women to run and enter politics. However, an in-depth look into the structures and current constituencies of political parties shows that women are rarely represented in executive bodies, and often hold positions within women's committees that are commonly invested in organizing outreach events and holding training events, as opposed to participating in traditional forms of politics.

	% of women in Politburo	% of women in executive position	% of female members
FPM	10 (3/30)	30	36
Future Movement	22 (7/32)	40	25
Lebanese Forces	35	14	30
Amal Movement	22 (4/18)	0	50
Hezbollah	5 (1/20)	3.3	50
PSP	16.6	6.6	10
SSNP	5.8 (1/17)	16.6	N/A
Phalangist	20	N/A	49

The below is a comparative graph of levels of female participation in all the studied political parties. It shows that the political party with the highest level of female participation in its political bureau is The Lebanese Forces, and the party with the least contribution from women is Hezbollah, with only 5% of its politburo made up by women. Some of the reasons why women are not reaching senior positions in political parties include:

WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTIES



— INTERNAL REGULATIONS AND THE LACK OF AN ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

During the research, it was found that no one political party of the eight at hand have included, or intend to include, provisions on the local level to guarantee the optimized participation of women. This includes practices such as ensuring that meeting times and locations are based on the needs of all attendants and not just the majority (a majority that is usually male).

All eight political parties reviewed, studied and interviewed do not mention provisions that guarantee the right to maternity leave, for both men and women in their policies or bylaws. In a highly competitive political sphere, individuals always seek to keep their connections nurtured, to educate themselves further, to raise more money and national support and look for career advancement within their political parties. However, there are no provisions in any political party that guarantee that women can

'Politicians, decision makers, employers, public institution officials, etc. are usually men. They will never understand the practical needs of women.'

Senior female official from the Lebanese Forces

return to their position after 70 days of maternity leave. What this means is that women's needs are not taken into consideration and that the environment is generally not supportive of women. Female participants in this study continuously stated that time constraints were a serious challenge to their participation as most of them cannot attend afternoon or late night

meetings, neither can they afford to join events on weekends and this excludes women from formal decision making. Additionally, as women constitute 2 - 10% of executive boards, their failure to attend meetings is often considered tolerable and unimportant, as a result, there is a the lack of measures to ensure that meeting times are adapted to take women's schedules and needs into account.

As a consequence, most of women politicians are either divorced or widowed, but few are middle-aged married women. When asked about their constituency, Phalanges respondents for example, as well as respondents from FPM, explained that most female members are either above 50 or below 30.

— BYLAWS DO NOT INCLUDE QUOTA⁸⁷ TO GUARANTEE SEATS FOR WOMEN IN INTERNAL ELECTIONS

⁸⁷ The quota system was proposed during the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, as a measure or procedure that can be used as an interim and temporary solution to solve the problem of women's poor participation in political life and the presence of obstacles that prevent their access to decision-making positions.

BASELINE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON

The majority of political parties integrate in their bylaws a provision about gender equality. Some even highlight the importance of women in society and commit to “eliminate all legal and social distinctions between men and women”.⁸⁸

“Women do not have the political experience to be involved in public service”.¹ *Michel Aoun, president of the Republic of Lebanon.*

However, a great number of interviewees, who are either in senior or executive positions in all eight political parties, were surprisingly opposed to the quota system, claiming that it is ‘discriminatory as a measure’, and explaining that women should not be given special attention to be motivated to run and win. In some cases, it was noted that a quota for women might put the party’s success at risk due to the absence of “enough” qualified women in its cadre.

	Gender-sensitive language in bylaws	Supports National Quota	Has Quota in Bylaws
FPM	Only for Women Committee	No	No
Future Movement	No	Yes	Yes: 40%
Lebanese Forces	Only for Women Committee	Yes	No
Amal Movement	No	Yes	No
Hezbollah	No	No	No
PSP		Yes	No
SSNP	Only membership	N/A	No
Phalangist	Only membership	Yes	Yes: 20%

— ROLE OF WOMEN’S COMMITTEES IN POLITICAL PARTIES

“Women enter politics in mourning clothes.” Former MP Nayla Moawad

The establishment of women’s committees alone is not an effective way of encouraging broader participation among women within the political process.⁸⁹ Political parties must be able to include more women in their politburo and leadership

positions based solely on their qualifications rather than their ties with political leaders or on the basis of their gender. The deep, imbedded nature of the political party system in Lebanon means that it is important to have women participate to increase the potential for the effective change and reform that could promote gender equality in Lebanon.⁹⁰

— LACK OF TRAINING ON GENDER EQUALITY

One of the reasons for the existing discriminatory practices is perhaps lack of knowledge among men –but also women– on gender equality and opportunities to

⁸⁸The Charter of the Free Patriotic Movement Party

⁸⁹ United Nations, Women Watch ‘Political Participation’, Ch.3

⁹⁰Human Rights Documents Online“*Emerging Voice: Young Women in Lebanese Politics*” International Alert. 2011.

mainstream this concept. Many respondents expressed the need for basic education for all party members on gender equality and women's issues.

— FEMALE POLITICIANS ARE SEXUALIZED AND PATRONIZED

Women are highly sexualized and objectified in the media, on the news and in general education throughout Lebanon. This is dangerous for women in general and women

Asked about their events, female respondents explained that men in general don't attend workshops on issues related to women's rights, thinking that women's issues don't concern everyone, and rarely are there men in parties' women's committees for that same reason.

engaging in politics specifically as in some cases their ideas, opinions and arguments are taken lightly and addressed with demeaning and often condescending attitudes of dismissal. Additionally, older men in political parties often treat women in a patronizing manner because the women are assumed to lack political savvy or that their political activity is minimal. None of the studied political parties showed interest or readiness to address these informal exclusionary practices that make the political environment extremely hostile for women. Consequently, female politicians have repeatedly expressed their concerns that they are not valued for their actual expertise and input. To date, and as a reflection of the power-sharing system, the ability of Lebanese female politicians to gain office is still linked to familial representation and political inheritance. Hence, female politicians are often widows, sisters, aunts, daughters or wives of living or late politicians. Currently, all four female members of parliament are related to former or current political leaders. Although this does not deprive them of their skills and qualities, the absence of any "independent" female MP can hardly be a coincidence:

- Sethrida Geagea: Spouse of Lebanese Forces Leader Samir Geagea
- Bahia Hariri: Sister of late Prime Minister Rafic Hariri
- Gilberte Zwein: Daughter and granddaughter of former prominent MPs
- NaylaTueni: Daughter and granddaughter of former prominent MPs

— OVER-CENTRALIZATION AND SOCIETY'S DISAPPROVAL OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL WORK IMPEDE FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

Design mechanisms to facilitate outreach to women in rural areas, and to guarantee their inclusion and participation in political work are lacking. Most women from rural areas face great challenges when seeking to enter politics, such as: mobility, since almost most major political events take place in Beirut, and a lack of financial capacity to travel long distances, or familial support of freedom of movement, etc. Political parties should be able to design and implement measures that would encourage rural women's access to the political scene.

GOING FORWARD

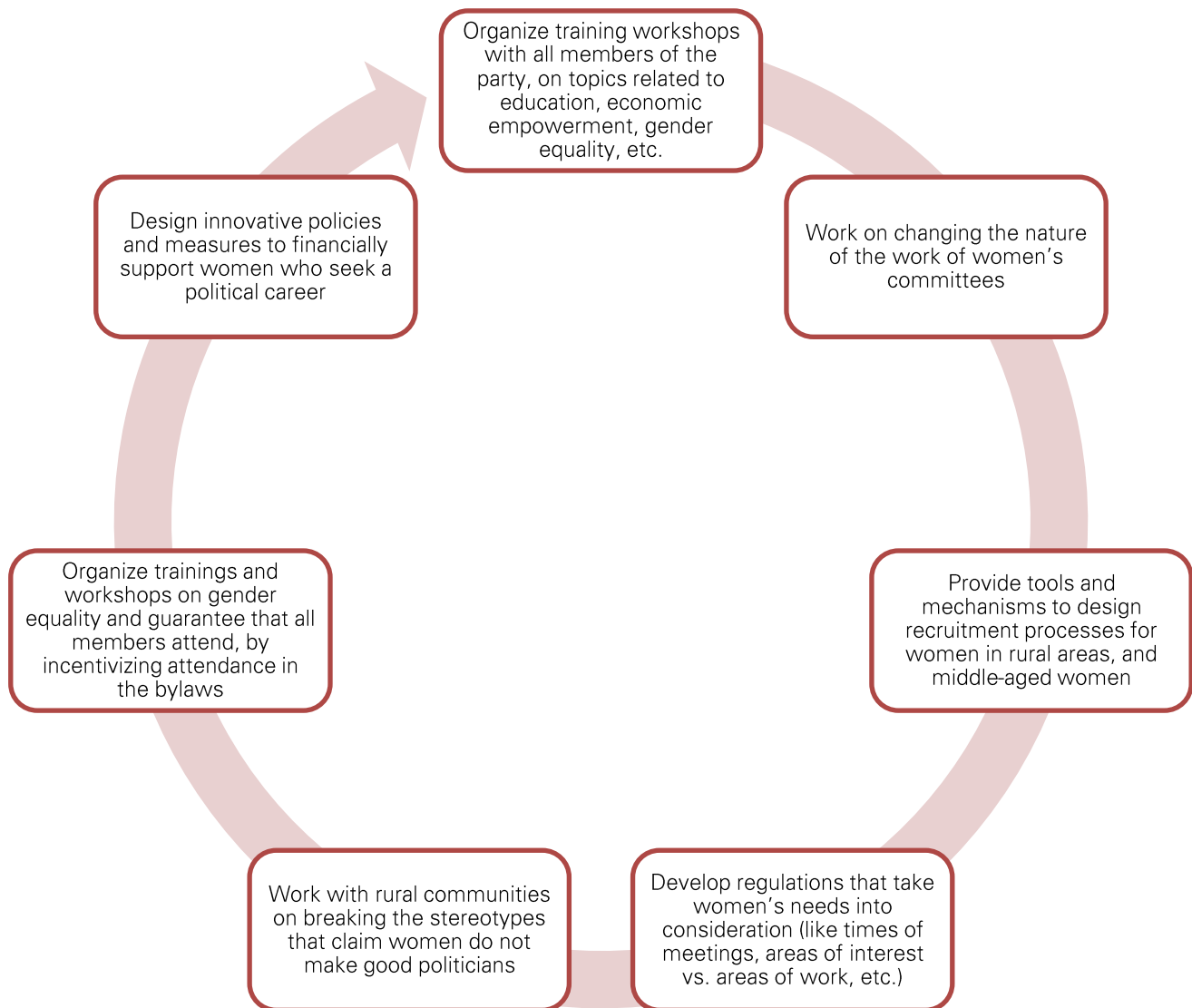
Although there is much to be done, some recent improvements have been noted within some political parties:

- *Lebanese Forces (LF)*: The LF is the only party in Lebanon that has appointed a female Secretary General, Dr Chantal Sarkis. This is also noteworthy because of the absence of blood ties between Sarkis and any political leader in the party. In an interview, she explained that the senior officials of the party are considerate of her time and needs, and therefore adapt their times and commitments to her availability, enabling her to work in the party and still commit to and be fully involved with her family.
- *Future Movement*: Currently, 60% of the Prime Minister's (Saad Hariri) advisors are women. The party has imposed an internal 40% quota for women at the executive level, the highest in the country. It has been a vocal supporter of the establishment of a State Ministry for Women's Affairs and seems to be implementing capacity building trainings and workshops for women to promote their chances of advancing in their political careers. The Future Movement also presents excellent outreach mechanisms, encouraging and promoting the participation of women from rural areas.

The FPM has initiated a "supporter card" as an alternative to the "membership card" to create ownership and connection with those who are unable to be more active and involved in the party. FPM respondents explained that the "supporters" are mostly women, in line with the party but not seeking or not capable
- *Amal Party*: Amal is the only party that has nominated a female minister to fill one of the three ministerial positions it holds. Also, 36 female members from the Amal Movement won in the municipal elections of 2015, an impressive rise from the eight members elected in 2010.

— NEEDS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

During interviews and focus group discussions, participants were asked to supply recommendations for promoting female participation in their respective political parties. The recommendations were as follows:





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PATRIARCHY AND SECTARIANISM: A GENDERED TRAP

BASELINE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON

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CHAPTER 3 - WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN UNIONS AND SYNDICATES

Unions and syndicates are a reflection of the political environment in Lebanon; therefore participation in leadership positions in unions and syndicates is linked to formal political participation in political parties and representation in the country at large. Just as women are not truly seen as potential political representatives in the confessional political parties, they are similarly not seen as potential representatives in syndicates and unions as the latter are also male-dominated and have similar structures that do not necessarily promote women's participation. To better understand women's participation in unions and syndicates the following section looks at women's participation in the following four unions and syndicates:

The Bar Association

The Order of Physicians

The Teachers' Union

The Order of Engineers and Architects

Generally, the focus groups and interviews resulted in similar responses from the members of the different unions interviewed in this study regarding women's representation. There is high female participation within these organizations, but despite this, there are similar trends in terms of the deficiency in female leadership. There is also a general feeling within the unions that generates a vicious cycle: the overall lack of female leadership and space or opportunities for advancement within the union, de-motivates women from wanting to be more involved in leadership. The unions' and syndicates' bylaws do not have clauses concerning female participation, neither to encourage nor discourage it. The only parts related to women in the bylaws were specific to their rights as employees and included maternity leave. Personal status laws were mentioned in all the interviews as being a major influence on

BASELINE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON

women's self-worth in terms of equality, or the lack thereof. The politicization within unions as a result of the political parties' domination of the organizations and the resulting sectarian divide is yet another commonly agreed upon challenge that faces women in the unions. Following a series of interviews and focus groups with representatives and members from all four unions and syndicates, the research team was able to deduce the common challenges women face when seeking representation by, or playing an active leadership role in, unions and syndicates:

- In Lebanon, women's participation does not equal their demographic representation. While women represent 50% of the total population, the World Economic Forum's annual Gender Gap Report found that only 26% of working-age women are in the workforce in Lebanon, compared to 76% for men.
- In particular, the leadership of the unions and syndicates are often overwhelmingly dominated by men.
 - In three of the unions studied, the minority women form is indeed even more pronounced when it comes to leadership positions. For instance, of the four unions studied, only one woman has ever been President of the Board, the Bar Association.
 - Moreover, even in the Teacher's Syndicate of Lebanon, where women are a majority of the workforce as well unionized workers, the managing bodies are mostly occupied by men.
- These situations can be explained by structural factors, as well as persisting stigmas.
 - In fact, women are still less paid than men of a similar position, and often cannot afford for the registration fees within unions and syndicates. Besides, Lebanese unions are still largely directed by interest and influence of political parties and women are almost entirely absent from the political parties' management bodies.
 - Stereotypes that strongly limit women's participation are numerous and solidly grounded in mentalities such as below:
 - Women are still expected to take care of the family, which brings with it serious obligations and often discourages them to get more involved.
 - Women are not expected to financially sustain the family, which thus allows them to accept lower paid jobs, often with less official responsibility.
 - Femininity is also very much associated with softness and discretion, which leads female activists to be perceived as "rude and bossy".

