

# CHALLENGES FACED BY WOMEN CANDIDATES IN ACCESSING CAMPAIGN FINANCING IN LEBANON AND JORDAN

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## List of Acronyms

<b>CEDAW</b>	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
<b>CSO</b>	Civil Society Organization
<b>IEC</b>	Independent Election Commission – Jordan
<b>PR</b>	Proportional Representation
<b>SC</b>	Supervisory Commission on Elections
<b>EMB</b>	Electoral Management Board
<b>MP</b>	Member of Parliament
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>USD</b>	United States Dollar
<b>LADE</b>	Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections
<b>Rased</b>	Election monitoring coalition-Jordan
<b>JWU</b>	Jordanian Women’s Union
<b>Hashed</b>	Jordanian Democratic People’s Party
<b>Rasheed</b>	Transparency Jordan
<b>LTA</b>	Lebanese Transparency Association
<b>USFP</b>	Socialist Union of Popular Forces Morocco



## Executive summary

### Research Background

This report discusses key findings of a Research study on the Challenges faced by female candidates in Lebanon and Jordan. The report was conducted by four consultants, between July and September 2020, and focused on the challenges facing female candidates. The team gathered information by reviewing the available related literature, and by interviewing the representatives of: parties, civil society, women's organizations, and Jordanian transparency branches, and the election management bodies. The team also developed questionnaires and conducted 22 interviews for female candidates in Lebanon and 27 female candidates in Jordan, in addition to interviewing female politicians.



### Key Findings

Although both countries acceded to CEDAW convention with some reservations, what the two countries did in order to develop the participation of women did not reach satisfactory level. In Lebanon, the government violates a constitutional principle that stipulates equality amongst all Lebanese citizens. However, State Laws discriminate between males and females; for example, a Lebanese man can grant citizenship to a non-Lebanese woman, but a Lebanese woman does not enjoy the same right. In addition, sectarianism is very influential in Lebanon to an extent that no law shall pass without sectarian consensus, which made the nature of laws closer to the religious system than to the concept of the civil state

Despite Jordan's accession to CEDAW convention, with reservations related to the right of women to grant citizenship, Jordan did not witness serious development in the status of women except the adoption of few policies; the representation of women in local councils via the quota of 25%; and the Parliamentary Elections Law, which granted women 15 seats in each district. The research also pointed out that Jordan was different from Lebanon in terms of the power of the clan and its political and social influence, which stands as a barrier against the evolution of the nature of laws governing the family in Jordan.



### Challenges Faced By Women In Accessing Campaign Finance

#### ● Funding regulations-related challenges

Jordan, with the start of the reform process at the end of the eighties of the last century, adopted government support for political parties. The financing procedures were also developed in the last amendment to the Political Parties Law No. 39 of 2015. Public funding is related to the size of the party's participation in the elections, and parties who nominate women for the top places of their lists receive additional funds. However, Lebanon did not enact a special legislation for political parties retained the Ottoman law of 1909, which provides for the formation of associations. As for financing from the private sector, both countries recognized the right of parties to obtain private funding. Nonetheless, in both countries, women are still mainly funding their campaign from their own pockets, or from family and friends. The parties

did not introduce special measures to fund campaigns for women who run on their lists, taking into consideration that some of the parties that nominate females on their lists, such as the Islamic Action Front and the Hashd Party, finance women's campaigns within the campaigns of their electoral lists. The rest of the parties do not finance the campaigns of the independent women who join their lists or join other independent lists. Whereas in Lebanon, if the female candidate comes from a family of politicians, she will receive funding for her campaign, just like Bahiya Hariri from the Future party and Ms. Geagea from the Lebanese Forces party.



The culture has a great influence; for example, the private sector financiers prefer male candidates given they have better chances to enter the parliament where they become able to provide services in return for the financing. The private sector usually does not anticipate similar possibilities for women regardless of women's strength, their societal role, and their capabilities to compete if resources were available to them. On the other hand, when interviewing the female candidates of the last electoral cycle in the two countries, it was clear that female candidates did not pay enough attention to the concepts of funding and campaigning. In addition, they barely had information about the cost of electoral campaigns; neither did they know of the financing mechanisms that men apply to secure the needed funding for their campaigns. Female candidates in Lebanon face another financing challenge; namely the fact that sects prefer to support men for the parliament because they believe, that men are more capable than women to tackle the sectarian concerns and interests. On the other hand, the tribes in Jordan control the candidates' selection process. Accordingly, based on their conservative thinking, tribes most of the time pick men for the posts. Coinciding with writing this report, the tribes in Jordan were holding meetings to select the candidates for the upcoming parliamentary elections, almost all the nominations were for men and not for women.

In both countries, there were women who had to take bank loans to finance their candidacy, other female candidates had to spend all their savings on election campaigns, and some of these women became in debt. both countries, there was no inspirational example of an independent candidate. Some of them had a campaign at a small cost and managed to recruit significant number of votes, but that was not enough to secure a seat in the Parliament.

## ● The role of Civil Society Organizations

It was noted during the interviews that the issue of electoral financing for women was not a priority for the civil institutions. Most of the efforts and resources available were spent for the quota campaigns in Lebanon or on campaigns for amending the percentage granted to women in Jordan according to the Quota system. At the same time, women in both countries had the opportunity to receive trainings that qualify them to lead electoral campaigns. Large number of those interviewed recognized the benefits, skills and knowledge they gained by participating in the training. However, they lacked adequate training on funding for female candidates.

Upon reviewing the Jordanian procedures of the public funding for the political parties, and despite the incentives to nominate women on party lists as per the initiative of the Ministry of Development this funding remains limited to parties even though the percentage of party affiliates in Jordan is not high. Only one or two parties can make it to Parliament. It is worth noting that most of the electoral lists in Jordan are independent lists. Therefore, without regulating and including the campaign financing in the public funding, it will remain limited to a very small number of candidate lists. Of course, this in return shall affect the chances female candidates to obtain funding for their electoral campaigns. In addition, the absence of a Lebanese political parties' law seems to serve the interests of most of the parties in Lebanon; their refusal to debate a law for parties in 2017 is an indication of such intention. Therefore, without a political parties' law in place, there will be no public funding; however, this is not an issue for the Lebanese sectarian parties because they usually have their own sources of funding. Sectarian parties are not interested in a public funding law as this could open the doors to new cross-sectarian parties to compete in the future.

## ● Electoral System Related Challenges

There is a direct relationship between the electoral system and the financing of electoral campaigns. The proportional system in Jordan and in Lebanon within the open list means that candidates on the list compete before they do with candidates from other lists. In the light of the adoption of the proportional system, the open list, and the preferential vote in Lebanon each candidate will strive to secure his place before caring who else is with him on the list. results of the Lebanese elections showed a big difference in the number of votes that the winning candidate received in comparison with the failed candidate. On the other hand, the lists in Jordan are formed in a way to direct the support towards the top candidate on the list since this is the most guaranteed position on any list. Consequently, the top candidate is the person who is usually responsible of the spending on the electoral campaigns. However, the quota in Jordan is per district not per list; hence, the female candidates are forced to spend on their electoral campaigns. In addition, people are more interested in supporting men than women. Furthermore, many times, votes are distributed to names on the list so that women can win the quota seat allocated to districts. Consequently, both systems used in Jordan are considered unfriendly to women.



Furthermore, the funding for the closed lists' campaigns is meant for the entire list as a whole, in contrast with how the funding is being handled in the two countries where every candidate is responsible for his/her campaign expenses.

## ● The challenges facing enterprises

The party system in both countries is weak; therefore, the parties in Lebanon rely on the sects while the parties in Jordan rely on the clans. Hence, it is not feasible to discuss the introduction of the proportional system, which requires holding primaries within the party to select its lists of candidates in the different constituencies. Accordingly, the selection mechanisms is the responsibility of the sects in Lebanon and the tribe in Jordan, and the selected candidates are those who are expected to deeply serve the interest of the sects or the tribe. At the same time, the alliances that were made while forming the lists are not continuous and static. Hence, recruiting funding for the list is considered difficult, while it is easier for the head of the list who is often a former member of parliament and has the experience of how to raise funds for himself. Financing campaigns are not the only challenge that candidates face. In Lebanon, coming up with the candidacy fee of the 3500 US dollars is also a challenge, as it is also considered a very high fee compared to neighboring countries. Moreover, the electoral administrations did not make any special gesture to women such as eliminating or even reducing the fees of the candidacy registration to support and encourage them to run for the office.





## Innovative Strategies Used For Campaign Financing

1. In Lebanon, there is a civil campaign to change the electoral law, and include the quota system within the electoral reform, which was initiated by the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections.

2. The civil society movement succeeded for the first time in forming lists in some electoral districts in Lebanon. The civil society movement's candidate managed to win a seat in the Parliament for Beirut district.

3. Some of the female candidates used innovative methods to reach out to the public such media and qualified volunteers. Some candidates efficiently utilized YouTube as an alternative to expensive traditional media.

4. Most of the women in the two countries in the media. They preferred to meet directly with the public; a tactic that could help those who wish to run again for the election.



