AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

A MANAGERIAL CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND WOMEN'S PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION IN LEBANON

by
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROJECT OF

Joanna Jihad Raichouni   for <u>Master of Human Resources Management</u>
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Representation in Lebanon</u>.

Nowadays, women that have made it to management roles or high political positions work hard every day to prove they are worthy of their positions and to eliminate any doubt related to their performance or their ability to withstand tough times and stressful work environments.

In Lebanon, almost only 3.1% of the elected parliament members are female in comparison to over 20% rates in Arab countries like United Arab Emirates and Morocco (World Bank, 2018). And the reasons behind this low women representation rate are many.

This paper applies a managerial critique to political parties in Lebanon. It seeks to understand the different viewpoints of female representatives and that of male as well, and to identify what are the criteria that political parties have set in Lebanon, in order to be nominated by one. It also aims to know what are the challenges that women face in the Lebanese political field, and how can we reform the candidates' selection processes in political parties to select more women as their representatives.

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To

My Beloved Family

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When women show emotion, they are called dramatic. When they want to be equal to men, they are insane. When they dream of equal opportunities, they are delusional. When they stand for their rights, they are unhinged. When they are too good at their positions, there's something wrong with them. And when they get angry, they are hysterical or irrational or just being women. But, women have come a long way: women getting to drive in Saudi Arabia, women ministers in Arab countries like Jordan, Qatar, and UAE, elected and appointed female heads of state and government in countries like India, China, Germany, USA, UK, Pakistan, Norway, Ireland, Turkey, Canada…and women competing in a Hijab were all considered crazy doings. Hence, women can show global societies what crazy can do; because it is only mad until women do it (Nike, 2019).

Women activists worldwide are still fighting to eliminate or decrease the effect of legal, social, financial, and political barriers in deeply patriarchal societies that discriminate against women entering all fields, in specific the public political domain (Cunanan, 2018; Tlaiss & Kauser, 2010; Joseph, 1993, p. 466; Moghadam, 2004). Women that have made it to management roles or to high political positions work hard every day to prove they are worthy of their positions and to eliminate any doubt related to their performance or their ability to withstand tough times and stressful work environments (Cochran, 2018; Donohoe, 2016).

In Lebanon, almost only 3.1% of the elected parliament members are female in comparison to over 20% rates in Arab countries like United Arab Emirates and

Morocco (World Bank, 2018). And the reasons behind this low rate are many. One of these reasons can be the management systems of Lebanese political parties, that are the set of practices, mechanisms, processes, policies and procedures parties use to ensure the achievement of their political objectives which is what human resources management HRM is all about (Abugre, 2017, p.156), in specific to this paper, their adopted candidate selection processes, which are disadvantageous to women's political career advancement. Hence, there is a need to inspect the characteristics of this selection process used by Lebanese parties and to analyze its gendered consequences. For this selection process and its consequences are an important aspect that can lead to understanding the cause behind the "continuity of male political dominance and female under-representation" till this day (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016, p.370). In other words, exploring the gendered and institutional extents of the candidacy-opportunity constructions within political parties is crucial in order to shed light on women's long-lasting minority status in politics as well as the perseverance of male dominance all these years (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016, p.370).

This paper applies a managerial critique to political parties in Lebanon. It aims at exploring the process behind nominating political candidates, and what are the challenges and barriers that this process poses to women. Also, how can we reform the nomination systems in political parties to select more women as their representatives in the future to reach a higher percentage than 3.1% of female representation, as indicated by the Inter-Parliamentary Union's world classification 2018. It seeks to understand the different viewpoints of female representatives and that of male as well, to identify what criteria political parties use to nominate election candidates, and how we can reform the Lebanese political parties' selection processes to include more women as parliamentary candidates.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This paper adopts a feminist institutional perspective which is explained in the literature review below. With the birth of our new government (Hamadi, 2019), women have proved to have made career progress in the political field by having four women in our government and six others in the Lebanese parliament. Nevertheless, they remain generally under-represented in political institutions looking at the domination of men in high political positions inside Lebanese political parties. Human resources, however, as a field, may provide insights and contribute to the debate of women's access to senior positions. Hence, its purpose must be to influence the culture of political parties and organizations in general, to view women as valuable contributors to the end-line profit (McDonald & Hite, 1998).

Much of the research exploring the topic of women's progress and access to senior positions proposes that the human resource development (HRD) part within governments needs to play an essential role in elevating women's career development opportunities (McDonald & Hite, 1998) by applying an unbiased candidates' selection process and exposing the parties' members to workshops and trainings on gender equality and how to invest the female minds of our political parties and use them to make a change and increase the decision making power of women in politics. Along the years, HRD's significant and on-going function has been to maximize employees' performance leading to the overall organizational competitive advantage (McDonald & Hite, 1998, p.54). This role that HRD plays explains clearly its relation and direct involvement in women's career progress inside organizations and government.

Diversity is key for competitive advantage and HR plays a strategic role in ensuring diversity is present in every institution (McDonald & Hite, 1998, p.54). One of his strategic functions is reexamining the selection criteria for selecting candidates in political parties (considering every political party is an institution by itself), for political representation or even for succession planning (McDonald & Hite, 1998; McDonald & Hite, 1999). Also, another function of his, is to ensure the dismissal of workplace gender discrimination and stereotyping that "give rise to biased judgements and decisions, impending women's career advancement" (Heilman, 2012, p. 117). Therefore, an important note is that HR departments must always look for the hidden biases in all selection criteria to give all candidates (gender, religion, culture, nationality, color… differences) a fair chance to be selected. Hence, shedding the light on the structure of institutions' HR departments is necessary in order to reform their adopted selection processes (McDonald & Hite, 1998). In this paper, we borrow from McDonald & Hite's papers and we talk about political parties.

Women have proven in the past two decades that they are worthy of each senior political position they have been awarded, for example: Angela Merkel (Chancellor of Germany), Dilma Rousseff (President of Brazil), Sonia Gandhi (President of India), Queen Rania Al Abdullah, (Monarch of Jordan), HE Sheikha Lubna Al Qasimi (Minister of Economic & Planning of UAE), Reem Al Hashimy (Minister of State at UAE) and many more ("20 Most Powerful Women", 2019). But glass ceiling remains an ugly truth that we live with on a day-to-day basis (McDonald & Hite, 1998), for example in "the Lebanese Teachers' Syndicate, although women make up to 75% of the Syndicate members, only one woman was elected into the executive board" (Daleel Madani, 2018). Even United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), (2016, p. 7) identifies that "the presence of women in decision-making processes and

representative institutions at all levels remains scant and that it is essential to include

women in decision-making as agents of change-rather than victims of the system".

Hence, political parties are in need of a wake-up call to start applying alternative HR

approaches in order to maximize their full workforce potential (men and women).

Research suggests that these HRD practices and initiatives can achieve this

maximization through mentoring the relationships between management and members

of political parties, unbiased training for female members, career planning to make

women feel supported in their quest for advancement, and introduce women to more

developmental activities to counter for the glass ceiling (McDonald & Hite, 1998).

Lebanon is described in popular narratives as a trendsetter in the Arab region

for women apparent freedoms, but the statistics have a different story to tell. "Despite

these modernization attempts, Lebanese women continue to cluster at lower and

supervisory management levels" (Tlaiss & Kauser, 2010, p. 465). Also, in comparison

to countries in the region, the labor force participation rate for female in Lebanon (23%)

is considerably low compared to other Arab countries like Bahrain (44%), Kuwait

(58%), Qatar (58%), and United Arab Emirates (51%) (World Bank, 2019).

Additionally, Lebanon has a very low rate of female occupying senior and middle

management roles of 8.4% in comparison to other countries rates like Kuwait (13.9%),

Tunisia (14.8%), and Yemen (15.2%) (International Labour Organization, 2019).

Hence, it is no wonder to see women in lower positions inside political parties instead

of seeing them heading management boards and taking control of decision making role

enabling their empowerment and increasing their chances of political representation.

The fact that the similar number of men and women entering the workforce

deteriorates alongside the career path is credited mostly to the "patriarchal nature of

Lebanese society, which traditionally considers breadwinning a man's role" (AHDR,

2005, as cited in Tlaiss & Kauser, 2010). "This patriarchal view and gender stereotyping" are some of the challenges to why men in Lebanon are more expected to be employed or selected as political candidates compared to women.

Some of the perceived challenges to women's promotion in business are the culture of the organization, the organizational practices, initiatives and mechanisms, the absence of a supportive unbiased mentor, the minimal presence of female leadership and the absence of wasta for women only (Tlaiss & Kauser, 2010). Similarly, according to Simpson *et al*. (2004), the challenges to women's career progress are "person-centered", covering their knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviors and personality traits. On the contrary of the demands of a managerial role, which are "situation-centered", i.e. obstacles situated within the socio-cultural environment of the workplace. Unfortunately, this difference of management requirements is caused by the lack of diversity awareness and diversity HR practices in the workplace as well as a lack of unbiased leadership training (Morrison, 1992, as cited in Simpson *et al*., 2004; Melamed, 1995).

Women are judged based on their social roles as wives (Her role as a women, a wife and a mother -I5). For this reason, women are forced to make career sacrifices benefiting their husbands' careers because patriarchal social norms support the allocation of authority within family and workplace to men (Melamed, 1995). Hence, this results in the birth of societal expectations that women have to make career sacrifices to benefit their husbands' careers. Even with the presence of "equal opportunity legislation", the hurdles that come alongside marriage and parenthood, restrict women's career progress and promotion in business. Employers view women's home responsibilities as a distraction from work commitment, hence, they are more likely to promote men, whom their marriage and parenthood are signs of stability and

career success. Additional challenges that Melamed (1995) suggests are: "gender bias on behalf of decision makers within the organization, gender bias in the assessment of managerial potential and in subsequent promotional decisions and subtle gender bias in the evaluation of women's managerial potential".

All these challenges are discouraging women's political representation and putting a great burden on them to even think of entering the political field. As for the women, who challenged the societal-patriarchal traditions and entered the political field and fought back, they face a different kind of challenge that is also caused by male authority and leadership. According to Bjarnegård & Kenny (2016), the dynamics and candidate-selection decisions are usually subject to the authority of parties' presidents. Centralizing the decision-making authority of parties makes it difficult for women to compete and sets a barrier for women representation.

Clientelism may be more rooted in Lebanon than in most other countries (Hamzeh, 2001, p.167). And Lebanon's biased power-sharing institutions preserve clientelism in Lebanese politics (Corstange, 2012, p. 487). This unrefined clientelism has been institutionalized into Lebanon's political structure, consequently making the Lebanese government an association of a variety of patrons (Hamzeh, 2001, p.176). In politics, clientelism is used to build and maintain personal and informal networks that might come in handy when needed. In addition, clientelistic networks tend to be very male dominant or patriarchal. Since men are usually able to devote more of their time to work then women, who have home duties (wife, mother..), they are more likely to be visible on the ground politically. Which allows them to have the advantage of collecting more votes than women candidates. Hence, political parties aim to select and recruit men with wide connections to get the largest amount of voters and be able to acquire a significant number of parliamentary seats in the elections (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016).