COMMON CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN IN UNIONS AND SYNDICATES

- GENDER ROLES AND SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS THAT LIMIT FEMALE INVOLVEMENT:
 - Balancing household responsibilities that are traditionally expected of women while also investing time and effort in union work, which is voluntary and requires a high degree of commitment.⁹¹
 - The inability to commit to events during holidays or activities during the weekend because of family commitments.
 - Maternity leave is not taken into consideration by the organizations, and there is a great need to ensure space for women to manage both familial responsibilities and political careers.⁹²
 - Meetings are often held at inconvenient times of the day, when the men finish work and the women start taking care of the household, which excludes women from most meetings and thus decision-making,
 - The influence of stereotypes on women who are active in unions, especially that generally labor and labor movements are male-dominated, both of which require extensive effort and tenacity, traits which are thought to be 'hostile and aggressive for women'.⁹³
 - Double standards when it comes to expectations regarding women's behavior (in the case of lawyer's syndicate) in comparison to their male counterparts. Women are expected to be much softer and discrete; traits are seen as "feminine".⁹⁴
 - Behaviors that allow men act as the more dominant and louder counterparts in meetings (interrupting women while speaking, disregarding women's opinions and arguments, stigmatizing female behaviors, etc.).⁹⁵

- POLITICAL CHALLENGES:
 - The politicization of the unions, adding an additional element of struggle for women who are not active and represented in the sectarian political parties.

- FINANCIAL CHALLENGES:
 - Many women lack the financial capability to either join syndicates/unions due to the expensive fees, or to take initiatives that require voluntary work/financial investment.

⁹¹World Economic Forum's annual Gender Gap Report

⁹²Saadé, Nina, Pascale Salameh, et Bernadette Barbour. « Conditions de travail et congé maternel au Liban », *Sciences sociales et santé*, vol. vol. 28, no. 2, 2010, pp. 115-128.

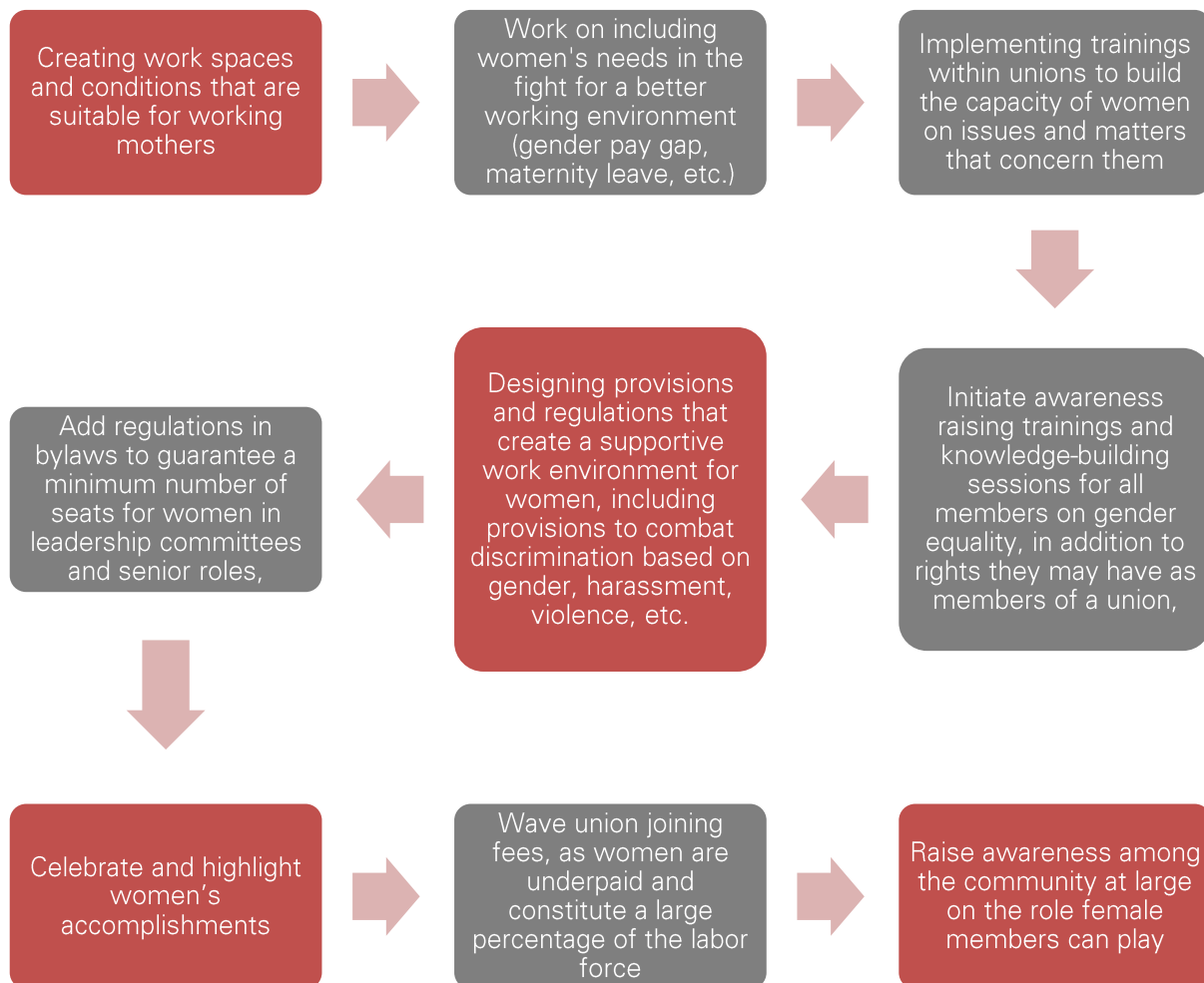
⁹³Guillaume, C., Pochic, S. & Silvera, R. (2013). Genre, féminisme et syndicalisme. *Travail, genre et sociétés*, 30,(2), 29-32. doi:10.3917/tgs.030.0029.

⁹⁴Doing Gender, Doing Difference Sarah Fenstermaker and Candace West, June 2002

⁹⁵Ibid

BASELINE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON

Women are generally discouraged from taking initiative because of the uninviting environment, aggressive nature of politics, hostile male counterparts, etc., but when asked why women aren't equally represented, male unionists blame women and their inability to take initiative, not taking into account the challenges women face and the courage they need to have to discuss politics with a group of older, patriarchal men. On the other side, women that actually make proposals and adopt a similar behavior to men in order to be taken seriously can be perceived as "man-like", "unfeminine" and "too aggressive".⁹⁶ Given the responsibility of unions and syndicates to exert effort and invest time to improve their members' place in their communities and rights at work, it is crucial for them to create an environment suitable for all their members. Interviewees and union members agreed that some development within unions could be undertaken. The below table explains the current status of women in the unions and syndicates studied, their participation, stereotypes they face, and any support they receive:



⁹⁶Guillaume, C., Pochic, S. & Silvera, R. (2013). Genre, féminisme et syndicalisme. Travail, genre et sociétés, 30,(2), 29-32. doi:10.3917/tgs.030.0029.

BASELINE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON

	BAR ASSOCIATION	ORDER OF PHYSICIANS	ORDER OF ENGINEERS AND ARCHITECTS	TEACHERS UNION
STRUCTURAL GAPS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Almost 55% of current interning lawyers are women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No female president since the union's creation in 1946 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No female president since the union's founding in 1956 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No female president since the founding of the union in 1938
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Of the 12 members of the current Beirut board, 1 is a woman (8.3%) • No female members on the board in Tripoli 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 29% of all registered doctors in Lebanon are women, but between 2004 and 2017, they represented between only 6.25% and 19% of the board • Currently, 2 out of the 16 board members are female 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only 12.8% of registered architects and engineers are female (7,800 out of 64,000) • 12.5% of the current board are female 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 75% of school teachers are women • 91% of students studying 'education' are female • There has never been more than one female on any board in the history of the union
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women occupy 17% of leadership positions in committees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are no female board members in Tripoli, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 13,5% of executive branch members are women • 5% of leadership positions in the 29 committees are occupied by women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No more than 1 woman out of 12 board members in recent years (0 today)
REGISTRATION FEES	2,500 USD per year	Over 2,000 USD per year	2,000 USD per year	20 USD per year
SPECIAL PROVISIONS OR QUOTAS IN BYLAWS TO PROMOTE FEMALE PARTICIPATION	x	x	x	x
POLITICAL PARTIES INFLUENCE THE WORK AND ELECTIONS OF THE UNION	✓	✓	✓	✓

BASELINE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON

<p>PERCEPTION OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low for governing bodies, high for 'basic' participation <p>Seen as an issue that needs to be dealt with externally</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not taken seriously as the profession is seen as <i>essentially</i> masculine 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less legitimate than men's participation given their behavior during meetings (loud, interrupting speakers, even aggressive)
<p>COMMON STEREOTYPES</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A female lawyer with the same capabilities as a man is "rude", and "bossy" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women not socially expected to provide for the financial needs of the family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women are "bad" engineers as the profession is masculine • Women tend to receive (and accept) secretarial job offers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Logistics, such as time (late) and duration of the meetings make the space exclusive and more challenging for women to attend. Women are "fit" for teaching, as it is perceived as a continuation of their "caretaker" role in the family.

CHAPTER 4 – WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

Court of Cassation	10% women
Total number of judges	543
First woman appointed to the Crown Court	2006 (currently no women)
Percentage of women from the total number of judges in the judicial system	41% (221 women)
Quota	None
Shari'a Court	None
Court of Appeal	29.8% of judges are women ⁹⁷
Attorneys General of the Court of Appeal	5 men and 1 woman (16.6%)
The Court of Audit	50% of judges are female, compared with 44% in 2004
Investigative Judges	24 men and 3 women (11.1%)
Attorneys General of the Courts of Cassation, Finance and Appeal	35 men and 7 women (16.6%)
Inspectors of the Judicial Inspection Board	8 men and 2 women (20%)
Judges in Criminal and Mixed Chambers	47 men and 24 women (34%)
To Date	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Women oversaw 28% of criminal cases — 56% of civil cases
Latest Judicial Appointments	33 new appointments, 24 of which are women (72%) - 2016

When it comes to women's participation in Lebanese public life, the judicial system stands out as an exception. The openness of the judiciary towards the significant participation of women and in selecting women for leadership positions has happened gradually over time. Men and women in Lebanon have equal rights to apply to, compete within, and join the judiciary. However, in religious courts this argument does not necessarily hold. Religious courts are an exception as they are placed outside the realm of public office. Thus, each sect can decide whether or not to include women. Yet, the fact remains

⁹⁷NCLW, Lebanon National Report, CEDAW, 2014.

that both the public judicial system and religious judicial systems are dominated by men. The total number of judges in Lebanon today is 523, out of which around 48% are women, which seems to be a clear case of female advancement in Lebanon. 10% of judges in the Court of Cassation are women and the figure stands at 29.8% in the Court of Appeal. As more women continue to join the judiciary this percentage is expected to increase and potentially the number of women could well outweigh the number of men.

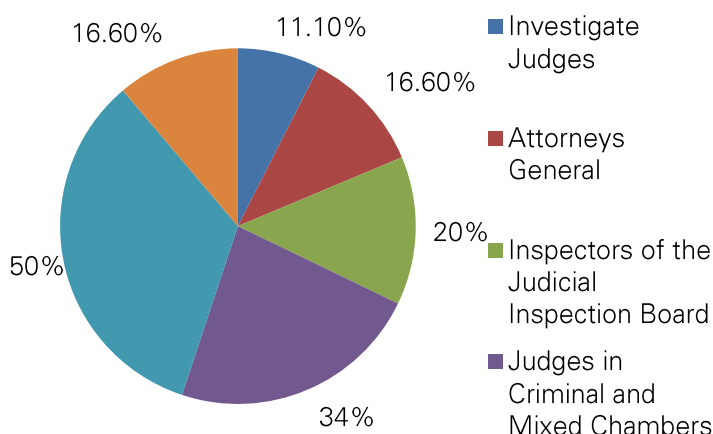
In the last intake to the judiciary in 2015, there was a noticeable success for women, 24 of the 33 new judges were women; Unique to the judiciary, the quota system is in place to ensure that balance is maintained and that it does not tip as more women gain representation. The inclusion of women in the judiciary gives hope that this success might be duplicated in other sectors where women are less present.

Although the presence of women in the judiciary is remarkable, they are still more likely to oversee cases which male judges see as "suitable for women": Female judges are more likely to advance in specific legal domains such as child related matters. Until recently, female judges handled 28% of criminal cases (excluding Court of Cassation judges) and 56% of civil cases. At the same time,

interviewees told us that one area in which discrimination occurs when some male judges refuse to give younger female judges cases that deal with sexual assault for example, deciding on their behalf not to compromise their "purity". Interviewees and study participants stated a number of challenges that face women working in the judiciary, including:

- Gender stereotypes still crippling women's ability to practice law. There is still a prevailing assumption among most male interviewees that female judges will be more sensitive to women's claims because they are women themselves
- There is a widespread belief that women are not able to make judgments when they have their period
- Religious courts are especially exclusive of women, because women cannot become clerics which disrupts their chances of becoming

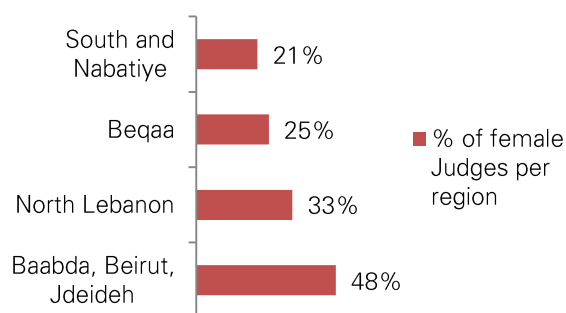
% OF WOMEN IN THE JUDICIARY



religious judges, although the law doesn't specify that this is the case

- The corrupt nature of politics in Lebanon means that most appointments happen due to strong networks with previous and current political leaders. Most women (as stated in the previous sections) are not raised or taught to bargain or to acquire negotiation skills to engage in conversations behind closed doors and initiate corrupt practices in order to attain higher positions, which puts them on the margins with regard to appointments and thus they are rarely appointed to senior positions
- Working in the judiciary demands a lot of social interaction and connection-building. As one interviewee put it, 'Your door should always be open, and you will be expected to receive invitations to events throughout the year'. Women are less capable of attending these events because of their gender roles and expectations that limit their freedom of time and mobility
- One of the male interviewees explained that a serious challenge to appointing more women to judicial positions is that, 'At some point these women will need to go on maternity leave, and the courts would become empty if they're all female'.
- Women have to keep proving themselves in the job in order to counter the argument that women are in the judiciary because it is a convenient job for them (summer vacations, salary and benefit packages, prestige, etc.) and continuously prove themselves to be good judges
- Although there is no law that supports it, one interviewee told us that there are no veiled female judges in the entire system. The rationale behind this is that the system is attempting to maintain impartiality. Candidates are often removed from the pool of potential judges when they sit exams. Some of the female respondents explained that female judges are faced with verbal (and other kinds of) harassment, as they are treated as if they were daughters or sexualized as potential partners
- Interviewees also explained that female judges are taken less seriously than men in court, being stereotyped as easy to influence and control
- Regional disparities are also apparent. In 2010 48% of judges in Beirut, Baabda and Jdeideh were women, whereas only 33% of the judiciary in the North, 25% in the Beqaa, and barely 21% in both the South and Nabatiye areas were female