## 1. Background And Context Of The Research

### 1.1 Background

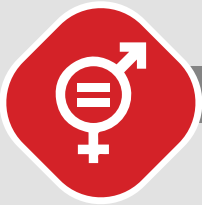
The study was conducted in the Middle East region where the political systems are self-centered either fully or partially. In most countries there , even though most of the governments in the region have signed international treaties, and declared their compliance with the UN charter.



### 1.2 New developments in the region in the light of 2011 uprisings

Women organizations as well as activists in the democracy and human rights fields hoped for the region to have different political systems. They expected the new systems to respect the principle of separation of powers, to respect human rights and freedoms and to achieve equality amongst men and women. They also hoped to have a civil law that guarantees equality and decreases the influence of especially religious courts that handle family disputes and matters.





### 1.3 Gender equality in the Arab world

While many countries in the region acceded to CEDAW treaty without any reservations, others made specific reservations, which mostly did not interfere with women's participation in the decision making process. Only Kuwait made reservations to; article (7) in the instrument, which related to the public political life; article (9) regarding citizenship; article (15) which deals with equality before the law; and article (16) which deals with marriage and family relations. However, the women in Lebanon and other countries in the region faced further challenges after their countries signed the CEDAW treaty; one of the major challenges was that the governments kept the religious courts as the reference for family litigations. While if they truly aim to comply with the treaty, they must harmonize the national legislation with the international convention.



### 1.4 Women political participation

The participation of both genders was missing in the region until the mid-nineties, when some Arab countries initiated political reforms and elections were endorsed in many countries. However, the process itself was to gain legitimacy, through a democratic strategy, rather than others that were embedded in previous years. The reform was controlled by the political regimes and only little progress was achieved, and women roles continue to be a concern since most of the newly elected parliament members were men and only few women were elected. This motivated women organizations and activists to raise the issue of women representations in public institutions. Like in any other political reform, it took extensive time to have the first country endorse women quota in the public election.



### 1.5 Political Finance and Gender Equality

For the past two decades, the reports of activists and women organizations in the Arab world have focused on the challenges of women participation such as; the legal system, the culture, the capacity of women candidates, the political party structure and internal policy, as well as other factors affecting women participation. Only in recent times did the issue of campaign finance surface and was brought to the attention of activists, who have been focusing on the absence of equality amongst candidates in general and the injustice faced by women candidates.



## 1.6 Jordan and Lebanon

Women represent around 50% of the population; however, that was not reflected in women representation in the parliament. In the 2018 Lebanese national election, only 86 women ran for the parliament election out of 579 candidates, with only 6 women managed to make it to the parliament which constituted 4.6% of the Lebanese parliament. It is worth mentioning that in 2009, only 12 women ran for the elections, and only four of them won. Thus, the 2018 parliamentary election is considered a step up with the number of female candidates and female members. Moreover, the majority of political parties in Lebanon rejected the campaign regarding including women quota in the election law. However, in Jordan, women represent 15.4% of parliament members, and that was the outcome of Jordan approving the quota in 2003; the quota over time increased the percentage of parliament female members from 6 to 15 seats. At the local level, the women representation went through two phases; phase one, which was before the quota and during the years of 1995-2007. In 1995, 19 female candidates ran for the local election, and 10 of them won. While in 1999, 43 female candidates ran for the local elections, and 8 of them won.

The second phase was during the years of 2007- 2017. In the 2007 local elections, 355 female candidates ran for the election and 226 of them won. In 2017, 474 female candidates ran for the election, 333 of them won seats in the Parliament.

Hivos, a Dutch development organization that seeks new solutions to persistent global issues, under its open society program Women's Empowerment component aims to commissioned researchers on the challenges faced by women candidates in accessing campaign finance in Lebanon and Jordan. Even though, there are many similarities between the two countries, yet there are different legal systems for elections: the candidate's registration fees, and the tools and the cost of running for elections. For this, the researcher aimed to study the experiences in both countries, to have full and clear view of the differences caused by the previously mentioned variances.



## 1.7 Objectives Of The Study

### ● Main and specific Objectives of the study

**The main objective** of the research is to explore challenges and opportunities of accessing campaign financing for women candidates in politics in Jordan and Lebanon, as well as exploring opportunities and strategies on how to overcome these challenges.

#### **Specific Objectives:**

- To understand the dynamics of the challenges women candidates face in accessing campaign finance in different countries
- To provide recommendations, best practices and strategies on how women can better access campaign financing.

## ● Scope of the Research

The research aimed to highlight the importance of campaign finance, the political parties' public financing regulations, the challenges facing women in accessing campaign finance, some innovative strategies used in campaign finance, two case studies in each country, and two case studies from the region (Tunis and Morocco).



## 2. Research Methodology and Approach

### 2.1 Research design

The research team used different methods to collect accurate and valid data, and to ensure the diversity of the target groups of candidates, taking into consideration the geographic, political, and independent distribution in both countries.

In order to have deep and comprehensive view of the challenges facing women candidates in Jordan and Lebanon, we used interviews with competitive female candidates, as well as less privileged female candidates in terms of locations and resources. Furthermore, we interviewed civil society organizations, several election management bodies of the political parties, and parliament members. In addition, the research team drew comparison data based on the literature review for the two countries along with other international experiences.



### 2.2 Data collections and Methods

Israa Mahadeen conducted the interviews in Jordan, and Riad Issa conducted the interviews in Lebanon. Due to the Covid-19 and movements restrictions in both countries, the team used different communication tools such as WhatsApp, Zoom, Skype, and telephone calls.

The research took into consideration the needed tools for running for an office and election campaign such as traditional media and modern media, transportation, communication, public events, staff, and volunteers. In addition, the research tested the election system and its implication on women candidacy and campaign finance. To add on, the research covered the announcements of women's desire to run for the election and what resources they allocated to move to the second stage of the nominations whether through political parties or independently, and finally the campaign itself and the required resources for it. In recent years, election experts focused on the campaign finance as one of the major topics affecting the election results, in other words, the equal opportunities between candidates must cover all aspects including the availability of resources. However, in reality the before mentioned is not easily controllable, nor does the current situation provide a fair opportunity for them. The research used the available evidence to test the importance of campaign finance.

The research in its literature review part covered the signed international treaties in relation to women rights in the two countries. In addition to the various legal references such as the constitutions, the election laws, the election procedures, election management laws, and media regulations during elections.

Beside the abovementioned documents, the team reviewed women organizations reports on women candidates, women political participation in general, and the last election in particular, as well as the local election observer reports such as "Rased" in Jordan and "LADE" in Lebanon.

Moreover, the researchers reviewed international election observation reports such as the observations of the EU delegation to Jordan parliamentary election in 2016 and Lebanon parliamentary election in 2018.

The following table summarizes the interviewed institutions and individuals

Country	Political parties	Female candidates	MP	CSOs	Election management body
Lebanon	2	22	0	3	1
Jordan	2	27	2	4	1



### 2.3 data Processing and Analysis

For the qualitative data, the team used SPSS software, which provides advanced statistical analysis. The software assisted the researchers to organize and analyze the collected data from the interviews.



### 2.4 Research Constraints

It was challenging to organize the interviews due to the preoccupation of the targeted parties with other issues. For example, after it was agreed on the interviews with a group of institutions and women candidates in Lebanon, the harbor explosion affected the entire arrangements, and caused major delays in completing the work. In addition, the team in Lebanon contacted several members of Parliament and made interview arrangements with them, who then either cancelled or asked to rearrange because they had busy schedules or because of the explosion aftermath. In Jordan, the researcher Israa Mahadin resigned after completing 16 interviews due to the constant postponements requests by the female candidates and the targeted institutions. The research team had to seek the help of other researchers to accomplish the task, as well as directly contacted several institutions such as the electoral administration, the General Union of Jordanian Women, the Hashd Party, several female candidates, and two members of Parliament. Moreover, the pandemic effect that complicated all aspects of life. Finally, many parties in Jordan were busy with the upcoming parliamentary elections that limited the pool of interviews' candidates.



## 3. Framework Of Analysis

### 3.1 The study was guided by :

- Political participation
- Institutions and structures theory
- Legal analysis of women political participation



## 3.2 Institutions and structure theory

The research team used institutions and structure theory focused on the socio-economic and cultural influence on women participation in politics. It also gave great attention to the role of various institutions on women representations, including, Parliament, election systems, political party role, women organizations and other key institutions' influence on the development of women participation in public life.



## 3.3 Election cycle which covered before, during, and post-election

### ● The election cycle approach

In order to have a deep analysis the research team used the three defined stages in the election cycle; pre-election period, election period, and post-election period. The pre-election period focuses on the role of women candidates before the election date is announced. It is important to know the roles they have in the society, the activities they were involved in, the relations they built related to the running for the election such as women groups, youth, and civil society organizations. It is also important to measure their cooperation and coordination whether on a national level, a local level, within their district, or with the private sector. In addition to their knowledge regarding previous elections, and if they have any idea regarding campaign financing's aspects such as the ceiling, the regulations governing the campaign finance, and the campaign financier. It is also important to know of:

- The nomination feedback that they received from the close cycle and the public in general;
- The nomination process whether through party list or as an independent;
- What challenges they faced as candidates;
- The effort they made to join the list in their district;
- The negotiation they went through and with whom;
- The campaign they led to become a parliament member;
- The tools they used;
- Their resources;
- Other male candidate resources;
- The role of media;
- The advertisements;
- The social media;
- The team they had;
- The events they organized;
- Any other tactics they used.