Which leads us to the idea that political parties are more about delivering quantity and not quality to the parliament. No wonder Lebanon has so many issues and unsolved problems governmentally.

A growing body of research is affirming year after year that many of rules that structure the political life are created, communicated, and enforced informally and through unofficial channels of communications (Helmke & Levitsky, 2004). For example, Mexican presidents have been elected not through elections but through an unwritten code that has been circulating since the start that only the sitting president chooses his successor or specified pool of candidate sand none else. Another example is the existence of clientelism, corruption, patrimonialism with all the new democratic systems, rules, policies, and HR management practices and mechanisms. In the area of candidate selection specifically, studies suggest that these informal rules shape the recruitment and selection outcomes causing the pool of candidates to be exclusively and largely to the polarising candidates with local brokers able to secure for them the largest political machine (Helmke & Levitsky, 2004, p. 726).

Moreover, considering informal institutions are defined as institutions that follow unwritten rules and code of conduct that are created unofficially in the absence of a systematic HR department's established policies and procedures. And since Lebanon is known for its unofficial and unwritten ways of doing of things that have been created under the watch of clientelism and corruption, we can't help but believe that political parties represent these informal institutions defined above, maybe for the purpose of pursuing unpopular illegal activities rather than following the formal system of doing things (Helmke & Levitsky, 2004).

Unfortunately, all these obstacles established with the Lebanese political system represent a significant reason behind the scarcity of Lebanese women in politics.

We have only six parliamentary women out of one hundred and twenty-eight seats and recently only four women-ministers out of thirty (El-Hage, 2019). Now that is an improvement for Lebanon. But as mentioned above, will all the modernization of laws and the vacillations offered for women in Lebanon, we would expect to have a higher rate of women in Lebanese politics. Consequently, Lebanese political parties could learn from the mentioned about HRD above concerning all HR initiatives, mechanisms, and practices to improve women's political representation -mainly as candidates in elections.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

Women in Lebanese Politics

In Lebanon, women are not granted the same rights given to men, having a low score of 0.596 and a disappointing rank of 137 out of 144 countries in the global gender gap report, which measures gender equality (World Economic Forum, 2017). In 1995, when 180 countries agreed that achieving balance between men and women's decision making is crucial to strengthening democracy worldwide, it was believed that this agreement will minimize the challenges posed to women in parliamentary representation (Edition, 2005). But nothing changed. Even if women enter the parliament, that does not mean structural or cultural barriers will be overcome. They are entering a male-dominated field, so they should expect to face certain male biases varying on the culture and the country. This paper looks at the case of Lebanon, which "is failing to do justice for its women and needs to create bonds of political solidarity on structural inequalities that require different solutions" (Geha, 2018). The shocking fact is the difference of women's representation percentage, according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union's world classification, being 3.1% of female representation in the new 2018 Lebanese parliament compared to 61.3% in Rwanda (Edition, 2005).

Elections are crucial in pushing women's representation. Lebanon's political parties have generally mirrored the public construction of society and its way of defining gender. Gender is generally "understood as a constitutive element of social relations based upon perceived (socially constructed and culturally variable) differences between women and men, and as a primary way of signifying (and naturalizing)

relationships of power and hierarchy" (Hawkesworth, 2005, as cited in Mackay *et al*., 2010). But, since Lebanon is known for its male-dominant culture, its political parties are regrettably captives of the ideological severity of society, and therefore, are disconnected from worries such as governance, human rights that might preoccupy the public (El Khazen, 2003, p. 15). Accordingly, women's political representation and the mere implementation of the word "gender" as it is defined, in its political structure, are also given low priority. Thus, political parties who are responsible for nominating parliamentary candidates, tend to nominate more men than women for it is a patriarchal society.

But most political parties are a combination of informal and formal alliances. Their main focus is personalism; in other words, members tend to follow personalities instead of issues and political programs (Corstange, 2012). Also, the overpowering authority of one man in a political party discourages party membership in general, which affects women party membership. Moreover, they lack credible programmatic systems which highlight one of their many unappealing characterizations (Corstange, 2012). Furthermore, looking over the last two decades of politics, the effectiveness of political parties has been minimal (Abukhalil, 1997).

With regards to women's political representation, "the research on the gendered effects of formal institutions such as electoral systems and political parties" is always by far the most extensive (Mackay *et al*., 2010). Why is that? Because women are fighting hard to be granted the opportunity to prove themselves to be worthy of being representatives politically and take responsibility for the people they are representing.

The choice of candidates' nomination tends to be in the hands of political parties, which in return favor men. Also, since Lebanon is an Arab society and Arab

societies are easily characterized as patriarchal (Abu-Lughod, 2006), political parties are following informal mechanisms in order to counteract women's increased access and existence in formal decision-making (Mackay *et al*., 2010). Thus, women do not have the freedom nor the authority that is given to men in political parties in the context of their political representation because it is only induced to them by the political parties, informal systems and people in authority; which view the world only through the lens of their own culture (Joseph, 1993).

Quotas are a mechanism which parties can apply in order to enable political parties' commitment to women's representation and decrease the influence of informal decision-making. Because, when women are provided accommodation in power-sharing systems through gender electoral quotas, for example, there is an improvement in women's overall political participation (Byrne & McCulloch, 2012, p. 569). For example, with electoral gender quotas, reservation of seats in parliament or reservation of seats on political parties' nomination lists' rates' increase can be protected legislatively.

But even if legislative gender electoral quota laws are far from being introduced to the Lebanese political system, political parties can still restructure their management systems by themselves and apply internal quota laws to assure the implementation of written-formal policies and procedures. Also, these internal quota laws can reflect the needed restructuring of selection processes of Lebanese political parties, in order to offer women more opportunities to reach high political positions, following unbiased candidates' selection criteria. For example, facilitating the way for Lebanese political parties to nominate more than one or two women in their representative parliamentary lists.

Furthermore, the political participation of women tends "to be organized

around men with whom they are connected in socially legitimate ways" (Joseph, 1986).

That is why so many barriers facing women, to enter the political field or get nominated

or even standout as a representative, exist. Some of these challenges are: the ideology of

the political parties (Tlaiss & Kauser, 2010); the legislative quotas existence/abidance

(Krook, 2010); the absence of wasta support (Tlaiss & Kauser, 2010); the negative

sexual or political labelling (Joseph, 1986); the lack of party support (Edition, 2005);

the socio-cultural environment and its expectations regarding women (Jamali *et al*.,

2005); and so on…

Additionally, Arab women are no longer seen as the inferior and domestic

housewives. Now, women in the Arab region are starting to occupy ministerial and

parliamentary positions, they are running successful businesses and sit as presidents in

some national colleges. Women in the Arab region are gradually and rapidly advancing

and entering the work force and rising to managerial positions. Hence, working Arab

woman is not an exception anymore, but rather a growing trend in all fields (Omair,

2008, p.107). However, Arab women careers still suffer from the conservative and

patriarchal socio-cultural environment in which they live and work in as they are

expected to pursue a successful career while meeting the expectations of home and

work which becomes a salient challenge of day-to-day life (Afiouni, 2014, p. 316). As

well, Metcalfe (2008, p. 136) reveals and confirms in her paper that there have been

significant achievements in advancing women in leadership and political roles indeed,

but there are still, regrettably, institutional and cultural barriers rooted in all business

systems pushing women down and creating profound implications on the unfolding of

their careers, reach of managerial roles, and lack of their political engagement.

Political Parties in Lebanon

The formation of the Lebanese political system of power-sharing among the different Lebanese sects (Armenian Catholic, Armenian Orthodox, Assyrian, Chaldean Catholic, Copt, Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Latin Catholic, Maronite, Protestant, Syriac Catholic, Syrian Orthodox, Alawite, Druze, Isma'ili, Sunni, Shia) dates back to the creation of the semi-autonomous governorate of Mount Lebanon (Jaulin, 2014, p.252). This system was further improved with the national pact in 1943, which was composed of an oral agreement between two Christian and Muslim leaders (Jaulin, 2014, p.253).

However, elite power in Lebanon has been manipulating the political system, since its start, to live in prosperity and richness while most of the Lebanese people suffer from poor and hunger thinking the people they are electing to represent them really care for them (Jaulin, 2014, p.254). An example of this ugly truth, is the fact that even during independence when the National Pact was being delivered and the principles of proportional communal representation and communal autonomy and neutrality in foreign policy were being introduced; Lebanese political parties sought the help of outside allies and foreign powers to influence Lebanese politics according to what they saw fit, and not to what the country needed (Jaulin, 2014). Another example is that although Lebanon motto is liberal and democratic behaviors, nonetheless the country barely retains any of the political mechanisms of a civil community (Khalaf, 1968, p. 243). Unfortunately, the reality we live in, highlights the composition of the Lebanese parliament which continues to mirror the close association between the governmental elite and political zu'ama in Lebanon. There is more than just historic coincidence in this association for old–fashioned families and government officials are and have been the closest groups to the power and consequently more involved in the

political life and developments of the society (Khalaf, 1968, p. 256).

On another note, a body of research suggests that in order to diminish the effects of gender inequality in society, two choices lies ahead: either the culture itself would become extinct (so that its people would live in a less sexist neighbouring culture), or the culture itself would be encouraged to alter itself reinforcing equality of women into its new structure (Abu-Lughod, 2006). We can take this example and apply it on the culture of political parties. Henceforth, it is on the political parties to review and update their culture's structure to encourage human resources practices highlighting women's political participation and representation, and apply modifications to their management systems to adopt new institutionalism applications aiming to increase women's political representation rates, for the culture won't alter itself. An example is working on the inclusion of women in the power-sharing structure of political parties (Byrne & McCulloch, 2012).

According to a research done on political parties and their regulations, most of the research concludes that formal regulations for candidate selection in political parties are either very brief, leave plenty of room for candidacy manipulation or don't even exist (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016; Helmke & Levitsky, 2004; Cheng & Tavits, 2011) . Not to mention that even when these regulations exist, there is an unreliable and irregular implementation of these selection rules (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016, p.381). In summary, the repetition of "rule breaking" inside Lebanese political parties has become a rule itself (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016, p.382).

Barriers to Women in Politics

While structures of masculinity and femininity both exist in the Lebanese political parties, since Lebanese social-cultural norms support patriarchy, patrilineality,

and patrilocality (Joseph, 1993), the male model takes over their established structures, practices and rules, affecting their candidates' selection-criteria, ways of behaving socially and ways of defining themselves politically. Also, women are generally associated and judged by their feminine personalities (Mackay *et al*., 2010), and are thereby disadvantaged when it comes to giving them the responsibility of representing a certain religion or area in Lebanon as it is viewed too much to handle with their expected feminine behaviors and social duties. Moreover, just like social structure influence how political parties behave, local and national Lebanese political realities, in their turn, deeply influence gender construction of the Lebanese society, which is a problem that can sometimes be unexplored (Joseph, 1993).

Another barrier is that most political parties use as their selection criteria the family the candidate comes from, the political and social alliances they have, and the face-to-face political networks they can mobilize. And these criteria are critical especially for women in order to achieve political ends. Having to secure some of these criteria can take many years to build their political portfolio and be known. Hence, this decreases their chance of being representatives (Joseph, 1993).

