

# Women's Political Participation in Lebanon:

## Gaps in Research and Approaches

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After being pushed to the back stage during fifteen years of civil war, a sharp resurgence of interest in enhancing the participation of Lebanese women in politics was witnessed in the early 1990s. This was reflected in the mushrooming of women's non-governmental organizations that had this goal on their agenda. The constitutional and political reforms that brought the war to a halt, and the accompanying promise of democratization, raised women's hopes that their pre-war exclusion from power and decision-making positions would come to an end. However, the results of the first post-war parliamentary elections held in 1992 did not meet women's expectations, either qualitatively or quantitatively. This, coupled with their continued exclusion from post-war governments, intensified pre-war frustration. Demands for women's share in power and for a gender quota became louder than ever, encouraged by international calls for gender equality, and supported by funds and technical assistance from various international donors.

Despite the time, effort, and money devoted to enhancing women's political participation, no significant advances were made. The gender quota was not adopted, and women's representation in decision-making positions did not change. In fact, it has decreased since the 2009 parliamentary elections at the level of candidacy,<sup>1</sup> representation, and appointment. As such, one cannot help but ask, "Why?" Is this the result of the factors identified in published research on women's participation in running the affairs of their country? Or is it also the result of weaknesses or gaps in the way the issue was, and continues to be, approached by the major stakeholders? These are the questions that this study aims to answer through summarizing and elaborating on the major findings of desk and field research conducted by the author over the last two decades on the topic of women's participation in politics and issues of democratization. It also relies heavily on the results of various national surveys conducted in Lebanon since the late 1990s. Although these studies were conducted for different projects, they all have findings relevant to this study.<sup>2</sup>

### **Women's Political Participation: Did We Give Equal Weight to All Indicators?**

Research on political participation reveals the development of various indicators used to measure this concept. A review of published works on women's political

participation in Lebanon<sup>3</sup> reveals a general emphasis on some of those indicators, on the one hand, and marginalization, if not total neglect of the rest, on the other. It also shows that, while comparison between male and female participation has been made on the emphasized indicators (see below), little, if any has been made with regard to other indicators. This has had important consequences at the level of identifying the real problem(s), understanding the cause(s), and providing feasible solutions.

## 1. Widely Emphasized Indicators of Women's Political Participation

The most widely emphasized indicators are participation in the elections, representation in decision-making positions in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, and female presence in political parties at the level of membership and decision-making. Most of the conclusions reached concerning these indicators point in the direction of discrimination against women, whether intentional or brought about by the intersection of cultural, social, economic, and/or political factors. Despite the significance of the conclusions reached regarding the existence of discrimination and its underlying causes, more comprehensive research into the real causes is still needed.

### A. Women's Participation in Elections

Published studies and statistics reveal a slight difference (2-3 percent) between male and female participation in national and local elections held since 1953 (Statistics Lebanon, 2009; Feghali, 2005). Moreover, and while there has always been women's engagement in electoral campaigns, the 1990s witnessed a sharp unprecedented increase in the percentages of females, mostly young, working on the electoral campaigns of some candidates, especially those spending large amounts of money on their campaigns. According to data provided by directors of the campaigns of some candidates in the 1996 parliamentary elections, female contribution equaled, and even exceeded, that of males. This, however, was not the case in campaigns of female candidates running independently.

The picture changes completely when it comes to candidacy and running for election; the percentage of women running for national and local elections since 1953 never exceeded 3 percent of the total number of candidates. Only in the last parliamentary elections, which were due to take place in the spring of 2013 (but were postponed), did the percentage of female candidates approach 10 percent. Noteworthy is the fact that between 1953 and 2000, female candidates were mainly from the Christian and Sunni sects but rarely from the Shiite or Druz communities.

Literature on the topic of female participation at the level of elections and candidacy tends to attribute the level and nature of this participation to men's and/or family control over women's electoral behavior and choices. This may be true to a certain extent, but there are other factors:

- a. The fact that upon marriage a woman's registration area, and consequently her electoral area, is moved to that of her husband's. In a country like Lebanon, with a culture divided along sectarian, regional, and family lines, a woman's new family and its political connections and interests play a major role in determining her

electoral choices. Her husband's family and its political interests is the door to the politics of the area she was moved to upon marriage. As such, portraying women as submissive and mere followers of their husbands in their electoral choices, may be a hasty conclusion in the absence of research that looks in-depth into whether women's voting choices are a result of calculated choice or mere submission.