The post-election period involved their analysis of the campaign, what went wrong, what was their top weakness, what were their strengths, and their plans for next election.

The interviews also focused on the women candidates' experience in raising money for their campaigns. How they asked for money, whom they asked, and the tools they used to ask for money. Did they use innovative tools for fundraising, who helped them in their effort to secure resources for her campaign, what are the major lessons they drew from their fundraising campaigns?



### 3.4 Legal analysis

Laws play a pivotal role during the political participation. The laws define the legal basis of participation from the outset, who is entitled to participate, and when and how. They explain the strategies adopted in political development and in the inclusion of marginalized groups in the political process. They explain the mechanisms for the participation of all segments and provide legitimacy. At the same time, the general framework for participation includes the conditions for candidacy based on the electoral system adopted in the country, because the type of electoral system plays a role in sorting out leaders of all segments and sexes, and has a direct impact on the electoral campaigns and their costs.



## 4. Study Findings

### 4.1 Legal and policy Gender in the two countries

In every forum the two governments hold to discuss developing the legal system for women and achieving equality amongst women and men, they declare that they are working very hard to achieve this goal. Both countries acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) with reservations on Article 9, Clause 2, related to the equality amongst women and men in granting nationality. The two countries also acceded to the United Nations Charter and to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They always try to link the decline in the role of women to the patriarchal society that rejects gender equality. The Lebanese government announced, through its' program, the development of an action plan to implement all the commitments it made with regard to women, as well as the recommendations of the 1995 Beijing Conference. The same applies to the Jordanian government, which promised to reduce the gap between women and men by the end of 2013 as part of its vision to achieve gender equality; it also promised to reflect this in the government's legislation and policies.

#### ● Women status in Lebanon

Women in Lebanon are not only facing challenges on the political level; the legal system is also a challenge. Even though the constitution of Lebanon in the basic provision © stated that 'Lebanon is a democratic parliamentary republic based upon the respect of public freedoms, freedom of opinion and freedom of belief; and of social justice and equality in rights and duties among all citizens, without discrimination or preference'. However, the nationality law discriminates against women, as it does not allow them to pass on the Lebanese citizenship to their children even if they were born in Lebanon. The act undermines women status as equal citizens, and this is a violation of women basic right. Another example of discrimination against women is the change of the women voter registration address; once they are married, the address changes to their husband place of registration.

Lebanon announced their commitment to UN charter and the human rights declaration, and joined CEDAW in 1997. The treaty outlined women's rights in social, civil, and political spheres. However, Lebanon made reservations to article 9 (2) which affirms that state parties shall grant women equal rights with men...with respect to the nationality to their children. Nonetheless, Lebanon objected to article 16 (1) (C) (d) (f) and (g) that requires to act appropriately in order to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters regarding marriage and family relation.

It is broadly accepted that despite many advantages and acquired rights, Lebanese women continue to face discrimination at numerous levels, keeping gender equality in Lebanon an elusive objective (World Bank, 2015)

## ● Women Status in Jordan

While the status of Jordanian women is still developing, they continue to improve their status by referring to article (6) in the constitution "Jordanians shall be equal before the law. There shall be no discrimination between them as regards their rights and duties on grounds of race, language or religion." However, the reform in the legal system is still short to end all kind of discrimination against women, for instance, women are denied equal nationality and citizenship rights, and they face gender-based discrimination in the Jordanian family law. Violence against women is a serious concern in Jordan, and protections measures for women who are victims of violence are inadequate.



### 4.2 The women economic situation in the two countries

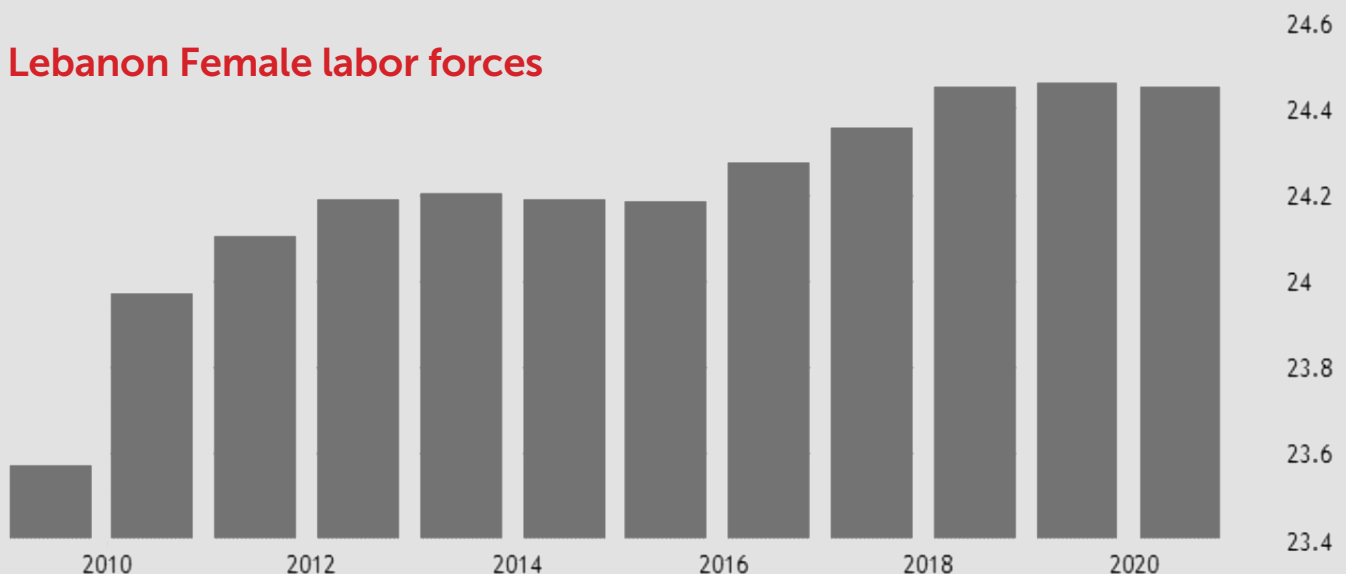
The research evaluated the economic reality of women in the two countries in relation to the cost of the electoral campaigns. The campaigning resources are mainly available to men, which require similar economic power for women so they can compete. Therefore, the discussion of the economic role of women stems from the direct link between women economic reality and their ability to compete for public posts including elections.

The women economic reality in both countries reflects the extent to which countries strive to improve this reality. Despite the high rate of women education in the two countries, the percentage of women in the workforce in both countries does not reflect similar high rate.

In Lebanon, as the World Bank statistics indicate, the percentage of women in the workforce reached 5.24 in 2020, and the percentage of men reached 75.8%. While the percentage of female workers in Jordan reached 18% of the workforce, and the percentage of men reached 64%.

The low percentages in both countries constitute a major obstacle to the development of the role of women, and an evidence of the failure of the strategies implemented in both countries, or that the announced strategies do not catch up with policies that transform plans into initiatives and policies for the development of the workforce of women.

The unemployment rate among women reached 23% in Jordan, while the unemployment rate among men reached 14.7%, and the unemployment rate among women reached 24.45% in Lebanon, while the unemployment rate among men reached 6.3%.



Source : <https://tradingeconomics.com/lebanon/labor-force-female>





## 4.3 Women in Politics and Decision Making Positions

The participation of women in decision-making centers' in the two countries varies, but in the overall participation, both countries try to include women, even symbolically, in decision-making positions. There is no specific percentage of women in the ministerial posts. Nonetheless, the representation of women ranges between 2-4 women ministers depending on the council combination, especially, in the coalitions government, as is the case in Lebanon. However, there is a difference between the two countries in the nomination process for the elections.

### ● Women and elections

#### ● Lebanon

Women were granted the right to vote and run for elections in 1953, which was the first time women won a seat in the parliament. However, the social and political culture did not assist women in assuming a leadership role in Lebanon. The Real development took place after 2000; for instance, in the 2006 election, six women won seats in the parliament. In 2009, the number of female seats dropped to four. Even though women have the needed skills and knowledge, however family and political ties play the major role in supporting female candidates, as was the case with Bahieh Al Hariri, Nayla Tueini and Strida Geagea.

The difference between the 2018 and the 2009 that a high number of female candidates ran for the election in 2018, 113 submitted their candidacy, 86 of which were selected on the electoral lists. The number is relatively acceptable compared to 2009, when only 12 women ran for the election.

The reason behind the increase in the number of female candidates is linked to the civil movement in Lebanon, and the success of women in the municipalities constituted a motivation for them to participate in the parliamentary elections. In addition, women were empowered through the trainings and communications that were provided by the civil society organizations.

### ● Table 1

#### The women participation in Lebanon parliament elections

Election rounds	Candidates	Members
1992	6	3
1996	11	3
2000	18	3
2005	14	6
2009	12	4
2018	86	6



The numbers in Table one show the challenges women candidate face: the election system, the social restrictions, the absence of political party support, and the inattentive political will to encourage women to run for elections.

