

# FINAL REPORT

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Compilation of Lessons Learned,  
Innovations, and Good Practices on  
Supporting Women Parliamentarians in the  
Arab States Region

October 2015

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**PREPARED BY:**

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## Acronyms

ADFM	Association Democratique des Femmes du Maroc
AFCARE	Association of Algerian Women Managers
CAWTAR	Center of Arab Woman for Training and Research
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CREDIF	Centre de Recherches, d'Etudes, de Documentation et d'Information sur la Femme
ECWR	Egyptian Center for Women's Rights
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FNC	Federal National Council
GTPPE	Groupe de Travail des Parlementaires pour l'Egalité
GPSS	Global Program for the Parliamentarians Strengthening
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
INSTRAW	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
ISG	International Solutions Group
KII	Key Informant Interview
LEAP	Lebanese Electoral Assistance Programme
LET	Ligue des Electrices Tunisiennes
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MEPI	U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative
MP	Parliamentarian
NCA	National Constituent Assembly
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NIMD	Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy
ROAS	Region of Arab States
SCER	Yemen Supreme Commission for Elections and Referendum
SCRC	Smart Coaching and Research Center
TOR	Terms of Reference
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund For Women
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNWOMEN	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
VAW	Violence against women
WFD	Westminster Foundation for Democracy
WHW	Women Helping Women

## Introduction

International Solutions Group (ISG) was selected to perform a compilation of lessons learned, innovations and good practices related to programming designed to support women parliamentarians in the Arab States Region.

### ISG Research Team

ISG fielded a research team that was composed of:

- Christine German
- Mona Lena Krook
- Amy Weiss
- Jennifer Kerner
- Aicha Benmansour Rose
- Peter Rose
- Stephen Ladek

### Timing

This assignment was carried out between May and October, 2015<sup>1</sup>.

## Purpose, Scope and Definitions of the Assignment

### Purpose

The purpose of the assignment is to create a foundation of information that can be used to promote organizational learning and knowledge sharing in the Arab States Region regarding support for women parliamentarians. The information gathered during this assignment will contribute to UN Women's ability to:

- Guide future UN Women's interventions to enhance women parliamentarians' capacities;
- Promote organizational learning regionally; and
- Increase knowledge sharing and knowledge building across the region emphasizing learning and program innovations.

### Scope

The scope of the assignment includes all programming carried out by any organization that contributes to the advancement of women parliamentarians across the Arab States Region since 2005<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The assignment was originally planned to span four months. However, because of challenges related to timing (please see the Limitations section below), the assignment was extended two months.

<sup>2</sup> In all cases throughout this assignment, lists of documentation, programming, organizations, individuals, etc. should not be considered complete or comprehensive as the amount of information gathered was limited by the time allocated to the assignment. Rather, these should be seen as the foundation for the findings of this assignment and as a starting point for future/continued documentation related to the support of women parliamentarians.

## The Arab States Region

The countries involved in this study are: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, State of Palestine, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

## Definitions

This assignment is focused on identifying lessons learned, best practices and innovations related to initiatives designed to support women parliamentarians. To ensure a common understanding of these terms, the following definitions were used throughout the assignment in data gathering and analysis:

### Lesson Learned<sup>3</sup>

A generalization based on the experiences of projects or programs that abstract from specific circumstances to broader situations. In general, an identified lesson highlights strengths or weaknesses in preparation, design, and implementation that affect performance, outcome, and impact.

### Good Practice<sup>4</sup>

A programmatic action or event that meets at least two of the following criteria:

- Led to an actual change that contributes to gender equality or breaks new ground in non-traditional areas for women, including gender relations, gender balance, or women's options and opportunities;
- Had an impact that creates a more conducive or enabling environment for gender equality;
- Demonstrated a replicable approach;
- Demonstrate sustainability by a commitment of mainstream or institutional sponsors or participants in the initiative - whether Government, academia, media, the UN, NGOs, etc.

### Innovation<sup>5</sup>

An innovation is a creative idea and implementation, which is different from invention. It is the act of conceiving and implementing a new way of achieving a result and/or performing work. An innovation involves one or more of the following:

- The incorporation of new elements or a new combination of existing elements;
- A significant change or a departure from traditional ways of doing things;
- New products, policies, programs, approaches and/or processes;
- An effective, creative and unique answer to new problems or a new answer to old problems.

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<sup>3</sup> Adapted from the OECD Glossary of Key Terms in Evaluation and Results Based Management at <http://www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/2754804.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Adapted from the UN Resources on Gender Guidelines for Good Practices at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/resources/goodpractices/guideline.html>

<sup>5</sup> Adapted from the UN Public Administration Glossary at <http://www.unpan.org/Directories/UNPAGlossary/tabid/928/Default.aspx>

# Methodology

Information was gathered for this assignment through a three-phase methodology:

- Phase I: Desk review
- Phase II: Virtual interviews
- Phase III: Field visits to four countries

The methodology was structured as such so that each phase of data gathering would be able to inform the next, deeper level in order to reveal the greatest nuance and understanding about lessons learned, innovations and good practices. As such, collected information was analyzed multiple times – during data gathering, at the end of each phase and then cumulatively after the completion of data gathering to produce this report.

## Phase I: Desk Review

ISG's first task was to complete a desk review of extant documentation related to the support of women parliamentarians. The desk review phase was carried out between May and July, 2015. However, relevant documentation was continuously gathered throughout all phases of the assignment, as possible.

It was recognized that the amount of available documentation potentially related to the topic of the assignment could be very substantial, particularly online. Moreover, much of this potential documentation would likely be only peripherally relevant (i.e. not specifically focused on the support of women parliamentarians). As such, the assignment limited documentation reviewed to those published by UN Agencies, UN implementing partners, governments, academic/journal publications and policy/analysis documents published by authoritative non-governmental organizations.

Initial documentation was sourced through direct request and referrals from UN Women offices located in the Arab States Region and through organizations known to the experts on the ISG team. After this documentation was exhausted, the ISG team performed an online search. The online search was structured as follows:

- A broad online search via Google.com and Google Scholar; and
- Specific searches within the online databases of identified organizations that have been involved with programming related to the support of women parliamentarians.

Both the broad and organization specific searches were conducted using multiple keywords. Please see Annex A for specific details of the research path used by ISG.

As documentation was gathered it was analyzed for the following information:

- Names of actors, organizations and entities
- Countr(ies) of implementation of initiatives
- Dates of implementation of initiatives
- Type of initiative conducted with (or in relation to) women parliamentarians
- Identified lessons learned
- Identified good practices
- Identified innovations
- Identified challenges
- Identified opportunities

## Results

The desk review resulted more than 50 documents that contained information relevant to the assignment. A list of these documents is in Annex B. The analysis of these documents resulted in the identification of initiatives, and their corresponding implementing organizations, specifically focused on the support of women parliamentarians<sup>6</sup>. Please see below for a taxonomy of these initiatives.

The ISG team used this information both to identify potential good candidates for Phase II of data gathering and as base information for the deliverables of this assignment.

### Phase II: Virtual Interviews

Both during and after the completion of the desk review, the ISG team conducted virtual interviews with a variety of stakeholders related to the initiatives and organizations identified in Phase I. This included individuals from UN Women staff, other UN Agencies, International NGOs, and other stakeholders. Phase II was conducted from approximately mid-June through August, 2015.

The goal of the virtual interviews was to both dive deeper into the initiatives and their corresponding organizations, identified in Phase I, and to continue to identify other initiatives and organizations that were not captured by the desk review that may provide insights into lessons learned, good practices and innovations.

The research guides used for virtual interviews are provided in Annex C of this report.

### Phase III: Field visits to four countries

After creating a broad base of information about support for women parliamentarians in Phase I and then gleaning more information through virtual interviews in Phase II, the ISG team entered into the third phase of data collection.

### Country selection

The process for selecting the four countries for field visits began as soon as the project commenced and was continually refined through Phases I and II.

#### *Elimination*

Of the 17 countries included in the Arab States Region, four (Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Yemen) were immediately eliminated from consideration because of ongoing political violence and/or instability and the inability of the ISG team to travel to these locations. Travel warnings from the US State Department were also issued for the countries of Algeria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Palestine during the time of the assignment, but this did not immediately eliminate these countries from consideration.

#### *High-level decision criteria*

The ISG team reviewed the remaining 13 countries using aspects from the desk review, virtual interviews and experience of our expert team members across the following initial high-level criteria:

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<sup>6</sup> The list of initiatives was updated throughout the project with data gathered from virtual interviews and country visits.

- *Positive aspects related to the assignment:* This included, among other things, the availability of current relevant programming, organizations, individuals and other resources. The goal was to identify countries with the highest potential value for the assignment.
- *Negative aspects related to the assignment:* This included, among other things, potential travel restrictions, ability to obtain visas, current political climate and the fluidity or stability of parliament. The goal was to identify countries with on the ground research was both feasible and would yield usable information.
- *Elected or Appointed:* This refers to whether or not women parliamentarians are elected or appointed. The goal was to find a mix for representation.
- *Level of Women’s Legislative Responsibility:* While women participate as parliamentarians in almost all of the Arab States, the fact remains that the ability to create or influence legislation is significantly restricted or impossible for some. In cases where women were able to influence legislation (e.g. Morocco, Jordan, Tunisia), ISG gave them a ranking of “high.” When women were unable to initiate or influence legislation, we gave the country a ranking of “low” (e.g. Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates). A mix of high and low countries was sought for the assignment.
- *Government Type:* This refers to the government structure (i.e. Monarchy, Emirate, Republic, Federation). As with other criteria, a mix was sought for the field visits.

The spreadsheet used by ISG to record these high-level criteria is included as Annex D.

#### *Inclusion of data from desk review and virtual interviews*

After applying the high level criteria above, ISG also reviewed information gathered during the desk review and virtual interviews to determine the location of the highest value field visits based on current, if possible programming, available individuals, organizations and members of parliament.

#### *Finalization*

After weighing the criteria and information above, the ISG team proposed the countries of Jordan, Tunisia, Morocco and United Arab Emirates. UN Women initially suggested replacing Morocco with Algeria to broaden the potential perspective of the data gathered, but ultimately, because of lack of programming and potential wait times for travel clearance to the country, Morocco was accepted. The justification proposal used to select the four countries is included as Annex E.

## Logistics

Field visits were conducted during the following dates:

- Tunisia: August 30 – September 4th
- Jordan: September 5th – 10th
- United Arab Emirates: August 28th – September 4th
- Morocco: September 28th – October 9<sup>th</sup>

## Validation Workshop

At the conclusion of the field visits, the ISG compiled the data gathered to produce drafts of deliverables for this assignment. These include:

- This report that synthesizes the findings of the research in terms of lessons learned, good practices and innovations. The report also discusses challenges and opportunities for supporting women parliamentarians and provides recommendations for future support.
- Profiles of the 17 Arab States as it pertains to women parliamentarians
- A map of the organizations and initiatives uncovered as a part of this research
- A list of the individuals interviewed for this research
- A PowerPoint™ presentation providing an overview of the findings of this research

A validation workshop was held virtually on October 27th, 2015. Individuals who attended this workshop were:

- Christine German (ISG)
- Mona Lena Krook (ISG)
- Stephen Ladek (ISG)
- Maryse Guimond
- Nora Ahmed Abdel Wahed Rafea
- Members of Parliament from seven Arab State Region countries

At the workshop, the ISG team presented the research via the prepared PowerPoint™. The presentation included the assignment's methodology, findings and recommendations. The ISG team received feedback from participants during the workshop.

## Limitations

The desk review, virtual interviews, and field visits yielded valuable and useful information for the completion of this assignment. However, attempts to gather information was limited by several overlapping challenges. These include:

### Timing

The schedule for conducting the research, especially field visits, coincided with Ramadan (June 17th – July 17th, 2015) and traditional summer holidays in August. This presented significant barriers during the study for connecting with organizations and individuals for interviews. Importantly, in all four countries visited, parliament was out of session during the research period, making contact with parliamentarians especially difficult.

### Contacting key informants for interviews

While connecting with key informants for virtual interviews was made easier by the provision of contact information from UN Women staff members, gathering contact information for potential interviewees outside the UN Women system proved difficult. This was due to a number of factors, including, but not limited to:

- Previous programming had closed out and staff moved on
- Outdated or non-functional email addresses and phone numbers from documentation
- Individuals were on leave
- Non responsiveness

### Lack of specificity in documentation

While the research project collected many documents that proved relevant for gaining insight into the overall status and history of programs to support women parliamentarians in the Arab States Region, the vast majority of these documents lacked clarity and specific information about activities targeting women parliamentarians. While some documents were simply too outdated to be useful, others focused on political candidates – for local or national office – rather than women holding office as national parliamentarians.

### Lack of analytical information in documentation

A second issue with regard to documentation is that documents exist that summarize program activities, but do not provide insights into lessons learned, good practices or innovations. For example, MEPI produced several documents summarizing their programs for women parliamentarians in Yemen. These documents provide a good overview of the Democracy School's training of women parliamentary and municipal council candidates on campaigning, advocacy skills, community outreach, and support for women's issues. However, there is no other information (strengths, weaknesses, best practices, etc.) provided. For more information regarding the issue of program documentation, see the “Challenges” section in this report.

## Disbanded projects and lack of institutional memory

Many programs identified had been disbanded several years ago. As such, individuals connected with the project had moved on and institutional memory (in cases where institutions existed that supported the programming) was weak.

## Situational Analysis

Equitable participation of women in politics and government is essential to building and sustaining democracy. However, women are underrepresented at all levels and in all types of governance structures. As of October 2015, women comprised 22.9% of parliamentarians in single or lower houses and 20.6% of upper houses, up from 12% and 10.1 % in 1997, respectively. The figures for the Arab States Region fall below the global average, with women's representation currently standing at 19.0% in single and lower houses and a mere 8.9% in upper houses. The share of women single and lower houses across the Arab States Region, however, has seen substantial improvement over just the last five years, nearly doubling from 10.1% in 2010 to 19.0% in 2015. There has been less change across the upper houses across the region, whose share of women stood at 7.6% in 2010.<sup>7</sup>

The pace of change has been accelerated largely through the introduction of electoral gender quotas, which have now been adopted in 9 of the 17 Arab states. Even at the pace witnessed globally during the last 15 years, however, it will still take nearly four decades to reach male/female parity within most parliaments. The case for change is multi-faceted, encompassing both principled and pragmatic arguments for increasing the share of women in elected and appointed office. Women who enter politics, for example, have the effect of strengthening the credibility of democracies through their participation, reinvigorating political accountability, and contributing to improved efficiency in policy-making through their diverse perspectives.<sup>8</sup> The lack of women in leadership roles affects the quality and responsiveness of public services to women and other vulnerable communities.<sup>9</sup>

Recent efforts to increase women's participation in leadership roles have often been driven by external global-level commitments and pressures.<sup>10</sup> Movements at the national level have also pushed for changes in the form of constitutional equality provisions and the strengthening of government-level gender equality programs, including the creation of women's policy agencies.<sup>11</sup> Today, increases in women's participation in parliaments around the world have been achieved in large part through the use of electoral gender quotas – reserved seats, legislative quotas, or party quotas – and/or a host of non-quota strategies like recruitment, training, and awareness-raising.<sup>12</sup>

Women from all countries face challenges that undermine their potential in terms of attaining a critical mass in decision-making and leadership. Each country and community faces a unique mix of challenges

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<sup>7</sup> See <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm> and <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/world010197.htm>

<sup>8</sup> Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo, eds., *The Impact of Gender Quotas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Mona Lena Krook and Mary Nugent, "All-Women Shortlists: Myths and Realities," *Parliamentary Affairs* (forthcoming); Leslie Schwindt-Bayer and William Mishler, "An Integrated Model of Women's Representation," *Journal of Politics* 67 (2): 407-428 (2005).

<sup>9</sup> Sarah F. Anzia and Christopher R. Berry, "The Jackie (and Jill) Robinson Effect: Why Do Congresswomen Outperform Congressmen?," *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (3): 478-493 (2011); Craig Volden, Alan E. Wiseman, and Dana E. Wittmer, "When Are Women More Effective Lawmakers than Men?," *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (2): 326-341 (2013).