A barrier that is mentioned previously in the text, is that even though we are seeing women more numerous and visible in today's political parties, however, the glass ceiling continues, work-family loads persist to take the shape of greater barriers for women than men, and elusive discriminatory acts, rules, and laws still influence Lebanese women's capabilities for career advancement in the Lebanese political field (McDonald & Hite, 1998). Consequently, political parties in Lebanon are not paying enough attention to the importance of career development of women nor are they allocating enough opportunities for women to work on and develop themselves giving that men have priority in this field.

As a further matter, while a close relationship between two men is considered as normal, a close relationship between a man and a woman in the political field is judged as offensive, jeopardizing the reputation of the political party she belongs to (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016).

Moreover, according to Niven (1998) and Luhiste (2015, p. 91), parties don't have a clear set of criteria to depend on in choosing their candidates, however they value certain traits like political experience for example. Unfortunately, political parties have varying candidate selection rules and hence female candidates are underrepresented due to the restrictions political parties set on their candidate selection rules. Also, it is hypothesized according to Niven (1998, p. 57) that bias, as a restriction to women's political participation, is most likely due to one of two things: "one, the outgroup effect where negative evaluations of women as candidates are predicated on their lack of political experience and visibility, or two, the distribution effect where negative evaluations of women as candidates are predicated on the relative scarcity of women in high status positions generally and politics specifically. Strong support was found for the outgroup effect, as parties' chairs consistently preferred candidates more like themselves, specifically men. Given the ubiquity of men in the party elite, such outgroup biased attitudes represent a significant hurdle for prospective women candidates."

Political Parties as Gatekeepers

Gendered relations take place at the party level within a context of both formal and informal party rules and practices that are formed and controlled by gender norms – supporting the model of the 'supreme candidate', who is usually, if not always, a man (Chapman 1993, as cited in Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016). Unfortunately, political parties

worldwide are known for their traditional formations of gender relations that usually come to the disadvantage of women. And it is definitely not a shock to Lebanon. Hence, to dissect the gender systems of Lebanese political parties, a thorough look into the architecture of their selection process and the criteria for choosing their candidates is needed. There is the theory, however, that the electoral systems and gender quotas of the country are shaping and altering party selection practices in gendered ways favoring men mostly because candidate selection is considered as an internal business more than a formal process to follow in Lebanon.

Even in the presence of quota mechanisms and practices in the management systems of political parties, the problem of women's political under-representation still exists because there are poor institutionalization and management within Lebanese parties to even create opportunities for women to be represented more (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016).

Feminist Institutionalism

Feminist institutionalism (FI) is defined as "a new variant of institutionalism that, on the one hand, critiques and seeks to overcome the gender blindness of existing scholarship in the field, to include women as actors in political processes, to 'gender' institutionalism, and to move the research agenda towards questions about the interplay between gender and the operation and effect of political institutions. On the other hand, it responds to the considerable analytical strengths of new institutionalism and the potential use of new institutionalist concepts and tools to help answer key questions of concern to feminist political scientists" (Mackay *et al*., 2010, p. 574).

Feminist institutionalism (FI) is a gender lens theory to visualize from the path to encouraging and increasing the number of female representatives parliamentary and

politically. This theory is an open lens on the gender blindness existing among us, in order to raise awareness on the importance of including women as active actors in all political processes in Lebanon. It triggers questions around the lack of women in the operations of political institutions. This is not all. Feminist institutionalism uses the concept and tools of "new institutionalism" to answer questions and find solutions towards achieving a more feminist political representation in Lebanon.

What any country needs is a simple emerging element of new institutionalism in its government as a whole or in the structure of its political parties to shed the light on the importance of a gender lens selection process of its representatives and candidates for elections (Mackay *et al*., 2010; Ljungholm, 2017, p.249). This will result in providing the Lebanese people with a fresh insight into the political field and refresh the current male-dominant political system.

FI entails that in order to achieve a broader institutional change in the structure of political parties, a necessary change in the structuring of social gender relations is needed. Considering those gender relations and norms of masculinity and femininity in the Lebanese society are what provide important mechanisms by which particular arrangements and power hierarchies are built on in political parties (Mackay *et al*., 2010).

Borrowing from HR

There is a need to inspect the informal characteristics of the selection process adopted by Lebanese political parties and look into their gendered consequences. Because this selection process and its effects are an essential aspect that can lead to understanding the cause behind the "continuity of male political dominance and female under-representation" till this day (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016, p.370). In other words,

exploring the gendered and institutional extents of the candidacy-opportunity constructions within political parties is crucial in order to shed light on women's long-lasting minority status in politics as well as the perseverance of male dominance all these years.

A study by Chowdhury & Mahmood (2012, p.1818), suggests that some institutions tend to use job descriptions prescribed by themselves to justify their recruitment and selection criteria, in the absence of legislative specific institutional arrangements. For example, a certain pharmaceutical company in Bangladesh depended on special requests from headquarters, and developed different job specifications for similar positions determined. Also, other governmental departments and trade unions did not oppose the development of such HRM recruitment practices. Hence, this misusage of HRM practices like in the department of recruitment and selection mentioned above, exists in other countries as well (Chowdhury & Mahmood (2012, p.1826). However, capitalizing on human resource management practices and initiatives is the path to gaining and retaining competitive advantage. And some of these practices are HRM planning, and recruitment and selection (Schuler & MacMillan, 1984, p. 241). Schuler & MacMillan (1984, p. 253) point out in their article, that one way to gain competitive advantage is by helping your human capital which leads to helping yourself (the organization/or in this paper's case the political party), and managing your human capital is achieved by developing HRM practices and initiatives.

An important HRM practice that political parties should consider adopting and applying is candidate-selection gender quotas. Because parties are required to put equal-gender-political-representation as a priority, in the 21st century, and work on their selection processes in a way to feature not only fit candidates in general but specifically fit female candidates as well (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016, p.373). Hence, we understand

that the main purpose is to start changing things up, modifying the structural

management systems of political parties or push them to do so by applying practices

that will lead to party modernization and centralization of candidate selection

procedures.

Furthermore, political selection is not given its righteous fare of how it can

predict elections success for example. But this is expected as "research access to

political parties, especially their selection processes, has been difficult to obtain over the

years". The first step in designing any selection process is to undertake a job analysis to

identify the knowledge, skills, abilities and other attributes KSAOs that are essential to

perform the role successfully. However, in the case of political parties, much has been

speculated about the KSAOs required as they are very ambiguous (Silvester & Dykes,

2007, p.13).

In addition, according to Silvester (2012, p. 26), the HR practice of recruiting

candidates to legislative office is seen as a core function of political systems, taking into

consideration that the quality of candidates selected influences ultimately the quality of

government delivered. Henceforward, as gatekeepers to political roles, political parties

are responsible towards themselves and the community they represent, to identify the

top possible candidates through only fair and effective HR selection procedures

(Silvester, 2012, p. 27).

Mechanisms to Increase Women Representation

There is a need for a feminist therapy that emerged from the individualized and

internalized oppression women have experienced along the years as a result of greater

proximity to men (Joseph, 1993).

According to the feminist intuitionalism theory, some of the mechanisms the

Lebanese government or the political parties internally can apply vary between gender candidate quotas, to gender mainstreaming policies, to equality blueprints, to country-wide feminist initiatives (Mackay *et al*., 2010). Also, "candidate gender quotas matter because parties are required to put gender on the table and design their selection processes in such a way that they are able to identify not only suitable candidates (who often turn out to be male) but also suitable female candidates" (Bjarnegård & Kenny, 2016, p.373).

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH DESIGN

The study was handled using the qualitative data collection and analysis methods for this qualitative approach aims to improve the quality and validity of the analytical process with a concentration on transparency and the criteria of validity (Life, 1994). Exploratory (conventional) content analysis method was relied on to analyze the results of this study. The main research data collection method was in-depth structured face-to-face interviews with all the participants in this study.

This type of method was selected in order to understand the various viewpoints, beliefs, attitudes, and opinions that participants have regarding the formal or informal nomination process and selection criteria in addition to the promotional systems that may or may not exist in Lebanese political parties. There was also the use of secondary data available on political candidates' selection processes, elections, political parties and women's representation in Lebanon. All interviews were recorded, in English and Arabic, after gaining approval from the participants. These interviews' recordings will be later on used to support the discoveries of this study and quoted in the study as this will provide value and significance to the findings.

To gain the transcriptions, the interviews were recorded, listened to later on and transcribed according to what has been said, in preparations for the analysis part. There were two sets of interview questions used in the interviews, a set for women and a set for men. The two sets had similar questions aiming to understand the different viewpoints and opinions of the interviewees on the subject of study. But eighteen questions were developed for men while twenty-three were developed for women, for

women are the main interest of this study.

Some examples of the interview questions for men are the following: What do you think of the number of women representatives in this year's elections? Fair or low; what, in your opinion, are some of the obstacles the nomination process, we talked about above, pose to women; how do you think the management of your party is encouraging more men rather than women; what are some mechanisms to open up the political competition to women? How can we make the system fairer? How do you think women can access this nomination process? And some examples of the questions that were different and asked for women only: Tell me about your experience in the party (How you started and the different roles you played along the years); would you like to be parliament member one day; how do you think the management of your party is encouraging more men rather than women.

CHAPTER V

SAMPLE

A sample of fifteen political representatives from different political parties in Lebanon was recruited for the proposed study. The chosen representatives were divided into three groups:

- Group 1: It included five men who are in senior political positions or have been nominated for this year's parliamentary elections.

- Group 2: It included two women parties' candidates that ran for this year's parliamentary elections.

- Group 3: It included eight women in senior political positions in Lebanese political polities that were not nominated by their parties for this year's parliamentary elections.

All the interviews were conducted face to face, or by video call when the interviewee happened to be outside the country.

CHAPTER VI

RECRUITMENT

All the participants were recruited by email. The email contained information explaining to them the objectives of the study. The participants were asked, once approval was secured, to sign a formal consent form for their participation in this study that included: the objectives of the study, disclosure of any kind of risks if any exist, confidentiality of the information gathered and who will access it, who will have access to their identity, benefits of this study, and their rights to withdraw for the study at any point.

Results of this study will be shared with all participants upon request once the research is completed.

CHAPTER VII

DATA COLLECTION

For the purpose of this study, fifteen interviews were conducted and transcribed in the Appendix, in order to understand the process of getting nominated by Lebanese political parties to the elections, and the candidates' selection processes of Lebanese political parties. In addition, interviews were conducted to highlight the obstacles the Lebanese nomination process poses to women according to the viewpoints of the participants or the other societal barriers causing the low rate of women representatives in the Lebanese parliament.

CHAPTER VIII

DATA ANALYSIS

The information collected and transcribed by the researcher from the interviews were analysed qualitatively through the exploratory (conventional) content analysis, in specific the thematic analysis method. This method involves recognizing, investigating and recording patterns (themes) within the data collected (Braun and Clarke, 2006) from the participants, in their interviews, on the process of getting nominated by the political parties to the elections in Lebanon, and the candidates' selection processes of Lebanese political parties. The investigator used the thematic method to study, using a systematic coding and categorizing approach in order to determine themes, categories, and codes (Braun and Clarke, 2006), the current electoral nomination process, in precise how political parties in Lebanon nominate women and men for electoral representation, the selection criteria they search for and the obstacles this process pose to women. In addition to the possible reforms that political parties can undertake to enhance their management systems and practices to allow more women to be selected as representatives, even in the absence of quota systems.