## ● Table 2

### Women participation on local level election

Rounds	Candidates	Members
2004	552	215
2010	1346	536
2016	1485	600

As the table shows, the representation of women in local councils is very low, if we consider the local election as the first step towards women participation in the decision making process, unfortunately the low participation is an indicator of the difficulties and challenges that women will face until more women become engaged in the local councils elections.



## 4.4 Campaign Financing

### ● Campaign finance and its importance

Campaign finance and the accompanied challenges faced by female candidates are relatively new concepts in the Middle East; however, few international organizations published infrequent researches that covered the topics of the political party and campaign finance. Nonetheless, the research team focused on the constitutions and national laws in Lebanon and Jordan; it also focused on the regulations of the election management body, and on the political party voluntary initiatives.



## 4.5 Challenges Faced by Women in Accessing Campaign Finance

The challenges of campaign financing faced by female candidates across the two countries were put into two main categories, which are described in details below:

- Electoral Systems related challenges; and
- Institutions related challenges.

## Funding Regulations related challenges;

Funding for political parties is part of any institutionalized democracy. Academics whether they advocate for or against public funding, they differed on the legal aspect of the funding, but both of them believed the political party funding is one of the strong factors for a sustainable democracy. Without public funding, the parties may use private funding or attempt to bring in illegal internal or external resources. The advocators believed that public funding increases the transparency of the political party resources and allocation, which boosts the citizens' confidence in the political parties. Furthermore, it guarantees equality between the parties. Public funding can be used for elections, in other democratic activities to guarantee that the parties' institutions are functioning effectively, and to increase women and youth memberships in the party. If the state provides funding to the parties, they will be much more compliant with the government regulations; and will increase the internal democracy as well as the level of transparency of the parties.

### 1. Private Funding

Private funding is the main source for electoral campaigns in both Lebanon and Jordan. The laws in both countries allowed for receiving funding from the private sector, with an emphasis on the ceiling of the allowable spending on electoral campaigns. Private funding constitutes the largest percentage of funding of the electoral campaigns whether it was for the party or for independents. However, both countries prohibited receiving funding from foreign bodies' states or institutions.

#### ● Lebanon

Lebanon allows private funding but sets the limits on the amount of the funding. Article 60, section 4 stated that; "contribution made by a single natural or legal Lebanese person in favor of a candidate or candidate list shall not exceed 50% of the electoral spending limit specified in Article 61 of the present Law, and shall always be made through a bank transaction (transfer, check, Credit card...) subject to Article 59 (4) of the present law".

Foreign donations are not allowed in the Election law number 44 for the year 2017, article 60, and section 2. It is strictly forbidden for candidates and candidate lists to accept or receive contributions or donations from a foreign country or a non-Lebanese natural or legal person, whether directly or indirectly.

#### ● Jordan

Jordan allows private funding, whether it came from companies, individuals, or any other resource. It did not set any restriction or limit on the amount of the fund, and the political party law or the election law did not cover this subject matter. However, article 13, section (b) of the executive procedure #7 for the year 2016 prohibited receiving any donations in cash or in kind they know in advance, as list or candidates on the list, that the donations were collected from; illegal resources such as stolen money, or from institutions that violate the law, or from people who are wanted for justice. Article 13, section (a) states: Not to accept any financial donations from foreign countries, governments, officials and private international organizations. Foreign companies or foreign nationals in cash or in kind or any other form of support. While article 14, section (b) states that the limit for election campaign is determined according to special criteria related to the size of the electoral district, number of voters, and the cost of living. And so that candidate lists adhere to the specified limit in the following manner:

1. In Amman, Irbid and Al Zerkaa governorates, the limit is 5 JD per voter, multiplied by the group of voters in that district.
2. In the other governorates, the limit is set for 3 JD per voter, multiplied by the total voters in the governorate.

Although the law provides the opportunity for parties and lists to obtain funding from the private sector, whether institutions or individuals, whether independent lists or party lists in Jordan or Lebanon, they allocate a percentage of the budget allocated to the electoral campaign to women candidates. However, female candidates relied on their money and on their own resources. This resulted in the inability of the female candidates to compete with men who enjoys significant financial capabilities. In addition, men enjoy the confidence of the private sector financiers that assume men are better than women to serve the interests of the private sector.

Silvana Lakkis believed that leaving the responsibility for campaign financing to men, parties, and male financiers would affect the principle of equal opportunities. This will also lead to continue to exploit women vulnerability by financiers and businessmen because they feel that women are weak, dependent, and unable to run in the elections without the men. Maya also noted that women in the country are financially dependent. The candidate Indira Al-Zuhairi believed that the principle of equal opportunities must be applied. The candidate Ulfat Al-Sabe' and Josephine Zughaib agreed with Indira.

The Jordanian MP Hayat Al-Masimi said that funding from private sources is permitted, and that male candidates utilize the funds better than female candidates, especially in the electoral advertisements. She also indicated that her main financier was the party; it sponsored and organized her election campaign. The former candidate, Dima Tahboub, said that the party financed her campaign through financing the party's electoral list. While the candidate, Rana Al-Kabariti, said that, her main financier was family and relatives. Rana advised women running in the election to know about the sources and mechanisms of funding to be able to compete.

The candidate, Rehab Qaddumi, confirmed that she sponsored the expenses of her election campaign, and did not seek funding from anyone. She added that the Jordanian society is still a tribal society, and does not consider electoral programs or party lists, while their focus is on kinship or their relationship with the candidate. On the other hand, the voter prefers to give his vote to the male candidate because males are guaranteed to win due to the political money and the promises the male candidates make.

## 2. Public funding

Many countries adopted public funding for political parties and electoral list, with the aim of achieving political development and involved all segments of society in decision making, and providing some kind of equality between candidate parties. At the same time, public funding imposes a kind of integrity and transparency on parties; it also obligates the parties to announce their sources of funding, and to submit reports to the authorities. Here is difference. Jordan adopted the public funding since the restoration of political life at the end of eighties. Whereas, Lebanon has not yet adopted neither a political parties law nor the public funding.

### ● Political finance in Lebanon

There is no political party law in Lebanon, and they refer to the 1909 association law for electoral matters. Even though there was an initiative to draft political party law, but the majority of the parties in Lebanon rejected it outright. However, part of the draft that was distributed in the parliament covered the issue of the public funding to political parties.

The constitution of Lebanon established the basis of the legal system and the equality before the law. All Lebanese shall be equal before the law; they shall equally enjoy civil and political rights, and shall equally be bound by public obligations and duties without any distinction. However, the constitution left the issue of campaign finance to be covered by other laws.



## ● Campaign finance in Lebanon

The campaign finance regulation for parliament election was included in several articles in the election law number 44, dated June, 17, 2017.

The Lebanese election law number 44 for the year 2017 sets the ceiling for campaign finance; the limit was \$100,000, in addition to \$3.5 per voter in the district. Even though the provisions set some rules for allowable and unallowable donations, the implementations and the capacity of the commission to ensure the commitments of the candidate lists is very limited. The sources of the private donations to the candidates or candidate lists did not cover all segments of the society; for instance, nothing was mentioned regarding trade unions, associations, and or company being contracted by the government. One of the major weaknesses in the campaign finance restriction is that it does not cover public resources.

## ● Campaign finance strength

1. The constitution in article 7 states that all Lebanese are equal.
2. The regulations include provisions for equal use of public media.
3. The regulations include some limitations for private donations such as one donation not to exceed 50% of the total budget for the campaign.
4. In the election law, articles dealing with campaign finance set the rules for the campaign finance including the ceiling of the campaign funding.
5. The regulations set the rules for the reporting, and identified the commission is to receive the report.
6. The regulations prohibited external funding.



## ● Weakness of the regulations

The underfunding of the government bodies that look after the election processes is a political decision made by the political elite and aims to perpetuate the weakness of these bodies and paralyze transparency.

1. There is no public funding for candidates or parties
2. They are not enhancing transparency by not making the campaign report available to public.
3. The incompetence of the election supervisory commission to review, follow up, and investigate any violations.

## ● Women and campaign finance in Lebanon

Women are facing various challenges in their aim of participating in the decision making process in Lebanon such as:

1. Lebanon did not take any positive measures to secure women percentage in the election whether on a local or national level, and did not include any enhancement articles in their election laws to advance women candidacy to parliament or local councils. The long history of male candidates' participation in the election made them understand and capable to work in politics. Women candidates in Lebanon are expected to compete with those experienced male candidates, in addition to facing a culture of male domination that cripples women's potentials.

2. The financial problems that the amount set for the limits of the campaign finance are very high, the ceiling of 100,000 US dollars and 3.3 US dollars per voter on the district level. Eventually limiting the potential of women candidates, which explains why only a few female candidates run for election.

3. The candidate registration fee, which is 5,300 US dollars, is considered high, not only in Lebanon, but also in the region upon comparing candidate registration fees. Leaving women without any public support means women representation will not be changed on the short or middle term.