<sup>10</sup> Mona Lena Krook and Jacqui True, "Rethinking the Life Cycles of International Norms: The United Nations and the Global Promotion of Gender Equality," *European Journal of International Relations* 18 (1): 103-127 (2012).

<sup>11</sup> Helen Irving, *Gender and the Constitution: Equity and Agency in Comparative Constitutional Design* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Joyce Outshoorn and Johanna Kantola, eds., *Changing State Feminism* (New York: Palgrave, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Mona Lena Krook, *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Mona Lena Krook and Pippa Norris, "Beyond Quotas: Strategies to Promote Gender Equality in Elected Office," *Political Studies* 62 (1): 2-20 (2014).

– from structural discrimination to social pressures – that limit women’s ability to fully participate in politics, both before and after they have been elected. With more than half of all countries in the world now using some type of quota system, legislatures and political parties in diverse contexts have taken concrete steps to open up the existing political landscape to women’s participation. Yet simply nominating or electing more women does not necessarily entail greater influence within political institutions.<sup>13</sup> Parliaments remain gendered institutions, assuming men to be the only political actors,<sup>14</sup> and women still remain outside many of the informal networks needed to be effective legislators.<sup>15</sup> Exploring strategies to support women parliamentarians, therefore, is a vital second step following the introduction of quotas or other measures to elect more women to political positions.<sup>16</sup>

UN Women’s programs on women’s leadership and participation are guided by a history of international commitments to women’s representation, notably:

- The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW),<sup>17</sup> which upholds women’s right to participate in public life;
- The Beijing Platform for Action,<sup>18</sup> which identifies women in power and decision-making as a strategic objective and calls on member states to commit to attaining gender balance in a wide variety of decision-making arenas;
- The Millennium Development Goals,<sup>19</sup> which measure progress towards gender equality and women’s empowerment in part by the proportion of women in parliament;
- The Sustainable Development Goals,<sup>20</sup> whose goal of achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls includes the target of ensuring women’s full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life; and
- UN Security Council Resolution 1325,<sup>21</sup> which urges member states to ensure women’s representation at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict.

Within the Arab States Region, UN Women’s work on women’s political participation is further supported by:

- The Declaration of Algiers,<sup>22</sup> signed by male and female parliamentarians from around the world following a conference in Algeria in December 2013, which called on partners and stakeholders to work to achieve a minimum of 30% female participation in parliament and all decision-making functions; and

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<sup>13</sup> Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo, eds., *The Impact of Gender Quotas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>14</sup> Sonia Palmieri, *Gender Sensitive Parliaments: A Global Review of Good Practice* (Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2011).

<sup>15</sup> Susan Markham, “Strengthening Women’s Roles in Parliaments,” *Parliamentary Affairs* 65 (3): 688-698 (2012).

<sup>16</sup> Mona Lena Krook and Pippa Norris, “Beyond Quotas: Strategies to Promote Gender Equality in Elected Office,” *Political Studies* 62 (1): 2-20 (2014).

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm>

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/>

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>

<sup>21</sup> [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1325\(2000\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/1325(2000))

<sup>22</sup> [http://www.agora-parl.org/sites/default/files/declaration\\_algiers\\_english.pdf](http://www.agora-parl.org/sites/default/files/declaration_algiers_english.pdf)

- The Cairo Declaration,<sup>23</sup> signed by representatives from the governments of the Arab countries in February 2014 during a meeting at the headquarters of the Arab League, which highlighted the need for national electoral systems fostering women's participation, more equitable working environments in public office, and temporary special measures to ensure women's share of decision-making positions in political bodies and organizations.

UN Women as an organization is committed to promoting women's leadership and political participation through training for female candidates to help build their individual capacities, as well as voter and civic education and sensitization campaigns on gender equality. The aim is to increase the number of women involved in politics, build more transparent selection processes at the political party level, and encourage more women to cast their votes in elections. UN Women also calls on political parties, governments, and other actors to do their part to empower women in the political sphere.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> <http://www.unwomen.org/~media/headquarters/attachments/sections/csw/58/csw58-declaration-cairo-en%20pdf.ashx>

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/leadership-and-political-participation>

## Programmatic Support for Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

Throughout the assignment, the ISG team collected documented information related to initiatives specifically focused on supporting women parliamentarians. This information was recorded on a spreadsheet designed to delineate different programs through:

- *Name*: Where possible, ISG recorded the name, or title, of the initiative. In some cases this title did exist or was simply referenced in general terms (e.g. series of trainings).
- *Organization*: When possible, ISG identified and recorded the organization that led the initiative (i.e. provided funding and structure). As with names, sometimes this was unclear from documentation or referred to in general terms.
- *Dates of implementation*: One of the most difficult data points to determine, ISG recorded the time frame when the initiative was implemented. In some cases, only the year of the start of the initiative was possible to determine and in other cases, dates were absent from documentation.
- *Formality*: Support for women parliamentarians comes through both formal and informal programming. The ISG team has differentiated this on the spreadsheet. In some cases, programming was determined to be both formal and informal in nature.
- *Type of support*: The ISG team has categorized initiatives according to the types of support provided to women parliamentarians. However, because the language used to describe support is so varied (e.g. workshop, seminar, training, meeting, expo), categorizations should be considered best fit. In addition, support often spanned multiple categories.
- *Location of support*: The ISG team recorded where the initiative targeted its support according to the countries located in the 17 Arab States.

As mentioned earlier in this document, ISG does not purport that this is a comprehensive listing of all support for women parliamentarians in the Arab States Region, as the amount of information gathered was limited by the time allocated to the assignment.

Collection and analysis of this documentation was especially constrained by:

- Missing or unavailable documentation
- Incomplete documentation about programs
- Lack of specificity about programming
- Focus on program outputs and activities
- Missing analysis regarding lessons learned, good practices, or challenges

As just one example, MEPI produced several documents summarizing their programs for women parliamentarians in Yemen through a Democracy School. These documents provide an overview of the School's training of former women parliamentary and municipal council candidates on campaigning, advocacy skills, community outreach, and support for women's issues, but there is no other analytical or reflective information included.

Initiative(s)	Prime or Lead Organization / Entity Name	Dates of implementation	Formality		Type of support for Women Parliamentarians						Country(ies)																
			Formal	Informal	Capacity building	Advocacy	Networking	Get out the vote	Conference	Other	Algeria	Bahrain	Egypt	Iraq	Jordan	Kuwait	Lebanon	Libya	Morocco	Oman	Qatar	Saudi Arabia	Palestine	Syria	Tunisia	UAE	Yemen
Spring Forward For Women Conference	UN Women	2014			X		X				X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X				X			X	X
Respect for Women's Political Rights: Participation and Leadership of Women in Politics in Tunisia" programme	International IDEA and NIMD	2014	X																					X			
Arab Women's Leadership Forum	Dubai Women Establishment	2011-2014	X						X																X		
Preparing for the First Elections- Women's Political Empowerment in Libya	Political Parties of Finland for Democracy, Demo Finland	2012	X		X				X								X										
WHW's Training and Consultation Unit Activities	Women Helping Women Network	various	X					X					X														
Legal Consultation (no formal title provided)	Women Helping Women Network	2008	X	X	X								X														
Consultation Session for women MPs on communication skills and media relations (no formal title)	WHW Network in cooperation with NDI	2008	X		X								X														
Strategic Planning Workshop (no formal title provided)	WHW Network in cooperation with NDI	2008	X	X	X								X														
Support for Expanded Political Participation and Empowerment	Government of Kuwait	2008	X		X	X									X												
Support to Kuwaiti Women in the Parliamentary Elections	UNDP and various CSOs (unnamed)	2006	X				X		X						X												
Women's Political Participation Academy	Nazra Feminist Studies	2011/2012	X		X								X														
Democracy School's training/workshop in Yemen (part of the Women's Shadow Parliament project)	Democracy School (MEPI-funded)	2008	X		X	X																					X
Strengthening womens leadership and participation in politics and decision making in Algeria, Morocco and	UNINSTRAW and CAWTAR	2008-2011	X		X	X					X							X						X			









## Findings

The research – the desk review, virtual interviews, and field visits – yielded a number of key findings related to programming and other support for women parliamentarians across the Arab region. These include lessons learned, good practices, and innovations emerging from the programming itself. The research also unearthed key challenges and opportunities to empowering women in parliament, related to social, political, economic, and cultural features of countries across the region. These findings point to several recommendations for future UN Women initiatives in the area of women’s leadership and participation, which might be applied within the Arab region or on a wider global scale.

### Lessons Learned

The research project identified a series of strengths and weaknesses in preparation, design, and implementation that affected the performance, outcome, and impact of programming.

#### Lesson #1: Need for systematic documentation

The research process yielded passing references to many different projects, but further documentation, points of contact, and even basic information about the programs did not appear to be available. For example, in Jordan, MEPI/Daem for Media developed a curriculum for instruction entitled “Strengthening Women Parliamentarians’ Skills in Televised Appearances.”<sup>25</sup> However, even the basic facts of this curriculum and its delivery are not clear, in terms of who was involved in developing and implementing the program, how long the program lasted, where the program was delivered, or how many individuals participated in the program. Consequently, there was no documentation about lessons learned or the longer-term impact of this intervention on women parliamentarians. Along similar lines, a CAWTAR project brief entitled “Strengthening Women’s Leadership and Participation in Politics and Decision Making in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia” provides a summary of what the project hoped to do and accomplish, but there is no information about what activities were carried out or their impact.<sup>26</sup>

#### Lesson #2: Lack of attention to continuity and sustainability

Any initiative seeking to achieve behavioral change requires longevity and consistency in application. In most cases, programming related to women parliamentarians across the Arab States Region has been implemented largely during election cycles. When programming continues between election cycles – for example, in the many programs of NDI, as well as the Tunisian School of Politics – this support is both remembered and sought out and the impact of programs appears to be greater. Many programs, in addition, are implemented on a one-off basis. There is thus no long-term plan for repeating the training for other women, or to follow up with those women who have already been trained. As an interviewee from Egypt explained, “UN Women arranged a training and they even got the trainers from outside of Egypt and it was a good chance to get more information about the election systems, etc. But they didn’t have a future plan – what after this training? How is the idea in the mid-term or long-term? No view for sustainability. This is a crisis – as a UNW, you spend the money on about 20-25 women from your point of view unique and then you don’t how to continue working with them – this is not good.”<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> <http://maktabatmepi.org/content/tv-interview-skills>

<sup>26</sup> [http://www.cawtar.org/image\\_fr/doc/pdf/pilar1/women\\_political\\_participation/project1.pdf](http://www.cawtar.org/image_fr/doc/pdf/pilar1/women_political_participation/project1.pdf)

<sup>27</sup> Nevine Ebeid, New Women’s Foundation, Egypt, Virtual Interview, 15 August 2015.

### Lesson #3: Lack of coordination across the region

Most programs reviewed involved a single donor organization acting in one or in a small handful of countries. Although all politics is local, there are fundamental issues shared by women parliamentarians across the Arab states, suggesting that coordinating support could provide significant benefits in terms of resources for, as well as content and reach, of programming. While some individual organizations can coordinate internally, such as NDI across its various country offices, the research did not indicate other evidence of coordination among donor agencies.

Coordinated efforts on specific challenges – such as adoption of CEDAW without restrictions in Tunisia, or the passage of the family code in Morocco – show the value of many different actors working together. However, donors often do not track what their counterparts are funding, and civil society groups focus on their own work, often not noticing those doing similar work. There is ample space for a coordinating body, to not remove diversity of work, but rather to create an environment of sharing and coordination, so as to avoid duplication of effort or to create pockets where services are lacking.

### Lesson #4: Emphasis on women as candidates, not as parliamentarians

The review of the documentation further revealed that most programs related to women in parliament were limited to the candidate stage. As a result, it was not clear whether any work was done with the women who were ultimately elected. In 2006, for example, UNDP conducted an assessment of Yemen's Supreme Commission for Elections and Referendum (SCER) program.<sup>28</sup> The SCER Women's Unit successfully conducted a national public information campaign in 22 governorates to train more than 300 women potential candidates. The group developed three technical manuals on nomination and polling; four posters and leaflets on campaigning and promoting women running for local council elections; and a hotline providing legal and technical advice to women potential candidates and voters, managed by a Women's Unit. There is no information, however, on support to actual candidates or members of parliament.

### Lesson #5: Focus on provision, not impact, of training courses

The majority of programs identified in the course of the research entailed some form of capacity-building activity. In many cases, it was not clear from the documentation, however, whether the beneficiaries were would-be or already elected parliamentarians. Most documents, further, focused on reporting immediate outputs, like the number of people trained or the number of trainings held – but not on the broader outcomes of these trainings, like the number of participants ultimately elected or the policy successes of those who were trained. Such details would help with assessing the effectiveness of training programs, as well as potentially inform new or revised approaches to capacity building.

### Lesson #6: Patronage as an effective tool for support

Documentation and interviews indicate that many of the most successful programs and reforms enjoyed the support of a high-level champion. In the UAE, several interviewees lauded the work of Sheikha Fatima bint Mubarak as a pioneer for women's rights and as crucial to pushing women's agendas

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<sup>28</sup> [http://toolkit-elections.unteamworks.org/?q=webfm\\_send/194](http://toolkit-elections.unteamworks.org/?q=webfm_send/194)

forward at the highest levels of power.<sup>29</sup> Similar observations were made in Jordan, where many respondents noted that Princess Basma bint Talal<sup>30</sup> has been a powerful and indispensable advocate on women's issues. Both cases show that once the cause of women is supported by a figure at that highest level, it becomes more difficult to take actions against it, providing an opening for civil society and other community-based work to come in and promote these policies at the grassroots level.

While in this study many saw this form as patronage as a largely positive influence on the position of women, there are potential downsides to this kind of support. The revolutions of the Arab Spring demonstrated backlash to these mechanisms of support, which in some cases led to the dissolution of women's empowerment policies put in place by former leaders.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Her Highness Sheikha Fatima bint Mubarak is the third wife of the late Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahyan, the founder of the UAE. She has founded several organizations, including the Abu Dhabi Women Development Association, the General Women's Union, Family Development Foundation, and Supreme Council for Motherhood and Childhood. For more information, see: <http://motherofthenation.ae/mother-of-the-nation/biography/>

<sup>30</sup> Her Royal Highness Princess Basma bint Talal is the sister of the late King Hussein, and founded the Princess Basma Youth Resource Center, as well as serving as a UN Goodwill Ambassador for both UN Women and UN Population Fund. For more information, see: [http://www.princessbasma.jo/index.php?page\\_type=pages&page\\_id=449](http://www.princessbasma.jo/index.php?page_type=pages&page_id=449)

<sup>31</sup> <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/nicola-pratt/gendered-paradoxes-of-egypt%E2%80%99s-transition>

## Good Practices

The research uncovered a host of good practices, defined as actions that contribute to gender equality, have an impact on the policy environment, are able to be replicated, and/or demonstrate sustainability.

### Good Practice #1: Creating women’s parliamentary caucuses

Women’s parliamentary caucuses exist in a handful of countries in the Arab States Region. The exact number of women’s caucuses is unknown, given that such groups tend to be informal rather than formal. In addition, while many women’s caucuses may formally be open to all women parliamentarians, a much smaller number of women parliamentarians may be actively engaged in their activities. Formal caucuses exist in Jordan and Morocco, and interviewees in these countries saw these as being a key mechanism to support women once they have achieved office. Women’s caucuses have two key purposes:

1. To create a core group of parliamentarians who can lobby together for policy reforms, and
2. To provide opportunities for capacity building and increased media exposure.

In Morocco, for example, the Groupe de Travail des Parlementaires pour l’Egalité, which gained formal accreditation from the official parliamentary leadership, has been successful in lobbying for policies such as the requirement that for every three positions appointed by the legislative body, at least one must be a woman. As a group, they have also been able to push successfully for various legislative initiatives. One of the key benefits of the group, however, according to interviewees, is the support that they provide to each against persistent harassment from male members of parliament.