% of female Judges per region



At the same time, female judges who were interviewed explained that there are some characteristics of the job that women can benefit from, which is why parents and families support women going into the judiciary, because judicial work pays a comfortable salary (though one that is still lower than that

of men, which leads to more open positions) and it demands attendance at court only three days per week, which benefits working mothers as they can meet their familial responsibilities. Currently women head the chambers within the judiciary and hold major leading positions, including⁹⁸:

- Director General of the Ministry of Justice, Khayriya Maysam Al Nuwairi
- Chairperson of the Legislative and Advisory Commission, Judge Mary Deniz Al Maoushi
- President of the Judicial Studies Institute, which is part of the Ministry of Justice, Judge Nada Dakroub
- President of the Court of Cassation, Judge Souheir Harake.
- Head of the Public Prosecution in the Governorate of Nabatieh
- Judge Ghada Abu Kroum is a candidate for President of the Court of Cassation of the Chamber of Commerce, replacing the deceased Judge Walid al-Qadi (this a religious, Druze position)
- Head of the Criminal Court in the South, Raleh Jadil, and Head of the Criminal Court in Sidon,
- Former Head of the Criminal Court in Beirut, Helena Iskandar, was recently appointed Chairperson of the Case Committee at the Ministry of Justice
- Judge of the Military Court of Inquiry, Najat Al-Ashqar, also serves as a Single judge in the district of Aley, the importance of her position lies in handling of sensitive files regarding terrorism, most notably the file of Ahmed Al-Asir a former Salafi Imam who was arrested in 2015.
- Judge Ghada Aoun, President of the Bekaa Criminal Court
- Deputy Prosecutor for the International Tribunal on the Assassination of Rafic Hariri, Judge Joyce Tabet

⁹⁸ BeirutObserver.com, 'Women invade the Courts of Justice', April 2017

CHAPTER 5 – WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

It is a common belief that women tend to be more active in civil society work than in formal politics; this perception implies that civil society work is not political and that its focus should be on charity and service provision. Contrary to this belief, Lebanon is the scene of vibrant activism, with a growing number of campaigns seeking to participate in local and/or parliamentary elections, or work on different civil rights causes, and women have been an integral part of these campaigns. This section looks at female participation in three recent social movements.

BEIRUT MADINATI

THE MOUNT LEBANON MOVEMENT

YOU STINK

COMMON CHALLENGES FACING WOMEN IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Both female and male activists who participated in this research highlighted challenges that could be facing women active in social movements in Lebanon today. During the conversations with participants as well as focus group conversations, activists categorized the challenges as follows:

INTERNAL CHALLENGES

- The gender role expectations of women in a social movement: where, for example, a woman is expected to handle administrative tasks, or auditing tasks, or catering responsibilities at events, or is discouraged from getting involved in violent protests, etc.
- Deeply ingrained patriarchal structures that challenge women's chances of advancing within the group
- The challenging stereotypes of Feminism that hinder their ability to advance women's issues on movements' agenda, or that movements 'see gender as a moveable priority' and that there is "The failure to see gender issues as an intersection with other political priorities"
- Internal power dynamics are almost always exclusive of women and marginalize them from decision-making and politics
- The cost of volunteering in a social movement, where an individual's resources and financial capacity are at stake, affects women more than men because of the normative gender pay gap and lack of financial independence, especially if the woman is young and still studying
- Sexual harassment and violence within social movements, where there are no clear policies or measures taken to guarantee accountability; instead, women who speak up about this violence or harassment end up being sidelined or judged for 'misinterpreting this harasser's intentions'

'We support women's rights, but this is a movement to win the elections', as heard by a female activist interviewed in this research

"There is no clear mechanism to report harassment, you just have to be silent about it or face a great number of uncomfortable conversations before the person is even held accountable', Female activist

— The misconception that gender equality is about equality of the sexes, and thus simplifying solutions to tackle discrimination thereby undermining the need for real internal work to promote a safe, enabling environment for women

— Older men may be present in social movements, but older women rarely are, ageism is a major challenge in today's civil society where the youth

lack trust in older individuals, this is more apparent with the numbers of women than with the men

- Violence against women in social movements can take different forms, other than physical and includes, for example, psychological and emotional violence – shaming, defamation, sexual baiting, etc.
- Women are rarely chosen to speak during media appearances or public demonstrations

'It was very uncomfortable attending meetings because I would always be surrounded by aggressive men who just want to speak and never listen, and ultimately, I was the one being silenced'
Female activist

EXTERNAL CHALLENGES

- The external society and culture in general that might influence how far the movement is willing to go to nurture its progressive identity
- The same external influence and pressure can challenge a group's own legitimacy when they stand in solidarity with minorities, or in this case, make a stand for women's issues
- The fear of speaking publicly about internal power struggles and gender discrimination in order to avoid shaming and the discrediting of the group by opponents
- Power struggles around age, where it is harder for young members to take on leadership positions and even harder on young females to do so
- Women face punishment from society should they join violent or socially disruptive movements: by joining disruptive groups, women defy cultural and social norms that may trigger aggression and violence from their male colleagues, siblings, family members, etc.
- The general attacks on freedom of expression in general in Lebanon, affects women more than men, culturally it is not acceptable for women to get investigated by police or spend a night in prison, or argue with a police officer

'You shouldn't be here. Go Home, or I will take you', said to a female activist by a police officer

Some female activists and feminists have chosen to separate completely from the current social movements and establish their own groups where women can be heard, treated equally and have a bigger chances of developing themselves and the movement itself; for example, a feminist block (a group of feminist organizations and movements in Lebanon) was established in late 2015, after a series of conflicts with existing social movements and their failure to address sexist, discriminatory and inappropriate behavior towards women.



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PATRIARCHY AND SECTARIANISM: A GENDERED TRAP

BASELINE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON

Commissioned for the Hivos Women Empowered of Leadership (WE4L) Programme, which is funded through the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs Funding Leadership and Opportunities for Women (FLOW) Programme. Research conducted by Beyond Reform and Development..

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CHAPTER 6 – REVIEW OF DONOR PROGRAMS

In an effort to limit duplication of effort and promote learning from previous programs, this chapter looks at six donor programs that were implemented in the last five years and that sought to promote women’s participation in politics. The following data and information was collected through a series of interviews and focus group conversations with representatives from the donor agency, as well as representatives from the implementing partner. The programs reviewed and discussed are:

	Name of Program	Date	Implementing Partner	Funders
1	“DAWRIC: Direct Action for Women:”	2016- Ongoing	British Council	European Union, British Council
2	“Strengthening women’s participation in local governance and development” - Phase 1	January 2013- May 2015	MoSA	Office of Italian Development Aid
3	“Promotion of the role of political parties and trade unions in enhancing women’s political participation”	2014	RDFL	EU, Oxfam Novib
4	“Promoting women’s role in the political participation”	Early 2016 – ongoing	LOST	Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
5	“LANA: Transformative Political Identities for Gender Equality in Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon”	End of 2015 – Early 2016	Oxfam, ABAAD, and CFUWI	OxFam, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
6	“Leadership Inside-Out Matters”	2015-2016	Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF)	Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF)

THE “DAWRIC” PROJECT

1. FUNDED AND IMPLEMENTED BY: The European Union and the British Council
2. IMPLEMENTATION PERIOD: Late 2016 – Ongoing

DESCRIPTION: The British Council is currently implementing a two-year European Union funded project entitled DAWRIC (Direct Action for Women: Reform, Inclusion and Confidence). It aims to build the capacity of women and provide broad-based support for their active involvement in public life to:

- Combat poverty among Lebanese women
- Ensure gender equality in political life and decision-making processes

The DAWRIC project works to empower women to become actors of change by providing them with opportunities to benefit from various capacity building sessions in order to implement Social Action Projects that respond to the needs of their communities. The project activities focus on strengthening the capacity of women’s organizations to mobilize and advocate for change, in addition to assisting local authorities to address the needs of women, resulting in better access to livelihood opportunities and equality for women. A series of capacity building sessions are taking place in the four Lebanese governorates tackling different topics including gender sensitization, English language, vocational skills, media and communication, among others. DAWRIC provides municipalities and civil society organizations with the opportunity to establish women committees and to benefit from Social Action Projects. As a result of the British Council’s previous experience and success with the Women’s Participation in Public Life project, the project designers took the best practices and reapplied them.

CHALLENGES

- An inability to find a local partner to work with. Not having a local partner and being the only ones working on the implementation phase is a challenge
- Dealing with patriarchal ideals: There are instances where men in the municipalities initially wanted to work with the British Council then later on refused to accept projects related to women in politics. They explicitly said that they did not accept the idea of women getting to leadership positions
- Bureaucratic processes among donors, particularly when it comes to accessing funding and receiving feedback. Implementers complained about the long delay in receipts being accepted and refunded, this challenges their work as they need to issue payments and ensure procurement is happening

RECOMMENDATIONS & LESSONS LEARNED:

- For maximum effectiveness, it is recommended to choose local partners that are popular, known and/or liked in the area
- When choosing a local partner, it is recommended to be meticulous about their values and principles
- Communicate with other groups working on projects related to women in politics as to not duplicate work and to learn from each other's experiences, particularly with CSOs and NGOs
- Ensure proactive initiatives in order to find maximum efficiency when it comes to slow bureaucratic processes. It is also important to constantly follow up with the implementing partners
- Reach out to municipalities who are supportive of women's political participation; they can become allies and success stories to be used and given as examples in other regions
- Projects should not only focus on building the capacity of women, it is recommended to always have other incentives for participants

THE ‘PROMOTING WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT’ PROGRAM

1. FUNDED BY: The Office of Italian Development Aid
2. IMPLEMENTED BY: Ministry of Social Affairs in Lebanon
3. IMPLEMENTATION PERIOD: Phase One took place January 2013-May 2015, the project then ceased for two years, Phase Two began in February 2017 and is still ongoing

DESCRIPTION

The Promoting Women’s Participation in Local Governance and Development project aims at strengthening the capacity of the Ministry of Social Affairs (MOSA) to reduce and deal with the social exclusion of women in Lebanon. It seeks to empower Lebanese women to have a more influential and continuous part in local governance, enabling them to participate actively and effectively in governance and thus increase their representation at decision-making levels and in public spheres. This is to be achieved through adoption of gender mainstreaming strategies at the ministerial level. It includes policies and plans and programs, which ensure the coherent, uniform and effective implementation at the local level through its national network of Social Development Centers (SDCs).

Specific outcomes of the project are:⁹⁹

- The enhancement of the understanding of gender concepts/mainstreaming
- To advocate for women’s participation in decision-making at the local and national levels
- To strengthen the capacities of women, particularly those who are politically active
- To promote women’s roles in politics and their implications on the national level

There were several aspects of this project that had successful outcomes, and that was reflected through the increased participation of women in municipal elections in 2015. The project also resulted in innovative ideas suggested by the women themselves and which were largely based on community needs. Another success was the ability to have women from different parties sit down together and work without tension and hostility.

CHALLENGES

- Resistance from local communities, as they were not supportive or encouraging of women’s participation in politics
- The challenge of recruiting independent women as opposed to

⁹⁹Ministry of Social Affairs. Promoting Women’s Participation in Local Governance and Development. Retrieved from: http://www.socialaffairs.gov.lb/admin/Uploads/296_2.pdf

partisan women

- Managing the expectations of the communities
- Sudden external factors that forced a redesign of the project: In this case, the parliamentary elections were postponed, so the focus had to be shifted to local elections
- Lack of transparency from the implementing partners, which necessitated greater monitoring and supervision, as well as more unplanned field days

RECOMMENDATIONS & LESSONS LEARNED

- Local communities, especially rural ones, need a lot of support and a lot of opportunities, the recommendation is to focus on small local communities when targeting women's participation in politics
- Avoid focusing on recruiting women who are affiliated with political parties, as this automatically excludes independent women who recently entered the field
- Encourage projects and programs that are flexible by nature
- Ensure awareness and mutual understanding of the objectives and timeline of the project
- Make sure the implementing team is extremely knowledgeable about the area, its politics and the type of conflicts prior to going to the field
- Avoid setting objectives related to information technology, websites and social media, as the resources are limited, unless the team can provide material assistance

THE ‘PROMOTION OF THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND TRADE UNIONS IN ENHANCING WOMEN’S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION’ study

1. FUNDED BY: EU, Oxfam Novib
2. IMPLEMENTED BY: The Lebanese Women Democratic Gathering
3. IMPLEMENTATION PERIOD: 2014 – 2015.

DESCRIPTION:

The overall objective of the Regional Study about “Strengthening the role of political parties and trade unions in promoting women’s political participation” “” is to contribute to strengthening democratic practices and respect for human rights in five Arab countries through the promotion of equitable political participation for men and women. The project is funded by the European Union in partnership with Oxfam Novib and implemented in five Arab countries through the following organizations: Women’s Studies Center (Occupied Palestine Territory), Centre for Egyptian Women Legal assistance (Egypt), Arab Institute for Human Rights (Tunisia and Morocco), Lebanese Women Democratic Gathering (Lebanon). The transitions and democratic transformations stemming from the Arab revolutions have challenged the role of current political parties and prompted the creation of new ones. Similarly, existing political parties and trade unions have been offered the opportunity to revive their roles as platforms for socio-political change, and develop democratic political and social structures that are based on rights, in order to promote women’s effective participation, to shed light on their causes and to defend them. Therefore, this project aimed to:

- Promote and enhance the equal access and participation of women in political parties and trade unions, in addition to empowering and motivating women to become effective actors in the decision-making process
- Integrate gender equality principles within the work of political parties and trade unions
- Dismantle gender stereotypes
- Strengthen partnerships between women and men
- Create a support network among women and build regional and international alliances to face all the forms of abuse directed against them

Some of the individuals who participated in capacity building trainings also participated in the elections of their respective groups. A few individuals reached the politburo of their respective political parties through elections, and one in particular, Nawal Mdallaleh, whose election speech revolved around women’s rights and women’s political participation. Those who ran and did not attain leadership positions were still motivated to continue and try again. In addition, the discourse of some of the individual participants also

shifted following their participation in these workshops.