4. The election system, which was adopted in the last election, in relation to the proportional system on the district level with open list and favourable votes, make it very hard for women to win, unless they have strong support from one of the political parties. The system creates competitions between the candidates inside the same list

### Estimated Election campaign finance based on the election law

Districts	Number of seats	Number of voters	Amount per voter	Total
AL Shamal Al Ula	7	276.938	\$ 3.3	\$913,895 +\$100,000
Jabal Lubnan	8	175.034	\$ 3.3	\$577,612 +\$100,000
Lubnan Al Janoubi 1	5	170.765	\$ 3.3	\$563,524 +\$100,000
Lubnan AL Janoubi 2	7	279.698	\$ 3.3	\$923,003 +\$100,000
Beirut 1	8	133.802	\$ 3.3	\$441,546 +\$100,000

The table shows the ceiling of spending adopted in Lebanon. The amount indicates the role of money in politics. The amount may be even insufficient for wealthy candidates, but for sure will be major impediment for female candidates.

### ● Jordan

Jordan endorsed public funding for political party, as part of the reform process started by late eighties in the last century. It started with the parliament elections on regular basis. The amendments of the political party law number 39 of the year 2015 contributed to the reform process.

The procedures dealt with the public funding only, while minor attention was given to the private funding. The article focused on the illegal money, and left the other legal money without any restrictions.

The public funding procedures and its' amendments set new funding criteria, and connected the funding level to the participation of the party in the elections; however, the funding procedures did not mention independent candidates or independent lists, and focused only on the political party.

## ● Regulation strength

1. Jordan adopted public funding to political parties through the public funding for political party system number 155 for the year 2019. The system defined the eligibility of the party with the nomination of at least six candidates for the parliamentary election. To increase the size of the nomination, the party must nominate a female candidate or youth below the age 35 years. Moreover, it defined the percentage of the total votes that the party received in all districts.
2. Included the ban on receiving donations from foreign countries, international organizations or foreign individuals.
3. The ban on receiving any donations from illegal resources or from wanted people to justice.
4. The ban on the use of public resources.
5. Listed incentives to the parties that nominate female candidates for the parliamentary elections.

## ● Regulations weakness

1. The regulations did not include any ban or restriction on private funding, which allows for a greater influence of the private sector on the election and on the elected officials.
2. The joint responsibility of the Ministry of political and parliament affairs together with the independent election commission on monitoring and following up with the candidate lists and the political parties, is a burden on the lists and the parties and can cause deficiencies in the monitoring and the following up.
3. The public funding is specified for the parties and not for independent lists, which violates the equality among all candidates.
4. The regulation did not include any restriction on receiving donation from trade unions, professional unions, or associations.
5. The designated committee for the political party must be competent to review the financial reports, and to investigate any complaints.

## ● The regulations and women challenges in campaign finance

The Jordanian constitution addresses equality between Jordanians, but they did not specifically mention the sexes.

The political party law does not include any article that task the political parties to assign a percentage of its executives to female members.

The election law also did not include any incentives to advance women representations beside the quota. The 15 allocated seats is a major progress; however, there was nothing mentioned regarding their campaign finance.

Based on the above, the topic must be analyzed based on the initiatives taken by: either the ministry of political and parliament affairs, or the independent election commission regulations.

The ministry encouraged the nominating of female candidates to the legislative seats. However, the independent election commission regulations did not include any incentives to translate the ministry's call. Therefore, the independent list will not receive any public support. In addition, the female candidates on the parties' lists will benefit from the public funding, while the female candidates on the independents' lists will have to rely fully on private resources.

The below table illustrates the impact of the ceiling for the campaign finance according to the Jordanian election law, and according to the executive procedures number 7 for the year 2016;

Districts	Number of seats	Number of voters	Amount per voter	Total
Amman 2	6	400452	5 JD	2,002,260 JD
Ma'an	4	53217	3JD	159,651 JD
Karak	10	167280	3JD	501,840 JD
Irbid 1	6	325918	5JD	1,629,590 JD
Al Zerka	8	449753	5 JD	2,248765 JD

The above table shows the level of money the candidates need before they decide to run for election. It also shows the level of loss for the women who chose to run if they fail in the election.

clearly, money talks when it comes to election,; if you want to run you need to afford at least the minimum, which is a lot in the case of Jordan. Winning is not secured by passion only; it also requires the ability to use all the tools to ensure winning. Hence, the financing might not be of an issue to the wealthy candidates, but for the middle and low-level income candidates, the financing is a very challenging issue.



## 4.6 Electoral System Related challenges

The electoral systems play a role in determining the costs of electoral campaigns. Three recognized electoral systems regulate the electoral campaigns;

- The simple or absolute majority system; both mechanisms allow the voter to choose the number specified in the law. However, this system revolves around the person rather than the program. Since the electoral financing plays a pivotal role in this system, it could be costlier than other electoral systems, which makes this system a challenge mainly for women.
- The proportional representation and the closed list; this system can be the best option for women since it considered the closed list as one unit. It also the best option for the parties too since voting is for the program rather than the person. In addition, the list as a whole bears the cost of the list election campaigns. Therefore, the list together with its member have collective role in securing the largest possible number of votes.
- However, the open list is another mechanism of the proportional representation, which is in force in Lebanon and Jordan. Even though this mechanism allows the candidates to run within the list, yet it is permissible for individual candidates to campaign independently for oneself, which may affect the structure and the unity of the list.



- The mixed electoral system in which voters get two votes: one to decide the representative for their single-seat constituency, and one for a political party. Thus, this mechanism integrates between the majority system and the proportional system, and allows individuals to run in constituencies, while allowing lists to run on the national basis. The national list deals as a unit and bears the costs of the campaigns, while the individuals bear on the majority system the costs of their campaigns unless the party allocates a certain amount for each candidate to cover his electoral campaign.

## Election system in Jordan

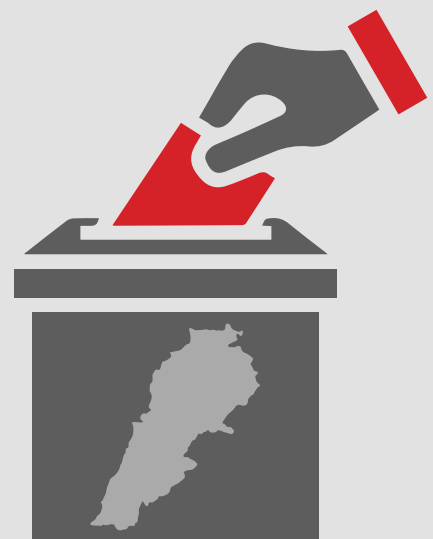
In Jordan 115 members are elected from 23 electoral districts using open list proportional representation. There are 15 seats reserved for women and 9 seats are reserved for Christians, Chechens, and Circassians,

Although this method is based on the proportional system, the open list and the division of districts make the system closer to the majority system. This system is considered despite the existence of the quota system, yet it is not among the women-friendly electoral systems. Lists are formed by a well-known figure who adds the candidates that are expected to attract large number of voters; He is usually not interested to include women on the list out of fear she may receive more votes than he may, which qualifies her to represent the list not the quota. Male candidates usually fear that if women receive enough support and equipped with the right resources, that they will excel and outperform the male candidates. This means that each candidate is responsible for his/her electoral advertising individually, which causes financial burdens especially for the women candidates. Therefore, women will not benefit from being on the list, and they are completely dependent on themselves and their financial sources. Moreover, they cannot rely on the list, since previous electoral experiences indicate that if the list wins, it will most likely win one seat.



## The election system in Lebanon

The new law established a hybrid system of proportional representation, in a departure from the country's previous winner-take-all system. Under the new law, Lebanese cast two votes: one for a fixed electoral list in their district and a second for their preferred candidate within that list. The tabulation of these two votes, along with the assignment of electoral seats to specific sects, in some cases resulted in candidates not attaining a seat despite receiving more votes than a rival received. In light of this, Lebanese officials are calling for the new electoral law to be amended. Division of Electoral Districts by Confessional Group  
 Lebanese electoral law has traditionally allocated each seat within an electoral district to a specific religious community. The allocation of seats by sect is shaped by demographic and political considerations, which are at times controversial. Lebanon officially recognizes 18 religious sects (4 Muslim, 12 Christian, the Druze sect, and Judaism), not all of which are represented in every district. For example, the district of Jbeil/Keserouan has eight electoral seats, of which seven are reserved for Maronite Christians, and one for a Shi'a. The neighboring district of Baalbeck/Hermel has 10 electoral seats: 6 for Shi'a, 2 for Sunnis, and 1 each for Maronite and Catholic Christians. The 2017 electoral law reduced the number of electoral districts from 26 to 15. In doing so, it also realigned the number of seats assigned to each district, as well as the sectarian distribution of those seats.





The law along with other legal systems related to political participation are considered the basis when measuring the level of political participation. Since this report is discussing the women candidates and the challenges they face in the electoral financing, the immediate question was about the laws' strengths and weaknesses in relation to women's electoral financing.

Member of the Election Commission, Sivana Lakis, commented that the law guarantees equality for women in Lebanon, but it did not stipulate the principle of quotas. Maya Zgherini of the Lebanese Forces Party said that the law is relatively better than previous laws, especially that this law adopted proportional representation. The representative of the Future Movement, Nawal Mudallali, believed that the law is still unfair towards women, while Mrs. Zainab Marwa of the Lebanese Women's Democratic coalition believed that the articles of the law do not take into consideration the different societal status between female and male candidates. Ali Salim, a representative of the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections, believed that the law remains a crucial obstacle to real representation of women. Candidate Gina Shammass believed that the 2018 law did not clear a way for Christian minorities; it places them in a different position than other sects, and limits their candidacy in Beirut only and their representation in one seat.

