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PATRIARCHY AND SECTARIANISM: A GENDERED TRAP

BASELINE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF LEBANON

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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.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁴⁷Wehbe, 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

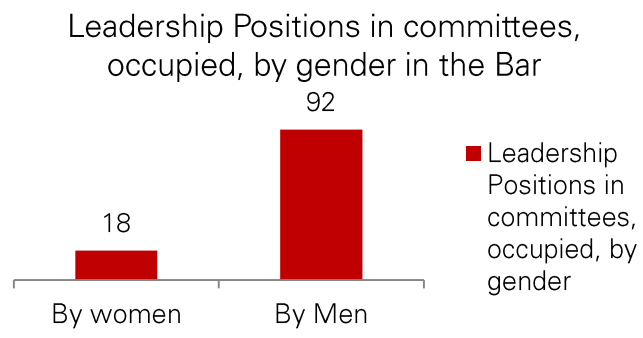
‘If I win in court, they say it’s because I am a woman and the judge empathized. If I lose in court, they say it’s because I am a woman and are unfit to be a lawyer’ *Gisele Halimi, la cause des femmes.*

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.

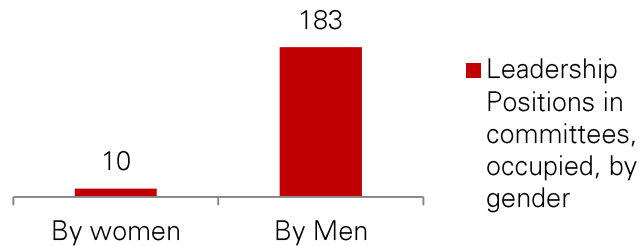
According to the interviewees, a significant percentage of new graduates are female, but when women graduate with engineering degrees, they tend to get secretarial jobs in firms, as a result of the limited job offers they receive. As secretaries in their firms, they use their privileges as licensed engineers (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/>

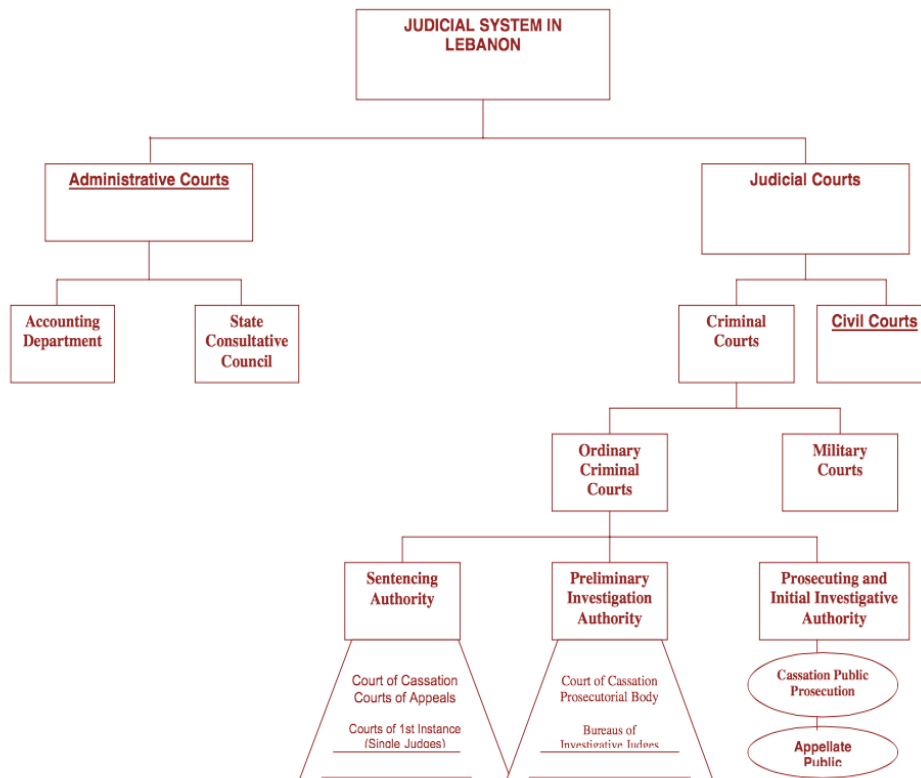
¹⁶²Yaacoub, N., Badre, L. (April 2012). Education in Lebanon, Statistics in Focus

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