CHALLENGES

- The challenges of communication and taking appointments with different participants and relevant stakeholders
- Slow responses from both unions and political parties
- Safety and security threats, which in turn resulted risks for some of the participants and stopped them from participating
- The threat of the Syrian war and subsequent refugee presence influenced the willingness of some to participate
- Some parties would not allow their members to participate in trainings until they had gained approval
- Lack of continuity from some of the participants

RECOMMENDATIONS & LESSONS LEARNED

- Build good relationships with the different stakeholders in the community in order to work more effectively
- Approach is important, be diplomatic. Women's rights are a sensitive issue for certain groups, it is important to design the proposal in a way that is flexible and easy to adapt
- Engage journalists and the media on this topic. This will help with outreach. Media need to not only cover events, but also to feel responsible about their potential role. Only with such a degree of ownership will media be able to cover events more responsibly and to raise awareness.
- Focus on establishing a healthy relationship with the participants, while still managing expectations
- Reach out to a larger number of potential candidates than strictly required, to account for participants dropping out
- When designing the program, think about how to ensure continuity and guarantee that all participants finish the project for optimized results and impact
- Women's rights and issues are not a priority in Lebanese culture, when designing a project, the partners should take that into consideration
- Go to them. It is recommended to host meetings and events in areas that are familiar to the women, to make it easier for them to be mobile
- Have project documents ready, most parties and unions will ask for official letters and stamped faxes before they will approve for women of their group to join

THE ‘PROMOTING WOMEN’S ROLE IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION’ PROGRAM

1. FUNDED BY: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Lebanon
2. IMPLEMENTED BY: LOST, Lebanese Organization for Studies and Training
3. IMPLEMENTATION PERIOD: 2016 - Ongoing

DESCRIPTION

The Promoting Women’s Role in the Political Participation project is working to raise the number of women active in politics, with a focus on the parliamentary and municipal elections, particularly in the Bekaa region. It targets 80 women and has organized workshops related to active citizenship, municipal work, human rights, needs assessment, campaigning, online forums, body language, rule of law, and other relevant topics. Those involved included individuals from political parties, mayors, and other stakeholders in Baalbek. They then continued with these women to help them become active in the election process, from nominations, to voting to holding election campaigns. There were three women who ran in the municipal elections. This was done independently without official and formal support from the implementing partners. It was the first time that five women ran for municipal elections in Baalbeck. 40 women out of the 80 were chosen to proceed to the second phase of the program.

CHALLENGES

- When an independent committee was working actively for this project the municipality kept postponing work related to the project
- Choosing the women was the first challenge. Women are often busy with family responsibilities and cannot commit for long periods of time
- The parliamentary elections were cancelled and so the objective of the project was not entirely fulfilled
- The women faced challenges as the municipality did not take them seriously, but they persisted and were able to run
- The patriarchal mentality was a real challenge, there was difficulty in convincing communities that women can participate in politics

RECOMMENDATIONS & LESSONS LEARNED

- Include both men and women in the trainings, it will have a bigger impact in the community
- Provide transportation and space that is relatively close to the women to ensure their participation
- Allow the participants opportunities to work with their local communities and neighbors for stronger impact
- It is important for the participants to realize that it is not only about winning, but also about participating in the entire political process

- Work with the Ministry of Education, to shift education material to include concepts of women's participation
- Be ready to have difficult and challenging conversations with individuals that represent the patriarchal structure you are trying to fight
- Work with political parties for maximum effectiveness on the ground
- Have a budget for work with the media, the media is an ally in this kind of projects
- Design programs that take into account women's potential lack of self-confidence and self-motivation
- Adapt your programs to the needs of the women, when they are available to meet, find locations close to their homes, etc., perhaps even consider securing space for children

THE LANA PROGRAM

1. FUNDED BY: OxFam, Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
2. IMPLEMENTED BY: OxFam, CFWI, ABAAD
3. IMPLEMENTATION PERIOD: End of 2015 – Early 2016

DESCRIPTION

The LANA project followed a change maker model, where the idea was to establish a group, or hub supportive of women's rights, which would then have a snowball effect in communities. Unfortunately, the program lasted for only two years instead of five (phase 1 without phase 2) due to limited funding. The project sought to address the “increasing level of women’s disempowerment and lack of participation in social, economic and political spheres” and in particular, the perception of women’s roles, power and control, and governance systems. The project focused on building a base of male and female change-makers, to work in their respective communities to raise awareness of gender roles and women’s political participation, thus driving change one individual at a time; this would in turn increase women’s political participation by bringing men and women together and empowering them to advocate for increased political participation among women.

CHALLENGES

- Donors are output driven and want to be cost-effective in a way that can limit the scope of the work, particularly with the need to constantly seek approval for small issues or details
- Lack of motivation and follow up from the project implementers
- Resistance from local communities to foreign funding and programs
- Coalitions are very challenging to manage
- The inability to ensure funding for the second phase of project
- The Syrian War hindering the importance of women’s issues

RECOMMENDATIONS & LESSONS LEARNED

- Take into consideration the discrepancies between participants when giving trainings and workshops
- Design projects such that the implementing partner is able to fully-implement it independently
- Include local partners in the design of the project
- Learn about the context and specificity of the community before starting the project
- Learn about other programs working on similar objectives

THE “LEADERSHIP INSIDE-OUT MATTERS” PROGRAM

1. FUNDED BY AND IMPLEMENTED BY: Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF)
2. IMPLEMENTATION PERIOD: 2015-2016

DESCRIPTION

FNF is a political foundation that works with political parties. This project aimed at working with the Future Movement’s women’s committee. The initial plan was to discuss liberalism and liberal politics with the women; the project then transitioned slowly and began to work on women’s role in politics.

CHALLENGES

- Managing expectations: Lack of clarity among the participants about the project objectives and details
- Time is a constraint, especially given the familial responsibilities that require the women to leave earlier than the trainings were scheduled to end

RECOMMENDATIONS & LESSONS LEARNED

- Always recruit new women, women who haven’t had access to similar opportunities before
- Be clear about the expectations and goals of the project
- Allow space for the interaction and participation of the targeted audience in the design, women know what they lack
- Target women from both rural and urban areas
- The target group should include women from all economic classes, especially from the lower economic class, as it is they with the least access to opportunities and who can least afford it
- Choose your participants, the fewer the better, then the team can observe change and monitor impact
- Invest in programs that target education and culture

ANNEX I – RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE PROGRAMS

In addition to studying and analyzing the challenges hindering women's advancement and participation in politics, the research team looked into recommendations for future programs seeking to promote women's participation in the public and private sphere. The following recommendations are drawn from the analysis of findings, in brief:

- Complement the efforts pushing for quotas for women's participation
- Design capacity building programs for potential female candidates
- Fund projects and programs to promote the number and quality of female candidates
- Train political parties and unions and help design internal electoral systems mandating that all voters select women from among the available candidates (if placing a quota in the bylaws is not possible)
- Fund and demand media appearances for women discussing politics
- When selecting female participants for programs, disseminate the information through female networks and not through the heads or executives of the political parties and unions
- Assist political parties and unions in designing and adopting internal anti-harassment policies
- Support women's committees in political parties and unions, when they exist, with resources to influence decision-making, design political agendas for women's rights, have more visibility within the party structure, and to address other issues they may face
- Assist political parties and unions in designing and adopting clear and transparent rules to ensure internal democracy, with specific attention to gender equality



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PATRIARCHY AND SECTARIANISM: A GENDERED TRAP

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ANNEX – A: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS – WOMEN IN POLITICAL PARTIES

FREE PATRIOTIC MOVEMENT (FPM)

Year of Formation	2005	
Current Leader	Gebran Bassil	
Current Number of Seats in Parliament	FEMALE	MALE
	1	18
Current Ministerial Positions	FEMALE	MALE
	0	2
Female Members in the Politburo	3 (out of 30) In the latest elections (2016) there were 29 candidates (of whom two were women). Yet only 6 candidates out of 30 are elected, the rest of the Politburo being composed of MPs, ministers and 4 appointed members. No woman was elected in 2016.	
Female Members in Committees	In 2009, 32% of the Executive Council ¹⁰⁰	
Secretary General	Male	
Total Number of Committees	23 committees in total, only one is overseen by a woman	
Quota in Bylaws	No – but all internal election lists contain at least one woman (informally agreed on)	
Supports National Quota	No	
Constituency	36% of members are women	
Executive Positions	30% women	
Last General Assembly to Date	March 12, 2016	
Language in Bylaws	Male, except when discussing Women's Committee (مسؤولة) female head of Women's Committee	
Maternity Leave in Bylaws	None	
Number of Provisions to Promote Women's	1. General Provisions – Art 2.: Women's participation should be	

¹⁰⁰ Latif, N. Dr., 'Gender Profile, Lebanon', IWSAW, Lebanese American University

Participation in the Bylaws	taken into consideration through every component within the political party. 2. Informally, there is mutual agreement within the party that no committee should be established without at least one woman on board.
Daycare for Children	No

One of the objectives of the party is to 'Remove legal and social obstacles between men and women and promote equality on the basis of competency, specialization and ability'. Yet, according to one of the female leaders in the party, women constitute 10% of the politburo, three out of 30 members, implying that there is a long way to go before equality is achieved. The Free Patriotic Movement, currently headed by Gebran Bassil,¹⁰¹ is the second largest party in the Lebanese parliament. Although based on secular principles,¹⁰² the party's support base is largely from Lebanon's Christian community, but also has a sizeable Shi'a membership. The party was headed and founded by Bassil's father-in-law Michel Aoun in 2005 upon his return from exile in France, who is the current president of the Lebanese Republic.¹⁰³ The FPM party's principles regarding equality between men and women are clearly defined in the party's bylaws; clause seven in their principles states that men and women are equal in rights and responsibilities, also stating that women are a pillar and partner in building a community and making political decisions, yet, the party only has one female member of parliament among its 19 parliamentarians. Their bylaws also include the implementation of civil law, social justice, and equal economic opportunities between all Lebanese. Despite this, Michel Aoun has previously declared that women do not have the 'political experience to be involved in public service'.¹⁰⁴ In July 2016, The FPM held its national elections to elect candidates to represent local districts in the next parliamentary election.¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, no female winners were announced although three had run.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, the FPM aspires to 'Eliminate all legal and social distinctions between men and women and promote equality through practice on the basis of competence and aptitude',¹⁰⁷ yet, their elections included pictures of the voters on the electoral cards, which research has proved are disadvantageous for female candidates..¹⁰⁸

In an interview with senior female officials in the party, the research team was informed that the Women's Committee in the party has a mandate of

¹⁰¹ Tayyar.org 'Inauguration speech of Minister Gibran Bassil, new leader of the FPM', August 2015

¹⁰² The Charter of the Free Patriotic Movement Party

¹⁰³ NOW 'Lebanon elects Michel Aoun president', October 2016

¹⁰⁴ Khoury Doreen. "Women's Political Participation in Lebanon." Heinrich Böll Foundation. N.p., 25 July 2013. Web.

¹⁰⁵ The DailyStar, 'Few surprises in internal Free Patriotic Movement Elections', Aug 2016

¹⁰⁶ Women Economic empowerment portal, 'News on the FPM elections', July 2016

¹⁰⁷ The Charter of the Free Patriotic Movement Party

¹⁰⁸ The DailyStar, 'Few surprises in internal Free Patriotic Movement Elections', Aug 2016

two years and that the president is appointed by the politburo. The Committee coordinates closely with the Tayyar Academy; an entity within the party that works on building the capacity of its members. Interestingly, the interviewees explained that women participate in almost all trainings; however the men fail to attend trainings related to women's political activism. It was mentioned that there is a great need for trainings on gender equality and methods of combating gender inequality in political parties.

When discussing reasons why women aren't well represented in senior positions, interviewees explained that there are always fewer female candidates than male candidates, making their chances of winning lower. However, there are some challenges that keep women from running, such as familial responsibilities, which leads to having a base of young, divorced, widowed, or older women, but married, middle-aged women are not especially politically active in the party. Another challenge is the lack of acceptance of women participating in politics in rural areas; interviewees explained that Beirut and other big cities are not representative when it comes to the issue of discrimination. One of the interviewees explained that internally, there are no challenges hindering women's advancement within the party, and that women were an integral part in the founding of the party, but that it is society itself that challenges women, adding that the FPM bylaws do not include any article or clause that limits women's access to equal chances or opportunities.

“The Middle East isn't yet used to seeing women in leadership positions, we still have a long way to go.” *Senior Female official from FPM*

Interviewees were very hopeful of the next phase for women, especially with the establishment of the State Ministry for Women's Affairs and the increasing attention given to women in senior positions. Interviewees added that limitations to women's advancement are slowly disappearing and will soon be non-existent. Finally, the FPM has initiated a 'supporter card', as a supplement to the 'membership card', and interviewees explained that a great majority of supporters of the FPM are women, but they are not usually interested in doing political work (or cannot afford to do so), so instead, the party designed the supporter card to create ownership and connection with the party.

FUTURE MOVEMENT

Year of Formation	2007	
Current Leader	Saad Hariri	
Current Number of Seats in Parliament	FEMALE	MALE
	1	25
Current Ministerial Positions	FEMALE	MALE
	0	2
Female Members in the Politburo	7 out of 32 members ¹⁰⁹ (5 women were appointed and 2 were elected)	
Female Members in Committees	In 2009, 5% of the Executive Committee	
% of Women in Leadership Positions	40%	
% of Women from All Members Committees	25%	
Quota in Bylaws	22 committees in total	
Support National Quota	Yes, 40%	
Last General Assembly to Date	Yes	
The Word 'Woman' in Bylaws	November 2016	
Language in Bylaws	None	
Maternity Leave in Bylaws	Male pronouns and conjugation	
Number of Provisions to Promote Women's Participation	No	
Daycare for Children	None	
	No	

The Future Movement's vision is based on a Lebanon as part of the regional Arab identity, as well as being a place of economic and social equality Lebanon. It is based on secular ideals, but is largely representative of Sunni Muslims. Saad Hariri, son of assassinated Prime Minister Rafic Hariri, currently leads it and it is part of the March 14 coalition.¹¹⁰ Bahia Hariri, Rafic Hariri's sister, is an MP and has been an active figure in politics for some time. She was an MP in 1992, in addition to being the president of numerous charitable organizations;¹¹¹ she was also the minister of Education and Higher Education from 2008 to 2009. The party does not have a clause specifying the equality between men and women, but it does state equality between all humans – additionally, the bylaws don't include a special provision for a Women's Affairs Committee. The language the party uses is not gender neutral as it uses the male pronoun and conjugation. The Future Movement has a Women's Committee that is greatly active in hosting talks, conferences, and congratulating constituencies on their efforts in academia, professional life, and other areas. Interestingly, Ahmad Hariri (now Secretary General of the Future Movement) acknowledged in a speech that 'there can

¹⁰⁹ The DailyStar 'Future Plan for the country: Hariri', Nov. 2016

¹¹⁰ The DailyStar 'Future Plan for the country: Hariri', Nov. 2016

¹¹¹ Institute for Women's studies in the Arab World 'Who is she in Lebanon?'

be no democracy in a system that does not provide equal opportunities to both men and women¹¹² but he is also leading a party that only has one female parliamentarian in office. The party is currently seeking to reform its internal structure and did so through the party's national elections that took place in November 2016 where 80 candidates ran for the 32-member political bureau:¹¹³ twenty were elected by party members and 12 were appointed by Ahmad Hariri directly (although contradictory to the bylaws that state that the politburo is constituted of 18 elected members, 10 appointed members and 1 MP). The new Politburo includes seven women out of 32 members.¹¹⁴

During interviews with senior officials from the party, the team was informed that 60% of the Prime Minister's team is female, as he is a strong believer in women's advancement in politics. They explained that women are very active in the party, and that they were some of the key founders of the movement, from its inception – before

'I've been recently experiencing comfort in meetings, where more space is given to us to express our opinions and share our arguments. This is the result of years of work and patience, it didn't happen overnight.' *Senior female official from the Future Movement*

its full registration as a party – the movement was dedicated to charity work that was mostly overseen and managed by women; after the assassination of Rafic Hariri, supporters of his ideologies became members of the Movement. Female political activists in the party explained that internally they don't face any challenges due to their gender, especially after there was a new policy whereby a minimum of 40% of the seats at executive level go to women. Activists agree that politics in Lebanon are dominated by men and change will require a lot of work and time. Additionally, the Future Movement was the leading force in the establishment of the State Ministry for Women's Affairs, explaining that, internally, there is consensus that the minister should be female, however national politics and quotas didn't allow that to happen and currently there is a male minister for Women's Affairs. When discussing opportunities available for women to advance within the party, interviewees and focus group participants explained that women are responsible for their own advancement, adding that women should be able to take initiative and voice their wish to be nominated or be appointed to a certain position while

'Women care less about fame and more about getting work done. This may be why women don't seek leadership positions', *Senior female official from the Future Movement.*

giving examples such as Chantal Sarkis (General Secretary of the Lebanese Forces Party, and Abir Shbaro, General Director of the State Ministry for Women's Affairs). Participants in the study agreed that women need to work harder in their

women's committees, to shift the focus from hosting events to engaging in politics.