Mrs. Silvana Lakkis believed that the proportional electoral system is considered as one of the law strengths: however, its weaknesses were by adopting the preferential vote and it lacked the incentives to nominate more women. Nawal Mudallali from the Future Movement commented that it is a discriminatory system against women and it does not include any positive measures to encourage women's participation and nomination. Maya Zgherini from the Lebanese Forces party said that it does not serve the principle of women's representation because it does not include quotas. While Mrs. Zeinab Marwa of the Lebanese Women's Democratic Coalition commented that although the system is based on relative proportion, yet it continued to allow the sects to control the course of voting according to the sectarian population. Ali Salim of the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections considered that as long as the electoral system adopts the preferential vote, the local leaderships would always maintain their seats. He added that the preferential vote was not helpful to women; out of the 86 female candidates, 25 female candidates received less than 100 preferential votes, half of the female candidates received less than 227 preferential votes, and only two female candidates received more than 10,000 preferential votes. Furthermore, the system strengthened the concentration of sectarian votes.

## Electoral threshold

Mrs. Silvana Lakkis from the Election Commission believed that the threshold is a problem, especially when dividing constituencies to serve the powerful men and the political leaders. Mrs. Zeinab Marwa of the Lebanese Democratic Women's coalition believed that the threshold contributes to the society's male culture by controlling the entry of women into the political arena. Ali Salem, from the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections, believed that the high threshold constituted an obstacle for most of the candidates and distorted the effect of proportionalism and transformed the system into a majority system. Maya Zagherini of the Lebanese Forces Party said that the fluctuating threshold is an obstacle to women's representation. The matter remains dependent on female candidates and their ability to attract the public, compete and reach out to voters. Nawal Mudallali from the Future Movement saw that the laws never were fair to women and kept their maximum representation in the Parliament at 4.6 %.

## Quota system

Ali Salim from the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections considered that the quota for which they are fighting is 50% of the Parliament seats. Mrs. Zeinat Marwa from the Lebanese Women's Democratic coalition said that they are striving for equality and justice for women in all fields; we are currently struggling in accordance with international agreements and conventions that were signed by Lebanon, and set the women quota rate at 33.3%. Maya Zarghini of the Lebanese Forces Party said that there is a split in the party over the quota; a group who is in support of the

quota considered that the quota is needed to improve the conditions for women's representation. The other group believed that the quota is a discriminatory act and they advocate leaving it to the voters, while at the same time support the candidacy of women and put them on the party's lists without any restrictions. Nawal Mudallali, from the Future Movement, said that we support the women's quota as a temporary measure for the participation of women in political life. She added that President Saad Hariri is among those who supported having women in high positions whether in the Future Movement or in the Parliament. A female quota of 20% has been approved in all positions in the Future Movement, and there is a demand from the Future Movement to approve the quota on the electoral lists. Furthermore, the party is demanding for women quota in all electoral districts at 20%. Ms. Silvana Lakkis said that the election commission aspires and strongly supports the principle of adopting the quota system in Lebanon as a transitional stage to encourage women's participation in political and parliamentary work.



## 4.7 Institution Related Challenges

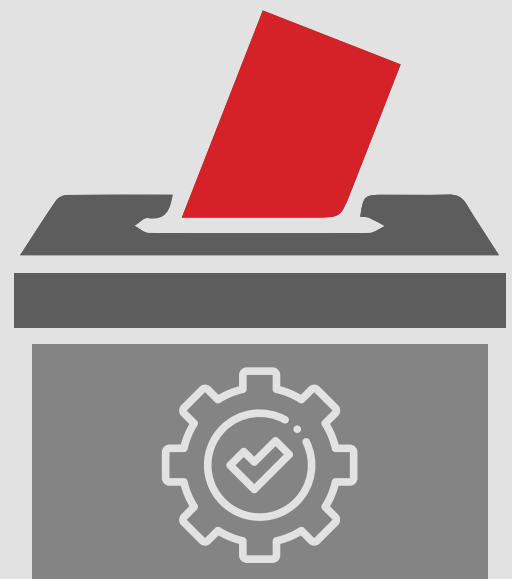
### Political parties

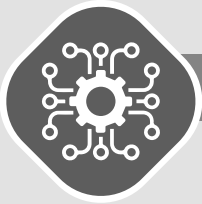
Mrs. Nawal Mudallali believed that Lebanon cannot keep pace with the process of development towards building a state without a political parties' law that is distinct in its provisions from the Ottoman Associations Law of 1909 which still in force. In 2017, the parties regulation law was proposed, which is considered as a major step to keep pace with the political and social developments in the Lebanese society since 1909 to the present day. Maya Zarghini of the Lebanese Forces Party said that her party is with the issuance of an updated Parties Act and with the preservation of the Associations Law in its current form; and to ensure the formation of effective and independent national civil parties that work towards building the country



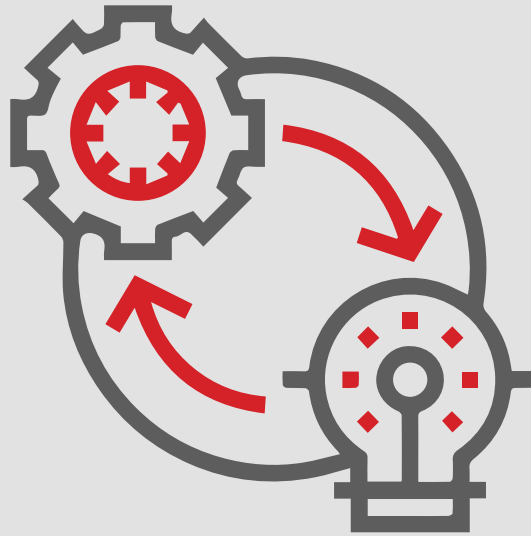
### Electoral administration

Female candidates saw that the independence and impartiality of the election commission and its separation from the Ministry of the Interior is one of the requirements for enhancing political participation. Candidate Rania al-Masri recommended the establishment of an independent election management body, while candidate Ghada Assaf considered that the supervisory body is a non-new entity. Candidate Nariman al-Jamal said the supervisory body and the bodies that manage the elections are not doing enough; she added the equality among all competitors is ignored and that there is a dissatisfaction with the role of the supervisory body. The representative of the Lebanese Forces Party, Maya Zarghini, believed that the solution to the problems arising in the electoral administration lies in an independent body to administer the elections including electoral spending and financing





## 4.8 innovative Strategies Used for campaign Financing



During the interviews in both countries, several females relied fully on their resources to cover their election campaigns; however, other females employed certain strategies to cover the cost of their campaigns. The following strategies were used;

- In Lebanon Josaf candidate said there was no doubt that the media played a major role in her campaign, as she had the opportunity to appear on all audio-visual media, and that helped her reach more voters. Cynthia said the free media helped her in the election campaign especially that she was a journalist and people knew her from before as a journalist and interviewer. In addition, she was able to appear on several channels too.

These two female candidates tried to focus on approaching the media and delivering their electoral program without having to pay as an advertisement, and they succeeded in appearing in various media outlets that helped deliver their programs to the electorate.

- In both countries, female candidates received training in election campaigns through international or local institutions, which helped them in leading electoral campaigns as professional as possible.
- In Jordan, the Hashd Party has sponsored the electoral campaigns of its entire candidates, males and females, and this helped women candidates to focus on effective methods of reaching the largest possible number of voters.
- In Lebanon and Jordan, female candidates tried to focus on two ways to reach the voters to reduce costs, by recruiting young volunteers for their election campaigns with different specializations, as well as through the widespread use of social media to reach segments that are difficult to reach through face-to-face meetings.
- In Jordan, two female members of Parliament were able to obtain full electoral campaign financing from the party. Moreover, they focused on the optimal use of campaign resources in reaching segments of society that had not previously participated in the elections, such as housewives; In addition to some young women activists who were frustrated with the general situation, but became motivated to provide support to a female candidate who carries their interests to Parliament.



## 4.9 Best Practices on how Women can better Access Campaign Financing

### Tunisia

Basic Law No. 16 of the year 2014 related to elections and referendums affirmed that the electoral campaign of candidates, candidate lists, and the referendum campaign shall be funded through self-financing, private financing and public financing, in accordance with the provisions of this law. The electoral campaign for each candidate list, candidate or party can be financed by natural persons alone, by calculating twenty times the guaranteed minimum wage in non-agricultural sectors per capita for the legislative elections, and thirty times for the presidential elections and referendums, for each candidate list, candidate or party.

Chapter 78 states that a grant is allocated to each candidate or candidate list under the title of public aid to finance the electoral campaign. The candidate or the list receives half of the grant before the start of the campaign, and the second half is disbursed within a week of the announcement of the results of the elections, provided that presenting the evidence of spending the first installment on campaign expenses and depositing accounts with the Court of Accounts.

Each candidate who obtains less than 3% of the votes declared at the national level, or every list that obtained less than 3% of the votes declared at the electoral district level, and does not win a seat in the Assembly of the Representatives of the People, is obligated to return the entire grant. Each list or candidate is also obligated to return the sums that have been proven as not electoral expenses, and the state shall recover every un-consumed amount from the public grant.