The codes identified after reviewing the data will produce the results of this study after going through many stages of searching for categories within the codes, to naming the categories and defining them, to finally coming up with the main themes of this study.

The table below summarizes the exploratory content analysis process that was made and combined. We started with examples mentioned by the interviewees (condensations), then moved on to grouping specific related examples and coding them

into seventeen codes. After that, we grouped these seventeen different codes into seven broad categories. Finally, these seven categories were grouped based on their relation to four themes.

Table 1

Summary of Thematic Table (Full thematic table is showcased in Appendix II)

Codes	Categories	Themes
One Man Decision Disadvantages of Quota Laws Quantity Over Quality	Disadvantages of Lebanese political system	Challenges to women in Lebanese politics
Obstacles/Barriers to women representation Barriers to Women in Lebanese Political Parties	Low women political representation	
Informal Parties' Management System Signs Informal Parties' Candidate Selection Signs	Informality of Lebanese political parties' management systems	
Mechanisms to Increase Women Representation's Rate Women Actions to Increase Women Representation's Rate Structural Mechanisms to Adopt by Parties	Suggestions to increase women's political representation in Lebanon	Mechanisms and methods to increase women's political representation
Management Reforms	Management reforms for Lebanese political parties	
Parties' Nomination-Candidate Selection Process Biased Selection Processes Adopted by Parties Selection Criteria	Selection processes of Lebanese political parties	Political candidates' selection process
Parliamentary Women Representation Rate Role of Women Branch Women Rates in Parties	Women's representation and roles	Women status in Lebanese politics

CHAPTER IX

RESULTS

The above table represents a template that showcases the main four themes identified through the content analysis of the fifteen interviews to allow the reader a better understanding of the findings.

The following section will offer an explanation of the four themes found after conducting the content analysis on the data collected. The four themes are divided into challenges that reflect two ways in which Lebanese political parties in Lebanon limit the representation of women: one way is the general challenges explained by interviewees and the second way is the biased and informal candidates' selection process adopted or even non-existent in Lebanese political parties, women status in Lebanese politics, and the mechanisms suggested by the interviewees to increase women's political representation in Lebanon.

Challenges to Women in Lebanese Politics

This result represents the main challenges collected from the data collection made. It showcases what women suffer from that disable them from entering the political field and diminishes their role once they enter like the one-man decisions made inside political parties and the informality of the management systems of Lebanese political parties.

In general, many challenges facing women in the political field exist. But, our main concern was the challenges women face in Lebanese politics whether in the political parties' management systems or their structures or their cultures or even in

Lebanon in general. Starting with the main whole of challenges facing women political representation, the list was infinite according to the primary research that was made. The obstacles that stood out were the unfortunate mentality of the Lebanese people "It's a male dominant society -I4-", "the masculine community -I5-", "It's hard for women to be chosen for elections with this mentality -I8-", "she is bombarded with criticism that she is a woman in a male dominated society -I11-", "since we live in a patriarchal society the man must win -I13-", and the Lebanese culture that defines the Lebanese political parties' culture and how they see and judge women in this field "It is easier for men to look for men -I8-", " it is easier to find men to lead because there are more men to fill a certain position then there are women -I8-", "our environment and culture is more or less patriarchal -I9-", "Uncivilized shortening from the side of Lebanese politics towards the role of women -I11-", "Women are not able to breakthrough -I14-", "traditional patriarchal view of things -I15-".

Another major barrier was her family and religious role as a mother and wife that she needs to make it a priority "society and the husband do not understand her away-from-home reasons much and blame her of neglecting her house duties -I1-", "Because society expects them to be good mothers and not good politicians -I4-", "Her role as a women, a wife and a mother -I5-", "Social pressure, financial pressure, family pressure -I7-". To some interviewees, the electoral law makes it hard for women representation rate to increase unless it changes "The new electoral law is informal -I6-", "The Lebanese government need to change the electoral law to reflect more women representation -I6-", "it's on the electoral law to change and not be based on religion and sects -I7-".

But, if the electoral law changes and quota laws are applied, women representation faces another obstacle which is filling quantity and not quality "It was

just based on the fact that we have woman on the list, any woman -I7-", "only quantity will be brought in and not quality -I10-". In addition, some of the interviewers commented on the disadvantages of quota laws as they considered they are not the right country-wide solution to apply for "it is not something that would last and be effective for the long run -I1-", and "quota system doesn't work because the parties can just bring women they are related to or know just to fill the number required -I3-", not to mention that "quota is not a solution because only quantity will be brought in and not quality -I10-", "The quota system doesn't work because the parties can just bring women they are related to or know just to fill the number required -I3-".

Almost all interviewers pointed out that patriarchy is the major cause of lack of women in the political field, however, they did mention that it is getting better. But is it really? The societal culture of Lebanon has no plans of advancing and modernizing itself nor does the people of this country have the intention to change anything as even women are not sticking together, nor voting for each other to at least encourage women representation as a whole instead of their personal representation. Also, the fact that women have to change their sects after marriage makes strangers to their new sects which refuses them as candidates considering they weren't born and fed from the religion and roots of this sect "Women after marriage move their sect to follow their husband's sect -I1-", "they become strangers to their new sect -I1-", "the people of this sect will refuse a woman who is considered a stranger to them for example. And this affects her nomination -I1-". This fast makes it harder for some married women to supply her candidacy with a confirmed pool of votes as people tend to support the traditional candidates of their community.

And let's suppose that all these societal and male dominance flaws are healed, we are still left with the other major source of problems "the political parties and their

flawless management systems".

According to the primary research made, one-man decision exists in almost all parties "the president decides accordingly -I1-", "the president of the party runs the affairs of the party and has a big role in the decision making process -I2-", "The new electoral law is informal in the way it gives the political leaders of the country the authority to choose whomever they want -I6-", "he would choose by himself the candidates -I12-", "the president of the party decides personally on whom from this list to choose to run as candidate from the party -I15-".

In other words, even if few parties have a candidate selection process based on interviews and surveys, the decision of choosing a candidate isn't based on numbers or competencies or accomplishments, it is only based on the decision of the president of the party, their decision of whomever they want. And that was identified by the interviewees as signs of the informality of the management systems of most Lebanese political parties and in specific the informality of the candidates' selection process "Because the women were not chosen based on their competencies and political background -I7-", "men politicians come to silence them and take that ability from them -I6-", "an unfair and biased selection process of candidates -I13-", "There were men that deserved to be candidates more than these high positioned women in the party -I15-", "instead of going through a formal managerial approved process -I6-". Only a few interviewees described what seemed like a selection process that they have been using for years now. And still there were loopholes that highlighted the one-man decision selection process they have and the informality of their human capital management mechanisms and techniques "because of all the stereotypes, unfortunately women are not on the top of their minds when they think of appointments -I8-", "an unfair and biased selection process of candidates -I13-", "they want people that will win -I15-",

"Very few based their selection criteria on the political background and experience they have -I6-". Therefore, all these disadvantages of the Lebanese political system, the challenges women face in political parties and in the Lebanese community, and the informality of management systems of political parties have led to such a low rate of women parliamentary representation in Lebanon and to high female discouragement to pursue a political career in Lebanon.

This result confirms our doubt that political parties in Lebanon are the gatekeepers of parliamentary candidacy as they represent a major challenge to women representation. Most of the challenges that studies and research mention were pointed out by the interviewees. And even, it was confirmed to us that Lebanese political parties suffer from the big issue of the informality of their management systems.

Political Candidates' Selection Process

This result goes around the abnormal status of the candidates' selection process in Lebanese political parties. The decision is mostly made by the president of the party and all members believe in that decision. Also, it is a biased process based on a set of subjective selection criteria that do exist among parties but are informal and unwritten. The selection criteria revolve mostly around who can get more votes, and not on who has the competencies to represent the community in the parliament.

In most of the research body that exist about Lebanese political parties, there is no concern about the selection process that our country's political parties have adopted years ago and have been abiding by since. There isn't even mention of the selection criteria that supposedly these parties depend on to base their search for parliamentary candidates. Therefore, part of the primary research made was to discover these criteria and the nomination processes if any exist.

Through the primary research and the data collection analyzed, the main and most searched for parliamentary candidates' selection criteria are: "based on their constant commitment to the party -I7-", "for achievers within our party -I1-", "in what geographic area -I3-", "the region he is going to be nominated for -I5-", "his potential of winning -I5-", "They base their selection basically on the people that will increase the popularity of the parties -I6-", "they choose people that are guaranteed to win -I6-", "the loyalty of the people they want to choose -I6-", "visibility criterion -I8-", "previous parliamentary members -I11-", "their relation to big powerful families in Lebanon -I11-", "Loyalty to the party -I12-", "within their fractions -I14-", "who has a public profile -I14-", "Who has the more connections -I15-", "the visibility on the ground- how popular he is, his financial support, and who he is (family status-background-popularity), loyalty to the member -I15-", "who has some presence/social capital in their own city -I14-", and "who has the public known background to get votes -I14-".

Some parties confessed to having a nomination-candidates' selection processes and some even explained the stages of their process, for example, the surveys, internal elections, and interviews conducted to come up with a final list of candidates "For the previous parliamentary members, we assess them based on their previous years of service and if they prove to have done a change, they automatically make it as candidates again -I5-", "And the primary list of candidates came from the different offices of us around the country and the central authority. Then the central committee filters them based on closed down debates and then it gets to the president to choose -I7-", "Then the members vote for the people who are interested to run and we get the first batch of people that will move on to the second phase. The second stage is elections inside the constituencies in specific. And the members vote and we get the second batch. The third stage is constituencies for our party members and the other

parties' candidates that we knew their parties would choose them. And we picked 3 for baabda for example -I4-", "Whoever feels like he wants to run just tells his leader. And the center of leadership studies their profiles and chooses them based on the criteria above and based on the geographical charts -I5-", "3 stages. Internal primaries whereby in each casa, members who are interested apply and then they get elected. And they get scores based on the points they get in the elections. And then the second step would be a survey in the community to filter the people who made it in the first stage. Third, another survey in the community to compare the people who made it in the second round to affiliates or allies from other parties so that when we make a decision or negotiate with another party who is with us on the same list, we would know if our person or their person will bring in more votes and we make our decisions accordingly -I8-", " based on interviews and CVs -I10-", "We go through a poll study of our community and our party members and we see who is more fit -I15-". And these candidates usually make up the parliamentary lists that the Lebanese community give their votes to.