b. It also tends to undermine the heterogeneity<sup>5</sup> of Lebanese society, its resulting conflictual culture, and its role in determining the electoral behavior and the position of both men and women on major public issues within each sect (El-Helou, 2002). In such societies, especially those that have among their components advocates of an exclusionary political ideology,<sup>6</sup> all issues related to the preservation of the religious/sectarian identity, including women's issues, become issues of high politics. As such, women and men's political values, choices, and behavior become dictated more by sectarian interests than by any other factor. The implications of undermining this heterogeneity for women's issues in general, and political participation in particular, are vast. First, it is a major obstacle blocking women's ability to transcend sectarian borders and form a critical mass capable of exerting influence on decision-makers. Second, it consecrates the three aspects of the Lebanese culture (sectarian, patriarchal, and familial) that are identified in the literature as major factors obstructing the enhancement of female political participation at the decision-making levels. Finally, it leads us to ignore the precedence given to sectarian interests over any other interest, including human and women's rights, especially in times of crisis when perceptions of threats to sectarian identity and survival prevail.

#### **B. Women's Representation in the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Branches**

Despite a high level of female participation in elections, women were totally absent from the legislative authority between 1953 and 1990. Only one woman was appointed in 1991.<sup>7</sup> Each of the three parliaments elected between 1992 and 2000 had three women among its 128 members. While the 2005 elections resulted in increasing the number of female MPs to six, the 2009 elections witnessed a drop in the number of both female candidates and winners (four only).

At the local level, women's representation in municipal councils between 1953 and the outbreak of the civil war in 1975 was extremely low and restricted to a few municipalities. The first post-war municipal elections, held in 1998, resulted in the election of 138 women to municipal councils. This number increased to 220 in the 2004 elections, and to 505 in the 2010 elections.<sup>8</sup>

Even with this increase in numbers, the percentage of women on municipal councils never exceeded 3 percent of the total. Within the executive authority, women never assumed a ministerial post before 2004 when two women were appointed as ministers. Women were later excluded in 2011. The current government has only one woman among its members. As for top administrative positions, the table below shows that the percentage of women decreases as we go up the administrative ranks.

Table 1: Percentage of Women in Ministries and Public Institutions (2009)<sup>9</sup>

Administrative Grade	Percentage in Ministries	Percentage in Public Enterprises and Institutions	Diplomatic Missions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
First Grade	10.52 %	9 %	7.01 % (Ambassador)
Second Grade	22.9 %	4.7 %	20.51 % (Consul General/Consultant)
Third Grade	33.9 %	8.8 %	27.5 % (Consul/Attaché/Secretary)
Fourth Grade	52.08 %	5.9 %	

Source: Drawn from detailed lists provided by the Civil Service Council in 2010

Despite claims of discrimination against women in the judicial authority, based on the absence of women from the Higher Judicial Council and other top judicial bodies,<sup>10</sup> Table 2 below shows that women have made big strides within the judicial authority. Moreover, the percentage of women among public notaries has been on the increase, from 14.18 percent in 2004, to 17.28 percent in 2006, and 40.83 percent in 2009.<sup>11</sup>

The same cannot be said about religious courts, which govern personal status laws (marriage, divorce, child custody, inheritance, etc.). Women were, and continue to be, totally excluded from them. The only exception is the Evangelical Court that has one woman among its judges.

Table 2: Women in the Judicial Authority (1980-2009)

Women Judges: Percent of Total Number of Judges in the Various Courts								
	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2004	2006	2009
Civil Courts (judges)	2.51 %	4.2 %	10.1 %	15.8 %	22.47 %	29.26 %	32.22 %	38.94 %
<i>Majlis Al-Shawra</i> / Administrative courts (judges)	3.84 %	4.76 %	11.11 %	21.21 %	21.21 %	25.58 %	35.48 %	40.38 %
Financial courts/ Audits Council (head of section/ counselor)	----	-----						27.8 %

Source: Data provided by the Director General of the Ministry of Justice Omar Al-Natour in 2009.

Analysis of the reasons behind the absence of women from the legislative and executive authorities, and later of their very low representation at the judicial level, suffers from some gaps.