¹¹² Al Mustaqbal, 'Ahmad Hariri in the FM conference', March, 2013

¹¹³ The DailyStar 'Future Plan for the country: Hariri', Nov. 2016

¹¹⁴ The DailyStar 'Future Plan for the country: Hariri', Nov. 2016

Female participants in the focus groups were asked to specify key challenges that women face today in the party, and there was a great consensus on 'time', in that most women in the party are married and have children or families to care for and that this limits their freedom of mobility at the end of the day or during weekends and holidays.

Finally, the Future Movement is continuously planning and implementing capacity building trainings and workshops for women to promote their chances of advancing within the party and nationally. The Women's Committee in the party has excellent outreach mechanisms where the participation of women from rural areas is encouraged, promoted and facilitated.

LEBANESE FORCES (LF)

Year of Formation	Official registration in 2005	
Current Leader	Samir Geagea	
Current Number of Seats in Parliament	FEMALE	MALE
	1	7
Current Ministerial Positions	FEMALE	MALE
	0	0
Female Members in the Politburo	35% women	
Female Members in Committees	In 2009, 14% of the Executive Council ¹¹⁵	
Executive Council	14% of the executive council are women	
Supports National Quota	Yes	
Number of Women in Leadership Positions	5	
Quota in Bylaws	No	
Secretary General	Female	
Constituency	30% female of 28,000 members (8,000 members)	
Language in Bylaws	Male, except when discussing the Women's Committee, female Head of Women's Committee	
Maternity Leave in Bylaws	None	
Number of Provisions to Promote Women's Participation in the Bylaws	0	
Daycare for Children	No	

The Lebanese Forces was founded as a military force in 1976 by Samir Geagea, and was later turned into a political party following the end of the Lebanese Civil War (1990). Geagea was imprisoned in 1994 and was only released following the Cedar Revolution in 2005 (after 27 years in prison), where upon the Lebanese forces as a party became more active in politics. The Lebanese Forces are based on the Lebanese right-wing Christian identity and it is part of the March 14 alliance. The LF was one of the main players of the civil war, and women took a great role in the fighting, coming from all social classes and different districts in Lebanon.¹¹⁶ Unlike other groups, women's involvement in the fighting within the LF was common and there were three units that were all women. In total, around 3,000 women received military training and around 300 women were actively fighting throughout the war,¹¹⁷ yet, only in 2016 was the party able to appoint the first ever female Secretary General, Dr. Chantal Sarkis,¹¹⁸ although a recent event, this was received as a great win for all Lebanese women, especially that Sarkis has no blood ties with any political leader. In Lebanon, women in politics are

¹¹⁵ Latif, N. Dr., 'Gender Profile, Lebanon', IWSAW, Lebanese American University

¹¹⁶ Shehadeh, L.R., 'Women and War in Lebanon', p.31-32, University Press of Florida

¹¹⁷ Shehadeh, L.R., 'Women and War in Lebanon', p.31-32, University Press of Florida

¹¹⁸ NOW, 'Congratulations Chantal Sarkis', November 2016

mainly widows, sisters, aunts, daughters or wives of living or late politicians, and so is the case with the LF, where the wife of the leader is a parliamentarian, Ms. Sethrida Geagea, who was also the head of the LF when Samir Geagea was in prison (1994-2005). She has worked on imposing women's quotas in the municipalities that are in the LF's sphere of influence,¹¹⁹ in addition to publicly speaking out against discriminatory laws including those related to honor killings and marital rape. LF supporters often become defensive when it is claimed that Sethrida Geagea attaining office through familial ties to Samir Geagea, explaining that Sethrida Geagea studied political science and is a very influential individual in politics today. As for the party's bylaws, there is no mention of female representation

'Sethrida Geagea is sexualized in the media with little attention given to her actual expertise and important input in the party itself and on the national level. Name one woman you think would be willing to risk shame, embarrassment, objectification and dismissal of her knowledge to run for office. That's what we're setting our girls out for?' *Senior female official from the LF party*

or participation except in Article 131, which describes the tasks of the Assistant Secretary General and includes monitoring several party apparatuses out of which is the apparatus for empowering the role of women in the society. The language in the bylaws is not gender sensitive. Interviewees said that women form 50% of the implementing committees (*khaliyyeh*), and that women have been able to advance in the LF and that this was proven when Chantal Sarkis was appointed Secretary General of the party, the first woman in the history of Lebanon to be appointed to such a position in a political party. In an interview with Dr. Sarkis herself, she explained that the senior officials of the party are very considerate of her time

'Politicians, decision makers, employers, public institution officials, etc., are usually men. They will never understand the practical needs of women.' *Senior female official from the Lebanese Forces*

and needs, and therefore adapt their times and commitments to her availability, adding that this allows her space to work in the party and return home to her children. The LF has a Women's Committee that seeks to build the capacity of women to be more engaged in politics; however one challenge is that young women in universities cannot be invested in political work because of the limitations on their time, freedom of forming

their own political views and freedom of mobility and transportation. Luckily, all interviewees agreed that things are changing rapidly and that women are getting more leadership positions, proof of this can be seen in the number of women nominated in municipalities to represent the LF, although rarely are women nominated by political parties to union and syndicate elections.

¹¹⁹ NOW, 'StridaGeagea calls for laws protecting women's rights', February 2014

THE PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP)

Year of Formation	1949	
Current Leader	Walid Jumblatt	
Current Number of Seats in Parliament	FEMALE	MALE
	0	7
Current Ministerial Positions	FEMALE	MALE
	0	2
Female Members in the Leadership Committee	4 from 24 members	
General Assembly	30% women	
Council of Representatives	15 members, 1 woman	
Of the Total Number of Members	10% are women	
Supports National Quota	Yes	
Quota in Bylaws	No	
Secretary General	Male	
Constituency	30% female, of 26,000 members	
Maternity Leave in Bylaws	None	
Number of Provisions to Promote Women's Participation in the Bylaws	0	
Daycare for Children	No	

The Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) is based on secular and socialist principles; the party initially included members from various different sects, but now largely represents the Druze community in Lebanon.^{120,121} The PSP is currently headed by Walid Jumblatt who is the son of assassinated Kamal Jumblatt, one of the founders of the PSP. The party does not strictly align with either of the 14 or 8 March¹²² blocs and shifts depending on the issue and the party's political interest. Jumblatt has publicly stated on numerous occasions the importance of ending the discrimination against women by law,¹²³ reiterating the importance of women's involvement in politics. Within the PSP is the Women's Organization that has had historical presence and significance in Lebanon in terms of women's activism and political involvement, leading several initiatives pertaining to women's rights.¹²⁴ Despite this, the party has yet to nominate any female candidates for election.¹²⁵ As for the party's bylaws, under the General Secretary, the party's internal organization is divided into several commissionaires that participate in the party's executive decisions along with its president. According to Article 58, one of the commissionaires is concerned with women's issues, the Article states that it is responsible for monitoring and organizing women's

¹²⁰The Progressive Socialist Party, Country Studies.

¹²¹Shehadeh, L.R., *Women and War in Lebanon*, p.31-32, University Press of Florida

¹²²Samaha, N., Chughtai, A., *Lebanon at the crossroads*, Aljazeera, 2015.

¹²³The Daily Star, 'Jumblatt calls to end women's discrimination in Lebanese laws', Nov. 2016

¹²⁴Kingston, P.Dr., 'Women and Political Parties in Lebanon: Reflections on the Historical Experience'

¹²⁵Human Rights Documents Online, 'Emerging Voice: Young Women in Lebanese Politics' International Alert. 2011.

participation in the party, empowering women through workshops and conferences, and studying the status of women within the political process and working towards improving it;¹²⁶ Article 63 states that the party accepts women's admission to the party and that women can participate and hold the same responsibilities as their male counterparts, but the language throughout the bylaws is not gender sensitive.¹²⁷

Particular to the PSP is that the youth and women's branches are autonomous and have been independently formed to work on issues related to their respective groups. They do have ties with the parties, but remain independent, especially in legal and financial terms. One interviewee explained that this may be one of the reasons why there are not many active women in the party, as they are all registered and working with the Union of Democratic Women, adding that there are around 1,200 members in the union that was established in 1975. The Women's Committee within the party has a supervising role over the relationship and politics between the party and the union. Members of the union can choose to become members of the party as well and participate in national elections. Additionally, six women from the Union of Women won in municipal elections and one female lawyer was supported by the PSP to run for bar (Syndicate of Lawyers) elections, where she won. The Union for Democratic women has been claimed to be doing 'great' work with women, by building their capacity and knowledge as well as promoting alliance building and networking to improve their chances of running and winning, yet, there is little work being done on increasing representation of women within the party.

'Men think they are better than us in politics and they won't step aside to let you win. I succeeded because of my personal connections with Walid Jumblat.' *Senior female official from PSP*

¹²⁶The Progressive Socialist Party, Internal bylaws.

¹²⁷The Progressive Socialist Party, Internal bylaws

THE PHALANGES PARTY

Year of Formation	1936	
Current Leader	Samy Gemayel	
Current Number of Seats in Parliament	FEMALE	MALE
	0	5
Current Ministerial Positions	FEMALE	MALE
	0	0
Female Members in the Politburo	Currently 20%, (4 out of 22 members + head of Women's Committee) ¹²⁸ ,	
Female Members in Committees Of the Total Number of Members	No information available	
Constituency	50% women	
Supports National Quota	48.9% women	
Quota in Bylaws	Yes	
Secretary General	Yes, 20% for women	
Maternity Leave in Bylaws	Male	
Number of Provisions to Promote Women's Participation in the Bylaws	No	
Daycare for Children	0	
	No	

The Phalanges (Kataeb) party was founded in 1936 as a Maronite military organization based on nationalistic principles and became the main Christian force in the Lebanese Civil War.¹²⁹ It was founded by Pierre Gemayel and is headed by Sami Gemayel, who on numerous occasions has talked about the importance of abolishing discriminatory laws against women,¹³⁰ including the issue of passing on citizenship to their children. Although originally exclusive to men,¹³¹ during the Lebanese Civil War, and similar to other militias, women fought on the frontlines and were involved in the war effort.

The party's bylaws include their mission, which partly focuses on implementing a civil law, separating state from religion, in addition to equality between men and women, including, but not limited to, the ability to pass on citizenship; the party is also against honor killings, and it issued a statement against the imposition of a gender quota. When it comes to membership, the introduction includes male or female Lebanese (*Loubnaniyoun wa lloubnaniyat*) as eligible for membership, but the rest of the document does not use gender sensitive language, nor is the role of women reiterated. Article 39.7 declares a 20% quota for female representation in political office, reinforcing what was briefly touched upon in their mission and vision.¹³² When asked about the effectiveness of the 20% quota, interviewees explained that

¹²⁸Latif, N. Dr., 'Gender Profile, Lebanon', IWSAW, Lebanese American University

¹²⁹The Phalanges Party, Country Studies.

¹³⁰Kataeb.org, 'SamyGemayel: Women's empowerment is a Human Rights Issue', Feb 2015

¹³¹Kingston, P.Dr., 'Women and Political Parties in Lebanon: Reflections on the Historical Experience'

¹³²The Phalanges Party, internal bylaws.

it opened a lot of doors for many women and motivated them to run and participate in the party; especially because the quota guarantees them seats and they would no longer need to fight the men for those seats. The Phalanges party has previously nominated women to union elections and municipality elections. One challenge to the work of the Women's Committee in the party is the reality that men don't attend events and workshops on issues related to women's rights, thinking that women's issues don't concern everyone, this is common to all political parties studied. At the same time, female interviewees explained that, in their party, they get to work on political issues that aren't necessarily limited to women's issues. When asked about the characteristics of female members, the respondents said that most members are either above 50, being women who were either in the militia or in the party during the civil war, or women below 30 who can afford the time and financial cost to be in politics. Generally, respondents and participants in the study explained that the party is doing a lot of work to promote women's participation and is actively looking at new and innovative ways to ensure that this continues.

THE SYRIAN SOCIAL NATIONALIST PARTY (SSNP)

Year of Formation	1932	
Current Leader	Asaad Hardan	
Current Number of Seats in Parliament	FEMALE	MALE
	0	2
Current Ministerial Positions	FEMALE	MALE
	0	1
Legislative Committee	17 members, 1 woman	
Women in Leadership Positions	None	
'Namous' Positions (Executive)	12 members, 5 women	
Executive Committee	18 members, 1 woman	
Percentage of Women in Executive Positions	16.6%	
Supports National Quota	N/A	
Quota in Bylaws	No	
Secretary General	Male	
Maternity Leave in Bylaws	No	
Number of Provisions to Promote Women's Participation in the Bylaws	0	
Daycare for Children	No	

The Syrian Social Nationalist Party (SSNP) is one of the oldest political parties in Lebanon, founded in 1932 in Beirut¹³³ by Antoun Saadeh as an anti-colonial party based on a united secular Arab region defined by geographical boundaries and a common culture and history and is now part of the March 8 coalition.¹³⁴ Throughout the Lebanese Civil War, the SSNP was highly involved in armed conflicts, especially against Israeli troops when they occupied the south of Lebanon. Following the end of the war, the party's military activities declined significantly and the group witnessed a decrease in its influence.¹³⁵

In the party's constitution and specifically in the introduction on membership, it is stated that every 'Syrian', male or female (Sourri aw surriyah), can be part of the SSNP. They do not, however, use gender sensitive language throughout the rest of the constitution nor do they reiterate women's roles within the party. The clause on membership is the only place where women were specified, however, the SSNP's first suicide bomber was a woman, Sana'a Mehadli, also known as 'The Bride of the South', and is now a symbol of female resistance fighters.¹³⁶ When discussing challenges for women in the party, respondents explained that time is an important challenge, but also the nature of the party, being one of 'resistance', makes it less accepting of women. Society can put great pressure on women who are in the party

¹³³Pipes, D., 'Radical Politics and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*

¹³⁴Samaha, N., Chughtai, A., '*Lebanon at the crossroads*', Aljazeera, 2015.