Unfortunately, there was a consensus among most interviews that there is a presence of bias in the way of choosing the candidates in Lebanese political parties. Either because of the one-man decision that rules most selection processes of Lebanese political parties, or because of culture we have lived and fed on all these years and that has affected the older generation and given power to men over women "Because the 3 stages that the party adopts as selection process did not give women the chance to be among the first people to be chosen as candidates. The statistics and surveys were more advantageous for the male members of our party -I4-", "the criteria used at least from our end in FPM for selecting candidates didn't make it easier for women to actually become the candidate of choice for elections -I8-", "making the selection process and in

specific the criteria unbiased towards women -I10-", "The political party needs to fix

his selection criteria to be unbiased towards women and minorities representation -I11-

", "an unfair and biased selection process of candidates -I13-".

Our data collection's results confirm that Politics in Lebanon needs to borrow

from HR the basis of the unbiased and reliable selection process. It confirms that

political parties in Lebanon are corrupted with sectarianism and glass ceiling for

women.

Women in Lebanese Politics

Lebanese political parties are working on increasing their female members and

they are succeeding. But how is this reflected with only six women out of one hundred

and twenty-eight members in the parliament? Representation of Women's status in

Lebanon is suffering as they only occupy low levels of positions while higher levels are

left for men who are seen as the head of families and countries, while women belong

inside the house taking care of her children and husband's needs.

We already knew, before our primary data collection, that Lebanese

parliamentary women representation rate is considerably low compared to other Arab

countries. But we got a confirmation from almost all parties' representatives that a

number of six women in a parliament of one hundred and twenty-eight members is

considered very low "Very low -I4-", "Low -I7-", "I think it's very low -I8-",

"Definitely low -I9-", "No, it wasn't fair -I10-", "Very low -I12-", "It's really low -I14-

", "the top-level positions in political parties, you find them all men and not one single

woman exists in high positions with the decision-making ability -I12-".

And the funny fact is that considering most parties do have women branches

whose roles are to work on women representation inside the parties and empower their

female members to occupy more top-level positions in parties, this number has been low since the start of Lebanese parliamentary representation "The main role of this branch is working on increasing role of women in decision-making processes, gender audit, increasing women parliamentary representation -I8-", "Office of women's affairs. Its role is to work on qualifying women to enable them to handle all difficulties that the political field might in-store for them. Teach women to be present and fulfil her duties with utmost professionalism even her family responsibilities -I5-", "Its role is to recruit women from all areas. And make sure all committees are recruiting enough women -I9-", "We work on all legislation concerning women -I14-", "It enables women to reach high positions and empowers them to develop and work on themselves to advance in society and occupy management positions -I15-", "a filter to everything related to women -I14-".

But, there is a bright light at the end of the tunnel, women membership in parties has been increasing progressively in recent years and that does show enhancement and change in the mind-set and acceptance of Lebanese political parties "there are several females in the executive council (majlis al moufawadin)-I2-", "Around 25-30% of women as members in the party -I2-", "the council of delegates elected by the general authority which includes around 5 women of 12 members with its president as a woman -I3-", "the number of women moved up four times from 9 women participants to 36 women in total -I5-", "Women in high political positions are around 30% from all positions -I10-", "Maybe 20% represent women -I14-", "Most of our devices units have women as their presidents -I15-", "And 30% of members are women -I15-".

It is really sad to have a country with so many successful women in all fields (fashion, business, economics, music, filmmaking, acting…) but the one field that can

actually make a change in the structure and regulatory body of the country, successful women are scarce and rare to find.

The numbers and facts gathered from the interviewees confirm that women in politics in Lebanon are not supported enough neither are they working on themselves to grow and fight harder. Hence, the problem is vice-versa.

Mechanisms and Methods to Increase Women's Political Representation

All interviewees shared a consensus that the electoral law, for example, needs to be changed. And this was just one mechanism that would lead to an increase in women representation rate. The quota was another main suggestion, however many disadvantages come along with it, that will be discussed below.

Just like there is a solution to every problem, there are methods and mechanisms to eliminate some of the challenges women face in the Lebanese political field and ways to increase the women's political representation rates in Lebanon. According to the data analysed, there are two parts more or less related to each other leading to the same result. First part is composed of three important factors that should be highlighted: the devices Lebanon should apply or changes that should occur in the Lebanese system in order to make it fairer towards women representation "Internal procedures are the best solution -I7-", "national quota laws -I7-", "what applies to men applies to women -I8-", "working on introducing the importance of women representation in rural areas of Lebanon to gain a bigger pool of supporters and voters -I9-", "A fairer electoral law -I12-", "to have this mental shift in the importance in the role of women -I14-", "a new modern law for political parties to impose the 50/50 representation in our society -I12-", "work on the logically and not religiously -I13-", actions that should be applied by Lebanese women "request to be presented in all fields

not only politically -I13-", "I think women need to work on building their network, their

social and political capital before they even get into the official political game -I14-",

"Women need to work on their political qualifications -I10-", "Women must stand as a

united army -I13-", "to assume their roles very seriously and to be able to leave a very

good impression -I14-", "they need to push to get that training and claim opportunities

to prove themselves -I15-", and mechanisms that should be adopted by Lebanese

political parties in specific as they are the ones who issue the list of parliamentary

candidates "And to only accept people running for elections based on their

parliamentary programs -I7-" , "A mechanism that would have a separate track for

women and young people to actually reach the end line regardless whether they are

already well visible in the community -I8-", "The party needs to work on empowering

women during the 4 years of preparations for the elections -I9-", "it should allocate a

financial budget to supporting women's running campaigns -I11-", "Change the

mentality of all political parties -I13-", "A political will to hire women -I15-", "put a

policy that says that at least 25-30% of candidates that will represent in 4 years will be

women -I14".

    Second are the management reforms to adopted and implemented specifically

to the human resources management systems of political parties that are the core of

most problems leading to Lebanon's low rate of women parliamentary representation

"The best way is to open up channels for women participation in all the structures of the

party. This will increase their visibility, their experience, and their chances to be active

and nominated by the party -I2-", "The party can also create mentorship programs like

each old member would get 2 to 3 members to mentor them and help them develop -I4-

", "Awareness. Enhancing the culture of women's entering the political field and the

public domain and filling them for any public position -I5-", "Parties need to do a

restructuring of their management systems before requesting quota laws -I7-",
"Qualifying more women to be able to take such roles -I8-", "to work on the
management of the people of the party and raise awareness and give them workshops on
how to accept all genders and races to eliminate all kinds of discrimination -I9-",
"Motivation mechanisms created by HR to encourage women to step up and want to
fight -I10-", "Training workshops to increase their confidence -I12-", "enlighten them
about the practices and mechanisms that they can apply to increase the woman's
representation -I13-", "change the criteria chosen for candidates' selection -I13-",
"implement the practices and mechanisms of gender equality -I13-".

     The mechanisms gathered from secondary research does relate to what the
primary research resulted in. many mechanisms and management reforms exist and are
very logical, doable and helpful in increasing the Lebanese women representation rate.
However, we notice that a big part of the actions to be taken fall upon women's duty
like sticking together, and voting for each other even if they share different beliefs.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

Although women constitute almost fifty percent (49.8%) of the Lebanese community (World Bank, 2017), however, this number isn't reflected in the Lebanese parliament, either in the political parties' candidates' lists. Many reasons are behind this reality that we live in. Part is due to the informality of the human resources management systems of political parties, and another part falls on the absence of quota laws to guarantee the rights of women's political representation. An additional part falls on the biased selection criteria that parties follow to choose their candidates and the selection processes that filter out the women members wanting to be nominated, and another is because of the absence of regular evaluations and application of modern management reforms. Furthermore, a different part is due to the lack of regulatory body to supervise the reliable and valid application of quota laws if any were to be adopted by the Lebanese government. Moreover, one more part falls on the selection criteria that political parties depend on to choose their candidates for parliamentary representation, for example: "they choose people that are guaranteed to win -I6-", "the loyalty of the people they want to choose -I6-", "previous parliamentary members -I11-", "their relation to big powerful families in Lebanon -I11".

These criteria mentioned show us how political parties depend mostly on popularity and votes guarantee. But what about competencies, hard work, activism, fighting for the cause… All these criteria are the main cause of the low rate of women representation in the Lebanese parliament. Hence, they affect greatly the chances of women being nominated to be represented.

Lebanon is flying under the name of fashion, music making, filmmaking, business… but politically, it is suffering. Women representation is a good and important place to start in order to compensate for all its flawed past filled with corruption and bad management.

Finally, ending with a few remarks and recommendations:

- Few interviewees thought that the number of women in parliament currently is more than fair considering more men are worthy of the seats than women, while all the rest strongly agreed that this number is very low and unfair.

- The qualitative method was used for this study because it allowed the interviewees to express their opinions and attitudes towards the subject more openly, which permitted so many challenges and mechanisms to be discussed further and deeper.

- I do believe Lebanese politics should borrow from HR its processes and systems which are the success point of every worldwide organization, as HR also has a strategic role that is yet to be discovered in Lebanese political parties.

- Lebanese political parties should start from a feminist institutional perspective and start building new management systems based on HR policies, procedures, tools, and mechanisms that have been proved to be effective in building a healthy and unbiased environment for women and minorities to grow.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

For Women

1. Tell me about your experience in the party (How you started and the different roles you played along the years).

2. What do you think of the number of women representatives in this year's elections? Fair or low?

3. If the answer is low, what are the reasons for the low percentage of women elected to parliament?

4. When it comes to the parliamentary elections, from your experience how does the party decide on choosing candidates?

5. In your opinion, what were the criteria for choosing or not choosing women as candidates in 2018?

6. Would you like to be parliament member one day?

7. If yes, or no, what would it take for your party to nominate you?

8. What would it take for your political party to want to nominate more women?

9. What are some of the criteria to pick candidates for parliamentary elections?

10. How do individuals compete over nomination?

11. Does the political party you belong to have an organisational chart?

12. Do you follow the party's internal bylaws?

13. Do you think the way the party is organized is fair towards women?

14. How does the internal culture of the party influence the participation and representation of women?

15. Do you have a women branch in the party? If yes, what is its role?

16. Do you have women in high political positions in your party?

17. What, in your opinion, are the reasons that women in high political positions in this party did not get nominated to represent the party in this year's elections?

18. What, in your opinion, are some of the obstacles the nomination process, we talked about above, pose to women?

19. What, in your opinion, can the party do structurally to support women that are running for elections?

20. How do you think the management of your party is encouraging more men rather than women?

21. What, in your opinion, are some management reforms that this party can do or need to do to promote more women as candidates?

22. What are some mechanisms to open up political competition to women? How can we make the system fairer? How do you think women can access this nomination process?

23. On a day to day basis, what do you think needs to be done to improve the roles women play in political parties?

For Men

1. What do you think of the number of women representatives in this year's elections? Fair or low?

2. If the answer is low, what are the reasons for the low percentage of women elected to parliament?

3. When it comes to the parliamentary elections, how do you believe the party comes to the decision of choosing candidates?

4. What are some of the roles/positions women occupy in the political party you belong to?

5. What would it take for your political party to want to nominate more women?

6. What are some of the criteria to pick candidates for parliamentary elections?

7. How do individuals compete over nomination?

8. Does the political party you belong to have an organisational chart?

9. Do you follow the party's internal bylaws?

10. Do you have a women branch in the party? If yes, what is its role?

11. Do you have women in high political positions in your party?

12. What, in your opinion, are the reasons that women in high political positions in this party did not get nominated to represent the party in this year's elections?