First, research on women's political participation places emphasis on political confessionalism as one of the major factors at play in preventing women from

assuming power and decision-making positions by appointment and/or election. While this is true, one has to remember that the alleged discrimination resulting from this power sharing formula among the Lebanese sects is not limited or restricted to women; many politically ambitious and competent men are also denied access to power positions. This emphasis has blinded us for long to the role of other factors, mainly clientilism, familialism, as well as old and/or modern feudalism (plutocracy), prevalent within and across sects. Women do not prevail in either clientilist or feudal networks, and, as the history of independent Lebanon testifies, a political family will not nominate a woman to represent it except in the absence of the male heir, or until the latter comes of age. These factors, more than the confessional power sharing formula, are the real obstacles to women reaching decision-making positions. The impact of these factors is further aggravated by the impact of a. the conflictual culture with the resulting sectarian fear for identity and survival, and b. the prevalent patriarchal culture rooted not only in men but also among a sizeable majority of women.<sup>12</sup> As such, the demand for de-confessionalization of the system as a solution to this discrimination is like beating around the bush. A reconsideration of the suggested role of political confessionalism in the discrimination against women at this level of political participation is required, as is in-depth research into the role of the two overlooked factors: clientilism and feudalism.

Second, research on women's political participation approaches women as a "stand alone" category at three levels. First, research on the various types of obstacles facing the election of women lacks comparison with obstacles facing many male candidates, thus diverting attention from the "lack of equal opportunity" inherent in the successive electoral laws and their similar impact on candidates from both sexes. As such, the adoption of any gender quota is not expected to achieve the desired goal, unless accompanied by other reforms in the law capable of making equal opportunity a reality. Second, treating women as a stand alone category also appears when investigating the factors behind the election of past and current female MPs, and the prevalent emphasis on the fact that most female MPs have inherited their seats from a deceased father, husband, brother, or grandfather in the absence of a male heir, or until he comes of age. Here also we find a lack of comparison between the number of female and male MPs who assumed their position through "heredity", as well as a lack of in-depth investigation into the factors at play in the formation of the male political elite, both old and new.<sup>13</sup> This lack of comparison diverts attention from the still prevalent role of traditional sources of power in determining the Lebanese political elite in general, and makes us refrain from asking questions concerning whether Lebanese modernization and representative democracy is an actual reality. Finally, the tendency to treat women as separate entities, detached from the rest of society, also appears in the arguments provided in support of demands for greater female representation at the decision-making level, and mostly when evaluating the performance of women in positions of power, whether at the national or local level. Unfortunately, research on this topic, usually funded by international donors, does not provide comparison between the performance of men and women in decision-making bodies such as parliament, parliamentary committees, or on the same municipal councils (El-Helou, 2013). Such comparison is badly needed to help identify the real problems and obstacles impacting performance, and to determine whether they have to do with women's assumed lack of knowledge

and training, mostly due to their new entry into decision-making circles, the system as a whole, or to any other factor. Noteworthy here is the fact that in our approach to women's political participation and performance, we tend to put, explicitly or implicitly, a set of higher expectations and standards for women, which, if applied to men's performance would leave most of the parliamentary, ministerial, and municipal seats vacant.

Finally, most research on the topic does not account for the findings of various national surveys, especially those conducted over the last decade, regarding the general public attitude towards women's participation in politics and public life. The results of some of these surveys reveal that: a) while a sizeable majority of men (65 percent) and women (67 percent) regardless of level of education, declared their support for the adoption of a gender quota in Lebanon in the SWMENA,<sup>14</sup> introducing this quota among the demanded reforms of the electoral law was not considered a priority by the vast majority (around 90 percent),<sup>15</sup> and b) while the vast majority of Lebanese support women's political and other rights in general, a sizeable majority still perceive men as being better politicians and leaders than women.<sup>16</sup> These contradictory results have two major indications: first, the Lebanese acceptance of gender equality in theory but not in practice (further supported by the actual voting for women in successive national and local elections); and second, the continued prevalence of gender stereotypes even among women. This directs attention to the need for revising the projects and campaigns aimed at improving the status of women in politics, as well as in other fields, both at the level of content and at the level of the targeted audience to ensure male involvement. It also directs attention to the need for serious work on removing gender stereotypes from school books and the media.

Proposed solutions for ending women's exclusion from political decision-making positions have centered on the need to de-confessionalize the system and for a gender quota. Regarding the first demand, and although it is highly desired, the feasibility of its adoption is still doubtful in a heterogeneous society, composed of large and small minorities, with a conflictual political culture, divided along sectarian and religious lines, and especially with the rise of exclusionary political ideologies.