### Good Practice #2: One-on-one mentoring of women parliamentarians

Mentoring opportunities can enhance professional performance and advancement for both women and men. Formal and informal mentoring programs for female politicians exist in Jordan, Egypt, Tunisia, and the UAE. In Egypt, for example, Nazra Feminist Studies “accompanied” female candidates as they campaigned and offered legal, psychological and analytical support through a “help desk” responding to requests on demand.<sup>32</sup> In Jordan, NDI worked individually with newly elected women parliamentarians, tailoring their support based on each woman’s personal needs, which might include media training, speech writing, identifying policy priorities, drafting legislation, and understanding legislation. NDI staff remained in regular contact with the women and the personalized support continues to the present day: for example, NDI sent someone to facilitate Arabic-English translation at one of the field visit interviews upon the request of the parliamentarian. While this individualized approach meant that resources were not spread equally across all women parliamentarians, it did enable NDI to respond to the needs of each woman – rather than simply applying a “one-size-fits-all” approach.

### Good Practice #3: Establishing parliamentary fellowship programs

A common issue across the Arab states is the lack of paid and professional parliamentary staff for parliamentarians. Women in parliament may experience this problem more acutely, however, because they are often new to parliament and come with fewer personal economic resources to hire their own staff. Formal fellowship programs, mostly driven by civil society organizations, can fill this gap by providing much-needed technical support, for example with outreach, research, and drafting legislation. In Jordan, for example, NDI’s program identified university students – both male and female –to serve

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<sup>32</sup> See <http://nazra.org/en/2012/01/she-and-elections-report-and-film-documenting-experience-women-candidates>

as parliamentary fellows in the offices of women parliamentarians, which not only provided valuable assistance to the women, but also provided the students with an opportunity to learn more about the law-making process.

#### Good Practice #4: Fostering knowledge on gender-sensitive legislation and amendments

In many cases, women parliamentarians do not have training on gender-sensitive legislation and are not familiar with legislation in other countries that crafted with a specific gender component. To enhance this knowledge among women parliamentarians, in 2012 a study tour was organized by UNDP, together with the French National Assembly, for French-speaking women parliamentarians from Côte d'Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Morocco, and Tunisia. The main purpose of the visit was to enhance the knowledge of women parliamentarians with regard to political parties and parliamentary work, the relation and balance of power between democratic institutions, and gender equality legislation.<sup>33</sup>

At the domestic level, NDI in Jordan created a system for collecting and organizing draft legislation related to gender issues so that women parliamentarians could reference them in parliament. They also created factsheets and justifications for the reform, drawing on the work of women's NGOs in Jordan. In Tunisia, UN Women had a meeting during the field visit with the Women's Ministry, attended by some civil society organizations, to train staff at the various government ministries on gender, with the goal being to foster a gender budgeting initiative. However, women parliamentarians were not part of this discussion - although participants at the meeting discussed how important it would be to engage women parliamentarians in this work.

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<sup>33</sup> See [http://www.agora-parl.org/sites/default/files/undp\\_parliamentary\\_development\\_newsletter\\_-\\_november\\_2012.pdf](http://www.agora-parl.org/sites/default/files/undp_parliamentary_development_newsletter_-_november_2012.pdf)

## Innovations

The research revealed several innovations across the region in terms of conceiving and implementing new ways of providing support to women parliamentarians.

### Innovation #1: Practices to enhance “buy-in” for women’s caucus participation

Various types of women’s caucuses exist around the world, with the express purpose of coordinating and enhancing the work of women parliamentarians.<sup>34</sup> Women parliamentarians, however, may have varying degrees of interest and commitment in working together with other women – especially with women representing other political parties. Anticipating these barriers, NDI in Jordan took explicit steps to mitigate some of these challenges during discussions surrounding the formation of the caucus – which have, in turn, made the Jordanian caucus more robust and successful than similar initiatives across the region.

One strategy was to institute a principle of rotation, naming a new coordinator, rapporteur, and media contact every three months. This prevented the caucus from being overly associated with one particular woman, at the same time that it gave all women parliamentarians incentives to be part of the group. A second tactic was to highlight the strategic benefits of being part of the caucus as both a leader and a member, framing involvement with the caucus as a way to further women parliamentarians’ political careers – for example, through invitations to meet with the king or opportunities to speak at events organized by international groups.

A third step was to cultivate a “resilient core” of the women’s caucus, ensuring that there was a small group of active women who could keep things going, rather than focusing on getting every single women parliamentarian to attend and be involved every single time. A fourth step was to link women parliamentarians to women in civil society, developing factsheets from the work of NGOs to inform the work of women parliamentarians, serving the dual purpose of providing information while also empowering women in parliament the grounds to speak with greater confidence about the needs and priorities of Jordanian women.

### Innovation #2: Networking among women parliamentarians across the Arab States Region

Women’s caucuses seek to empower women parliamentarians within a single country. An innovative new model, however, has begun to emerge across the Arab States Region, involving the creation of cross-national networks of women parliamentarians. The aim is to strengthen these women’s capacities in a number of ways, but in particular to give them the tools to be more effective advocates for women. At least two of these networks have been created over the past two years.

One is the Pan-Arab Women’s Parliamentary Coalition to Combat Domestic Violence, chaired by Jordanian parliamentarian Wafaa Bani Mustafa. The network was launched in early 2014, as part of a regional workshop in London bringing together Arab women parliamentarians to discuss the issue of gender-based violence. At a second workshop held later that year, participants sought to develop a protocol on combating domestic violence to serve as a reference for policy-makers across the region. The network’s activities, funded by the Westminster Foundation for Democracy and connected to the

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<sup>34</sup> Rachel Barr, *Guidelines for Women’s Caucuses* (Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013).

Arab League, thus seek to empower women parliamentarians with knowledge and skills to amplify their voices on potential legislative initiatives to benefit the women in their countries.

A second regional network, the Arab Women Parliamentarians Network for Equality (Pioneers), was also recently formed – and is chaired by a woman parliamentarian from Jordan. The Network has been officially launched in July 2015, the network brings together present and former Arab women parliamentarians to formulate policies that respect gender equality across the region, with the aim of bridging gender gaps in the Arab states by 2030 – including through the formulation of gender-sensitive budgets. The network is also planning a regional forum in Cairo in December 2015 to discuss the challenges faced in raising the share of women in elected politics across the region.

### Innovation #3: Mechanisms to ascertain the public opinion to inform policy-making

Efforts to measure public opinion are relatively sparse across the Arab States Region. In addition to there being few independent polling firms in general, governments do not actively track public opinion, particularly in less democratic contexts. As a result, it is difficult to use public opinion as a resource when arguing in favor of policy reforms to benefit women. To fill this gap, organizations in Tunisia and Jordan developed innovative approaches for identifying the views of citizens – and then passing these along to lawmakers so that these views might be fed into the policy-making process.

NDI in Tunisia organized and conducted a survey of 1500 women around the country to get women’s perspectives on a host of different issues, ranging from health to employment to security, with financial support from the Canadian government. The questions were explicitly written in a way to prime responses towards a woman’s perspective by starting each question with “As a woman, do you feel...” Before sending out the survey, NDI consulted with the Women’s Ministry on the questions to be asked in the survey to ensure that the data would be useful to the ministry, as well as to women parliamentarians and women in civil society, in their future policy-making work.<sup>35</sup> In Jordan, the King Hussein Foundation’s Information and Research Center trains women in participatory action techniques to interact with women to learn their views on various issues. The organization then transmits the resulting information, together with policy recommendations, to parliamentarians in the hopes that they may bring them to the policy agenda.

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<sup>35</sup> Interview with Marie-Eve Bilodeau, NDI-Tunisia, 3 September 2015.

## Challenges and Opportunities

The research process, especially during the field visits but also to some extent during the desk review and virtual interviews, cast light on various challenges and opportunities faced by programming initiatives – as well as by women parliamentarians in the Arab States Region, in terms of their ability to exercise power and advocate on behalf of women.

### Challenge/opportunity #1: Few women in parliament

The Arab States Region stands out internationally for its relatively small share of women in parliament, ranking just above the Pacific Islands in terms of their overall proportion of women parliamentarians. These numbers have nonetheless grown substantially over the last several years, nearly doubling from 9.5% in 2010 to 17.1% in 2015.<sup>36</sup> As such, earlier regional forums on women in politics included a large number of appointed women and women candidates who had not succeeded in being elected – whereas upcoming regional events feature a growing number of women elected to national parliaments.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps the most surprising advances have been seen in Saudi Arabia, where women were granted the right to vote in 2011 and, from 2013, now constitute 20% of the seats in appointed Shura Council.<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, progress remains uneven, with Algeria and Tunisia electing more than 30% women, at the same time that there are no women in parliament in Qatar and only one woman parliamentarian each in Kuwait and Oman. Perhaps not surprisingly, the latter countries have little or no programming for women parliamentarians.

### Challenge/opportunity #2: Restrictive political and social climates

Effective programming to support women parliamentarians is inhibited in important ways by the difficult political and social environments across the Arab States Region – and, as a result, even government institutions can present obstacles to developing and implementing programs on this topic. Most dramatically, political violence in Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Yemen has made it impossible for civil society and international NGOs to engage in program implementation of any kind. In other countries, where program implementation related to women in parliament is possible, the thematic priority is often on health and security questions, rather than on support for women candidates and parliamentarians.

Nonetheless, the case of Algeria reveals that some progress can be made, despite a relatively restrictive and closed political environment. Although the political climate makes the operation of civil society and international NGOs difficult,<sup>39</sup> and a persistent lack of transparency and trust towards civil society in general has hindered the development of formal programmatic support for women in parliament,<sup>40</sup> a quota policy introduced in 2012 led to the election of 32% women parliamentarians. The government then hosted the International Conference on Effective & Sustainable Participation of Women in Elected

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<sup>36</sup> See <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm> and <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/world310110.htm>

<sup>37</sup> Virtual interview with Zeina Hilal, IPU, 8 July 2015.

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-20986428> . The Shura Council is the rough equivalent of a Parliament. However, it does not have the power to enact laws, only to recommend them to the King, who is the only and final arbiter of law.

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.icnl.org/research/monitor/algeria.html>

<sup>40</sup> A 2013 Freedom House report suggests that although the government of Algeria claims to have upheld its gender quota policies with regards to women, attempts to hinder the work of civil society organizations during recent elections has perhaps lessened the effectiveness of women in Parliament. <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/algeria>

Assemblies in December 2013, which resulted in the Declaration of Algiers,<sup>41</sup> recognizing the need for inclusion of women in parliament and all levels of government. Following the conference, a women's parliament caucus was then established.

### Challenge/opportunity #3: Social and cultural expectations

Across the Arab States Region, public perceptions of women, and especially women in politics, are still driven to a great extent by traditional value systems. Families are the building blocks for society across the region, and in the family, men continue to hold power over women. As one interviewee in the UAE put it, "As a woman, men are still your borders."<sup>42</sup> Even when a woman is able to overcome the potential stigma of becoming a politician, there is no guarantee that women will receive the same respect as men in parliament itself. In a famous incident in Jordan, for example, women parliamentarian Hind al-Fayez was told to shut up and sit down, with the male parliamentarian alleging that – because she had gained her seat via a gender quota – she had been elected through non-democratic means.<sup>43</sup> Similar problems have been reported in Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, and Saudi Arabia, indicating that women's presence in parliament have not always been accepted well by their male colleagues.

### Challenge/opportunity #4: Diversity among women parliamentarians

In the Arab States Region, as elsewhere around the world, there are enormous and significant variations among the women elected to parliament, with important implications for programs to support women parliamentarians.

On the one hand, women parliamentarians often enter office with varying skill levels. While some women parliamentarians are well educated and have substantial prior political experience, public speaking skills, or legal expertise, other women – especially those from rural constituencies – may not be literate, in addition to being new to elected politics. Individual women parliamentarians may thus have different needs in the way of support. A women parliamentarian who comes in with a legal background may need research assistance, for example, while another may need help with learning parliamentary procedure and knowing how to read bills. A one-size-fits-all program may thus not be adequate for serving all women parliamentarians equally. Further, not all women parliamentarians may be interested in such training or assistance: a women's NGO in Tunisia mentioned that they had organized a session to help women parliamentarians learn how to analyze and argue for a bill from a gender perspective – and only two women came.

On the other hand, women parliamentarians as a group espouse a wide range of ideological positions. Some women parliamentarians come from activist, feminist backgrounds, while other female politicians represent Islamic groups; women in parliament as a whole may have very different views on women's rights and other policies. This can be an important and even insuperable obstacle to possibilities for women parliamentarians to work together as a group, given that they are divided on core issues (just as male parliamentarians are). The result is that even a strong women's caucus may be limited in its capacity to ensure policy coordination, given that not all women parliamentarians think the same way. An interviewee in Tunisia, however, noted that while women disagreed quite strongly on some issues, like adoption, they were united on others, like the parity provision in the new constitution – showing that

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<sup>41</sup> [http://www.agora-parl.org/sites/default/files/declaration\\_algiers\\_english.pdf](http://www.agora-parl.org/sites/default/files/declaration_algiers_english.pdf)

<sup>42</sup> Academic who asked not to be named, UAE

<sup>43</sup> <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/variety/2014/12/07/Internet-erupts-with-Jordan-sit-down-Hind-memes.html>

there can be moments of rapprochement, despite ideological differences. These ideological differences represent a challenge to representing a holistic “women’s position” but are a strength in showing that women can not, and should not, be treated as a single bloc.

### Challenge/opportunity #5: Practical constraints on women parliamentarians as legislators

Differences in the skill sets and ideological orientations of women in parliament shape their ability to be effective as individual legislators and to act collectively on behalf of the interests of women as a group. In addition, however, there are also some very important practical considerations experienced by all politicians in their capacity as legislators – which, in the case of women parliamentarians, may also affect their ability and willingness to advocate on women’s issues.

One is that, by going against the wishes of party leaders, women risk not being re-nominated and re-elected to parliament. A second is that by taking a stand on controversial issues, women may be seen to be bringing shame to their families and their tribes. The result of these various strands is that some women in parliament may oppose gender equality reforms because they do not believe in them. Others, however, may otherwise support gender equality reforms but may end up voting against them due to these other considerations. Several interviewees, however, believed that women in parliament were increasingly developing greater consciousness regarding the importance of women’s rights.

### Challenge/opportunity #6: Gender quotas as mechanisms to elect women to parliament

Gender quotas have been introduced in nine of the seventeen Arab states, in line with global trends, joining the more than 130 countries around the world with some type of quota policy governing the selection or election of female candidates.<sup>44</sup> Research uncovered during this project showed mixed responses to gender quotas.

Nearly universally all agreed doing away with quotas would lead to a dramatic fall in the share of women in parliament. For this reason, women have mobilized in Jordan, for example, in response to recent proposals for local government reforms that have not included quotas – insisting that such provisions for women should apply to that level of government as well.

The issue, rather, is how to deal with perceptions that women elected via quotas are somehow less qualified, less serious, and less deserving politicians. This problem is much larger than simply increasing the number of women in elected and appointed office. As one Egyptian interviewee noted, “If you really want a fast solution, it would be the quota. If we want the sustainable participation of women in political issues, it would be changing culture.”<sup>45</sup>

Some continue to criticize quotas on grounds that they violate the concept of ‘merit’ in candidate selection and/or that they have been imposed from the outside by Western powers.<sup>46</sup> This is true even of

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<sup>44</sup> Mona Lena Krook, *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). For details on individual policies, see <http://www.quotaproject.org>.

<sup>45</sup> Safaa Habib, National Council for Women, Egypt, Virtual Interview, 2 July 2015.

<sup>46</sup> Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo, eds., *The Impact of Gender Quotas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Sarah Sunn Bush and Amaney A. Jamal, “Anti- Americanism, Authoritarian Politics, and Attitudes

some of the women who have been elected via quotas, as in Tunisia – the first Arab state to approve a 50% legislative quota in 2011 – where several members of the National Constituent Assembly (NCA) voted against incorporating the same parity provision in the new constitution, including a number of the female members.