13. What, in your opinion, are some of the obstacles the nomination process, we talked about above, pose to women?

14. What, in your opinion, are some of the challenges women face when running for elections?

15. How do you think the management of your party is encouraging more men rather than women?

16. What do you think are the reasons for the fact that most parliamentary candidates are men?

17. What, in your opinion, are some management reforms that this party can do or need to do to promote more women as candidates?

18. What are some mechanisms to open up political competition to women? How can we make the system fairer? How do you think women can access this nomination process?

APPENDIX II

THEMATIC TABLE

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
the president decides accordingly -I1-	One-Man Decision	Disadvantages of Lebanese political system	Challenges to women in Lebanese politics
the president of the party runs the affairs of the party and has a big role in the decision making process -I2-			
nomination will be decided by the general authority -I3-			
even the withdrawal decision was made by the general authority -I3-			
The new electoral law is informal in the way it gives the political leaders of the country the authority to choose whomever they want -I6-			
they were picked by the president based on their constant commitment to the party -I7-			
their party's president chose them personally not because they earned it -I10-			
I was nominated by one of the political leaders in the country -I12-			
he would choose by himself the candidates -I12-			
It is a one person decision -I12-			
the prime minister approached me -I14-			
to get the support and the endorsement of the head of the political parties -I14-			
the president of the party decides personally on whom from this list to choose to run as candidate from the party -I15-			
The system is fair -I15-			
it is fair but there are still limitations -I15-			
It is not something that would last and be effective for the long run -I1-	Disadvantages of Quota Laws		
those who are with it are with it on a temporary basis -I1-			
The quota system diminishes from the value of the human being -I1-			
sometimes it is used just to fill in places and meet numbers instead of bringing in quality -I1-			
is not fair -I1-			
The quota system doesn't work because the parties can just bring women they are related to or know just to fill the number required -I3-			
But we face the quantity instead of the quality problem -I4-			
Quota is not a solution because only quantity will be brought in and not quality -I10-			
It was just based on the fact that we have woman on the list, any woman -I7-	Quantity Over Quality		
only quantity will be brought in and not quality -I10-			
most men who are being chosen by FPM to represent the party are unqualified -I11-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
The problem is in the number of candidates not in the number of women that won -I1-			
the number of women candidates is low -I1-			
some parties did not even nominate any women at all in their lists -I1-			
the social structure is responsible and is a main obstacle posed to women -I1-			
how society judges women on their ability to juggle between their career and their family life -I1-			
society and the husband do not understand her away-from-home reasons much and blame her of neglecting her house duties -I1-			
it is a barrier that's stopping some women from pursuing a political career in Lebanon -I1-			
How men looks at these women -I1-			
men will see it form a perspective that she got nominated because she's pretty -I1-			
she knows someone powerful in the party -I1-	Obstacles/Barriers to women representation	Low women political representation	
because she has money -I1-			
because she comes from a political powerful family -I1-			
the gossip that will follow her nomination might bring her down emotionally -I1-			
might affect her total voters' percentage because they will hear these rumours about her and won't vote for her -I1-			
The masculine society is the big and only problem -I1-			
Women after marriage move their sect to follow their husband's sect -I1-			
they become strangers to their new sect -I1-			
the people of this sect will refuse a woman who is considered a stranger to them for example. And this affects her nomination -I1-			
Probably because we did not have enough women that are eager to participate in politics rather than restrict their efforts in social activities or other activities -I2-			
the challenge of trying to convince some of the old timers that still have the traditional mind-set that politics isn't for women -I2-			
which might make it difficult for a female to tackle such a situation -I2-			
And once they are married, they automatically move to their husband's geographic area, which makes her a stranger to that area on the system and in real life -I3-			
the structural composition of the political system in Lebanon is the reason behind the low percentage of women nomination and representation in the elections -I3-			
in general, the societal structure is the problem -I3-			
The main problem is the geographic area listed governmentally -I3-			
The geographic structure of the political system -I3-			
sometimes we face rejection -I4-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
they are afraid to enter this field -I4-			
Because society expects them to be good mothers and not good politicians -I4-			
The obstacle is that they are not known in the political arena -I4-			
The main challenge is the patriarchal society -I4-			
They are judged for being women -I4-			
women don't vote for women -I4-			
There is a lot of competition between women instead of sticking together -I4-			
the Lebanese culture has its fair for bringing women down -I4-			
It's a male dominant society -I4-			
the masculine community -I5-			
it is very rare to find women with that kind of experience -I5-			
the masculinity of the society we live in have more power over the management system and its practices in the party -I5-			
Her role as a women, a wife and a mother -I5-			
the general opinion that is governed by the masculine minds -I5-			
her family role -I5-			
women have the roles of mother, wife and the housekeeper and she cannot give up this important role that is given to her religiously to pursue her job in the political field -I5-			
The new electoral law is informal -I6-			
number of women candidates was not enough to get a big number into the parliament -I6-			
The Lebanese government need to change the electoral law to reflect more women representation -I6-			
under the flag of patriarchy -I6-			
men politicians come to silence them and take that ability from them -I6-			
No one wanted them because they can actually make a change if given the opportunity -I6-			
There is a lot of patriarchy on the social and political level that would push women down from advancing -I6-			
the financial power is known to be in the hands of the man of the house -I6-			
financing the political campaign is an issue to some women -I6-			
a community that encourages male dominancy -I7-			
Social pressure, financial pressure, family pressure -I7-			
they don't believe in themselves and they sacrifice a lot for men -I7-			
the number of women that voted for women was very low -I7-			
the criteria used at least from our end in FPM for selecting candidates didn't make it easier for women to actually			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
become the candidate of choice for elections -I8-			
it's hard for a woman to compete with a man that has already been in the field for over 9 years waiting for his chance to be elected -I8-			
The role and job of a parliament member doesn't exactly fit the character of a woman who seeks to make a difference -I8-			
you rarely find women being there for her Community and hiring people here and removing people there -I8-			
this criterion was hard for women to have -I8-			
filtered out in statistics poles because they didn't have enough ground publicly -I8-			
the criterion used to select candidates didn't play to the women's favour -I8-			
It's hard for women to be chosen for elections with this mentality -I8-			
It's a costly process -I8-			
It is easier form men to look for men -I8-			
There are external factors like popularity in the region, and financial struggles -I8-			
it is easier to find men to lead because there are more men to fill a certain position then there are women -I8-			
women make 54% of the Lebanese community but is only represented with 4% in the parliament -I9-			
the problem is the number of women running for elections in the first place -I9-			
it's all a strategy planned ahead -I9-			
Family barriers, social status, marital status -I9-			
our environment and culture is more or less patriarchal -I9-			
all awareness is dedicated for women, while men are the ones with the traditional mentality that needs to be changed -I10-			
men are not accepting them because no one addresses them and asks them to open their minds and accept women representation -I10-			
all women were advocating for women and not addressing real life issues that the Lebanese people need them to be changed -I10-			
But the reaction of the public to us choosing this many women is merciless -I10-			
the country's culture doesn't encourage women representation -I10-			
Financial support is the biggest obstacle -I10-			
the political world in Lebanon is not giving enough importance to women -I11-			
Uncivilized shortening from the side of Lebanese politics towards the role of women -I11-			
mentality of the society is another reason, male dominant society -I11-			
the rejection of political parties to women representation in			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
general -I11-			
The patriarchal dominance of society affects how the party treats women -I11-			
Lebanese culture has a lot to do with how political parties in Lebanon treat women -I11-			
All parliamentary members, if you notice, are rich people that are able to pay money to run their campaigns successfully, leaving no opportunity for women and minorities to run or get financial support -I11-			
she is bombarded with criticism that she is a women in a male dominated society -I11-			
judging her of not being able to take responsibility -I11-			
the Lebanese law that doesn't support women representation in 0 form of quota -I11-			
Without the support and sponsorship of political parties, she can't make it -I11-			
they didn't work on it -I12-			
Because of the political conflict between all parties -I13-			
not whom is qualified enough to be our representative in the parliament -I13-			
women did not make a coalition between each other to support their role -I13-			
If only Lebanese women stood tall as one -I13-			
Political parties did not stick to their promises of promoting women's representation -I13-			
internally they are not considering more women as candidates for parliamentary representation -I13-			
women are being used as only the front page of the party -I13-			
the mere fact of having a branch only for women is discriminatory to women because it means that we are separating woman alone -I13-			
the mentality of the party -I13-			
Financial support is a big obstacle for women in general -I13-			
competition between families -I13-			
since we live in a patriarchal society the man must win -I13-			
the main problem is how they run the management systems of their parties -I13-			
The system is very male dominated and oriented -I14-			
It needs a lot of money and a lot of connections -I14-			
It needs backing by political parties strongly -I14-			
Women are not able to breakthrough -I14-			
The elections are very resource consuming and you don't find this support with anyone randomly -I14-			
Their fear to fail -I14-			
women go through a self-selection process -I14-			
we had people working for 9 years and preparing to run for the elections, so we couldn't choose a new person or women in specific to take the position -I15-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
traditional patriarchal view of things -I15-			
if Lebanon won't change its mentality, its culture won't change and hence ours won't change either -I15-			
women have no enough confidence -I15-			
They think less of themselves and what they are really capable of -I15-			
they expect to be handed the position on silver platter -I15-			
women are more patriarchal thinking then men themselves -I15-			
party doesn't put any hurdles on any woman -I1-			
How men looks at these women -I1-			
men will see it form a perspective that she got nominated because she's pretty -I1-			
she knows someone powerful in the party -I1-			
because she has money -I1-			
because she comes from a political powerful family -I1-			
Lower level, there is always bickering between members -I1-			
The masculine society is the big and only problem -I1-			
the people of this sect will refuse a woman who is considered a stranger to them for example. And this affects her nomination -I1-			
the challenge of trying to convince some of the old timers that still have the traditional mind-set that politics isn't for women -I2-	Barriers to Women in Lebanese Political Parties		
There is always an authority that is practiced from the powerful on the weak, from the men on the women or from the grown up on the babe -I3-			
officially men are the members who will be winning -I3-			
the lack of self-confidence of women to present as ready to take on the job candidates -I5-			
it is very rare to find women with that kind of experience -I5-			
the masculinity of the society we live in have more power over the management system and its practices in the party -I5-			
judge the party for choosing women instead of men for certain positions -I5-			
unfortunately, we live in an eastern society and sometimes that affects the decisions of hiring -I5-			
The role and job of a parliament member doesn't exactly fit the character of a woman who seeks to make a difference -I8-			
the rest 80 women were tools and just a marketing face for the parties -I9-			
Because men started first in the party, they believe they have priority over women in the party -I9-			
But the reaction of the public to us choosing this many women is merciless -I10-			
the policies and procedures set forth for the members to			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
follow and use -I11-			
you need to see the internal objectives of the party if women representation is part of it -I11-			
the political parties did not really put effort -I12-			
they needed the green light from the president of the party -I14-			
the odds that this woman would win or not -I14-			
we did not have enough loyal female members that belong to our party -I15-			
the president decides accordingly -I1-	Informal Parties' Management System Signs	Informality of Lebanese political parties' management systems	
sometimes it is used just to fill in places and meet numbers instead of bringing in quality -I1-			
have more power over the management system -I5-			
instead of going through a formal managerial approved process -I6-			
the rest were just the marketing faces of the parties -I6-			
men politicians come to silence them and take that ability from them -I6-			
this culture that we are living in is translated in the way political parties are managed -I6-			
Because the women were not chosen based on their competencies and political background -I7-			
it is not fair because they don't act upon it at all -I7-			
They just thought it's for the best to withdraw them -I10-			
an unfair and biased selection process of candidates -I13-			
they don't care about anything else -I15-			
There were men that deserved to be candidates more than these high positioned women in the party -I15-			
The leadership council and the president of the party chooses the candidates -I2-	Informal Parties' Candidate Selection Signs		
unfortunately, we live in an eastern society and sometimes that affects the decisions of hiring -I5-			
most political parties chose their women candidates not based on their qualifications -I6-			
just as a frontier to not be criticized from women activist that they didn't have women representatives -I6-			
it was a big charade -I6-			
They base their selection basically on the people that will increase the popularity of the parties -I6-			
to implement all the parties commands -I6-			
they make these candidates sign on loyalty forms -I6-			
Very few based their selection criteria on the political background and experience they have -I6-			
the rest were just the marketing faces of the parties -I6-			
And the primary list of candidates came from the different offices of us around the country and the central authority. Then the central committee filters them based on closed down debates and then it gets to the president to choose -I7-			
because of all the stereotypes, unfortunately women are not on the top of their minds when they think of appointments -			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
I8-			
most men who are being chosen by FPM to represent the party are unqualified -I11-			
I was nominated by one of the political leaders in the country -I12-			
an unfair and biased selection process of candidates -I13-			
they want people that will win -I15-			
In a country like Lebanon, where we have 50/50 male and female citizens, this number should be reflected also in the number of candidates -I1-	Mechanisms to Increase Women Representation's Rate	Selection processes of Lebanese political parties	Mechanisms and methods to increase women's political representation + Management reforms
Non- sectarianism -I1-			
Non- geographically binding -I1-			
The laws have to change to make voting and nominations according to where the voter/candidate has been living for more than ten years -I1-			
open pathways for additional participation for women in the different structures of our party -I2-			
The geographic registration of the nominees should be according to where they actually live or been living for a while, not according to where their husbands' or family tree's geographic belonging -I3-			
to enforce quota in all procedures and policies -I4-			
You have to start from the schools and enforce the idea of women representation so all new generations have it encrypted in their minds and encouraging it and fighting for it -I4-			
It need to be taught and educate it since early ages -I4-			
we have quota system that justifies why we should have a certain percentage of women in the political office of the party -I5-			
we are with women quota mechanism -I5-			
For the men to open their minds and forget about their masculinity for a bit -I5-			
The Lebanese government need to change the electoral law to reflect more women representation -I6-			
implementing quota policies for all parties to follow -I6-			
To endorse the quota laws -I6-			
to represent the 50/50 representation of Lebanese population -I6-			
it's on the electoral law to change and not be based on religion and sects -I7-			
applying internal quota policies that should be studied to reflect a balance of recruitment and membership between men and women -I7-			
Internal procedures are the best solution -I7-			
Internal quota -I7-			
National quota laws -I7-			
make it a law to do so on a national basis -I7-			
change the electoral law to reflect on a big circle and not on a religious basis -I7-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
what applies to men applies to women -I8-			
start addressing the public as men and women and not only men -I8-			
there should be more awareness from the HR side making sure that women are present in every corner to achieve balance in representation and participation -I8-			
The parties just need to promote their female members in their communities when they can get voters -I9-			
working on introducing the importance of women representation in rural areas of Lebanon to gain a bigger pool of supporters and voters -I9-			
conduct trainings like public speaking training, culture orientation for new comers, policies and quota laws trainings to introduce it to everyone -I9-			
Internal policies and procedures facilitating representation of women in all parties -I10-			
Stop hiring family members and neighbours -I10-			
start hiring people worthy to occupy positions -I10-			
The political party needs to fix his selection criteria to be unbiased towards women and minorities representation -I11-			
Quota in stages is the only mechanism -I11-			
Internal quota to oblige themselves to consider and search for women to represent them -I12-			
a new modern law for political parties to impose the 50/50 representation in our society -I12-			
A fairer electoral law -I12-			
To overlook the patriarchal and male-dominated mentality of the society -I13-			
work on the logically and not religiously -I13-			
men and women should be treated the same and should be allocated with the same amount and type of work regardless of their gender -I13-			
quota laws are to be applied -I13-			
quota system for women to allow them to access political positions -I14-			
political parties should have their own quota systems -I14-			
They need the support of men and parties -I14-			
to have this mental shift in the importance in the role of women -I14-			
we should have quota systems -I14-			
either the political parties will voluntarily realize that they need to change -I14-			
it'll be forced through a quota system -I14-			
put a policy that says that at least 25-30% of candidates that will represent in 4 years will be women -I14-			
a lot of awareness -I15-			
Quota policies -I15-			
Parties can train them -I15-			