As for the demand of a gender quota, the advocacy efforts carried out by women's organizations over the last couple of decades has led to the introduction of the gender quota in two law proposals submitted to Parliament by the government. The first provided for 30 percent of women on parliamentary electoral lists, and the second provided for 20 percent of the seats of municipal councils for women, none of which was adopted by Parliament. Analysis of the two quota proposals shows that their role in enhancing female qualitative and quantitative representation was not that promising.<sup>17</sup>

## **2. Male/Female Participation in Democratic Mechanisms: The Often-Neglected Indicators**

Democratic regimes provide citizens with a variety of mechanisms to enhance their direct or indirect participation in public affairs, ensure that their voices are

heard, and provide those who are ambitious and interested with a stepping-stone towards higher levels of political participation and engagement. Participation in, and exploitation of, such mechanisms do not only serve as indicators of political participation they are also important indicators of whether the culture prevalent in a certain society is a participant, passive, or parochial culture. While most published research highlights the dearth in statistical data on these indicators, many of the national surveys conducted in the last two decades include questions on recourse to these mechanisms, and reveal that women's exploitation of such mechanisms is very low, if not minimal.

#### A. Participation in Political Parties

To start with, no political party in Lebanon publishes statistical information on their registered members. However, various national surveys conducted between the mid-1990s and 2013, each of which included a question on the respondent's party membership, reveal that female membership in political parties never exceeded 8 percent.<sup>18</sup> They also reveal that a sizeable majority of female respondents are not interested in politics,<sup>19</sup> and feel that none of the political parties active on the Lebanese scene reflect their political, economic, or social ambitions.<sup>20</sup>

While research on women's political participation does not refer to such statistics, it generally acknowledges these facts. Here also there is a tendency to treat women as a stand alone category through lack of comparison with male membership that, as clear from the results of the same surveys, is statistically very close to that of women. This similarity in the attitudes of men and women towards political parties indicates that the problem is not limited to women. It highlights the need for political parties to look into the reasons behind their failure to attract members.

It is important to note that women are currently present on the decision-making bodies of political parties active on the Lebanese scene, though with varying degrees and more in regional offices than in central ones. In 2009, females accounted for 32 percent in the Executive Council of the Free Patriotic Movement; 20 percent of the Political Council of the Amal Movement; 14 percent of the members of the Executive Council of the Lebanese Forces and the Democratic Tajadod Party respectively; 9 percent of the members of the Political Bureau of the Phalangists Party; and 5 percent of the members of the Executive Committee of the Future Movement.<sup>21</sup> However, published research lacks in-depth investigation of the nature, extent, and effectiveness of their participation in the party's decision-making process in comparison with that of male members.

#### B. Membership in Civil Society and Participation in Protest Politics

Two other indicators used to assess the level of political participation are: a) membership and engagement in civil society organizations, and b) participation in various forms of protest politics. With regard to civil society, the last two decades have witnessed a significant increase in the number of non-governmental organizations working on women's issues. By 2010, their number was close to 400, with around 150 of them joining forces under the Lebanese Women's Council.<sup>22</sup> These are large numbers for a country the size and population of Lebanon giving the impression of a high level of female engagement. However, successive national

surveys reveal that female engagement in various types of civil society and political organizations is very low. As clear from the results of the SWMENA national survey of 2009 presented in the table below, female membership in any of the various types of organizations did not exceed 11 percent.

**Table 3: Percentage of Women and Men who are Current or Former Members of Different Organizations**

Type of Organization	Female (sample size 2000)	Male (sample size 750)
Religious Group	11 %	7 %
Charity Organization	8 %	7 %
Political Party	7 %	21 %
Women's Organization	5 %	1 %
Family Association	3 %	5 %
Trade Union/Syndicate	3 %	7 %
Artist/Scientist Union	1 %	3 %
NGO	1 %	2 %
Cooperative	1 %	3 %

Source: SWMENA/Lebanon at <http://www.swmena.org>

The results of the Arab Barometer surveys of 2010 and 2013 respectively (using a sample of 2400 respondents) reveal results similar to those of SWMENA but with a drop in the percentage of Lebanese membership in political parties from 12 percent in 2010 to 9 percent in 2013 without any statistically significant difference between men and women.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, while women join the professional syndicates where membership is a prerequisite for practicing the profession, their average presence is low in syndicates and trade unions where membership is voluntary. Similar to political parties, women organizations have to look into the reasons behind their failure to attract members, especially young blood. These reasons may be related to weak democratic decision-making and the rotation of power processes, lack of funds, weak institutionalization or excessive personalization of the work within the organization.