Yet there is also evidence that quotas, while remaining controversial, have played a role in eroding societal stereotypes about women in positions of power across the Arab States Region – as they have done in other regions of the world.<sup>47</sup> In Jordan, for example, only one woman had ever been elected to parliament prior to the introduction of reserved seats for women in 2003. That year, all of the women elected to parliament were elected via the reserved seats. In subsequent elections, however, a growing number of women have been directly elected, increasing to three in 2013. Of these three women, notably, two previously held quota seats – suggesting that quotas in Jordan have given women the opportunity to accumulate the necessary political experience, as well as increased confidence from voters, to be elected outside the guarantees of the quota mechanism.

Part of this change can also be explained by the actions of women parliamentarians themselves, as women have shown themselves to be worthy of their seats in parliament. A democratic transparency organization, the Al Hayat Center in Jordan, developed a scorecard to monitor each parliamentarian's activities – attendance, bills proposed, votes, etc. – and publishes a list of the top 10 performers. Every year since the scorecard was launched, a number of women achieved top rankings. In 2014, for example, women were 5 of the top 10 best performing parliamentarians – an especially impressive feat, considering that there are only 18 women in comparison to 132 men in parliament.

One final consideration in quotas is the mechanism in which they are implemented. In Tunisia, the quota was established at the party level, and in Jordan at the national parliamentary level. In Algeria, quotas have been instituted at the local and national levels, leading to a surge in women in government. Each model has benefits and drawbacks, but lessons should be taken from each case to establish a system that seeks to integrate women into political office, while also addressing the longer-term questions of societal change and merit-based electability.

### Challenge/opportunity #7: Male-oriented political institutions

Due to prevailing gender roles, men are viewed as the typical parliamentarian – a pattern which is reinforced by the “maleness” of parliamentary spaces and routines. In many countries,<sup>48</sup> including the Arab states, women enter parliament only to find that basic facilities like women's restrooms are often limited. Women in Algeria reported, for example, that they were required to go to neighboring buildings to use the restroom, while separate entrances and toilet facilities needed to be constructed to the Majlis Al-Shura building in Saudi Arabia following the King's appointment of 30 women to the council in 2013.

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about Women's Representation: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Jordan,” *International Studies Quarterly* 59 (1): 34-45 (2015).

<sup>47</sup> Susan Franceschet, Mona Lena Krook, and Jennifer M. Piscopo, eds., *The Impact of Gender Quotas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>48</sup> For more details on global trends, see Sonia Palmieri, *Gender Sensitive Parliaments: A Global Review of Good Practice* (Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2011).

Similarly, parliamentary routines – like working hours – do not anticipate the types of care responsibilities typically required of women, like caring for children, spouses, or elderly parents. Proposals to help women find ways of reconciling work and family obligations, for example changing the operating hours of parliament to accommodate family obligations or to create daycare facilities for parliamentarians, have to date garnered little support. According to one interviewee in Tunisia, this was because the focus of most women parliamentarians was on making laws more egalitarian, rather than changing the culture of parliament to be more gender-sensitive.

#### Challenge/opportunity #8: Structural issues related to parliament as an institution

Parliaments in the region face key challenges in their day-to-day work. In many cases, parliamentarians are not provided with any staff, which affects their ability to work efficiently and effectively. Women parliamentarians who were interviewed for this report, for example, typically responded to their own emails, usually using a hotmail or gmail account, rather than an official parliamentary address. All parliamentarians interviewed lack the necessary technical assistance for researching, writing, and understanding proposed legislation.

Further, parliamentary websites are often quite poor, not containing up-to-date information on bills and debates. In both Tunisia and Jordan, this information gap was filled by civil society groups like Al Bawsala (Tunisia) and Al Hayat Center (Jordan), which monitor parliament and publish this data to increase the transparency of parliamentary work. In many instances, they rely not on parliamentary information offices, but rather their own observers who are sent to record and photograph sessions.

Across the region, political institutions face problems of transparency and accountability as well. For example, in the UAE, lack of transparency in elections and the legislative process has led to some distrust and confusion on the part of citizens regarding the role and impact of parliament. As a result, the public may not express a lot of support for women parliamentarians. This is not necessarily because they believe that women should not participate, but rather reflects their lack of support for parliament more generally.

## Recommendations for Future Programming for Women Parliamentarians

Insights from the desk review, virtual interviews, and field visits illuminate key achievements as well as lingering challenges to supporting women parliamentarians across the Arab States Region. Together, these findings yield several recommendations for future UN Women programming in this part of the world – as well as, potentially, on a broader global scale.

### Recommendation #1: Create a central repository of programming initiatives

A common refrain through the research project was the lack of documentation on programming done across the region to support women parliamentarians. When records were available, they often lacked even the most basic information, like contact persons, and thus rarely included more sophisticated and nuanced details on the projects, their content, or their impact. At the same time, interviews revealed that women parliamentarians are often unclear as to where they can go for assistance, given that mechanisms for support appear to be widely dispersed across UN agencies, international NGOs, local advocacy groups, and government offices. Those who were engaged in cross-national networks, which often gave them greater access to information, expressed enthusiasm for opportunities to learn from legislative initiatives taken in other countries to support women's rights.

Creating a central repository – including information on programs, opportunities, and model legislation – would go far in meeting these various needs, in turn bolstering the capacity and effectiveness of women parliamentarians across the region. One model that might prove useful is the central clearinghouse, *Maktabat MEPI*,<sup>49</sup> which consists of an online repository of more than 700 training resources developed by over 40 partner organizations in the U.S. and the Middle East with funding from the U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative. A similar repository, hosted by UN Women, at either the global or the regional level, would be greatly beneficial as a way to catalogue, disseminate, and learn from previous programming. Proper documentation is critical for building on prior initiatives, rather than having to reinvent the approach with each new program.

### Recommendation #2: Establish support for women parliamentarians as a greater priority

Among those interviewed across the Arab state region, UN Women was generally not seen as a major player with regard to supporting women parliamentarians. Key actors who were (or at least perceived to be) more active in this area included UNDP, NDI, International IDEA, the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, OXFAM, Vital Voices, and the Netherlands Institute for Multi-Party Democracy. Staff at UN Women in New York similarly had the impression that UN Women was playing more of a supportive role and was active in only a limited number of countries in the region. Yet there is a clear opportunity to move towards focusing on work to support women in parliament – and UN Women, acting either regionally or globally, could potentially add value while doing so.

For example, the vast majority of activities mentioned in the interviews related to training women to run as candidates, rather than assisting women after they have been elected. Yet clearly a need exists to support women once they have gained political office, in terms of skills as well as policy substance, like

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<sup>49</sup> <http://maktabatmepi.org/>

gender budgeting. Another area, in particular, where UN Women could play an important role is in tackling the rising problem of violence against women in politics – namely, acts of aggression towards female candidates and elected officials, with the purpose of getting women to end their campaigns or resign their political offices. A third, identified by women parliamentarians at a workshop organized by International IDEA in Tunisia, was to work on enhancing women’s representation in the decision-making structures of the parliament itself. Explicitly addressing strategies for accessing these positions could be crucial in ensuring that women play a greater role in shaping the parliamentary agenda.

### Recommendation #3: Develop programs targeting men in parliament

UN Women recently launched the “He for She” campaign to engage men and boys in working for greater gender equality around the globe. This campaign implicitly or explicitly informed comments by various interviewees regarding the need to target men in future program initiatives. For example, women elected to parliament sometimes faced harassment and mistreatment from their male colleagues. This behavior suggests a need to focus on men, in terms of raising their awareness and seeking to change their attitudes towards women in parliament. When holding capacity building sessions, or implementing any program supporting women parliamentarians, men should be one of the target groups. Engaging with all parliamentarians is critical to creating a working environment within the parliament that is less hostile to women members, and to encouraging broader change in social attitudes.

Similarly, many interviewees held positive views towards the idea of a women’s caucus, but several highlighted the importance of women not only speaking among themselves on questions concerning women’s rights. This could serve in the long run to mainstream a gender perspective into a wide range of issue, including those not typically seen as “women’s issues.” Conversely, working together with men could also expand the perspective of women parliamentarians that they can and should work on a wide range of topics in their legislative work.

### Recommendation #4: Liaise with youth organizations

Many new civil society organizations, as well as existed groups, are now focusing on youth in the wake of the Arab Spring to foster political participation. Many of these organizations also seek to promote women’s participation. The potential for collaboration across these various initiatives is thus far underdeveloped, however. This suggests a crucial opening for creating new programmatic priorities focused on alliances with youth groups, as well as more intersectional programs focused on young women.

Similar to Recommendation #3 above, it is critical that programming focusing on women in parliament also engage youth. Throughout the region, they are the majority population, and are under-represented in government and in public discourse. They are, however, increasingly more engaged via social media and in civil society groups, and are an untapped resource for support on women’s issues.

### Recommendation #5: Train members of the media regarding gender stereotypes

Media coverage of female politicians is often accused of being biased against women, intentionally or unintentionally. Women parliamentarians in Tunisia noted that male parliamentarians tended to be asked their opinions on various issues, whereas women were often asked questions about their family lives – a pattern reinforcing the perception that women do not belong in politics. Training journalists to be more balanced in their coverage and to invite women for issue-based interviews – as well as to raise

the consciousness of citizens regarding these stereotypes – could go a long way in strengthening women in parliament in terms of being recognized and evaluated as politicians, not only as women.

Raising the gender awareness of journalists could also serve to improve media coverage of debates regarding women's issues, further strengthening the legislative impact of women. As one interviewee noted in Tunisia, the media contributed to the “banalization” of violence against women when a law on this topic was proposed. Sensitizing journalists could thus be a crucial strategy for ensuring better public acceptance, enhancing the likelihood that such reforms will succeed. Interviews across the region pointed out, however, that politicians often pay journalists for favorable coverage – a system that disadvantages women, who tend to have fewer financial resources than men. Training in and of itself may thus not be enough to change media coverage, although it may help at least a bit on the margins.

#### Recommendation #6: Utilize the media as a tool for community engagement

Mass media, including television, radio, and print journalism is still the most widely consumed form of information across the Arab states. While internet penetration is climbing, and social media in particular is well on its way to becoming ubiquitous, traditional media forms may provide a crucial platform for supporting women parliamentarians. Women parliamentarians should receive training in speaking to the media and support in crafting campaigns to garner public support, in part through using media as a tool, as well as cultivating public approval and countering negative biases regarding women as leaders.

#### Recommendation #7: Focus on programming impact

As mentioned earlier, documentation uncovered in this study related to program support for women parliamentarians generally covers outputs and outcomes. Going forward, management and documentation of programming should emphasize impact, effectiveness and sustainability. This could be immediately accomplished by requiring an independent mid- and post-program evaluation as a part of every initiative.

#### Recommendation #8: Broaden the perspective of programming

As mentioned by one participant in the validation workshop, future programming could be made more effective if it were to take a more comprehensive approach to the support of women parliamentarians and include other societal pillars such as educational and religion institutions. Going further, this study clearly found that the majority of past programming has focused on capacity building activities. Consideration for other types of support (e.g. helping to get out the vote, non-partisan campaign support, real time election technical support, post election support) should be on the table. Another opportunity in this regard is moving from a local to regional focus, to create mechanisms whereby women can provide support to one another across borders.

#### Recommendation #9: Seek out and reward true innovative activities

Clearly one of the greatest difficulties facing women parliamentarians is the fact that they continue to operate within structures and systems (actual and perceptual) that, historically, were not built with them in mind. Breaking these structures and mindsets will require true innovation – actually building new ways of doing, being and operating – and future programming should seek out and reward these activities.

## Country Profile: ALGERIA

### Description of Parliamentary Structure<sup>50</sup>

Algeria has a bicameral parliament consisting of the Council of the Nation (upper house) and the National People's Assembly (lower house)

The Council of the Nation is composed of 144 members, 2/3 of which are elected indirectly (by a simple majority vote by an electoral college composed of local council members. These members serve 6-year terms with one-half of the membership renewed every three years) and 1/3 of which are appointed by the president. The National People's Assembly has 462 seats. Members of the NPA are directly elected in multi-seat constituencies by proportional representation vote to serve 5-year terms.

The last elections for the Council of the Nation were held on 29 December 2012 with the next to be held in December 2017. The last elections for the National People's Assembly were held on 10 May 2012 with the next to be held in 2017.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

The Council of the Nation (upper chamber) 2/3 is elected, 1/3 is appointed.  
The National People's Assembly (lower chamber) is elected.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

Low

The Algerian parliament has less power relative to the executive branch than many other parliaments throughout the globe. As of the last elections (in 2012), many voters felt that no matter the political composition of the parliament, it will continue to rubber-stamp any laws the president wishes to pass.<sup>51</sup>

### Status of Quotas in the Country

There are legislated quotas for the lower chamber in the form of reserved seats. There are no legislated quotas for the upper chamber.

Following changes to the law made in 2012, Article 2 of the Law for the Representation of Women, there are now quotas in place to promote women's political participation. The Electoral Law (Law No.12-03) requires variable quotas of between 20% and 50% of the candidates for parliament to be women, depending on the number of seats in each electoral district. The law prescribes the following quotas: 20% for the constituencies with 4 seats; 30% for those with 5 or more seats; 35% for those with 14 or more seats; 40% for those with 32 or more seats; and 50% for the constituencies abroad.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Source: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ag.html>

<sup>51</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-18016899>

<sup>52</sup> <http://spring-forward.unwomen.org/en/countries/algeria>

### *Legal sanctions for non-compliance*

Any list of candidates for election established in violation of the quota requirements will be rejected (Article 5 (1)). Article 5 (2) provides an opportunity for parties to make changes to their candidate lists to comply with the gender-based quota requirements 1 month before the date of the election

### *Additional info*

While providing mandatory candidate quotas for women candidates, the legal framework does not specify any mechanism for the allocation of seats to women in a manner that would translate the quota requirements into actual seat allocations in the elected parliament. In order to address this issue, an inter-ministerial circular was issued in advance of the 2012 parliamentary elections, specifying the formula for the allocation of seats for women.

During the 2012 legislative elections, political parties largely respected the women's quota requirements, nominating a total of 7700 women candidates, or approximately 31 per cent of the total number of candidates. However, given that the law falls short of specifying ranking rules, a limited number of party lists were headed by women and relatively few party lists in certain constituencies alternated male and female candidates.<sup>53</sup>

Under pressure to reform after last year's "Arab Spring" in the region, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika approved the establishment of 23 new political parties and an increase in the number of seats in parliament to 462. In addition the authorities installed new party rules that preserve 30% of the places on the candidacy lists for women, where the 2007 elected parliament only saw 28 women in parliament, the new policy has led to 145 women gaining seats in parliament, making it the most gender-balanced in the region.<sup>54</sup>

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

As of 31 May 2015, there are 146 women out of 462 in the lower chamber and 10 women out of 144 in the upper chamber.<sup>55</sup>

### Current / Ongoing Programming

Association of Algerian Women Managers (AFCARE) 1998-Present

Not an initiative or program, but rather an association which supported women candidates from Algiers in parliamentary elections, and participated in a memorandum to introduce the quota system promoted by CIDDEF (p 27).

### Programming Support for Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

- UN Women: Spring Forward for Women Conference (2014)
- UNINSTRAW and CAWTAR: Strengthening Women's Leadership and Participation in Politics and Decision Making in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia (2008-2011)
- Algerian Government, UNDP, IPU: Algerian Women's Caucusus (June 2014)

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<sup>53</sup> <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=DZ>

<sup>54</sup> <http://www.europeanforum.net/country/algeria>

<sup>55</sup> <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010515.htm>

- Forum on Women's Political Participation (2007)

### Existing Opportunities

The AFCARE provides a long-standing association to support women in parliament. Given the high number of women in parliament, it would be interesting to see the AFCARE partner with other organizations to develop programming for women who are currently serving in office.

### Existing Challenges

Algeria is currently experiencing political unrest which could inhibit the activities of civil society and international organizations that wish to develop and implement programming for women in Parliament.