The more they participate in party politics, the more they will have access to the nomination process -I2-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
Vice versa: they should be encouraged to step out -I2-	Women Actions to Increase Women Representation's Rate		
Women have to be more aggressive and show interest -I4-			
Women need to fight to claim their role on the ground and introduce themselves to the community and the members of the party so they can elect you -I4-			
she needs to have the ingredients of success to hire her and these can only be achieved through years and years of experience -I5-			
for women to be more brave and claim their rights to participate -I5-			
the larger the amount of women running the higher their probability were to win and have a bigger number of females in the parliament -I6-			
They need to keep fighting to get their rightful position politically -I6-			
I proved them wrong and earned my spot in the party -I7-			
for women to get more visibility internally and externally so that they impose themselves to being on the candidates list -I8-			
it's on women to change how they think also -I8-			
find time and fight -I10-			
Women need to work on their political qualifications -I10-			
It's up to women to unite and work as one -I10-			
Women must support each other -I11-			
the lists of representatives that don't have a fair number of women representatives in them, women must not vote for them -I11-			
Women must stand as a united army -I13-			
request to be presented in all fields not only politically -I13-			
get their voices heard and proclaim their rights in specific their political rights -I13-			
to prove that women are capable, can play this role and make a difference -I14-			
the voters, the image, financial support, emotional support… all this is needed for a woman to breakthrough -I14-			
I think women need to work on building their network, their social and political capital before they even get into the official political game -I14-			
is a lot of work to do -I14-			
the social capital and I inherited it -I14-			
Women need to be in the public domain -I14-			
known for caring about their city and people -I14-			
Women need to continue to work on themselves, on their image, on their competencies -I14-			
to assume their roles very seriously and to be able to leave a very good impression -I14-			
To be part of parties because independently they will never make it -I15-			
be present everywhere -I15-			
Work on her visibility -I15-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
they need to push to get that training and claim opportunities to prove themselves -I15-			
parties need to look behind this issue -I1-			
it's on the party to open channels for women to contribute in politics of the party -I2-			
there should be a top decision at the top of the party that we have already to allow political competition for women -I2-			
the party should encourage them by opening up and creating mechanisms for them to do so -I2-			
all women in high political positions in our party were nominated -I3-			
We need to recruit more women than men to get to a 50-50 members representation -I4-			
We are trying to change this culture to say that women can run anytime for whatever position she believes she can reach -I4-			
Possessing the ability to hold a position for good representation -I5-			
pay attention to the internal female qualifications that exist in their parties -I6-		Structural Mechanisms to Adopt by Parties	
the one main selection criteria to choose candidates is the candidates' competencies and efficiency in what they do -I6-			
the quota laws internally -I6-			
fix their selection process to be unbiased in order to get more women representatives chosen -I6-			
Internal policies -I7-			
Parties need to do a restructuring of their management systems before requesting quota laws -I7-			
to oblige the management of the parties to consider women representation in all their decisions -I7-			
Imposing internal policies to represent women in all committees but based on specific criteria to get quality instead of quantity -I7-			
And to only accept people running for elections based on their parliamentary programs -I7-			
parties must support women regardless of their popularity on the ground -I8-			
The party needs to see first the value of having women other than getting votes -I8-			
the party should be more diverse -I8-			
A mechanism that would have a separate track for women and young people to actually reach the end line regardless whether they are already well visible in the community -I8-			
there should be more awareness from the HR side making sure that women are present in every corner to achieve balance in representation and participation -I8-			
The party needs to work on empowering women during the 4 years of preparations for the elections -I9-			
the party will have to push them and tell them where to go-guide them -I9-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
we cannot approve on any board if women are not part of it -I10-			
Restructuring of parties to bring in young blood -I10-			
to make a decision and generalize it to all its departments to include more women in all committees and to include them in every list at least 30% women -I11-			
it should allocate a financial budget to supporting women's running campaigns -I11-			
To give an untraditional role to women -I12-			
involve them in the duties that they would assign men to -I12-			
women need to be granted the same tasks granted and asked from men -I12-			
it will take a complete mind wash to change how women are thought of in this party -I13-			
the job dedicated to men in the party should be inclusive to women -I13-			
Change the mentality of all political parties -I13-			
they really need to support her all the way -I14-			
the consciousness and the willingness to do more for women -I14-			
put a policy that says that at least 25-30% of candidates that will represent in 4 years will be women -I14-			
support them all the way to give them the best chance of succeeding -I14-			
the party has asked its women members to work on the ground as in gain more popularity and visibility in their community to build a good pool of voters for the next elections -I15-			
A political will to hire women -I15-			
There is one structure in our party in which women have not yet penetrated: the regional officers -I2-	Management Reforms	Management reforms for Lebanese political parties	
The best way is to open up channels for women participation in all the structures of the party. This will increase their visibility, their experience, and their chances to be active and nominated by the party -I2-			
Our party needs to attract them more and train them more and work on developing the skills that would give them advantage to be elected by the members of the party to get to the last stage -I4-			
The party can also create mentorship programs like each old member would get 2 to 3 members to mentor them and help them develop -I4-			
We are applying now the mixed gender policies that you cannot have any board or council without having mixed members -I4-			
to raise more awareness in the party encouraging women to run -I4-			
offering them training programs and mentorship opportunities so they can be fully prepared to what they are up against -I4-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
Awareness. Enhancing the culture of women's entering the political field and the public domain and filling them for any public position -I5-			
fix their selection process to be unbiased in order to get more women representatives chosen -I6-			
Parties need to do a restructuring of their management systems before requesting quota laws -I7-			
Raise awareness first to teach people with decision making power to think that do we have enough women here -I7-			
Change the vision of parties to reflect women representation in it somehow -I7-			
giving them opportunities to be more visible -I8-			
Qualifying more women to be able to take such roles -I8-			
a gender audit inside the party which will highlight the exact places we are lagging on women representation -I8-			
improve our productivity through increasing women participation -I8-			
the FPM academy who is designating trainings for women in specific to empower them and help them reach higher positions -I8-			
enforced internal quota policies -I9-			
Our new internal culture after we changed the internal bylaws definitely encourage women -I9-			
to work on the management of the people of the party and raise awareness and give them workshops on how to accept all genders and races to eliminate all kinds of discrimination -I9-			
behavior/conduct skills trainings like how to behave in certain events or situations -I9-			
Motivation mechanisms created by HR to encourage women to step up and want to fight -I10-			
Stop hiring family members and neighbours -I10-			
the party is responsible to work on the management system in order to get more women involved -I12-			
gender should be mainstreamed in all management decisions -I12-			
Affirmative actions need to be taken to increase awareness on the importance of women representation -I12-			
Training workshops to increase their confidence -I12-			
work on their public presence to match the criterial that is usually needed to find candidates -I12-			
new modern management systems based on the modern culture that women and men are equal and can both pull off the political role successfully -I12-			
to change the patriarchal culture that runs the party in order to nominate more women -I13-			
implement the practices and mechanisms of gender equality -I13-			
Increase the financial support -I13-			
change the criteria chosen for candidates' selection -I13-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
Workshops on gender equality -I13-			
enlighten them about the practices and mechanisms that they can apply to increase the woman's representation -I13-			
They are being more supportive towards the representation of women -I14-			
quite progressive towards the subject of women representation -I14-			
put a policy that says that at least 25-30% of candidates that will represent in 4 years will be women -I14-			
a general quota for each party -I14-			
we have two stages: according to the areas of Lebanon, then this list of each area reaches the president of the party and the president decides accordingly. And this process works since we were able to get three women representatives into the parliament -I1-	Parties' Nomination-Candidate Selection Process	Selection processes of Lebanese political parties	Political candidates' selection process
There was lobbying between candidates and speeches before elections -I1-			
Transparent selection process -I4-			
Internal elections within the party -I4-			
Then the members vote for the people who are interested to run and we get the first batch of people that will move on to the second phase. Second stage are elections inside the constituencies in specific. And the members vote and we get second batch. Third stage is constituencies for our party members and the other parties' candidates that we knew their parties would choose them. And we picked 3 for baabda for example -I4-			
For the previous parliamentary members, we assess them based on their previous years of service and if they prove to have done a change, they automatically make it as candidates again -I5-			
based on internal statistical surveys -I5-			
Whoever feels like he wants to run just tells his leader. And the center of leadership studies their profiles and chooses them based on the criteria above and based on the geographical charts -I5-			
And the primary list of candidates came from the different offices of us around the country and the central authority. Then the central committee filters them based on closed down debates and then it gets to the president to choose -I7-			
We base our criteria on opinion polls and statistics and how likely the person is to be elected -I8-			
3 stages. Internal primaries whereby in each casa, members who are interested apply and then they get elected. And they get scores based on the points they get in the elections. And then the second step would be a survey in the community to filter the people who made it in the first stage. Third, another survey in the community to compare the people who made it in the second round to affiliates or allies from other parties so that when we make a decision or negotiate with another party who is with us on the same list, we would			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
know if our person or their person will bring in more votes and we make our decisions accordingly -I8-			
They show interest and wait for approval from the management of the party -I9-			
based on interviews and CVs -I10-			
Through a series of steps like surveys and statistics and internal elections to choose the best candidates according to their studies and selection criteria -I12-			
we do internal statistics and external statistics to study what the community wants and who it knows more, to choose a list of people that are the top who might win -I15-			
We go through a poll study of our community and our party members and we see who is more fit -I15-			
Because the 3 stages that the party adopts as selection process did not give women the chance to be among the first people to be chosen as candidates. The statistics and surveys were more advantageous for the male members of our party -I4-	Biased Selections Process Adopted by Parties		
Based on the lists that has more men than women in a big time -I7-			
the criteria used at least from our end in FPM for selecting candidates didn't make it easier for women to actually become the candidate of choice for elections -I8-			
because of all the stereotypes, unfortunately women are not on the top of their minds when they think of appointments -I8-			
It is easier form men to look for men -I8-			
making the selection process and in specific the criteria unbiased towards women -I10-			
The political party needs to fix his selection criteria to be unbiased towards women and minorities representation -I11-			
the way this party is organized is considered fair towards women -I13-			
an unfair and biased selection process of candidates -I13-			
The competencies and the qualifications of women chosen come as first criteria of selection -I1-	Selection Criteria		
for achievers within our party -I1-			
Achievers within the party -I1-			
who belong to the community we are representing -I1-			
a known family name -I1-			
a known public background -I1-			
public and known affiliation to our party -I1-			
regional criteria, popular presence which he/she has in her/his region (visibility), family criteria (the candidate belongs to certain family weight), the role this candidate has played in the party throughout the years -I2-			
party members -I2-			
in what geographic area -I3-			
Who has good effectiveness and efficiency in this circle -I3-c			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
the political alliances of each party -I3-			
If you are a member of one year minimum, Lebanese of 10 years, and no criminal activity and no loyalty to any other party -I4-			
the region he is going to be nominated for -I5-			
his qualifications -I5-			
his potential of winning -I5-			
his past experience as a parliamentary member -I5-			
allies from different parties -I5-			
multiplicity of sects and gender -I5-			
Good reputation, good image, qualifications needed, the public's support -I5-			
experience, and the potential rate to win -I5-			
They base their selection basically on the people that will increase the popularity of the parties -I6-			
they choose people that are guaranteed to win -I6-			
get a large amount of votes -I6-			
the loyalty of the people they want to choose -I6-			
to implement all the parties commands -I6-			
they make these candidates sign on loyalty forms -I6-			
on the political background and experience they have -I6-			
activists, have visible public profiles, known for their political activity on the ground -I6-			
my family already belonged to the party since before I was born -I7-			
political and social activists -I7-			
based on their constant commitment to the party -I7-			
There were no clear criteria to base selections on -I7-			
Based on their political history, their vision towards change, political portfolio in the past years -I7-			
I used to participate in many of the manifestations and movements -I8-			
I was always a supporter -I8-			
I had several portfolios, like the women portfolio, funding and finance portfolio -I8-			
people to bring in votes -I8-			
visibility criterion -I8-			
services made for community members' criterion -I8-			
minimum level of education, good reputation, and mainly popular votes -I8-			
Visibility/popularity -I9-			
former MPs and ministers -I9-			
family background -I9-			
Their ability to finance their campaigns or get sponsorship -I9-			
Financial, visibility, and voters' capacity -I9-			
Visibility, surveys, financial support, acceptance from the committee of the party to give the green light to run -I9-			
commitment to the objectives of the party -I10-			
members of the party -I11-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
they are drouz (believe in the religious mentality of the party) -I11-			
they have financial support -I11-			
previous parliamentary members -I11-			
their relation to big powerful families in Lebanon -I11-			
I was an activist -I12-			
Loyalty to the party -I12-			
known politically -I12-			
Who can bring in more votes for the party -I13-			
which candidates are able to get more votes in the election process -I13-			
I am not officially a member -I14-			
I wasn't related to politics -I14-			
They look for profiles in their circle that represent their sect -I14-			
somebody that has the competencies and qualifications -I14-			
within their fractions -I14-			
Somebody who is educated -I14-			
who has a public profile -I14-			
who has some presence/social capital in their own city -I14-			
the initiatives and the ability to run and stand on their own feet -I14-			
who has the public known background to get votes -I14-			
to get the support and the endorsement of the head of the political parties -I14-			
they needed the green light from the president of the party -I14-			
I started as an activist -I15-			
Who is able to get more voters -I15-			
Who has the more connections -I15-			
knows more people to gain voters -I15-			
the visibility on the ground- how popular he is, his financial support, and who he is (family status-background-popularity), loyalty to the member -I15-			
we choose the one who can get more voters -I15-			
the number was fair -I2-	Parliamentary Women Representation Rate	Women's representation and roles	Women status in Lebanese politics
Of course it was low because there was only 6 women who won -I3-			
Our party nominated 11 members, 6 of them were women. 7 made it to the final stage, 4 of them women -I3-			
Very low -I4-			
Low-I5-			
Low -I6-			
Low -I7-			
I think it's very low -I8-			
Definitely low -I9-			
No, it wasn't fair -I10-			
It wasn't fair -I11-			
Very low -I12-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
Low -I13-			
It's really low -I14-			
the number of women that made it was pretty fair -I15-			
This female commission branch's role is to work on feminist policies and work hand in hand with other commissions to propose parliamentary draft laws to eliminate discriminations and men violence -I2-	Role of Women Branch		
The main role is to raise awareness about women's related discriminations -I2-			
No we don't have a women's branch -I3-			
We have the female body. Its role is to train the women members and get them more involved and educate them, to spread the message on the importance of women representation -I4-			
Office of women's affairs. Its role is to work on qualifying women to enable them to handle all difficulties that the political field might in-store for them. Teach women to be present and fulfill her duties with utmost professionalism even her family responsibilities -I5-			
Its role is to encourage women and support them inside the party to advance career wise. And to increase the number of women as members and in high positions -I7-			
The main role of this branch is working on increasing role of women in decision making processes, gender audit, increasing women parliamentary representation -I8-			
Its role is to recruit women from all areas. And make sure all committees are recruiting enough women -I9-			
Women' sector. Its role is to gather women and to make empowerment and to enhance political participation of women -I10-			
Its purpose is to work on anti-discriminatory laws against women and to increase the representation of women in the party -I11-			
Its role is to coordinate with other parties on increasing the role of women and their participation in all industries -I13-			
We work on all legislation concerning women -I14-			
a small cluster -I14-			
We monitor and follow up closely on all women legislation and issue -I14-			
a filter to everything related to women -I14-			
It enables women to reach high positions and empowers them to develop and work on themselves to advance in society and occupy management positions -I15-			
We have many professionals that have keys functions in the main structuring of our party/movement -I1-	Women Rates in Parties		
I don't think so -I1-			
there are several females in the executive council (majlis al moufawadin)-I2-			
Yes we have women in the leadership council which is the highest political council at the party -I2-			
Around 25-30% of women as members in the party -I2-			