As for women's participation in protest politics (signing petitions, participating in demonstrations, sit-ins, etc.), surveys show that it is very low. The vast majority (around 90 percent of female respondents in the various surveys) have never participated in such activities.<sup>24</sup> Here also, one cannot but raise the question on whether male engagement in such mechanisms is more or different than that of females. The answer is no. As revealed in the same surveys, the difference between male and female participation at this level does not exceed 5 percent.<sup>25</sup>

These findings are significant. They question the widely-held belief that Lebanese men are more politically active than women. They also indicate that the prevalent culture, both among men and women, is more of a passive or parochial culture than a participant one. The implications of this are very important, and cannot be ignored when planning interventions to enhance women's political participation.



## Conclusion

The above discussion aimed at showing that previous research on Lebanese women's participation in politics has placed more emphasis on some indicators of political participation at the expense of others, and lacked comparison with male participation on most of those indicators. The inevitable result limits our understanding of weak female representation in positions of power and engagement in politics to a mere issue of gender-based discrimination, which is not totally true. The issue is much more complicated. Besides being the result of the various political, legal, economic and cultural factors identified in the existing literature on the topic, it is also the result of the prevalence of a passive or parochial culture among both men and women. The adoption of a temporary gender quota is still highly recommended, not only to improve female representation at the decision-making levels, but for the role it can play in cultural change. However, the quota is not enough by itself. It must be accompanied by serious work on reforming educational books and curricula, the electoral law, state institutions, as well as the major democratic mechanisms, to turn democracy from a "general concept" upheld and demanded by the vast majority of the Lebanese,<sup>26</sup> into an actual exercise and practice capable of guaranteeing the citizens' political, economic, and social rights regardless of their gender.

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## ENDNOTES

1. While the demand for a women's quota was at its height, the 2009 parliamentary elections witnessed a drop in the number of women candidates to much less than the demanded quota.
2. The national surveys mentioned throughout this article include those conducted by Statistics Lebanon for projects funded by international and regional organizations. Among them are the national surveys conducted for a) the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies on national and local elections in 1996, 1998, and 2000, respectively; b) six national surveys for the International Republican Institute (IRI) under the Lebanese Opinion Advisory Committee (LOAC) project between 2006-2010; c) the national survey for the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) as part of the Status of Women in the Middle East and North Africa Project carried out in 2009; and d) the three national surveys for the Arab Reform Initiative, part of the Arab Barometer Project (conducted in 2006, 2010, and 2013 respectively).
3. Mgheizel Laure, (1995) "Women Participation in Power and Decision Making Positions", in the Proceeds of the Lectures and workshops held in Preparation for the Beijing Conference 1994-1995, Beirut, Friedrich Ebert Foundation; Sharaf El-Din Fehmieh & Fadia Kiwan, (1996), "The Development of the Status of Women in Power and Decision Making in Lebanon", Abaad, Volume 5, June 1996; Krayem Hassan, Enhancing Female Representation in Local Councils and the Quota Proposal in Lebanon, Beirut, Friedrich Ebert & the Lebanese Commission for Women's Rights; Helou Marguerite, (1998), "Women and Politics in Lebanon", in Joint Work, Abi Saab Fares, Bahout, J., Takieh El-Din, S. Helou, M., Khazen, F., Douweihy, S., Sassine, F., Salem, P., Sleiman, I., Shaoul, M., Sadek, D., Attalah, T., Feghali, K., Kaii, A., Krayem, H., Majed, Z., Messarra, A., Nassif, N. The 1996 Parliamentary Elections and the Crisis of Democracy in Lebanon", Beirut, Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, 1998.
4. Personal interviews conducted during the 1996 elections with the directors of the campaigns of Rafiq and Bahia Al-Hariri and other candidates. For more on this see; El-Helou Marguerite, (1998), "Women and Politics in Lebanon", in Joint Work, Abi Saab Fares, Bahout, J., Takieh El-Din, S. El-Helou, M., El-Khazen, F., Douweihy, S., Sassine, F., Salem, P., Sleiman, I., Shaoul, M., Sadek, D., Attalah, T., Feghali, K., Ka'ii, A., Krayem, H., Majed, Z., Messarra, A., Nassif, N. The 1996 Parliamentary Elections and the Crisis of Democracy in Lebanon, Beirut: Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, 1998.
5. A heterogeneous society is a society composed of various groups (ethnic, racial, religious etc...) who have deep divisions over critical issues such as state identity, whether the state is to be independent or part of another, form of political system, sources of law, the relation between state and religion etc.... Although many believe that such divisions have long been overcome in Lebanon, close observation of the situation in the country reveals not only their continued existence, but the increase in their intensity as a result of the Lebanese domestic politics, the rise of extremist Islamic movements, and regional events. This enhances the communities' fear for their identity and survival. It is important to note that while heterogeneous societies are inevitably pluralistic (as Lebanon is often described), not all pluralistic societies are necessarily heterogeneous.