¹³⁵McDonald, J., '*Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the War in Syria*', May 2016

¹³⁶Cohn, C., '*Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures*', Polity Press, 2013.

because they are expected to be members of a less 'aggressive' party if they are in a party at all

HEZBOLLAH

Year of Formation	1985	
Current Leader	Hassan Nasrallah	
Current Number of Seats in Parliament	FEMALE	MALE
	0	12
Current Ministerial Positions	FEMALE	MALE
	0	2
Female Members in the Politburo	20 members, 1 woman	
Female Members in Committees	1 in the Political Committee	
Party Membership	50% women	
Executive Positions	30 in total, one woman	
Committees	Only one woman, heading the Women's Committee	
Supports National Quota	No	
Quota in Bylaws	No	
Secretary General	Male	
Maternity Leave in Bylaws	No	
Number of Provisions to Promote Women's Participation in the Bylaws	0	
Daycare for Children	No	

The research team was unable to officially meet with representatives from the party, despite the numerous attempts via letters, emails and phone calls. This reluctance can be assumed to be due to the recent uprising against the party leader's speech in which he promoted child marriage. Nevertheless, the team was able to get some information from personal connections and secondary reports.

Hezbollah was founded in 1985 as a Shi'a armed force to fight against the Israeli occupation of Southern Lebanon, but has since become a political party with significant influence, largely representative of the country's Shi'a population.¹³⁷ It is funded by Iran,¹³⁸ is part of the March 8 alliance¹³⁹ and the current head of the party is Hassan Nasrallah. The party does not have any female representatives in parliament, however women do play important roles within Hezbollah's social-welfare, media and administrative departments.¹⁴⁰ In 2009's Political Document, the party stated that it seeks to work towards a state that "consolidates the role of women at all levels in the framework of benefiting from their characteristics and influence while respecting their status".¹⁴¹ Despite this public stance and statement, female members of Hezbollah are generally not present within the party's military

¹³⁷ Aljazeera America, 'What is Hezbollah', January 2015.

¹³⁸ Al Arabiya English, 'Hezbollah confirms all financial support comes from Iran', June 2016

¹³⁹ Samaha, N., Chughtai, A., 'Lebanon at the crossroads', Aljazeera, 2015.

¹⁴⁰ Blanford, N., 'Lebanon: the Shiite Dimension', The Wilson Center

¹⁴¹ Blanford, N., 'Lebanon: the Shiite Dimension', The Wilson Center

operations. They have limited to no role militarily.¹⁴² They do, however, act as ‘combat support’, their role being that of the supporter of the (male) fighters, whether to prepare them for battle or to aid them in case of injury,¹⁴³ which is the role that women frequently hold in society. Rima Fakhri, one of the more notable female figures in Hezbollah, is on the party’s Politburo, and is only woman to be a member of the politburo,¹⁴⁴ and the only one to hold a top position.¹⁴⁵ She was appointed to her role by the head of the party, making her the first woman to hold such a position and the only one among 17 men.¹⁴⁶

One article published in *Al Jomhuriyya*, a Lebanese newspaper, in 2016¹⁴⁷ suggests that women constitute 50% of all members in the party, adding that this percentage does not account for the members of the military wing, where there are no women. Members of the party are not allowed to declare their membership status, and the party has reserved the right to keep information about the number of members private. Any person who wishes to join the party has to submit an application to any of the party’s institutions (charity organizations, centers for study, regional offices, etc.), after which the party reviews the application and conducts a background check. As shown in the above table, there is only one woman in the politburo, and information related to how long she has been in position, or whether she was appointed or elected, or how many members there are in total, is confidential.

As for the representation of women in national parliamentary seats or internal leadership roles, the *Al Jomhuriyya* article explained that there are no legal or structural limitations to women’s accession to leadership roles or parliamentary seats, however the reality is that the current context does that allow that to happen. Hezbollah is opposed to the quota because they believe that it is discriminatory against women and that competence should be the criteria, not gender.

¹⁴² NOW, ‘Hezbollah’s women’, November 2010

¹⁴³ Zabdani Women Initiative, ‘Stop the violence’, HIVOS.

¹⁴⁴ L’Orient Le Jour, ‘*Rima Fakhri, la seule femme member du conseil politique du Hezbollah*’, March 2015

¹⁴⁵ Lebanonwire, ‘Lebanese Muslim fundamentalist Hezbollah picks women for political council’, May 2015

¹⁴⁶ Lebanonwire, ‘Lebanese Muslim fundamentalist Hezbollah picks women for political council’, May 2015

¹⁴⁷ Wehbe, Marlene., ‘Women and political parties in Lebanon’, *Al Jomhuriyya*. January 2016.

AMAL MOVEMENT

Year of Formation	1974	
Current Leader	Nabih Berri	
Current Number of Seats in Parliament	FEMALE	MALE
	0	13
Current Ministerial Positions	FEMALE	MALE
	1	2
Female Members in the Politburo	4 women out of 18 members	
Female Members in Committees	Information not available	
Members of the Party	50% women	
Supports National Quota	Yes	
Quota in Bylaws	No	
Secretary General	Male	
Maternity Leave in Bylaws	No	
Number of Provisions to Promote Women's Participation in the Bylaws	0	
Daycare for Children	No	

Amal Movement was founded in 1974 by Mussa Sadr and Hussein Al-Husseini with the goal of empowering the Shi'a community in Lebanon, particularly in the South. During the civil war, Amal was the major Shi'a Muslim militia. It is currently headed by Nabih Berri who has also been the Speaker of the Parliament for the past 20 years and it is part of the March 8 Alliance.¹⁴⁸ When the party was first founded, Mussa Sadr encouraged women to participate.¹⁴⁹ Today, despite Berri stating that women are equal to men, with their role in politics being as important to that of the man; this has not been reflected within the party in reality although the movement has a center that focuses on the women's issues (markazlishou2oun el-mar2at)¹⁵⁰ and there are often discussions about the role of women in the *Community of Resistance* (mujtuma3 el-muqawama). Yet, the movement does not have any female representatives in parliament, nor have any women achieved a leadership position in the history of the movement.¹⁵¹ Berri has recently openly commented on how 'backward' Lebanon's female representation is, comparing it to 'the jungles of Africa', the latter having more female

'There are so many criteria of selection before gender: the sect, the family, the national quota, etc. and then the gender and women come last in these equations' *Female member of the Amal Movement*

¹⁴⁸Samaha, N., Chughtai, A., 'Lebanon at the crossroads', Aljazeera, 2015.

¹⁴⁹Shehadeh, L.R., 'Women and War in Lebanon', p.31-32, University Press of Florida

¹⁵⁰Amal Movement official website

¹⁵¹Lebanese Women Democratic Gathering "Strengthening the Role of Political Parties and Trade Unions in Promoting Women's Political Participation" Dec. 2014

representation than the former.¹⁵² Randa Berri, wife of Nabih Berri, has been greatly active in social issues concerning women; she has attended a great number of conferences, and taken place in much research studies and was the vice president of the National Commission for Lebanese Women. The bylaws of the party are confidential and members are not allowed to share them.

The first woman to ever become the Director of Internal Affairs was in 2010, and who had been in the party since the 1970s. The Women's Committee in the party is of an executive nature, and was founded following the great number of women joining the party (50% of members). One of the greatest achievements of the Committee is the election of 36 female members in municipal elections (2015), where in 2010 there had only been eight. The current politburo includes four women out of 16 members. The Amal movement has three ministries in the government, one of which is held by a woman (the only female minister in the government).

'There are so many criteria of selection before gender: the sect, the family, the national quota, etc. and then the gender and women come last in these equations' *Female member of the Amal Movement*

¹⁵² Amal Movement official website

ANNEX – B: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS – WOMEN IN UNIONS AND SYNDICATES

Founding Date	1919
Number of Registered Lawyers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — 8,044 (5,031 male, 3,031 female) (2016) — 4,926 voted in the last elections (2015) — 7,400 lawyers are members of the Bar (2015)
Number of Interning Lawyers	1,159 (527 male, 632 female)
Current Board	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — 1 woman out of 12 board members (8 of whom are elected, 4 appointed) — None in Tripoli
Legislative Committee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — 1 woman out of 5 members, leading the committee — 30 committee members (excluding the leading committee): 6 women and 24 men
Total Number of Committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — 31 (including a women’s committee and the legislative committee) – In Beirut — Total number of leadership positions in committees that are currently occupied: 106, of which only 18 are occupied by women (17%)
Mandate	2 years
Women’s Committee	Yes
Previous Female Leadership	Only one female president, in 2011 (Amale Haddad), none in Tripoli (of a total number of 17 presidents to date)
Quota in Bylaws	None

THE BAR ASSOCIATION

The Bar Association was established on February 6th, 1919 as an order that would organize the profession of law among those practicing it. Almost 100 years later, there are two Bar Associations for lawyers in Lebanon, one in Beirut and one in Tripoli, each having separate committees and boards.¹⁵³ The roles within it are divided among the president, a union council (that includes a general secretary, treasurer, and a commissary) and committees.¹⁵⁴ Within

¹⁵³ Introduction. (n.d.) Beirut Bar Association. Retrieved from: <http://bba.org.lb/en/Syndicat/15/Introduction>

¹⁵⁴ 31 committees in Beirut and 7 committees in Tripoli, both include a women’s committee.

every committee there is a president, vice president, rapporteur, and coordinators. The president of the Bar appoints the legislative committee members.

The general discourse of interviewees was that of support and positivity

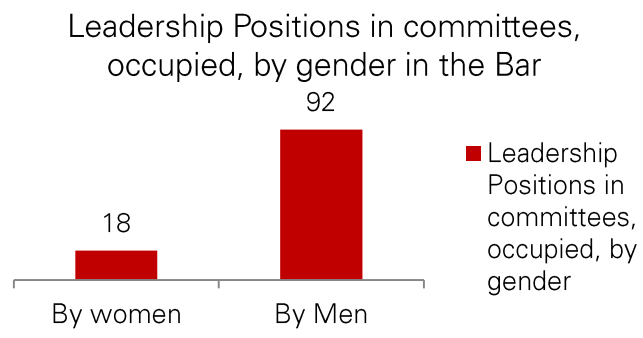
‘If I win in court, they say it’s because I am a woman and the judge empathized. If I lose in court, they say it’s because I am a woman and are unfit to be a lawyer’ *Gisele Halimi, la cause des femmes.*

towards the concept of women in leadership positions. It was evident from the interviewee's answers that women are active in all the various committees within the Bar, and in many cases form the majority. Despite this, they are still a minority (if they are even represented) in leadership positions. As a result of the

politicization of the union and the elections within it the different Lebanese political parties compete to have more presence; therefore, if a woman wants to reach higher positions then she is essentially required to do so through the major political parties. Otherwise, as one respondent put it, it is close to impossible to obtain higher positions; the same applies to men seeking leadership opportunities as independents.

According to the interviews conducted by the research team, this politicized competition was considered to be more of a concern than any other issue, especially in the context of the political deadlock within Lebanon. Within the committees, the competition was not seen as an issue, interviewees confirmed that lawyers –both men and women - can join and work within them. It is climbing the ladder that is challenging and even more so for women. In addition to the

political challenge, interviewees said that the time constraints that women face with their family responsibilities are a contributing factor, as women continue to be seen as the primary caretakers of their families and homes. That said, there was general agreement that women do not tend to create their own opportunities, but rather wait to be given an opportunity to run. Women do, however, always participate in the voting process.



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Another raised in the interviews was that of double standards regarding gender roles and perceptions, as being a female lawyer comes with its own kind of challenges. When working, if a female lawyer shows the same capabilities as her male counterparts, she is not considered a ‘good lawyer’. She is in reality viewed as ‘rude, aggressive, manly, bossy, etc.’ and is labeled with all the adjectives that women who don’t succumb to society’s

expectations are faced with. As a result, female lawyers often find themselves investing time to phrase arguments in a 'softer' way, with a lower tone voice and using terms such as 'excuse me' before launching an argument, words and approaches which males do not feel they have to use, this in itself means that women feel they are not on an equal footing. The only woman who succeeded in joining the newest board was directly supported by the PSP, which is a major political party in the country. There is a Women's Committee in the Bar Association, led by four women, and that includes 48 members, 5 of whom are male, while the Sports Committee contains no women in its membership, let alone the leadership. This lack of representation goes to show that women's issues are still considered as the sole responsibility of women and that women's issues are far from becoming political issues within the political groups.

ORDER OF PHYSICIANS

Number of Registered Doctors	9,060 (6,408 male, 2,562 female)
Current Females in Leadership Positions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Two out of 16 on the council in Beirut — None out of the five in the Tripoli council — 0 women on the Pension Fund (out of three) — 0 women on the Insurance and Subsidy Fund (out of four) — 0 women on the Disciplinary Council (out of two)
Previous Female Leadership	0 female presidents in both Beirut and Tripoli throughout the syndicate's history
Women on Previous Boards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — 2004: 1/16 — 2005, 2006: 1/16 — 2007, 2008, 2009: 0/16 — 2010, 2011, 2012: 1/16 — 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016: 2/16 — 2017: 3/16
Women's Participation	— In 2009, women made up 32% of the Order of Physicians, compared with 18.8% in 2002.
Pharmacists	In 2002, women constituted 57% of all pharmacists in Lebanon. In 2012, they constituted 59.26%
Dentists	There were 4,912 dentists in 2010, of which 1,235 were women (25%, compared with 24.5% in 2002)
Nurses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — 9,460 male and female nurses affiliated to the Order of Nurses as of April 2011 — Of these, 81% were women, 68.51% belonged to the 26- 40 age group and 86.7% worked in hospitals — 61% of nurses were to be found in the governorates of Mount Lebanon (34.62%) and Beirut (26.56%)
Physiotherapists	1,709 physiotherapists registered with the Order at the end of 2012 (46% men and 54% women)
Special Provisions to Promote Female Participation	None
Quota in Bylaws	None
Total Number of Doctors	9,060
	6,408 men 2,652 women

Total Number of Doctors in Tripoli¹⁵⁵	1,650
Total Number of Doctors in Beirut¹⁵⁶	7,410

Lebanese doctors are brought together under the umbrella of the Order of Physicians, and like other major syndicates, it has administrative divisions in both Beirut and Tripoli. It was founded on the 7th of December, 1946. In terms of percentages, the Order of Physicians has a small female participation compared to male participation. All doctors can be part of the syndicate, but according to the interview respondents, they are required to pay a registration fee (more than 3,000,000 Lebanese Pounds)s,¹⁵⁷ which is often considered to be a challenge for women due to the financial constraints, as women are paid less than men for the same work and often have to invest their income in their family and not on their career,¹⁵⁸ unless they have access to financial support or is already financially secure. Similar to the rest of the unions, there is a major concern regarding the politicization of the union by the major Lebanese political parties. Individuals who are not affiliated tend to struggle to get into leadership positions without party support.