### Summary Analysis

While there are certainly opportunities for programming given the large number of women in Parliament, it is unclear whether the currently political unrest in Algeria will hinder the ability of organizations, such as AFCARE, from supporting these individuals. Since international organizations are unable to engage on the ground in Algeria, it may be helpful to create a remote network of women parliamentarians who can exchange helpful information with one another.

## Country Profile: BAHRAIN

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Bahrain is a Constitutional Monarchy with a bicameral National Assembly consisting of the Consultative Council or Majlis al Shura (40 seats; members appointed by the king) and the Council of Representatives or Majlis al Nuwab (40 seats; members directly elected in single-seat constituencies by absolute majority vote in two rounds if needed; members serve 4-year renewable terms).

The last elections were held in November 2014. The next elections are scheduled for November 2018.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Elected

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

High

### Status of Quotas in the Country

None

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

There are currently 4 (10%) women in the lower house and 11 (27.5%) women in the upper house.

### Current / Ongoing Programming

None

### Programming Support for Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

- UN Women: Spring Forward for Women Conference (2014)
- The Smart Coaching and Research Center (SCRC), MEPI-Funded: Developing Political Leadership of Bahraini Women (2010)

### Existing Opportunities

Since there are currently women holding office in Bahrain, there is an opportunity to push for programming to support those individuals.

### Existing Challenges

A lack of programming to provide guidance for future programming inhibits support for current Women parliamentarians. It may be helpful to take examples of programming for women parliamentarians from other countries and try to apply those activities to women parliamentarians in Bahrain.

## Summary Analysis

While women hold office in Parliament in Bahrain, it is unclear as to why programming does not exist. It is also unclear the extent to which women in Parliament are effective in passing legislation and engaging in policy debates.

## Country Profile: EGYPT

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Egypt has a unicameral system consisting only of a House of Representatives.

In 2015, amendments to Egyptian election laws increased the number of seats for individual candidates to 444 from 420, bringing the total number of seats members to 592. The number of presidential appointees increased by one to twenty-eight, while the number of party candidates remained unchanged with 120 elected via a list system.

Elections are currently in process at the time of this report.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Elected

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

High

### Status of Quotas in the Country

Egypt's New Law for Parliamentary Elections (2014) established quotas, which party lists are mandated to fill, yet only in the upcoming elections. In the two 15-seat districts, each list should have seven women, three Christians, two workers or farmers, two youth, one disabled Egyptian, and one expatriate. In the two 45-seat districts, the lists must include triple those numbers for each group.

Article 180 of the new Constitution reserved one quarter of seats in elected local councils for women. Article 11 of the newly adopted Constitution of Egypt (adopted through a referendum in January 2014) provides that "The State shall ensure the achievement of equality between women and men in all civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution. The State shall take the necessary measures to ensure the appropriate representation of women in the houses of representatives, as specified by Law. The State shall also guarantee women's right of holding public and senior management offices in the State and their appointment in judicial bodies and authorities without discrimination".

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

None

### Programming Support for Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

During one of our virtual interviews, we spoke with Salma El-Naqqash, the Director of the Women's Political Participation Academy at Nazra in Egypt. She noted that, although there are very few women in parliament, Nazra has continued to offer capacity building workshops for women candidates. Ms. El-Naqqash explains that government transitions have been mostly to blame for the absence of women in parliament, but that Nazra continues to provide programming in other ways. We also spoke with Dr. Naglaa Ibrahim, Director of External Relations and International Cooperation Department with the National Council for Women in Egypt. Dr. Ibrahim's research expertise is in women parliamentarians.

Dr. Ibrahim mentioned that there are programs available for women in parliament, although they are, of course, inactive at this time because there are so few women holding office.

- Nazra Feminist Studies: Mentoring on the Ground (2011 – Present)
- ECWR: Interactive Map of Female Candidates for 2015 Election (2015) & ECWR's Operation Room's Activities (2014 – Present)
- UN Women: Spring Forward for Women Conference (2014)
- Nazra Feminist Studies: Women's Political Participation Academy (2011/2012)
- UN Women/UNIFEM Funded, National Council for Women: Civic and Political Participation Training Centre (Unknown)
- DEMO Finland and Resources for Development Center: Egyptian Women Engage Actively for Democracy and Reform (2012)
- UN Women: The Women Political Empowerment Programme, Egypt Country Office (2011-Present)

### Existing Opportunities

Egypt is in a unique position. The country is currently undergoing political transition, but past programs for women parliamentarians in office may be altered to support women who will eventually seek office. Additionally, inertia from past programs may also help organizations to inspire and educate Egyptian women to continue to be politically active, even as they are politically marginalized.<sup>56</sup>

### Existing Challenges

Egypt is currently experiencing a political transition and is creating new policies for government structures. If women are not part of this process, they may be marginalized from participation in government.

### Summary Analysis

While no programs currently exist for Egypt, lessons learned from past programs may help to encourage women to seek political candidacy and become more politically involved as activists. Additionally, the networks created by organizations such as Nazra may benefit women's groups who seek to change legislation in favor of more gender-inclusive policies. It will become important for documentation of past programs to be available for future use.

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<sup>56</sup> Nevine Ebeid, New Woman Foundation, Egypt, Virtual Interview, 15 August, 2015.

## Country Profile: IRAQ

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Iraq possesses a unicameral parliamentary structure.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Women are elected.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

Low

### Status of Quotas in the Country

There are legislated quotas in the lower house. There are no voluntary quotas among political parties. According to Article 49.4 of the Constitution: 'The elections law shall aim to achieve a percentage of representation for women of not less than one-quarter of the members of the Council of Representatives.'

According to Article 3 (3) of Law No. 26 (2009) amending the 2005 Electoral Law: 'The proportion of women shall not be less than one quarter of the winners'. Further, Regulation no. 21, Seat Allocation (2010), states: 'This regulation shall guarantee achieving [a] total number of female winners countrywide not less than 25% (82 women).' (ace.project.org) 'Achievement of this quota is ensured through a complex set of procedures set out in this regulation, which provides for rules for determining the number of women each governorate will have to elect.'

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

There are currently 83 women in Parliament

### Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

UN Women: Spring Forward for Women Conference (2014)

Westminster Foundation for Democracy: WFD Workshop in Kurdistan (UK MPs share experience with women counterparts in Kurdistan Parliament) (2012)

### Existing Opportunities

Iraq is a case in which the new government presents an opportunity for current women in Parliament to help define the future of women's political leadership in the country. The opportunity for programming lies, not only in programs that help women with building their capacity as political leaders, but also in supporting their effectiveness in engaging male colleagues and constituents.

### Existing Challenges

The challenge for programming in Iraq is that women's political influence is generally low. Programming may be met with push-back from organizations and institutions that perceive women as being unnecessary to the political arena.

## Summary Analysis

Overall, Iraq presents a case in which women are holding political office with no current means of receiving support specific to their needs as women.

## Country Profile: JORDAN

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Jordan's National Assembly (Majlis al-'Umma) is bicameral and composed of the Senate or the House of Notables (Majlis al-Ayan) and the House of Representatives or the Chamber of Deputies (Majlis al-Nuwaab). The Senate is comprised of 60 seats and members are appointed by the monarch to serve four-year terms. The Chamber of Deputies is comprised of 150 seats. Of those, 108 members are directly elected in single- and multi-seat constituencies by simple majority vote, 27 are directly elected in a single national constituency by proportional representation vote, and 15 seats are reserved for women. Members of the Chamber of Deputies also serve four-year terms. The last elections for the Chamber of Deputies was last held on 23 January 2013 and the next election is anticipated in 2017.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

A mix of elected and appointed.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

High

### Status of Quotas in the Country

There are legislated quotas for the lower chamber in the form of reserved seats. However, there are no legislated quotas for the upper chamber. There are also no voluntary quotas adopted by political parties.

The quota system was introduced in the 2003 elections through amendments to Article 11 of the electoral law of 2001. The original amended legislation provided a quota provision reserving six of the 110 seats (5.45 per cent) for women in the national parliament. However, as part of the 2012 electoral reforms, the quota for women was increased to 15 seats. For the allocation of the 15 reserved seats for women, the election commission will calculate the percentage of votes for unsuccessful women candidates in district elections by dividing the number of votes they obtain by the total number of votes cast in their constituency. The 15 women candidates who obtain the highest percentage of votes nationwide will be declared elected on the condition that no governorate obtains more than one reserved seat for women.

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

12%, disaggregated as follows:

- Lower chamber: 18 out of 150
- Upper chamber: 9 out of 75
- As of Dec 2014, source: IPU

(In December 2005 there were 6/110 lower, 6/55 upper)

### Current / Ongoing Programming

None

## Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

- UN Women: Spring Forward for Women Conference (2014)
- Women Helping Women Network:
  - WHW's Training and Consultation Unit Activities (Various years)
  - Legal Consultation (no formal title provided) (2008)
  - Consultation Session for women parliamentarians on communication skills and media relations (no formal title provided) (2008)
  - Strategic planning workshop (no formal title provided) (2008)
- NDI Jordan:
  - Various NDI training and workshops (Unknown)
  - NDI partnered with UNWOMEN, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, United Nations Development Program, and the Inter-Parliamentary Union to launch an Arabic version of the International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics (iKNOW Politics) in 2009. This virtual platform allows women in leadership positions to engage in dialogue with like-minded women from around the world, share ideas and expertise, and build strong social networks. iKNOW Politics has sponsored e-discussions with more than 120 participants from 35 countries on topics highly relevant to Jordan's women parliamentarians, such as women's caucuses, fundraising strategies for women in politics, and gender quotas.<sup>57</sup>
  - NDI Jordan's support to women parliamentarians (Unknown)

## Existing Opportunities

There are currently discussions in Parliament regarding reforms to election laws and quota systems. While there is potential that new laws may hinder the election of women into Parliament, this is also an opportunity for current women parliamentarians to effect positive change within the Parliamentary structure.

## Existing Challenges

There is an over-saturation in Jordan with regards to international organizations that are working to build and implement programs for women parliamentarians. Many of the program activities overlap and gaps in activity planning remains. The challenge is to coordinate among existing organizations and programs in order to create more effective programs for women parliamentarians.

## Summary Analysis

Jordan is an interesting case in which there are too many programs that aim to support women parliamentarians. These programs often compete with each other for resources and funding. Rather than compete with one another, these programs and organizations might collaborate and create a network in which each organization may contribute a part to the large whole of programming aimed at supporting women parliamentarians.

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<sup>57</sup> [https://www.ndi.org/iKNOW\\_Politics\\_Partners\\_Launch\\_Arabic\\_Language\\_Website](https://www.ndi.org/iKNOW_Politics_Partners_Launch_Arabic_Language_Website)

## Country Profile: KUWAIT

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Kuwait is a Constitutional Emirate with a unicameral National Assembly or Majlis al-Umma (65 seats; 50 members directly elected in multi-seat constituencies by simple majority vote and 15 ex-officio members - cabinet ministers - appointed by the prime minister; members serve 4-year terms). The last election was held July 27, 2013. The next elections are scheduled for July 2017.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Women are elected to Parliament.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

High

### Status of Quotas in the Country

None

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

There is only 1 woman (1.5%) in Parliament.

### Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

Government of Kuwait:

- Support for Expanded Political Participation and Empowerment (2008)
- UNDP and Various Unnamed CSOs
- Support to Kuwaiti Women in the Parliamentary Elections (2006)

### Existing Opportunities

Although there is currently only one woman in Parliament, this poses an opportunity to develop future programming for women parliamentarians. This situation poses an opportunity to learn, in depth, about the experience of women in Parliament and will help to develop appropriate tools to assist future Women parliamentarians. This may also begin a network of women who are available to exchange ideas and support one another in office.

### Existing Challenges

The greatest challenge to programming for women parliamentarians in Kuwait is that there are so few women in Parliament. It is difficult to justify the funding and support of programming when there are so few people who will immediately benefit.

### Summary Analysis

Programming for women parliamentarians in Kuwait may be viewed as unnecessary given that there is only one woman currently holding office. While it may be that more women will be elected, the current

political environment for women, along with the lack of gender quotas, makes the election of greater numbers of women unlikely.

## Country Profile: LEBANON

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Lebanon possesses a unicameral system.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Women are elected to Parliament.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

High

### Status of Quotas in the Country

None

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

Only 4 seats are held by women.

### Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

- UN Women: Spring Forward for Women Conference (2014)
- UNDP: Lebanese Electoral Assistance Program (LEAP) (2012-2014)

### Existing Opportunities

There are very few women in the Lebanese Parliament. However, this may be an opportunity to create a small network for these women to learn from one another, share experiences, and find solutions to common challenges that arise as a function of their holding office.

### Existing Challenges

There have been few programs focused on supporting women parliamentarians in Lebanon. Therefore, it may be difficult to develop new programming without a clear path for success. This challenge may be overcome, in part, by adopting the activities of successful programming in other countries, such as Jordan and Morocco.

### Summary Analysis

Lebanon is a case in which new programs to support women in Parliament may be needed, wanted, and accepted. Organizations and groups that wish to take on this project should look to examples from countries like Jordan and Morocco in order to develop their programming structures. Given that there are no gender quotas in Lebanon, it might be appropriate to support the establishment of such quotas one of the aims of this programming.

## Country Profile: LIBYA

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Libya possesses a unicameral parliamentary structure.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Women are elected.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

Low

### Status of Quotas in the Country

There are legislated quotas in the lower house. There are no voluntary quotas among political parties. The General National Congress consists of 200 members, 120 of whom are elected by majority, based on a first-past-the-post system for single-member districts, where the winner is the candidate with the most votes. For multi-member districts, a single non-transferable vote system is adopted. The remaining 80 members are elected by proportional representation from closed electoral lists, presented by political entities in multi-member constituencies. According to Article 15 of the 2012 Law on the Election of the National General Congress, on the lists of candidates submitted by parties for the proportional representation contest, 'candidates shall be arranged on the basis of alternation among male and female candidates, vertically and horizontally. Lists that do not respect such principle shall not be accepted. The Commission shall publish samples showing the format of such lists and the method used to arrange the candidates within them'.<sup>58</sup>

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

There are currently 30 women in Parliament.

### Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

- UN Women: Spring Forward for Women Conference (2014)
- Voice of Libyan Women (Unknown)
- DEMO Finland: Preparing for the First Elections – Women's Political Empowerment in Libya (2012)

### Existing Opportunities

None. Due to widespread political violence, developing and maintaining programming for women in Parliament is understandably not a top priority for international organizations and civil society.

### Existing Challenges

Libya is currently experience widespread political violence.

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<sup>58</sup> <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=LY>

## Summary Analysis

While women do hold office in Libya, widespread political violence makes implementing programs to support these women difficult from a logistic, as well as a cultural, perspective.

## Country Profile: MOROCCO

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Morocco possesses a bicameral parliamentary structure.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Women are elected into office.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

High

### Status of Quotas in the Country<sup>59</sup>

There are quotas for the lower chamber in the form of reserved seats. There are no legislated quotas for the upper chamber. There are also no voluntary quotas adopted by political parties.

Details: 305 of the 395 members of the lower house are elected in 92 multi-member constituencies through a proportional representation system. An additional 60 seats are reserved for women, while 30 are reserved for young men under the age of 40. The reserved seats for women are filled by winners elected through a proportional representation system based on nation-wide closed party lists (Article 23 (2) of the Organic Law No. 27-11 on the House of Representatives). This system, legislated through the 2011 electoral reforms, builds upon the previous 'honorary agreement' between the political parties, formed in 2002, which reserved 30 seats for women (see additional information).

Additional info: The electoral threshold for the 92 multi-member constituencies is 6 per cent, while for the one national constituency the threshold is 3 per cent. In 2002 the political parties signed a charter that reserved 30 seats for women in the lower house, elected through a special nation-wide list. The 2007 election followed the same rules. Following the democratic uprising in 2011, the quota regulation was codified in the new electoral law for the 2011 elections, and the number of reserved seats for women was extended to 60 seats, while 30 seats were reserved for young men under the age of 40. In the 2011 elections, only seven women were elected to a constituency seat, a slight increase from four in 2007 and five in 2002, when the reserved seats were first introduced.