Candidates on one list are jointly responsible for obligations related to the public grant. Funding for the campaign is prohibited from foreign sources, including governments, individuals and corporate ministries. Each of the total expenditures on the electoral campaign is determined, and for each candidate list or party to open a single bank account for the election campaign.

The competent Tunisian authorities have disbursed the first installment of 1222 candidate lists out of a total of 1229 candidate lists.

The second chapter of a decree for the year 2014 dated 1 August 2014 determining the total ceiling for electoral campaign spending and the ceiling for private financing, determining the ceiling for public funding, setting its conditions and procedures for the 2014 legislative elections, the amount of the public grant shall be calculated under the title of public aid on electoral campaign financing allocated to each list. Its final acceptance in the electoral districts in the Republic of Tunisia was announced on the basis of the number of voters registered in the electoral district and the evolution of the cost of living costs, as follows :

- 70 dinars for every thousand voters, within the range of 50,000 voters.
- 45 dinars for every thousand voters in what exceeded 50 thousand voters, and within the limits of 100 thousand voters.
- 35 dinars for every thousand voters, in what exceeded 100 thousand voters, and within the limits of 150 thousand voters.
- 30 dinars for every thousand voters in what exceeded 150 thousand voters, and within the limits of 200 thousand voters.
- 25 dinars for every thousand voters in what exceeded 200 thousand voters.

The overall campaign' spending ceiling for each list whose candidacy was declared finally accepted was set at five times the amount of the grant in the title of public aid to finance the election campaign.

As for the disbursement of the second installment, Chapter Seven stipulated that the disbursement takes place for every list that obtained at least 3% of the votes declared at the electoral district level or won a seat in the Assembly of the Representatives of the People (even if it did not get 3%). A written request prepared by the head of the list bearing his name, identification card number and address, it is obligatory to attach with evidence regarding the expenditures that were spent under the title of the electoral campaign.



### ● General note

As the election law in Tunisia depends on full proportional representation and a closed list, women participate in financing with men, and the electoral lists are arranged equally

The public funding is vital for the females' candidacy and it helps them advance in their running in the elections. Among the best practices is an academy that was established by Afak Tounes to design curricula and provide training programs for the party members that included at least four trainings for the party's female members. Afak Tounes also encouraged and facilitated the participation of other female members in the trainings provided by other local and international organizations. Those trainings aim to empower female members/candidates and to help them overcome their fear of dealing with the public.

Other practices included establishing daycare centers at party headquarters to improve female candidates' engagement. Another practice was the partnership of Gender Concerns International, an international development organization based in The Netherlands, with varied local organizations such as ATFD, AFTURD and La Ligue Tunisienne de défense des Droits de l'Homme to encourage women's participation in development through research, training, communication, advocacy and networking activities.

The UNDP teamed up with international and regional partners, including CAWTAR and NDI, on different trainings and activities to prepare women candidates for the elections. The empowerment activities tackled different fields such as basic skills in the areas of fundraising and media relations, strategy and policy development, effective strategies, and networking and dialogue. Furthermore, UNDP initiated the first Summer University for Women in Politics to train potential women candidates in preparing and running their electoral campaigns. It also developed in partnership with CAWTAR a documentary film and CD-ROM Femmes de mon pays, femmes à part entière (Women of My Country, Women to Reckon With) as a tribute to the women candidates of the NCA elections, and to encourage women's participation in politics.

## Morocco

The head of the Moroccan government issued Decree No. 11.27.3 on 10/20/2011 determining the total amount of the state's contribution to financing the electoral campaigns carried out by political parties participating in the general elections to elect members of the House of Representatives on November 25 2011, and the first article was set at 220 million Dirhams of the state's contribution to financing electoral campaigns carried out by political parties. Article (3) indicated that 30% of the amount may be disbursed in advance, and based on the decree of the state's contribution to each political party, an amount of (750) thousand dirhams is approximately (80 thousand dollars), and the second share is distributed on the basis of 50% according to the number of votes and 50% according to the seats.

Article (12) of Organizational Law No. 11.27 relates to The House of Representatives affirmed the fact that every deputy will be stripped from membership if he fails to deposit an inventory of the electoral campaign expenses within the legally specified period, or does not attach the aforementioned inventory to the documents confirming the expenses, or does not respond to the excuses addressed to him in their regard from the first president of the Supreme Council of Accounts accepted in accordance with the provisions of the last paragraph of Article (94) of this law.

Article (93) stressed that candidates for the legislative elections must adhere to the ceiling of electoral expenses set by a decree taken on the proposal of the government authorities in charge of the Interior, Justice and Finance. Each standing agent or candidate must draw up a detailed statement of the sources of funding for his electoral campaign, provide an inventory of the sums he spent during his electoral campaign, and the aforementioned inventory must be attached to all documents proving the disbursement of the said sums (Article 94), and a deposit must be made within one month. One from the date of announcing the results to the Supreme Council of Accounts, an inventory of the electoral expenses of their candidacies attached to the documents (Article 95).

In the parliamentary elections on November 25/ 2011, the ceiling for the maximum spending for the electoral campaign was raised from 250 thousand dirhams to 350 thousand dirhams for a candidate, which is equivalent to 35 thousand Jordanian dinars.

Article 35 of Law No. 36.04 related to political parties specified that the amount of the state's contribution to the annual support fee is distributed among political parties on the basis of the following:

- **The number of seats that each party has in Parliament, according to a statement prepared annually by the heads of the two chambers of Parliament, each within his jurisdiction during the month following the date of the opening of the October session.**
- **The number of votes obtained by each political party in the general legislative elections, as per the total electoral districts.**

Organizational Law No. 11.29 detailed the various subsidies that all political parties receive, as they benefit from a random quota, provided that participation in the legislative elections with coverage of 10% of the local districts is distributed equally, and an additional amount if it receives more than 3% and less than 5%

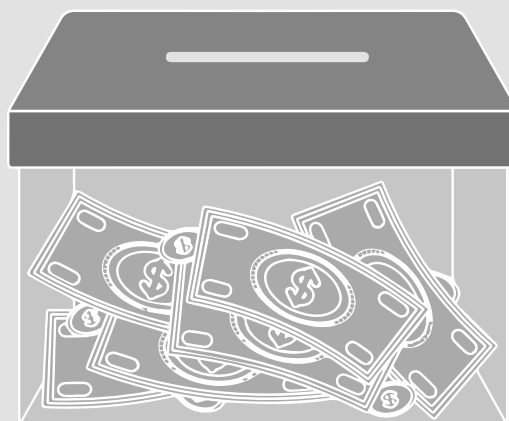
For other parties obtaining more than 5%, an amount is allocated based on the number of seats and the number of votes.

The political parties received public support from the state in 2017, more than 128 million dirhams, to 30 political parties

And based on Article 288 decisive in the Elections Law, which is provided according to conditions and modalities specified by an organizational text, support is devoted to strengthening the capacities of women's representation on the occasion of general, collective and legislative elections. It is called the "Fund for Support to Encourage Female Representation."

### ● **Women empowerment Fund**

Based on a joint decision of the Minister of Interior and the Minister of Economy and Finance, the ceiling of the total financial cost of the projects related to the program aimed at empowering representative women, has been set at 200,000 dirhams for each project, and the percentage of the state's contribution through the support fund in financing each of the projects approved by the committee is determined. Limits of at most 70% of the total financial cost of the project and the rest through the own share of the project holder.





## A committee in charge of activating the support fund is formed

- 6 members representing government sectors
- 5 members representing civil society

### Submitted projects are aimed at

- Enhancing women's participation in electoral elections, as votes and as candidates.
- Enhancing women's participation in political life.
- Strengthening women's capacities in the field of local affairs management and local governance.
- Annual allocations have been made to the fund, as it has allocated 10 million dirhams annually.

The Fund's experience constitutes a pioneering initiative in supporting women and increasing women's representation in elected bodies, as it encouraged political associations and parties to communicate with affiliated women or others.

Furthermore, fund emphasis on networking as a strategic goal to facilitate the exchange of experiences and create local networking between female candidates.

## ● Political party Initiatives in Morocco

The USFP (**The Socialist Union of Popular Forces**) has highlighted issues such as the citizenship law and the passage of a gender equality law in Parliament

## Bahrain: Weighing Options To Support Women Candidates

Women in Bahrain gained the right to vote and run for office in 2002. Shortly after, 31 women ran for municipal elections and eight for parliamentary seats. Of the parliamentary candidates, two made it into the second round but failed to attain seats. Therefore, civil society organizations started to train women leaders on skills that would help them become candidates, lobbyists or campaign managers. In addition, UNDP considered several options for funding mechanisms to support women candidates; the first option was the formation of a network of civil society organizations to manage funds initially provided by UNDP, somewhat of the order of Emily's List. The second option was to establish a public fund through the Ministry of Justice. A third option was to work again with the Supreme Council for Women. UNDP provided the equivalent of \$8,000 in support for each female candidate, in the form of providing access to printing facilities, hospitality expenses, transportation, and research and training resources. Twenty-three candidates used UNDP assistance.