Condensations	Codes	Categories	Themes
the general secretariat branch, we are 10 members. Out of these 10 members, we have 2 women/members -I3-			
the council of delegates elected by the general authority which includes around 5 women of 12 members with its president as a woman -I3-			
we have 34% female members out of 36000 members -I4-			
In every judiciary area in Lebanon, we have 14 members and in total we have 10 to 15% of these members as women -I4-			
the number of women moved up four times from 9 women participants to 36 women in total -I5-			
The office is made up of 17 members and I am the only women -I7-			
barely 4% of members are women even -I7-			
there is a women representative in every district -I8-			
3 out of 9 members of the political bureau are women. In the executive bureau, we have 6 women out of 16 members -I8-			
Women in the political bureau are 26% of members although our quota obliges them with 20% -I9-			
For the central committees we have around 40% of its members as women -I9-			
Women in high political positions are around 30% from all positions -I10-			
they are not enough -I11-			
the top level positions in political parties, you find them all men and not one single women exists in high positions with the decision making ability -I12-			
for top levels in our party in specific no it is not encouraged -I13-			
4 in the leadership Council -I13-			
Maybe 20% represent women -I14-			
it has a minimum of 20% women representation -I15-			
Most of our devices units have women as their presidents -I15-			
And 30% of members are women -I15-			

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