At the sub-national level, the 2008 reform introduced a 12 per cent quota for the communal elections through the creation of 'additional electoral constituencies' in urban and rural communities and districts (Articles 204 (1) and (2) of the electoral code), as well as the creation of a 'support fund for the promotion of women representativeness' (Article 288). Although not explicitly mentioned in the electoral law, there was a national consensus that these seats would be reserved for women. As a result of this reform, women's local representation increased from 0.6 per cent to 12.3 per cent in the 2009 local government elections. In the next local elections, the 2011 law on the election of council members of local authorities, reserving seats for women in regional, communal and district councils, will be applied.

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<sup>59</sup> <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/countryview.cfm?country=138>

Legal sanctions for non-compliance: Lists of candidates that violate the provisions of Article 23, including the quota requirements, shall be rejected (Article 24 (2)).

## Current Number of Women in Parliament

Currently, 66 seats are held by women.

## Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

UN Women: Spring Forward for Women Conference (2014)

Government of Morocco: A workshop on the international commitments of Morocco on the harmonization of national legislation with the provisions of CEDAW (2013)

Other:

- Training on the Parliament's rules and procedures and women's caucuses for members of the Parliamentarians for Equality (Unknown, Assumed 2013)
- Team building session with group of Women Parliamentarians (2013)
- Association Democratique des Femmes du Maroc (ADFM)
- Strengthening of Arab Women Parliamentarians (2005-2006)
- Women Learning Partnership (2000-2009)

## Existing Opportunities

The Groupe de Travail des Parlementaires pour l'Egalité (GTPPE) has not only been successful at pushing legislation, but the group provides support to members against persistent harassment from other members of parliament and perceptions of their gains being undeserved simply because they entered parliament through a quota system. The cultivation and maintenance of such women's caucuses provides opportunity to change the culture of parliamentary institutions beyond the policy-driven structure of quotas.

## Existing Challenges

According to one source, the quota system works on incentives to include female candidates by offering more money to the party, but does not sanction or penalize them when they do not meet their quotas.<sup>60</sup> Another challenge facing the support of women in Parliament is changing the discourse regarding the worth and effectiveness of women who are elected within a quota system. This was a point made by several interviewees.

## Summary Analysis

Morocco presents a case in which past programming for women parliamentarians may provide direction for the development of new programming. Given that there are many women currently holding office in Parliament, there is opportunity for programming to be helpful. Perhaps existing associations, such as the GTPPE, could serve as stewards of new programming aimed at not only providing women parliamentarians with the capacity-building activities they require, but also the support to be effective in engaging their fellow Parliamentarians.

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<sup>60</sup> Interview: Professor Abderrahim El Maslouhi, University Mohamed V, Morocco.

## Country Profile: OMAN

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Oman is a monarchy with a bicameral legislative system. The Council of Oman or Majlis Oman consists of the Council of State or Majlis al-Dawla (83 seats; members appointed by the sultan from among former government officials and prominent educators, businessmen, and citizens) and the Consultative Assembly or Majlis al-Shura (84 seats; members directly elected in single- and multi-seat constituencies by simple majority vote to serve 4-year terms); note - following political reforms in 2011, legislation from the Consultative Assembly is submitted to the Council of State for passage and amendments.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Women are partially elected to Parliament.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

Low

### Status of Quotas in the Country

None

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

There is 1 (1.19%) woman in the lower house and 15 (18.07%) women in the upper house.

### Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

None

### Existing Opportunities

Although there is only one woman currently holding office in Oman, this is an opportunity to learn about what challenges women might face as a function of holding office in Parliament.

### Existing Challenges

There are no gender quotas in Oman, which may pose a challenge to electing women into Parliament. It is difficult to justify resource allocation to programs when it is unclear how many individuals will benefit from those programs.

### Summary Analysis

It will be difficult to develop programs in Oman since few examples exist of programs that engage women in the political sphere in general. However, it is important to take advantage of the experiential learning opportunities of the one woman in Parliament in order to better understand how these programs might be structured to best support future women parliamentarians.

## Country Profile: PALESTINE

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Palestine is a semi-Presidential system. The Palestinian Legislative Council It is a unicameral body with 132 members.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Women are elected to Parliament.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

High

### Status of Quotas in the Country

There are quotas at both national and sub-national levels. Article 4 of the 2005 electoral law required each party list to include at least one woman among the first three names, at least one woman among the next four names, and at least one woman in every five names thereafter. In addition, all major political parties have minimum quotas for women in their governing bodies.

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

There are currently 17 (13%) women in Parliament.

### Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

UN Women: Spring Forward for Women Conference (2014)

### Existing Opportunities

Since there is currently no programming for women parliamentarians in Palestine, the opportunity exists to learn from the Spring Forward for Women Conference and begin to create programming based on the lessons learned in that Conference. Additionally, there is an opportunity to create a network among the current women parliamentarians in order to foster collaboration and the sharing of ideas among these individuals.

### Existing Challenges

Since no programming currently exists, the greatest challenge will be to create effective programming that will be useful to all current women parliamentarians. In order to overcome this potential challenge, organizations should take lessons learned from the activities of other programs and past programs implemented in other countries, such as Egypt, Morocco, and Jordan.

### Summary Analysis

There is certainly opportunity for programming to be developed and implemented in Palestine. With the lack of programming thus far, it will be challenging to start new programs. However, this also poses an opportunity for innovative thinking and collaboration among the current women parliamentarians.

## Country Profile: QATAR

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Qatar is an Emirate with a unicameral system. The unicameral Advisory Council or Majlis al-Shura (15 seats; members appointed by the monarch); note - the 2003 constitutional referendum called for the election of 30 members, however, the first election scheduled for 2013 was postponed.

The Advisory Council has limited legislative authority to draft and approve laws, but the Amir has final say on all matters.

Qatar's first legislative elections were expected to be held in 2013, but HAMAD postponed them in a final legislative act prior to handing over power to TAMIM. In principle, the public would elect 30 members and the Amir would appoint 15. The Advisory Council would have authority to approve the national budget, hold ministers accountable through no-confidence votes, and propose legislation. The 29-member Central Municipal Council - first elected in 1999 - has limited consultative authority aimed at improving municipal services; members elected for 4-year terms. The next election scheduled for May 2015.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Women are appointed to Parliament.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

Low

### Status of Quotas in the Country

None

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

None

### Past or Unknown Current Status of Programming (Post 2005)

Moza Al Maliki Training and Consultation Center, MEPI-Funded: Promoting Political Participation of Women in Qatari Society (2006/7)

### Existing Opportunities

There are no immediate opportunities for programming in support of women parliamentarians in Qatar.

### Existing Challenges

There are currently no women in Parliament and, therefore, no need for programming aimed at supporting women parliamentarians.

### Summary Analysis

Due to the electoral politics in Qatar, as well as the absence of women holding office in Parliament, Qatar is not a good candidate for the development of programming for Women parliamentarians. It is unlikely that programming will be supported until women have been elected into office.

## Country Profile: SAUDI ARABIA

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a monarchy with a unicameral Consultative Council or Majlis al-Shura (150 seats; members appointed by the monarch to serve 4-year terms); note - in early 2013, the monarch granted women 30 seats on the Council.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Women are appointed to Parliament.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

Low

### Status of Quotas in the Country

In early 2013, 30 seats on the Council were reserved for women.

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

The 2013 unicameral Majilis Al-Shura/ Consultative Council of Saudi Arabia had 30/ 151 (19.87%) female representatives (appointed by the Monarch).

There are currently, however, no female ministers in the cabinet and women remain segregated within the council, entering through a separate door and sitting in their own seating area.

### Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

None

### Existing Opportunities

The greatest opportunity for Saudi Arabia is to create programs and activities that will enhance the effectiveness and visibility of women once they are elected into office.

### Existing Challenges

The greatest challenge for Saudi Arabia is overcoming the current governmental institutions that systematically remove women from political discourse and marginalize their political participation overall.

### Summary Analysis

Saudi Arabia is not in a position to support programming for women parliamentarians. The political environment is such that resources would be better spent attempting to change the cultural perceptions of women in political society, rather than developing programming for women parliamentarians, particularly since there are no women currently holding office in Saudi Arabia.

## Country Profile: SYRIA

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Syria is in the midst of widespread political violence and is currently undergoing political transition.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Not applicable.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

Not applicable.

### Status of Quotas in the Country

None.

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

None.

### Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

None.

### Existing Opportunities

None. Due to widespread political violence, developing and maintaining programming for women in Parliament is understandably not a top priority for international organizations and civil society.

### Existing Challenges

Syria is currently experience widespread political violence.

### Summary Analysis

Syria is not in a position to hold elections. Therefore, programs supporting women parliamentarians are irrelevant in this case.

## Country Profile: TUNISIA

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Tunisia's legislative branch consists of the Assembly of the Representatives of the People, which consists of 217 seats. The first elections for the Assembly of the Representative of the People occurred on 26 October 2014.

Before 2011 revolution, parliament was bicameral. The lower house of the bicameral Parliament was the Chamber of Deputies of Tunisia (Majlis al-Nuwaab), which had 214 seats. Members were elected by popular vote to serve five-year terms. At least 25% of the seats in the House of Deputies were reserved for the opposition. More than 27% of the members of the Chamber of Deputies were women. The Lower House played a growing role as an arena for debate on national policy especially that it hosted representatives from six opposition parties. Opposition members often voted against bills or abstain. Because of the comfortable majority enjoyed by the governing party, bills usually passed with only minor changes.

The upper house was the Chamber of Advisors, which included 112 members including representatives of governorates (provinces), professional organizations and national figures. Forty-one members were appointed by the Head of state, while the remainder were elected by their peers. About 15% of the members of the Chamber of advisors were women.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Women are elected to Parliament.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

High

### Status of Quotas in the Country<sup>61</sup>

There are legislated candidate quotas for the lower chamber. There are no legislated quotas for the upper chamber. There are also no voluntary quotas adopted by political parties.

Constitution: Article 46 of the 2014 Constitution guarantees "equality of opportunities between women and men to have access to all levels of responsibility and in all fields. The state seeks to achieve equal representation for women and men in elected councils".

Electoral law: The National Constituent Assembly is composed of 217 members elected from 33 constituencies by the list proportional representation system. According to Article 16 of Decree 35: 'Candidates shall file their candidacy applications on the basis of parity between men and women.'

Legal sanctions for non-compliance: Lists that do not follow the principle of gender parity will only be admitted when the number of seats, in the relevant constituency, is odd (Article 16).

Rank order/placement rules: "Lists shall be established in such a way to alternate between men and women" (Article 16). (electoral law)

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<sup>61</sup> <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/countryview.cfm?country=220>

## Current Number of Women in Parliament

There are currently 68 women in Parliament.

## Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

- DEMO Finland: Tunisian School of Politics (2012 – Present)
- International IDEA and NIMD: Respect for Women’s Political Rights: Participation and Leadership of Women in Politics in Tunisia Program (2014)
- UNINSTRAW and CAWTAR: Strengthening Women’s Leadership and Participation in Politics and Decision Making in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia (2008-2011)
- CREDIF: Study on “Women’s Political Participation” (Unknown)
- Westminster Foundation for Democracy: Westminster Foundation for Democracy’s Workshop in Tunisia: Women’s strategies for stronger participation in political parties and the policy-making process (2013)
  - Twenty-five women from across Tunisia, representing nine of the country’s political parties, attended the two-day regional workshop, organized by the UK’s Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD) from 9-11 February 2013. A major topic up for debate during the workshop was the safety of women on public transport. Participants developed a policy initiative and then held a debate on how best to address the issue. Other topics included public speaking skills and working with civil society organizations to better access quality research and data, and use this to improve policy development.<sup>62</sup>

## Existing Opportunities

Given that there are currently 68 women in Parliament, the opportunity exists for Tunisia to add to the programming provided by the Tunisian School of Politics. It may be helpful to, like in Jordan, create more women’s caucuses or associations in which women can share their experiences and resources with one another. It would also be helpful to create a network in which women support one another in situations in which they may be marginalized or harassed by other Parliamentarians.

## Existing Challenges

There are few challenges to the development of programming for women parliamentarians in Tunisia. The greatest challenge for current programming will be to clearly document their activities and assess their activities for lessons learned, best practices, etc.

## Summary Analysis

Tunisia is an example of a case in which women have been elected to Parliamentary office and in which programming exists to support those Women parliamentarians. The opportunity for programs in Tunisia to continue to function is great and there are certainly other opportunities to create networks of women parliamentarians that may help one another, as well as mentor newly elected women parliamentarians in the future.

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<sup>62</sup> <http://www.wfd.org/wfd-news/latest/news.aspx?p=109583>

## Country Profile: UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

UAE has a unicameral parliamentary structure comprised of the Federal National Council or Majlis al-Ittihad al-Watani whose members serve four-year terms. There are 40 seats total with 20 members appointed by the rulers of the 7 constituent states and 20 indirectly elected by an electoral college of the constituent state councils.

The last elections were held on 24 September 2011 and next to be held in 2015. In September 2011, 469 candidates, including 85 women, ran for 20 contested FNC seats.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Women are appointed.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

Low

### Status of Quotas in the Country

There are no quotas at national or sub-national level. The UAE is not an electoral democracy, political organizations and political parties are illegal, and both men and women have very limited political rights.

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

There are currently 7 women in Parliament.

### Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

- UN Women: Spring Forward for Women Conference (2014)
- Dubai Women Establishment: Arab Women's Leadership Forum (2011 – 2014)

### Existing Opportunities

There is little opportunity for programming to support the few women currently holding office in Parliament. This is due to the current political climate and policies with regards to civil society.

### Existing Challenges

Political organizations and political parties are illegal, political rights are severely limited, and the UAE is not an electoral democracy.

### Summary Analysis

There is very little that can be done to support women parliamentarians given the current political climate in the UAE.

## Country Profile: YEMEN

### Description of Parliamentary Structure

Yemen is in the midst of widespread political violence and is currently undergoing political transition.

### Are Women Elected or Appointed

Not applicable.

### Women's Parliamentary Level of Influence in Governing (High or Low)

Not applicable.

### Status of Quotas in the Country

None.

### Current Number of Women in Parliament

None.

### Programming Support For Women Parliamentarians (Past, Present, Future)

- UN Women: Spring Forward for Women Conference
- Democracy School (MEPI-funded):
  - Democracy School's Training/Workshop in Yemen (2008)
  - Advancing Yemeni Women's Political Participation and Leadership Project (2009)
  - Supporting Women Political Participation in Yemen (Unknown)
- SCER Yemen: Electoral Support Project (2006)

### Existing Opportunities

None. Due to widespread political violence, developing and maintaining programming for women in Parliament is understandably not a top priority for international organizations and civil society.

### Existing Challenges

Yemen is currently experience widespread political violence.

### Summary Analysis

Yemen is not in a position to hold elections. Therefore, programs supporting women parliamentarians are irrelevant in this case.