A newly active unionist interviewed stated that there are no discrepancies between male doctors and female doctors in the syndicate, particularly in terms of treatment: “The communities we joined have shifted in terms of mindset. We no longer think in terms of male-female, that males are the ‘better doctors’ the way it was back in the day. It is solely based on merit”. She did add, however, that she feels her inability to be involved in union activity is solely the result of her personal life, and not a result of the structural or cultural challenges within the syndicate. Having to take care of a family while also juggling the responsibilities in addition to balancing home life with work within the syndicate is a challenge. Otherwise, opportunities are not gender-based and anyone, male or female, has the right and freedom to participate in the syndicate’s activities and decision making.

Another unionist, who ran for elections and had been a member of the syndicate for decades, found the environment extremely challenging and thus contradicted the point of view expressed above, which reflects that the change in sentiments are a result of different generational perceptions. The degree of involvement on behalf of the main political blocs (the March 14 and March 8 camps) did not allow an independent candidate like herself to reach leadership positions, according to the interviewee. Although the general discourse is positive and hopeful that change is coming, female respondents confirmed that they do feel that they are of secondary importance when compared to their male counterparts. The financial reliance on the male

¹⁵⁵ Official website of the order of physicians, Tripoli <http://www.atebba.co/>

¹⁵⁶ Official website of the order of physicians, <http://oml.org.lb>

¹⁵⁷ Terms of Affiliation (n.d.) Order of Physicians. Retrieved from: <http://oml.org.lb/en/Pages/78/Terms-of-Affiliation>

¹⁵⁸ Global Partnership for Financial Inclusion. (October 2011). Strengthening Access to Finance for Women-Owned SMEs in developing countries.

ANNEX – B: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS – WOMEN IN UNIONS AND
SYNDICATES | 97

PATRIARCHY AND SECTARIANISM: A GENDERED TRAP

BASELINE OF **WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON**

members of their families is a large part of the reason as to why fewer women become doctors, but instead move into other fields.

ORDER OF ENGINEERS AND ARCHITECTS

Number of Registered Engineers and Architects	64,000 (7,800 of which are female)
Current Board	The current union council includes 16 members, two of whom are women (12.5%)
Previous Board	0 women
Previous Female Leadership	0 female presidents
Quota in Bylaws	None
Committees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — The Syndicate has seven executive branches — The total number of members in the executive branches: 37, of whom five are women — Total number of committees (including the executive branches): 29 — Total number of leadership positions in committees: 193, out of which there are 10 women

The Syndicate for Engineers and Architects was founded in Beirut and Tripoli in 1951, formed to further the demands, concerns, and rights of its members, particularly within their field of work. The engineering field is still largely male oriented and is described by the interviewees as a ‘masculine’ field. The Arabic language in itself does not have a ‘feminine’ term for engineer (*muhandiss* but not *muhandissa*), which in itself reflects the mindset that comes with being in this profession. On the syndicate’s official website, in the section related to joining the syndicate, there is a table related to fees titled ‘for the wife of the engineer’,¹⁵⁹ implying that engineers can only be male. The subtitle in the table is corrected to include ‘husbands of engineers’, but the title remains. This also rings true within the union, where there are only a few, but significantly active, women. Otherwise, they are almost non-existent. The hefty 3,000,000 LBP (or 2,000 USD) participation fee, similar to fees in other unions, is yet another factor mentioned by interviewees that limits women’s ability join, unless they are supported financially.

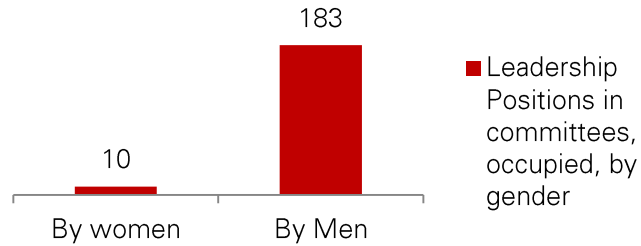
According to the interviewees, a significant percentage of new graduates are female, but when women graduate with engineering degrees, they tend to get secretarial jobs in firms, as a result of the limited job offers they receive. As secretaries in their firms, they use their privileges as licensed engineers (every engineer can sign for a certain number of projects per year) to sign off on projects that are not their own, but that are run by the firms they work for. In other words, they use up their ability to oversee projects for their firms and

¹⁵⁹Joining the Syndicate. (n.d.) The Syndicate for Engineers in Lebanon. Retrieved from: <http://www.oea.org.lb/Arabic/Sub.aspx?pageid=333>

are therefore unable to run their own projects. In addition, due to financial limitations, it is rare to find women who run their own engineering firms, unless they are unusually wealthy, this is an additional reason to why women often start off in secretarial positions.

One of the current active female unionists interviewed recalls never having worked alongside another female engineer in her entire career of over 20 years, especially on construction sites. There are, however, in comparison, more female architects than engineers

Leadership Positions in committees, occupied, by gender in the Syndicate



due to the 'beautifying' (*tajmeeli*) dimension that comes with the architecture, i.e. society regards architecture as more suitable for women. Some recognized engineers and architects are women, but despite this, many of these women have explicitly talked of the challenge of balancing both household responsibilities and those of the union. The union does not have a committee dedicated for women's issues, and given the small number of female committee members, (10 positions distributed over 22 committees that include 193 positions), and women are only active and represented in seven out of the 22 committees and in five positions from the 37 total leadership positions in the executive branches. It is important to note that the interviews were conducted before and after the recent elections, during which Jad Tabet (a prominent civil society activist) was elected as the new president of the union. His win was noted as a victory for progress, and many noted that he is not part of the sectarian political party structure that has kept women from being as active, leaving them underrepresented.

TEACHERS UNION

Current Board	No females out of 12 council members
Studying Education	91% of students are female
Teachers in Private Schools	60,000 (80% are female)
Teachers in public Schools	30,000 (70% are female)
Previous Boards	In the unions' recent history, there has not been more than 1 out of 12 members at any one time
Previous Female Leadership	0 female presidents in the history of the union
Quota in Bylaws	None

The Teachers Syndicate was established in 1938.¹⁶⁰ In 1957, however, it was reestablished as the 'Union for Private School Teachers'. In 1971, another 'Public School Teachers Union' was established. More recently, in 1992, it was reformed into one institution as the 'Teacher's Union of Lebanon'. Its role is to work towards an improvement of teachers' working conditions.¹⁶¹ There are also unions on a more local level divided according to public and private schools, and these are separated according to school level (primary, secondary). Often, the teachers' unions have been at the forefront of protests and demanding rights, largely in regards to salaries.

When it comes to female representation within the union, 91% of students studying education after secondary school are female.¹⁶² The Teachers' Union in terms of membership is a unique case in comparison to other large unions in Lebanon as it is overwhelmingly female. According to the interviews conducted, this is a result, and reflection, of the 'feminization' (*ta'neeth*) of the job all over the world, particularly on the level of the primary schools, "Women in our [Arab] countries are practically fully responsible for their families, almost on their own". Teaching is more often the realm of women than of men, due to the short working hours and the nature of the responsibilities that come with the expectations of traditional gender roles. It is also underpaid and it is more common to find females willing to accept teachers' salaries, "Only those [males] who cannot find jobs end up working as teachers, which in itself is dangerous for the quality of education", said a female unionist. The exception to that general statement is found in secondary schools (*madariss thanawee*), where approximately half of the teachers are male. The responsibilities that come with the household is the one expressed most commonly as presenting a challenge when it comes to women being more active in unionized work, particularly concerning leadership positions. There has yet to be a female "*naqeeb*" (head of union) in any of the teachers unions.

¹⁶⁰History. (n.d.) Teachers Syndicate. Retrieved from: <http://teacherssyndicate.com/history/>

¹⁶¹The Role of the Teacher's Unions. (n.d.) Teachers Syndicate. Retrieved from: <http://teacherssyndicate.com/structural/the-role-of-the-teachers-union/>

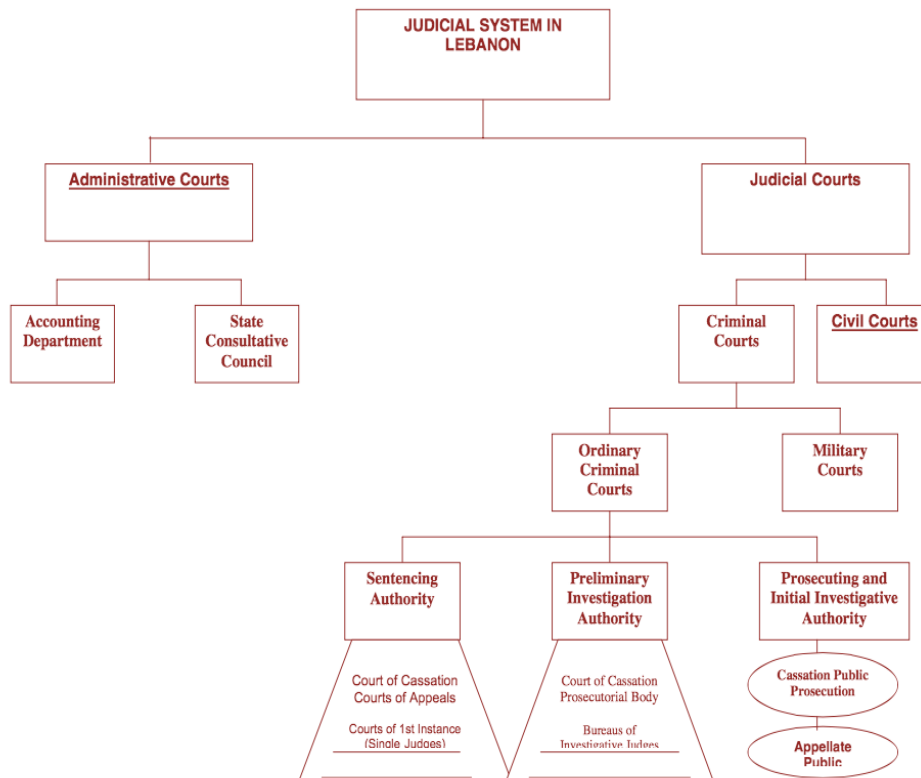
¹⁶²Yaacoub, N., Badre, L. (April 2012). Education in Lebanon, Statistics in Focus

Despite the majority of unionized workers being women, and despite them being as vocal, and taking as many initiatives as the men, the higher positions in the union are male dominated for various reasons. A large challenge faced by women is the issue of logistics: Some meetings are held late in the evening, a time that mothers usually dedicate to their children. Some meetings last too long and women have families to return to (or are expected to return to). In one case mentioned in the interviews, there was a particular meeting that was 7 hours long, lasting past midnight, an amount of time that women cannot set aside if they are expected to also raise a family and manage household responsibilities.

During the focus group conversations, participants gave examples of small daily events that stem from patriarchy, for example, how women are silenced or interrupted by their male counterparts, making the environment more hostile towards women and certainly less welcoming. In addition, men generally tend to be louder, pushier, and more aggressive than the women in their groups (this sentiment was expressed by a male unionist). This not only harms women's participation, but also the effectiveness of the general decision making process within the union. The past few years, between 2014 and 2017, there has been a decrease in women's participation in the administrative positions in the unions and general leadership. In 2012, 37% of the representation in the administrative boards of public schools was female. In the private schools, there are none. Between 2014 and 2017, it decreased to only 16%. This setback for female teachers was a result of political involvement designed to include members who are politically affiliated, which tends to favour men, as described earlier.. Over the course of the union's history, however, there has been a significant improvement. Women have worked for years to make space for themselves within it.

ANNEX – C: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS – WOMEN IN THE LEBANESE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The foundations of the current Lebanese judicial system were laid under the influence of foreign powers. During Ottoman rule the regional legal system applied the Islamic law of the Hanafi School, but each religious community had the right to apply its own laws on a wide range of legal issues. Following World War I, the French established a system of civil law. However, the 18 officially recognized religious communities were allowed to maintain their own judicial systems regarding certain matters and to establish their own courts. Article 9 of the Constitution delimits the jurisdiction of religious courts to the following fields: personal status, inheritance, testament, endowment and adoption.¹⁶³ The judiciary's structure is divided into different court systems, each of which has different degrees of jurisdiction as follows:¹⁶⁴



¹⁶³ ACRLI, (2004), *Report on the SzasQ~ZE9/11/17tate of the Judiciary in Lebanon*

¹⁶⁴ Regional Project on Anti-Corruption and Integrity In the Arab Countries (ACIAC), *The judiciary system in Lebanon*, progar.org

Among the various courts present in the country, most matters fall under one of the below:

Constitutional Court	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensures that laws conform with the constitution • Considers and rules upon any claims related to parliamentary or presidential elections
Administrative Court	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assists in drafting and reviewing of legislation • Serves as the highest administrative court in charge of reviewing the decisions of the lower first degree administrative courts
Civil Courts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First-degree courts: In charge of examining civil law claims • Courts of Appeal: Serve as a second-degree courts reviewing the decisions of the lower courts • Court of Cassation: Reviews cases that are deemed to be especially important
Commercial Courts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rules over commercial matters
Criminal Courts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Court of Appeal: Second degree felonies • Court of Cassation: More serious criminal offences
Military Courts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rules over cases involving military law
Religious Courts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pertaining to different sects and rules based on religious scripts

The Supreme Judicial Council appoints judges through decrees that it submits to the Ministry of Justice (or the Ministry of Defense in the case of military courts). However, it does not appoint judges for the Constitutional Council, half of whom are appointed by the cabinet and half by the parliament; the Council does not appoint judges to the religious courts. Aspiring judges have to take an entrance exam before they can join the Institute for Judicial Studies, which teaches and prepares them to the position of judge. The appointment of judges to senior judicial posts is subjected to confessional quotas, as is the case within government institutions. The president of the Supreme Judicial Council, who is also president of the Court of Cassation, must be Maronite. The same goes for the head of the State Council. The public prosecutor to the Court of Cassation must be Sunni whereas the president of the Audit Court (the top financial court) must belong to the Shia community.¹⁶⁵ The executive is involved in the appointment of the members of the Supreme Judicial Council as the Ministry of Justice proposes candidates; therefore this process is not immune to political interference.