6. This ideology does not accept the other as an equal in rights and duties, the threat of which has been on the rise with the rise of Islamic extremism.
7. With the exception of Mirna Bustani who assumed her father's seat (in partially unchallenged elections) for the remaining period of his term upon his death in an airplane accident in 1963, and Nayla Mouawad who was appointed in 1991 for one year.
8. It is important to note that the number of elected females in each election was derived from the Ministry of Interior's lists that are not broken down by gender. In light of the fact that listing the gender of the applicant is not required upon submitting the candidacy application, female winners were counted relying on the first name of the elected individuals. Since some first names are common to men and women, the above figures may not be 100% accurate.
9. Although the data is for 2009, it is still valid considering the government's general policy of halting recruitment in the public sector.
10. Considering the relatively new entry of women into the judicial authority, and the years of service required for appointment in those positions, this claim of intentional discrimination may not be fully supported.
11. Data provided by the Director General of the Ministry of Justice Omar Al-Natour in 2009.
12. The results of the IFES SWMENA survey conducted in Lebanon in 2009 revealed that 46% of Lebanese women and 60% of men believe that "men make better political leaders than women", and 36% of women with university degree and above believe the same, <http://swmena.org>. The Arab Barometer Survey conducted in Lebanon in 2013 revealed that 39% of the Lebanese share this opinion with no significant differences between men and women, <http://arabbarometer.org/arabic/index/html>
13. El-Helou, Marguerite, "Elite Change and the Role of Women", paper presented at the workshop on The June 2009 Elections: Issues and Challenges, organized by CMEC, IFES, LCPS, & ICG. Hotel Phoenicia, Beirut, April 8, 2009, unpublished. Based in large part on a review of the social, economic, and educational background of all Lebanese MPs since 1926, this paper highlighted the still prevalent traditional sources of power, and the traditional links between most of the members of the post-war parliaments, especially members of the same parliamentary coalitions. For the personal background of Lebanese MPs since 1926, see Daher Adnan, and Riad Ghannam (2000) *Al-Mu'jam Al-Niabi (The Parliamentary Dictionary), The CVs of Parliamentarians: 1926-2000*, Beirut: Lebanese Parliament.
14. SWMENA national survey 2009, <http://www.swmena.org>
15. This was clear in the results of the five national surveys conducted by the International Republican Institute (IRI) between 2006 and 2009 under the Lebanese Opinion Advisory Committee (LOAC) project to track the positions of the Lebanese public on the major issues among which was the reform of the electoral law. website removed
16. The Three Waves of The Arab Barometer of Democracy/ Lebanon (2006, 2010, 2013), and SWMENA/Lebanon. See footnote 12 above.
17. For a detailed discussion of the two law proposals see El-Helou M. (2009). *Women Quota in Lebanon: A False Promise?* Al-Raida, 126-127, 58-65.
18. See SWMENA/Lebanon available at [www.swmena.org](http://www.swmena.org). This finding is also supported by the results of the five International Republican Institute (IRI) surveys conducted by Statistics Lebanon between 2006 and 2009.
19. See Arab Barometer, Waves I (2006-2007), II (2010-2011), and III (2013-2014) available at <http://arabbarometer.org/content/ab-waves>
20. See Arab Barometer, Waves I (2006-2007), II (2010-2011), and III (2013-2014) available at <http://arabbarometer.org/content/ab-waves>
21. This information was collected by the author from the central offices of the respective parties during the summer of 2009. See also LADE <http://www.lade.org.lb/getattachment/e3e17081-a9fd-4851-a5e2-10ae2b78f623>
22. This is according to a list collected by the Ministry of Social Affairs in cooperation with UNDP in 2008. For updated information and mapping of civil society organizations, see <https://daleel-madani.org>
23. See <http://arabbarometer.org/arabic/index/html>
24. See <http://arabbarometer.org/arabic/index/html>
25. See <http://arabbarometer.org/arabic/index/html>
26. See <http://arabbarometer.org/content/ab-waves>

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