## Annex A – Online Research Path

Results of Internet Searches		
Relevant Resources		
<b>Search Terms: Gender</b>		
Date Accessed	Source	Notes
5/26/2015	<a href="#">National Democratic Institute</a>	
<b>Search Terms: Women</b>		
Date Accessed	Source	Notes
5/26/2015	<a href="#">National Democratic Institute</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Friedrich Ebert Stiftung</a>	
<b>Search Terms: "Women" and "Parliament"</b>		
Date Accessed	Source	Notes
5/26/2015	<a href="#">International Center for Research on Women</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Wilson Center</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">The U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI)</a>	
<b>Search Terms: "Parliament"</b>		
Date Accessed	Source	Notes
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Karama</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance</a>	Was also accessed on 6/4/2015
5/27/2015	<a href="#">The U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI)</a>	
5/27/2015	<a href="#">Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation</a>	
6/17/2015	<a href="#">DEMO Finland</a>	
<b>Search Terms: "Women" or "Parliament"</b>		
Date Accessed	Source	Notes
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Wilson Center</a>	
<b>Search Terms: quota</b>		

Date Accessed	Source	Notes
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Wilson Center</a>	
<b>Search Terms: Women and Parliament</b>		
Date Accessed	Source	Notes
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Agora-parl.org</a>	
<b>Search Terms: "women's political participation"</b>		
Date Accessed	Source	Notes
6/4/2015	<a href="#">Center of Arab Women Training and Research</a>	
<b>Search Terms employed for Google and Google Scholar</b>		
	gender quota	
	women parliament* (accompanied by each of the 17 countries)	
	women members of parliament	
	capacity building women parliament*	
	capacity building female members of parliament	
	women parliament training	
	women parliament capacity building	
	empowering women parliamentarians	
<b>Other Resources That Did Not Yield Relevant Results</b>		
5/26/2015	<a href="#">International Women's Democracy Center</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Women's Environment and Development Organization</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Arab Institute for Human Rights</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Harvard Humanitarian Initiative</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">UNDP</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Chemonics</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Mercy Corps</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Women in Parliaments Global Forum</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Chatham House</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">DFID</a>	

5/26/2015	<a href="#">Global org of parliamentarians against corruption</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Center for study of islam and democracy</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Gulf Research Center</a>	
5/26/2015	UN Women (no relevant documents available publicly)	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">Sida</a>	
5/26/2015	<a href="#">GIZ</a>	
5/26/2015	Brookings	
6/3/2015	<a href="#">Network of Democracy Research Institutions</a>	
6/3/2015	<a href="#">Arab NGO Network for Development</a>	
6/3/2015	<a href="#">Voice of Libyan Women</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">Women's Campaign International</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">Cener for Strategic Studies (University of Jordan)</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">Lebanese Center for Policy Studies</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">Bahrain Institute for Rights and Democracy</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">International Institute for Strategic Studies - Middle East</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">Republic of Tunisia, Ministry of Women, Family and Childhood: Center for Research, Studies, Documentation and Information on Women</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">Kawakibi Democracy Transition Center</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche sur le Developpement</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">RAND</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">Abaad Resource Center for Gender Equality</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">Tamkeen for Legal Aid &amp; Human Rights and Daem Observatory for Consultation and Training</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">CARE International</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="http://www.soul-yemen.org/index.php">http://www.soul-yemen.org/index.php</a>	
6/4/2015	<a href="#">WBI</a>	
6/18/2015	<a href="#">Women's Learning Partnership</a>	

## Annex B – Documents Reviewed

Title	Author/Organization	Year
Women in Parliament in 2011: The Year in Perspective	Inter-Parliamentary Union	2011
Women in Parliament 2015	Inter-Parliamentary Union	2015
Atlas of Electoral Gender Quotas	Inter-Parliamentary Union	2013
Report of the Third Regional Conference of Women Parliamentarians of GCC States (in Arabic only)	Inter-Parliamentary Union	2009
Report of the Second Regional Conference of Women Parliamentarians of GCC States (in Arabic only)	Inter-Parliamentary Union	2008
[ARABIC]Jordan: Women Helping Women-Jordanian Women's Election Network Summer 2009 Newsletter	NDI	2009
Jordan: Women Helping Women-Jordanian Women's Election Network Summer 2008 Newsletter	NDI	2008
Women's Political Empowerment Promoted and Sustained in Arab States Seminar for French Speaking Women Parliamentarians	Agora	2014
Mapping of the situation of women participation in politics in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia	United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women	2009
Enhancing Women's Pol Part and Leadership in MENA 2012-2015	Westminster Foundation for Democracy	2011
[ARABIC] Instructor Curriculum for 'Strengthening Women Parliamentarian's Skills in Televised Appearances' in Jordan	MEPI/Daem for Media	2013
[ARABIC] Women and Politics	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	2009
[ARABIC] Student Manual for 'Strengthening Women Parliamentarian's Social Media Skills' in Jordan	MEPI/Daem for Media	2013
[ARABIC] Women Political Participation Yemen 2014	Foundation for the Future	2012
[ARABIC] Analytical Study on the Status of Women in Political Parties in Egypt	Foundation for the Future	2014
Project Brief- Strengthening Women's leadership and participation in politics and decision making in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia	CAWTAR	2008-2011
External Eval-Electoral Support Project SCER Yemen	UNDP	2006
LEAP Project Document-overview	UNDP	2014
LEAP Project Document-full text (executed Nov 2012)	UNDP	2012
Workshop to strengthen role of women in elections (Lebanon)	UNDP	2013
Advancing Yemeni Women's Political Participation and Leadership	MEPI/SDF	2009
Women Political Leaders in Yemen Develop Advocacy Aptitude	MEPI	2008
MEPI-Funded Projects on Supporting Women (list of all projects)	MEPI	Multiple
Smart Coaching and Research Center Trains Bahraini Women in Political Leadership	MEPI	2010
Women from Jordanian Badia Build Civic Engagement	MEPI	2009
MDG3 Kuwait Equitable Political Participation 2008	UNDP	2008
She and Elections Report: Mentoring on the ground with candidates	Nazra for Feminist Studies	2012

<b>2011/2012</b>		
<b>Finnish female politicians support Lonsibyan women, preparing for their first elections</b>	DEMO Finland	2012
<b>Tunisia has adopted the ABC of democracy</b>	DEMO Finland	2014
<b>Alumni of the Tunisian School of Politics step up for elections</b>	DEMO Finland	2014
<b>DEMO Finland Involved in Building a More Egalitarian Egypt</b>	DEMO Finland	2012
<b>Workshop focuses on enhancing women's leadership and political participation</b>	Westminster Foundation for Democracy	2012
<b>iKNOW Politics Partners Launch Arabic Language Website to Support Women in Politics</b>	NDI	2009
<b>Workshop builds skills of aspiring women politicians across Tunisia</b>	Westminster Foundation for Democracy	2013
<b>UK MPs share experience with women counterparts in Kurdistan Parliament</b>	Westminster Foundation for Democracy	2012
<b>[FRENCH] Etude Finale Communication Sociale, Participation Politique et Gouvernance Democratique Pour l'Habilitation des Femmes au Maroc</b>	UNIFEM	2008
<b>[FRENCH] Team Building for Parliamentarians for Equality Group</b>	unknown	2013
<b>[FR &amp; AR] Workshop on Finance and Taxation for the group of Women Parliamentarians</b>	unknown	Unknown
<b>[FRENCH] Groupe des Femmes Parlementaires Pour l'Egalite et la Lutte Contre Toutes les Formes de Discrimination</b>	Unknown	Unknown
<b>Arab Women Parliamentarians Project 41670 (2005-2009)</b>	UNIFEM	2009
<b>Support to the Group of Parliamentarians for Equality for the Harmonization of Legislation with Constitutional Provisions Interim Report no. 1</b>	UN Women	2015
<b>Annual Report: Support to the implementation of the constitution through harmonization of legislation with constitutional provisions and International Human Rights conventions in Morocco</b>	UN Women	2013-2015
<b>Overview: Women Helping Women Jordanian Women's Election Network (Brochure)</b>	Women Helping Women Jordanian Women's Election Network	Unknown
<b>The Road to Democracy: Assessing NDI's Programs in Jordan</b>	American University School of International Service Graduate Students	2014

## Annex C – Virtual Interview Research Guides

### Members of Parliament (Women and Men)

- When were you first elected to parliament? Why did you decide to run?
- What are your views on gender quotas, as a mechanism for selecting female candidates? Special measures?
- What were your experiences during the electoral campaign, as a woman running for political office? Do you think that women experienced particular difficulties as candidates, as compared to men? If so, what were some of the key challenges?
- Did the use of gender quotas affect how female candidates were perceived, in your view – either positively or negatively? Can you give any concrete examples?
- Did you attend any candidate training programs prior to the election? Who organized the trainings? Were these directed at women only? What were the skills taught? Do you think they were effective? What was missing from the training?
- What happened after you were elected? Did you attend any training events for new MPs?
  - If so: What did the trainings entail? Who organized them? Were they helpful in the transition to your new position? What skills/knowledge did you wish they had addressed?
  - If not: Were there any trainings organized? If so, why didn't you attend? What kinds of training do you wish you had received once you became an MP?
- Based on your experiences as an MP, do you think women MPs face more challenges than male MPs, in terms of their work in parliament? Can you give any concrete examples?
- Are you involved with the work of the women's caucus? Why or why not? What type of work does it do? Does it have any formal links with civil society? In your view, is it an effective body? How could it be made stronger?
- In your work as an MP, have you worked together with women across party lines on any issues? Do the women MPs in your party work together in any formal capacity? Are there any men who are champions of women's issues?
- Do you think that the rules and procedures of parliament are women-friendly? For example, in some countries, women MPs find that the hours of parliament are not conducive to family life. Or, they feel that the environment of parliament assumes a male norm – for example, due to the lack of women's toilets or child care facilities. What has been your experience? How might parliament be made to be a more attractive work place for women?
- Have any organizations – national or international – been involved in supporting any of these initiatives? In your view, what more could be done to support the work of women MPs?

### Government Agencies

- What is the primary responsibility of your agency when it comes to gender equality issues? What role does your agency play in implementing or monitoring the gender quota policy?
- Do you think that women experienced particular difficulties as candidates, as compared to men? What were some of the key challenges?
- Did the use of gender quotas affect how female candidates were perceived, in your view – either positively or negatively? Can you give any concrete examples?

- Did your agency organise any training programmes after the election for newly elected MPs? If so: Were any of these directed at women only? What were the skills taught? Do you think they were effective? What was missing from the training?
- Does your agency collaborate in any formal or informal way with women MPs? If so: What is the nature of this cooperation? What have been some key accomplishments? Any key challenges?
- Does your agency implement programming or collaborate with others working on issues related to women parliamentarians (e.g. UN Agencies, non-governmental organizations, advocacy groups)?
- What more could be done on your end to support the work of women MPs? What role could other agencies play to help women be more effective as MPs?

## Academics

- What has been the primary focus of your research on women and politics?
- In your view, what are the primary challenges faced by women running for office in [country X]?
- What are your views on gender quotas, as a mechanism for selecting female candidates?
- Are quotas widely accepted, or do they remain controversial?
- What kinds of women tend to benefit from gender quotas? Do you think that the use of quotas affects, in any way, perceptions about the women who are elected?
- Do you know of any training programs that were directed toward female candidates? If so, what did they entail? Were they effective?
- Have you or any colleagues done any studies/research/evaluations on women in parliament? What was the nature of those studies? What did they find in terms of the work of women MPs?
- Have women MPs received fair coverage in the media? Can you give any concrete examples?
- Have you been involved in any way in working with women MPs – for example, in terms of technical assistance of any type?
- Is there an active women’s caucus in parliament? What type of work does it do? In your view, is it an effective body? How could it be made stronger?
- Have women worked together across party lines on any issue? Do women work together with other women MPs from their own party in any formal capacity? Are there any men who are champions of women’s issues?
- Do you think that the rules and procedures of parliament are women-friendly? For example, in some countries, women MPs find that the hours of parliament are not conducive to family life. Or, they feel that the environment of parliament assumes a male norm – for example, due to the lack of women’s toilets or childcare facilities. What has been your observation? How might parliament be made to be a more attractive work place for women?
- Have any organizations – national or international – been involved in supporting any of these initiatives? In your view, what more could be done to support the work of women MPs?

## Donors

- What organizations and/or programming has [insert donor] funded that provide support female candidates in elections and women MPs in [country X]?

- What is the process for deciding which organizations/programs receive funds? (e.g. Are there minimum requirements that must be met in order to receive funding?)
- Are you familiar with UN Women programming related to women MPs and female candidates in [country X]?
- Aside from UN Women, what organizations would you consider to be the main actors in supporting women MPs and female candidates?
- Do you have any examples of best practices or lessons learned to share from organizations that have received [insert donor] funding?
- How does [insert donor] ensure that best practices, lessons learned, innovations, and other information about these programs is shared with a wider audience? (In other words, how does [insert donor] foster knowledge and information sharing?)
- [If applicable] Did [insert donor] play a role in the campaign to introduce gender quotas?
- Do you think that women experienced particular difficulties as candidates, as compared to men? If yes, what were some of the key challenges?
- [If applicable] Did the use of gender quotas affect how female candidates were perceived, in your view – either positively or negatively? Can you give any concrete examples?
- Did [insert donor] organize any trainings – in general and/or for women in particular – related to the country’s political system prior to the last elections? If yes, how long were the trainings and what skills were taught? Who led the courses and how were the participants recruited?
- If so, do you think the trainings were effective? What kind of feedback did you get from participants after the trainings were concluded? How many trainees went on to contest and win election? What would you do differently next time?
- Has [insert donor] engaged in any other work to enhance women’s political participation? If so, what is the nature of these programs? What else needs to be done to elect more women MPs?
- After the elections, did [insert donor] organize any training events for new MPs? If so: What skills did those trainings address? What kind of feedback did you get from participants after the trainings were concluded? What was missing from the training? If not: Have you considered organizing such trainings?
- [If applicable] Has [insert donor] had any contact with the parliamentary women’s caucus? If so: What has been the nature of your work together? In your view, is it an effective body? How could it be made stronger?
- Does [insert donor] collaborate in any other formal or informal way with women MPs? What is the nature of this cooperation? What have been some key accomplishments?
- What more could be done on [insert donor]’s behalf to support the work of women MPs? What role could other agencies – national or international – play to help women be more effective as MPs?

## NGOs

- What work has your organization done to support female candidates in elections in [country X]?
- [If applicable] Did your organization play a role in the campaign to introduce gender quotas?
- Do you think that women experienced particular difficulties as candidates, as compared to men? If yes, what were some of the key challenges?
- [If applicable] Did the use of gender quotas affect how female candidates were perceived, in your view – either positively or negatively? Can you give any concrete examples?

- Did you organize any trainings – in general and/or for women in particular – related to the country’s political system prior to the last elections? If yes, how long were the trainings and what skills were taught? Who led the courses and how were the participants recruited?
- [If applicable] Do you think the trainings were effective? What kind of feedback did you get from participants after the trainings were concluded? How many trainees went on to contest and win election? What would you do differently next time?
- Has your organization engaged in any other work to enhance women’s political participation? If yes, what is the nature of these programs? What else needs to be done to elect more women MPs?
- After the elections, did your organization organize any training events for new MPs? If so: What skills did those trainings address? What kind of feedback did you get from participants after the trainings were concluded? What was missing from the training? If not: Have you considered organizing such trainings?
- [If applicable] Has your organization had any contact with the parliamentary women’s caucus? If so: What has been the nature of your work together? In your view, is it an effective body? How could it be made stronger?
- Does your organization collaborate in any other formal or informal way with women MPs? If so, what is the nature of this cooperation? What have been some key accomplishments?
- What more could be done on your end to support the work of women MPs? What role could other agencies – national or international – play to help women be more effective as MPs?
- UN Women Staff
- What work has UN Women done to support female candidates in elections in [country X]?
- [If applicable] Did UN Women play a role in the campaign to introduce gender quotas?
- Do you think that women experienced particular difficulties as candidates, as compared to men? If yes, what were some of the key challenges?
- [If applicable] Did the use of gender quotas affect how female candidates were perceived, in your view – either positively or negatively? Can you give any concrete examples?
- Did UN Women organize any trainings – in general and/or for women in particular – related to the country’s political system prior to the last elections? How long were the trainings and what skills were taught? Who led the courses and how were the participants recruited?
- If so, do you think the trainings were effective? What kind of feedback did you get from participants after the trainings were concluded? How many trainees went on to contest and win election? What would you do differently next time?
- Has UN Women engaged in any other work to enhance women’s political participation? What is the nature of these programs? What else needs to be done to elect more women MPs?
- After the elections, did UN Women organize any training events for new MPs? If so: What skills did those trainings address? What kind of feedback did you get from participants after the trainings were concluded? What was missing from the training? If not: Have you considered organizing such trainings?
- [If applicable] Has UN Women had any contact with the parliamentary women’s caucus? If so: What has been the nature of your work together? In your view, is it an effective body? How could it be made stronger?
- Does UN Women collaborate in any other formal or informal way with women MPs? What is the nature of this cooperation? What have been some key accomplishments?