¹⁶⁵ACRLI, (2004), *Report on the State of the Judiciary in Lebanon*

The Council is formed of ten members, one of which is currently a woman.^{166 167}

— **Three members by right:**

- The first president of the Court of Cassation as president
- The public prosecutor in the Court of Cassation as vice president
- The president of the Judicial Inspection Committee as a member

— **Two elected members:**

- Judges from among the Presidents of Chambers at the Court of Cassation elected for three years by the first president of the Court of Cassation, the presidents of the chambers and all the consultants in the Court of Cassation

— **Five appointed members:**

- A judge from among the presidents of the chambers at the Court of Cassation
- Two judges from among the presidents of the chambers at the courts of appeals
- A judge from among the presidents of the chambers at the courts of first instance
- A judicial judge from among the presidents of the courts or the presidents of the units in the Ministry of justice

The promotion system is organized based on both pre-determined and non-determined factors. The judiciary has a system of 22 degrees, each judge automatically receiving one degree every two years, as well as a financial bonus. However, promotion to higher offices does not fall under pre-determined criteria.¹⁶⁸ Transfers are subjected to pre-determined criteria and are established by the Supreme Judicial Council or the executive in the case of higher positions. In terms of the participation of women in public life, the judicial system stands out as an exception. Indeed, the judiciary has gradually reached gender-parity, to the extent that the total number of female judges is now close to overtaking that of male judges. However, not everyone is comfortable with the “feminization” of the profession and there are persisting elements of discrimination within the institution. Officially, legal professions, and promotions within the profession, are equally open to women and men in Lebanon and women have the right to access all levels of the judiciary, including the Supreme Court and the military courts.¹⁶⁹ Religious courts are an exception as they are placed outside the realm of the public authorities. As a result, each sect can decide whether or not to include women. However, both the public judicial system and religious judicial systems share in common the fact that men have traditionally dominated them.

¹⁶⁶During the time of this research, December 2016

¹⁶⁷Republic of Lebanon, Ministry of Justice

¹⁶⁸ACRLI, (2004), *Report on the State of the Judiciary in Lebanon*

¹⁶⁹ACRLI, (2004), *Report on the State of the Judiciary in Lebanon*

The first female graduate from the Institute of Judicial Studies was appointed as a judge in the 1960's and the number of women undertaking legal studies and entering the judiciary started to increase in the 1970s.¹⁷⁰ With the start of the civil war, it became difficult for female graduates to practice their profession as judges because of the very real, physical risk of being appointed to dangerous areas far from their hometowns.¹⁷¹ Later, in the mid-1980s, large-scale corruption led to widespread resignations among male judges and women were appointed in order to fill their positions.¹⁷²

The number of female judges has continued to increase steadily since the end of the civil war. In 2009 female representation reached 38.9% in the civil courts and 40.4% in administrative courts compared to 10.1% and 11.1% respectively in 1990¹⁷³. 27.8% of judges in financial courts were women and they formed 20% of the prosecutors in 2009.¹⁷⁴ According to projections from the Ministry of Justice, it is now likely that the total number of female judges has exceeded that of men, as it was expected to reach 60% in 2011.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, there is a diversification of the type of positions in which women are now represented. Women are gradually catching up to men in fields where they were traditionally underrepresented. Between 2004 and 2010, the total number of female judges working in the investigative, general prosecution, criminal, military and mixed fields increased by 71%, as opposed to only a 6% increase for men.¹⁷⁶ In 2010, women were appointed for the first time to positions of Deputy Public Appeal Prosecutor, Chamber President in the Cassation Court, Military Investigative Judge, Consultant at the Military Court and President of the Committee for Consulting and Legislation.¹⁷⁷

There is no such trend in religious courts, which generally continue to exclude women from their ranks, with some exceptions in the Protestant and Armenian Orthodox courts.¹⁷⁸ This trend could be attributed to relatively conservative societies the prevalence of the strong influence of traditions and culture in the field of the religious judiciary. It appears that the feminization of the judiciary is more of an urban phenomenon. In 2010, 95% of the total number of female judges was located in Beirut and the center of various

¹⁷⁰Statistics from the Institute of Judicial Studies

¹⁷¹Al-Raida Journal, "Interview of Judge Dr. Mohamad Ali Chekhaibe, Participation of women in the profession of judges in Lebanon", Lebanese American University, August 2016

¹⁷²Kassem F., (2011), *Party variation in religiosity & women leadership. Lebanon in comparative perspective*, Columbia university

¹⁷³ Helou M., (2014), "Women's political participation in Lebanon: Gaps in research and approaches", in Arab countries in transition: Gender rights and constitutional reforms, al-raida

¹⁷⁴ OECD/CAWTAR, 'Women in Public Life. Gender, law and policy in the Middle East and North Africa', 2014

¹⁷⁵Salameh R., "Gender politics in Lebanon and the limits of legal reformism", Civil Society Knowledge Center, September 2014

¹⁷⁶Saghieh N. and Lama Karame L., "Feminizing the Judiciary: Which Positions? Which Jobs? Which Districts?", The Legal Agenda, 2012

¹⁷⁷Saghieh N. and Lama Karame L., "Feminizing the Judiciary: Which Positions? Which Jobs? Which Districts?", The Legal Agenda, 2012

¹⁷⁸Kassem F., (2011), *Party variation in religiosity & women leadership. Lebanon in comparative perspective*, Columbia university

governorates.¹⁷⁹ As rural areas are less developed and tend to be more socially conservative, women are more likely to need to overcome additional obstacles within their families and society in general if they want to become judges.

However, the overall situation of Lebanon in terms of gender-parity within the judiciary is one of the best in the region. The success of women in this field can also be partially attributed to the fact that the Lebanese legal system is largely French-inspired. Judges are recruited through gender-blind exams instead of being appointed on the basis of reputation and fame, such as in the Anglo-Saxon inspired systems.¹⁸⁰ This system helps ensure equal opportunity for female students who are currently outshining their male competitors in the bar exams and judge examinations.¹⁸¹ In 2004 the number of female judge apprentices was already higher than the number of men, as they formed 63.3% of total apprentices. Respectively, 61.8% of apprentices in the courts and 73.3% in the administrative courts in 2005 were women.¹⁸² Overall, the improvement of women's prospects within the judicial system is still remarkable, especially when compared with the proportion of female officials in the highest levels of other public authorities. The share of highly ranked women within the diplomatic corps is very small, as they represent only 7% of total ambassadors and 20.5% of consul generals.¹⁸³

61.8% of apprentices to the justice courts and 73.3% to the administrative courts in 2005 were women

In 2010 women barely formed 10.5% and 22.9% of first grade and second grade employees in ministries respectively whereas they were 52% in fourth grade positions.

The positive trends in the judicial system raise hope for potential improvements with regard to the participation of women in other sectors of public life. However, this does not imply that discrimination towards female judges in the exercise of their profession is absent. International organizations such as the OECD believe that the feminization of the Lebanese judiciary will help improve the situation of women's rights in the country as they could "create fairer, more conducive environments for women and counter social and institutional barriers [...] that deny

¹⁷⁹Saghieh N., Karame L., "Feminizing the Judiciary: Which Positions? Which Jobs? Which Districts?", *The Legal Agenda*, 2012

¹⁸⁰Ghamroun S., "Who is afraid of a female majority in the Lebanese Judiciary?" *Legal Agenda*, March 2015

¹⁸¹NOW, "A country judged by women", November, 2016

¹⁸²CEDAW, Second periodic report of States parties, 2005

¹⁸³Helou M., (2014), "Women's political participation in Lebanon: Gaps in research and approaches", in Arab countries in transition: Gender rights and constitutional reforms, *al-raida*

women access to legal redress”.¹⁸⁴ This hypothesis is partly based on the fact that many female lawyers and judges are also active members of NGOs.¹⁸⁵ There is also an assumption that female judges will be more sensitive to women’s claims precisely because they are women themselves. This is somewhat problematic as it raises the issue of the neutrality of the judiciary and implies that gender can affect the content of a ruling. Whether perceived as positive or negative, there is a general assumption that the increased number of women judges will induce a qualitative change in the nature of judicial work.¹⁸⁶

Some links can be drawn between this reasoning and the idea that female judges have a different attitude towards their work because they are perceived to inherently possess different personality traits, such as greater compassion or a tendency to be more emotional than men. It is important to note that women themselves sometimes endorse this paternalistic discourse.¹⁸⁷ As a consequence, it is easier for women to build their career in certain legal domains, such as personal status or child related matters. This argument has been supported by figures identifying the types of cases taken by male and female judges. As such, in 2010, women formed only 28% of the judges working on criminal cases (excluding Cassation judges) as opposed to 56% of those working on civil cases. They also formed a third (34%) of the individuals working on mixed cases.¹⁸⁸ Discrimination can also arise in the distribution of cases between male and female judges of the same court. Some senior judges, for example, consider that young female criminal judges should not investigate cases of homosexuality or other sexual practices because this would compromise their “purity”,¹⁸⁹ a judgment often made by men on behalf of women.

Some senior judges also fear that the feminization of the judiciary will impact the social prestige of the judicial profession. This “phobia of the female judge”¹⁹⁰ has translated into several initiatives that aim at keeping an equal balance between men and women within the judicial system. In 1994 women were barred from the entrance exam in the judiciary to support male candidates. In 2011 judges’ wages were increased in order to attract men to the profession. As a matter of fact, some argue that the increased share of female judges is partly a result of the fall in salary, and thus in the social prestige attached to the judiciary. As a consequence men would tend to favor other legal positions, whereas women would still be attracted to the other

¹⁸⁴OECD, ‘Women in public life’. 2015

¹⁸⁵UNESCO ‘Women, law and judicial decision-making in the Middle East and North-Africa’, June 2006

¹⁸⁶Ghamroun S., “Who is afraid of a female majority in the Lebanese Judiciary?” Legal Agenda, March 2015

¹⁸⁷NOW, “A country judged by women”, November, 2009

¹⁸⁸Saghieh N. and Lama Karame L., “Feminizing the Judiciary: Which Positions? Which Jobs? Which Districts?”, The Legal Agenda, 2012

¹⁸⁹Ghamroun S., “Who is afraid of a female majority in the Lebanese Judiciary?” Legal Agenda, March 2015

¹⁹⁰Ghamroun S., “Who is afraid of a female majority in the Lebanese Judiciary?” Legal Agenda, March 2015

advantages of being a civil servant, such as a flexible schedule and the possibility to work from home.¹⁹¹

The link between the presence of women and the issue of prestige can be observed in the male to female ratio across the various degrees of the judicial system. The higher the degree of jurisdiction, the lesser the number of female judges, in 2010 they formed 38% of the total number of judges in both courts of appeal and courts of cassation compared to 47% in first instance courts. The disparities are even more striking when looking at the number of female chamber presidents: 50% of chamber presidents to the courts of first instance and 30% of those to the courts of appeal were women. Out of ten chamber presidents to the Court of Cassation, only one was a woman.¹⁹² Moreover, male judges still nearly exclusively fill the most prestigious positions in the judiciary. Positions at the supreme courts are by appointment and have confessional quotas, making it harder for women to reach that level. Women made up only 20% of judges in the supreme courts in 2010, which was less than other countries in the region such as Morocco and Tunisia.¹⁹³ To this day, only one woman is part of the Supreme Council of Justice and there still have not been any female judges on the Constitutional Council.

However, this needs to be viewed relatively, as the number of women in high positions, such as at the Court of Cassation and in head positions in the Institute of Judicial studies, has increased.¹⁹⁴ Other women have also been involved in highly political cases, such as Judge Joyce Tabet who took office as deputy prosecutor for the international tribunal on the assassination of Hariri.¹⁹⁵ Given that the strong female presence in the judiciary is relatively recent, it is difficult to evaluate to what extent their current lack of representation in the highest courts is the result of discrimination or of lack of experience.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹NOW, "A country judged by women", November, 2016

¹⁹²Saghieh N. and Lama Karame L., "Feminizing the Judiciary: Which Positions? Which Jobs? Which Districts?", The Legal Agenda, 2012

¹⁹³OECD/CAWTAR, 'Women in Public Life. Gender, law and policy in the Middle East and North Africa', 2014

¹⁹⁴Ghamroun S., "Who is afraid of a female majority in the Lebanese Judiciary?" Legal Agenda, March 2015

¹⁹⁵NOW, "A country judged by women", November, 2016

¹⁹⁶Ghamroun S., "Who is afraid of a female majority in the Lebanese Judiciary?" Legal Agenda, March 2015

ANNEX – D: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS - WOMEN IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

BEIRUT MADINATI

Beirut Madinati started off initially as a campaign for Beirut's 2015 Municipal elections. At the campaign's official launch, Beirut Madinati's representatives expressed the need for greater gender equality in the political field in Lebanon.¹⁹⁷ Its candidate list of 24 was divided half male and half female, with the head and deputy head of the list both being male, which in itself created a ripple effect on the other electoral lists around the country. Beirut Madinati's internal electoral process, which included equal representation of women on the list, was an attempt to start initiating a shift and change in the dominant general electoral culture, which is not well representative of women.

The only time where the women in the movement felt that they had to be 'mindful' of their being women in respect to the various Lebanese communities was when they went campaigning on the streets. There were some incidents of their not being taken seriously when campaigning for Beirut Madinati, with one interviewed volunteer mentioning that she would often receive comments like, 'Oh, you're women, what do you know about politics?'

Beirut Madinati has different committees and working groups and voting General Assembly members elect individuals to head them. Women were elected to sit on four out of five of the committees, all of which are based on elections that its General Assembly members participate in. Each committee has five members. On the four committees with female representation, the number of females elected range from two out of five to four out of five.

¹⁹⁷ Rowell A. (March 2016). Independents Challenge Beirut's Bosses at Ballot.

YOU STINK

The founders of this movement were initially all male and based on 'coincidence and previous connections', as one interviewee stated. As it grew, so did the number of females in the organization and in leadership roles. The 'August protests'¹⁹⁸ sometimes included only one woman, when there were a handful of men.¹⁹⁹

There was an initiative taken to increase women's participation, which in itself proves that women's participation was not a 'natural' product. An interviewee stated that when there was the common realization there were not 'enough women' represented, the majority of You Stink members being male, they took the initiative to be more inclusive. So, women – although they started taking leadership roles – were still faced by challenges.

The females at the forefront for example, would often get commentary on how 'they do their hair' for press conferences. Based on an interview with one of the active females within You Stink, putting women at the forefront, particularly during the protest, was a strategy, as they 'would not be attacked' by the security forces.

To push it further, one of the movement's core members, who was an environmental activist long before You Stink, went on to participate in the municipal elections. She was attacked by religious figures, boycotted by the religious communities, and had family members resent her for being vocal against the status quo. She often felt she had to censor herself so as to minimize criticism and threatening attacks. She lost the election by only five votes, receiving 875.

¹⁹⁸ The August protests were the start of a series of protests organized by You Stink in response to the garbage crisis, which resulted in trash piling on the streets following the closure of the one the main landfills.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with You Stink member, March 2017

MOUNT LEBANON MOVEMENT

The initial group of founders of this movement met and recognized each other at the when the protests against the garbage management in Lebanon were heated (Summer 2016). The founders wanted to form a group of support and lobbying from the 'Mountain Side' of the country (الجبيل). The involvement of the Mount Lebanon women in You Stink evidences that there has been minimal change in their respective localities.

In terms of female presence 'it could have been better',²⁰⁰ even though out of the six founders, three of them were female. The females that were involved were extremely active, particularly in the leadership. There were a few incidents where individuals from the Mount Lebanon Movement collided with male family members and local authorities due to the nature of their work, reducing their motivation to proceed with their work.

"There was a case of a female working with the movement who had a relative working with the security forces. By mere coincidence, the relative saw her in one of the protests and started yelling at her to leave. She refused and continued working with despite this."

²⁰⁰Based on interview with one of the female founders of the movement