- What more could be done on UN Women’s behalf to support the work of women MPs? What role could other agencies – national or international – play to help women be more effective as MPs?

## UN agencies / Other

- Has your organization carried out any programming to support female candidates in elections in [country X]?
- [If applicable] Did your organization play a role in the campaign to introduce gender quotas?
- Do you think that women experienced particular difficulties as candidates, as compared to men? If yes, what were some of the key challenges?
- [If applicable] Did the use of gender quotas affect how female candidates were perceived, in your view – either positively or negatively? Can you give any concrete examples?
- Did you organize any trainings – in general and/or for women in particular – related to the country’s political system prior to the last elections? If so, how long were the trainings and what skills were taught? Who led the courses and how were the participants recruited?
- [If applicable] Do you think the trainings were effective? What kind of feedback did you get from participants after the trainings were concluded? How many trainees went on to contest and win election? What would you do differently next time?
- Has your organization engaged in any other work to enhance women’s political participation? If so, what is the nature of these programs? What else needs to be done to elect more women MPs?
- After the elections, did your organization organize any training events for new MPs? If so: What skills did those trainings address? What kind of feedback did you get from participants after the trainings were concluded? What was missing from the training? If not: Have you considered organizing such trainings?
- [If applicable] Has your organization had any contact with the parliamentary women’s caucus? If so: What has been the nature of your work together? In your view, is it an effective body? How could it be made stronger?
- Does your organization collaborate in any other formal or informal way with women MPs? What is the nature of this cooperation? What have been some key accomplishments?
- What more could be done on your organization’s behalf to support the work of women MPs? What role could other agencies – national or international – play to help women be more effective as MPs?

## Annex D – Country Selection Criteria For Country Visits

Country	Pros (programs, orgs, resource, etc.)	Cons (restrictions, current situation, visas, etc.)	Elected or Appointed	Level of Women Legislative Responsibility (High / Low)	Quotas	Government Type
Algeria	High level of women in office, women have run (and received votes) for highest office in country, some organizational support from international orgs (mostly UN, as NGOs not widely able to operate); use of legislative quotas (20-50%), 32% women in parliament	Visas notoriously difficult, fairly closed - may be difficult to get information on the ground	Elected	High	Yes	Republic
Bahrain	Women are active politically, some organizational support from international orgs; no quotas; 7.5% women in parliament	Parliament does not regularly hold elections, political turmoil and violence colors all politics	Elected	High	No	Constitutional Monarchy
Egypt	Provisions for quotas in constitution, ~10% reserved seats for women in electoral law for upcoming elections (56 of 567 total seats; also seats for youth, disabled, and Christians), women's ministry, lots of research/ organizations working on these issues; No women in parliament currently	May or may not be let in, environment not very easy right now; elections may happen in next few months, meaning less availability for interviews	Elected	High	Yes	Republic
Iraq	None	Current violence				
Jordan	Quotas in place (15 reserved seats), women fairly active, thriving NGO sector; quotas since 2003; women now winning outside quota mechanism; 12% women in parliament (18 women)	None	Elected	High	Yes	Constitutional Monarchy
Kuwait	Women only allowed to	Not always women in	Elected	High	No	Constitutional

	stand for election since 2005, Gulf's most "free" and active Parliament	Parliament (only 1 woman currently; 1.5%)				Emirate
Lebanon	No gender quotas (although quotas for other groups), women have always been active in politics, thriving NGO sector; only 3.1% women in parliament; women's representation not really on political agenda	Some instability, incredibly complex system of factional quotas	Elected	High	No	Republic
Libya	None	Current violence				
Morocco	60 seats in parliament reserved for women (~15%), 30 for men under 40; 2011 reform finalized gentlemen's agreement re quotas from 2002 (quotas also introduced at subnational level); very highly educated women elected; 17% women in parliament	None	Elected	High	Yes	Constitutional Monarchy
Oman	None	1.2% women in parliament (1 woman)	Partially elected	Low	No	Monarchy
Qatar	None	0% women in parliament	Appointed	Low	No	Emirate
Saudi Arabia	19.9% women in parliament, due to reserved seats policy; very recent granting of women's right to vote	Only elected bodies are municipal councils, other bodies; women were supposed to be granted right to vote in 2015 elections, but no elections have been announced; visas difficult (CG still has a visa, but not sure if still valid)	Appointed	Low	Yes	Monarchy
Palestine	~20% legislative quota for women, with placement provisions; 13% women elected in 2006	Palestinian Legislative Council ceased working in 2007; elections for 2014	Elected	High	Yes	Semi- Presidential

		postponed indefinitely				
Syria	None	Current violence				
Tunisia	First Arab state with a parity law (50%, alternation, lists rejected if don't comply); 31.3% women in parliament (previous election to constituent assembly: 27%); disparity due to tendency to place men at the top of the lists, provoked debate on need for 'horizontal' and not just 'vertical' zipping down the lists; International IDEA doing work there on violence against women in elections (a cutting edge topic)	None	Elected	High	Yes	Republic
UAE	17.5% women in parliament; no quotas for women in politics, but quotas for women on corporate boards	Not an electoral democracy	Appointed	Low	No	Federation
Yemen	None	Current violence				

## Annex E – Justification For Country Selection For Field Visits

### Jordan

Jordan represents a state in which there is a robust civil society sector, high levels of engagement by international organizations (including the UN), and will allow the researchers to see the impact of high level engagement on women's participation in parliament. Programming for election readiness and support for female parliamentarians is present in Jordan. There are a variety of programs being implemented by a variety of organizations. Women are fairly politically active and the NGO sector is thriving. While Jordan has implemented a quota system, women have surpassed the quota mechanism, occupying 12% of seats in parliament. Several relevant programs were mentioned in the literature. In 2008, Women Helping Women established four programs that provided communication and media skills training; legal consultation; and strategic planning workshops to women interested in running for office. In addition, NDI has held several trainings over the years to support skills training for women in parliament and women seeking election. Information from our desk review and key informant interviews regarding programming and involvement of women in the political process supports the selection of Jordan as a candidate for field research. As a kingdom, Jordan's parliament still has limited power, shedding light on this specific challenge.

### Tunisia

Like Jordan, Tunisia, especially since the revolution three years ago, has a quite robust civil society, especially in the political sphere. As a nascent democracy, much emphasis has been placed on building political institutions, such as parties and election bodies, and a great deal of thought and effort has been put into the creation of a new constitution and electoral rules. Tunisia features a party list-based quota, where parties must place 50% women on their electoral list, and a result, the parliament has 31% women's representation. Tunisia possesses both programming and institutional structures that support women parliamentarians. For at least one of these programs, there is documentation regarding the process by which those who have been trained go on to run in elections (DEMO Finland, 2014). One of Tunisia's major challenges is institutional. Specifically, there is a disparity due to tendency to place men at the top of the lists. This has provoked debate on need for 'horizontal' and not just 'vertical' zipping down the lists. Aside from programs to support the election readiness and election of women, Tunisia's programs also include crosscutting topics. For instance, International IDEA is working to end violence against women in elections. Tunisia will provide the researchers a great example of a full democracy in the region, with high participation of women.

### Morocco

Similar to Tunisia in some respects, such as a robust civil society and French structural and cultural influence, Morocco provides a contrast to Tunisia in its structure as a kingdom, like Jordan. Rather than a percentage quota, Morocco reserves 60 seats for women in parliament (and there is also a quota for youth men). Like Jordan, Morocco is a kingdom, and so the parliament has limited power. In addition to gender quotas at the national level, Morocco has also implemented gender quotas at the subnational level. According to Dr. Anouk Lloren, a scholar specializing in women parliamentarians, particularly in Morocco, the issue of women running for candidacy and holding office now reaches beyond the institutionalization of quotas. Dr. Lloren mentioned two programs led by the Association Democratique des Femmes du Maroc (ADFM) that work to strengthen, not only the readiness of women to run for office, but their effectiveness once they are elected. Programs in Morocco, of which there are many, also

focus on improving the impact that women in politics and parliament are having on policy changes. Our desk research revealed several programs started in 2013 that support women parliamentarians through trainings on the rules and procedures of parliament, team building among women parliamentarians, and a workshop led by the Moroccan government regarding the international commitments of Morocco on the harmonization of national legislation with the provisions of CEDAW. With a thriving civil society sector, 17% of women in parliament, and active programming targeting both candidates and those women holding office, Morocco is a great candidate for field research. Morocco and Jordan are similar in structure, but quite different culturally; they represent the “middle” of the spectrum of our criteria, and will allow the researchers to go in-depth into these middle cases, but also to potentially recognize the subtleties of the impact of French colonial impact as well.

### United Arab Emirates

Serving as the opposite end of the spectrum from Tunisia, the UAE features an authoritarian regime with a parliament with very limited power. Half of the members of parliament are appointed, half are elected – two elections have been held, in 2006 and 2011 – and the parliament does not have legislative power. However, the percentage of women in office is relatively high at 17.5%. Additionally, international organizations input is limited, as is civil society. One program that was present in UAE from 2011 to 2014 is the Arab Women’s Leadership Forum, an initiative of the Dubai Women Establishment. A focus on the UAE will allow the researchers to examine an authoritarian regime, which is pervasive in the Gulf region, to see the effects of direct governmental appointments and interventions on women in parliament.

## Annex F – Individuals Interviewed

Name	Title	Virtual	In-Country	Country
Abdelkhaleq Abdulla	Professor, UAE University		X	UAE
Abderrahim MASLOUHI	EL Consultant working on supporting/training Women Parliamentarians in Morocco		X	Morocco
Abdulaziz Karraky	Director of Coordination and Promotion of Human Rights, Interministerial Delegation for Human Rights (DIDH)		X	Morocco
Ahmed Allouch	Jeunesse sans Frontieres		X	Tunisia
Aida Essaid	King Hussein Foundation Information and Research Center		X	Jordan
Al Anood Al Shehhi	Dubai Women Establishment		X	UAE
Alae Serrar	Democracy & Governance Specialist, USAID, Morocco		X	Morocco
Alae Serrar	Democracy & Governance Specialist, USAID Morocco		X	Morocco
Amer Bani Amer	Al-Hayat Center for Civil Society Development		X	Jordan
Amina Lotfi	Programme Officer, UN Women Morocco Multi-Country Office		X	Morocco
Amina Maaoulaynaine	MP, Representative Parti de la Justice et du Developpement (PJD), Member of the Women Caucus in Parliament		X	Morocco
Anoud Majali	UN Women	X		Jordan
Bady S. Baqain	Motivators Foundation		X	Jordan
Bakhta Elcadhi Jmour	Association Tunisienne des Femmes Democratres (ATFD)		X	Tunisia
Banu Akbez	BPW Emirates, Emirates Foundation		X	UAE
Benyounes Merzougi	Academic and Committee Member on the Reform of the Constitution		X	Morocco
Besma Soudani	President of the Ligue des electrices tunisiennes (LET)		X	Tunisia
Dalenda Largueche	Director of Centre de Recherches, d'Etudes, de Documentation et d'Information sur la Femme (CREDIF), Ministry of Women, Family and Childhood		X	Tunisia
Dr. Abdelkhaleq Abdulla	UAE University		X	UAE
Dr. Ali Mousa	Federal National Council		X	UAE
Dr. Anouk Lloren	Researcher	X		USA
Dr. Dina Melhem	Regional Director for MENA and Asia - Westminster Foundation for Democracy	X		Regional
Dr. Rima Sabban	Zayed University		X	UAE
Emma Welford	IRI Resident Country Director		X	Morocco
Emna Chabaane	Coordinator of Marsad Majles at Al Bawsala		X	Tunisia

Engy Amin	UN Women	X		Egypt
Faiza Al Fayed	Dubai Business Women's Establishment		X	UAE
Fatima Gouaima-Mazzi	MP, Representative Mouvement Populaire (MP), Member of the Women Caucus in Parliament		X	Morocco
Fatima Obaid Al Jaber	Abu Dhabi Businesswomen's Council		X	UAE
Fatimazahra Lbouhmadi	Program Coordinator, National Democratic Institute, Morocco		X	Morocco
Fatimazahra Lbouhmadi	Program Coordinator, NDI		X	Morocco
Hamza Amor	International IDEA		X	Tunisia
Hanane Khaoua	Team Leader - Projects, British Embassy Rabat (UK Government)		X	Morocco
Hela Skhiri	Head of National Program, UN Women		X	Tunisia
Hiam Kalimat Tuquz	Senator		X	Jordan
Imen Kalai Ayardi	Ministry of Women, Family and Childhood		X	Tunisia
Jalila Morsli	Member of Parliament, RNI		X	Morocco
Julie Ballington	UN Women	X		USA
Julie Woodcraft-Scott	Emirate Foundation		X	UAE
Khadija Idrissi Janati	Candidate - 2015 Municipal and Regional Elections, Head of Women's List, Ain Chok Municipality, Casablanca, Morocco		X	Morocco
Khadija IDRISSE JANATI	RNI Candidate - 2015 Municipal and Regional Elections, Head of Women's list, Ain Chok Municipality Casablanca - Female Activist and Entrepreneur		X	Morocco
Layla Hamarneh Naffa	Arab Women Organization of Jordan		X	Jordan
Leila Rhiwi	Representative, UN Women Multi-Country Office Maghreb		X	Morocco
Leila Saiji Joudane and Pilar Zejan	Assistant Representative and Program Assistant, UNFPA		X	Tunisia
Marie-Eve Bilodeau	National Democratic Institute		X	Tunisia
May Abu Al-Samen	Senator and Jordanian National Forum for Women		X	Jordan
Mohamed Adi	Head of the Division of Coordination with Government Departments, Interministerial Delegation for Human Rights (DIDH)		X	Morocco
Mohamed Maaitch (declined)	General Women's Union (former)		X	UAE
Mohammad Al-Jribia	Al-Thoria Center		X	Jordan
Mona Al Bahar	Former parliamentarian		X	UAE
Nadia Al Awamleh	UNDP		X	Jordan

Nadia Chaabane	Member of the National Constituent Assembly		X	Tunisia
Naima Benyahia	MP, Representative of Parti de l'Istiqlal (PI), Coordinator of the Women Caucus in Parliament, Deputee		X	Morocco
Naima Benyahia	MP, Representative of Parti de l'Istiqlal (PI), President Coordinator of the Women Caucus in the Parliament, Députée, Chambre des Représentants		X	Morocco
Nesreen Barakat	Former Minister of Social Development		X	Jordan
Nevine Ebeid	Director of Political Participation, New Women Foundation	X		Egypt
Prof. Abderrahim El Maslouhi	Professor, Expert on Gender Parity in the New Constitution of Morocco, University Mohamed V, School of Law, Economic, and Social Sciences		X	Morocco
Rachel Dore-Weeks	UN Women		X	Jordan
Rachida Tahri	Representative of the Parti Populaire Socialiste (PPS)	X		Lebanon
Rachida Tahri	MP, Representative of the Parti Populaire Socialiste (PPS), Member of the Women Caucus in Parliament, Former Member of the Association Democratique des Femmes du Maroc (ADFM)		X	Morocco
Rana Haddad	UN Women	X		Iraq
Riad Berdayi	Project Management Specialist, Democracy and Governance office USAID		X	Morocco
Richard Chambers	UNDP - Project Manager of LEAP	X	X	Lebanon & Jordan
Rula Al-Farra Al-Hroob	Member of Parliament		X	Jordan
Safaa Habib	National Council for Women (Egypt)	X		Egypt
Sally El Mehdy	UN Women Egypt	X		Egypt/Regional
Salma El Naqqash	Director of Women's Political Participation Academy (Nazra)	X		Egypt
Salma Nims	Jordanian National Commission for Women		X	Jordan
Salwa Kennou Sebei and Mounira Hammami	Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche sur le Developpement (AFTURD)		X	Tunisia
Sarra Ben Said	Aswat Nissa	X		Tunisia
Shamsa Saleh	Dubai Women Establishment		X	UAE
Suzie Abdou	Formerly at National Democratic Institute	X		Jordan
Wafa Bani Mustafa	Member of Parliament		X	Jordan
Zeina Hilal	Inter-Parliamentary Union	X		Switzerland