## Iraq

Political Parties Law No. 36 of 2015 stipulates that the state funds political parties, which leads to the possibility of increasing the sources of funding available to women if the funds allocated for elections are spent accordingly. The women's quota was established in the Iraqi constitution 2005 and in the election laws in particular Law No. 45 For the year 2013 and its amendments, on the basis of which the 2018 elections were held. Article 13 affirms that the number of female candidates should not be less than 25% in the list, and that the percentage of women's representation in the council is not less than 25%. The proportional representation system has been adopted for the open list, thus women's representation will not be less than 83 members.

As for the new law, based on the early elections that are expected to be held in June 2021, the majority system has been adopted on the basis of dividing the country into 83 constituencies, with a woman in each district.

Article 44 of the Political Parties Law indicated that the Political Parties Department shall distribute the total amount of the financial aid to political parties according to the following rates:

**- First: (20%) distributed equally on the registered political parties in accordance with the provisions of this law**

**- Second: (80%) to the parties represented in the House of Representatives according to the number of seats their candidates won in the parliamentary elections.**

Iraq ranks 67th out of 192 countries in terms of the percentage of women in parliament, which makes it slightly higher than the global average (24.3%).

During the 2018 elections, although most of the women were elected to parliament under the women's quota system, 22 female candidates won without a quota. Out of the 87 political party lists, there were only 18 lists headed by women (20.7%).

## UNITED STATE

Emily's List, a committee founded in 1985, collects and distributes contributions to female candidates in the United States. It has helped elect 67 members of Congress, 13 senators and 8 state governors, and claims to be the largest financial resource for minority women seeking federal office. With 100,000 members, Emily's List is now considered the largest grassroots political network in the United States, offering \$11 million during the 2006 election cycle.

## El Salvador Special Funds For Female Party Members

In El Salvador, the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) allocates money from the party budget to the National Ministry for party women in the national assemblies, to cover the cost of training and consultations with women. The party also has a special fund to train its own female members. Some FMLN women work with the business sector on fundraising for women candidates.

## Colombia

Structural barriers to women's participation persist in Colombia and the role of money in

Preventing the emergence of female candidates and political leaders constitutes the tip of the iceberg of more profound social, cultural and economic factors that disadvantage women. Colombian political parties remain influenced by the society's strong patriarchy. Colombian political life is dominated by influential political clans that benefit from easy access to wealthy networks and perpetuate the advantage of incumbency. Outsiders unsupported by political machines, most notably female candidates, face significant financial hurdles to entering politics. Colombia uses an unusual proportional electoral system in which political parties or independent candidates can choose whether to use closed or open lists or a mix of the two. Open lists are the most common choice and as a result, individual access to money, media and networks is fundamental to electoral success. Colombia legislated for candidate quotas in 2011. At least 30 per cent of candidates of each gender must be included on any list submitted for elections to five seats or more. It also adopted provisions to allocate eligible political parties a certain percentage of their annual public grant according to their number of female parliamentarians. Political parties are also obliged to earmark funds to promote the inclusion of women, young people and ethnic minorities. The amounts involved are rather limited: USD 1.5 million in 2014 (approximately 20 per cent of the public funding budget for the election period).





## Recommendations for Lebanon

### On legislation and policy

#### 1. Election law

- Endorse quota for women not less than 30% of seats.
- Change the election system from proportional open list to closed list.
- Adopt public funding to candidates to bring justice to the process.



#### 2. Election management body

- Establish independent election management body and separate it from the ministry of interior.
- Adopt female candidate enhancement policy.
- Adopt close control and strict procedures in relation to spending, disclosure of funding sources.
- Have the ability to enforce laws.
- Adopt Strict control and accountability.
- Communicate with candidates.
- Clarity in interpreting the law.
- Adopt Equality in the management policy.
- Adopt electronic platform and transparently disclose finances.
- Strict control over sources of funding and their spending, and compliance with the application of the articles of the law in terms of the electoral ceiling.
- Apply the principles of integrity, justice, transparency and equality.
- Provide electoral financing (at least for the media). Otherwise, the chances of obtaining reasonable electoral votes are almost non-existent.
- Adopt strict application of laws and procedures.
- Tighten the measures of financial control.
- Establish measures for the paid appearance on the media.
- Ensure equal media exposure for everyone.
- Provide effective solution to the vote buying process.
- Activate regulatory authorities in civil society.
- Reflect transparency when announcing results.
- Hire an independent and impartial team.



### 3. Campaign finance

- Adopt public funding to control the parties and the lists resources and it's obligatory to receive report from them.
- Adopt transparency and equality among all candidates in relation to public media.
- Adopt female candidates empowerment policy.
- Replace the nomination fee with a number of signatures attached to the candidacy application.

### 4. Recommendation to CSOS

- Empower women in Media appearances.
- Focus on the passage of the women's quota law and on the role of women in participating in decision-making (not focusing on making jams, homemade food and soap making)Media support for the idea of women's rights.
- Ensure Training and moral mobilization for women.
- Support and assist women in handling public affairs, and invent new ways of working and moving away from traditional discourse.
- Engage women in political life, and organize courses for women who wish to run in the elections and support them financially, morally and culturally.
- Associations should support independent women candidates and not partisan women who enjoy party support.
- Continue to support women's candidacy, and provide the necessary training on campaign management and financial support.
- The issuance of a document and charter that women elect the female candidates as a supportive position.
- Support women is not because they are women, but because they are competent and deserve support.
- To choose the right woman who has leadership qualities, and who seeks to improve and impose the role of women, and provide financial support the female candidates.
- Conferences and invitations to dinners are not enough. Rather, work must be done to obtain funding for each candidate, according to her region, in order to run her own campaign.
- Avoid fancy slogans and provide support through empowerment, training, political mobilization financial support, and the provisioning of support teams.
- Institutions to adopt the nomination of women and help them know how to obtain unconditional money.
- Women's associations must provide material support to female candidates.
- Adopt the candidacy of women who are capable of defending their cases. Selection can be according to special criteria that are not emotional or personal. To have an effective role in organizing electoral meetings. To recruit volunteers to help with the election campaign. To launch a funding campaign to support her in raising funding through personal donation. Institutions must undertake some services, such as printing brochures or sponsored publication on social media pages.
- Provide help by supporting female candidates in the media and administratively, by organizing team that helps women candidates advocate to pass an electoral law to guarantees women's quota



## Recommendations for Jordan

### 1. On legislation and policy level :

- Reform Election law.
- Increase quota for women from 15 to 23 seats, one seat for each district.
- Change the election system from proportional open list to closed list with condition of including at least one female candidate in each list.
- Adopt public funding to candidates to ensure a just process.



### 2. In political party law

- Endorse the quota in the political party law.
- Election management body.
- Adopt female candidate enhancement policy.
- Adopt close control and strict procedures in relation to spending, disclosure of funding sources.
- Enforce laws.
- Communicate with candidates and have specific program for female candidates.
- Strict control over sources of funding and their spending, and compliance with the application of the articles of the law in terms of the electoral ceiling
- It is imperative to guarantee the electoral financing (at least for the media). Otherwise, the chances of obtaining reasonable electoral votes are almost non-existent.
- Ensure equal media exposure for everyone.
- Effective solution to the vote buying process.



### 3. Campaign finance

- Adopt public funding to the election lists.
- Adopt transparency and equality among all candidates to public media access.
- Adopt female candidates empowerment policy.
- Replace the resignation from work with leave without pay.
- Establish female candidate fund under the national committee for women and with specific criteria.



## 4. Recommendation to CSOS



- Focus on the development of the women's quota and increase it.
- Focus on the role of women in participating in decision-making.
- Focus on advocacy for women legal rights in the election law and advocating for public funding to female candidates.
- Empowering women Media appearances.
- Training and moral mobilization for women.
- Provide the necessary training on campaign management.
- Organize specialized courses on election campaign.
- Organize specialized training courses in negotiation skills.
- Media and advertisement support for female candidates.
- Focus on female parliament members success stories and best practices.
- Launch a funding campaign to support females in raising funding through donations.
- Support and assist women in handling public affairs.
- Encourage youth to vote for female candidates.
- Help female candidates on how to obtain unconditional money.
- Women's associations must provide material support to female candidates.
- Have an effective role in organizing electoral meetings.
- Conduct awareness campaign on the importance to vote for female candidates.
- Enhance the capacity of volunteer's skills and knowledge.



## List of people interviewed

### ● Lebanon

Name	Position	Institutions
Ali Salim	Director	the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections
Mrs. Zeinat Marwa	Director	the Lebanese Women's Democratic coalition
Mrs. Silvana Lakkis	Member	the Election Commission
Maya Zgherini	Women leader	the Lebanese Forces Party
	Leader	the Future Movement
Mr. Ayman Dandash	Program Manager	Lebanese transparency association

### ● Female candidates interviewed in Lebanon

Indira Al-Zuhairi	Ruba Shukr	Nariman Al-Jamal
Gina Shammas	Rola Al-Murad	Nariman Sham'ah
Huson Abboud	Samar Al-Bitar	Josephine Zegaib
Ulfat Al-Sabe'	Sawsan Muhanna	Zenah AL Aklab
Diala Shehadeh	Ghada Assaf	Hanan Othman
Rania Al-Masry	Fadia Bazzi	Centia AL Asmar
Rania Ghaith	Lori Hatian,	Lina AL Husaini
Rima Hmaid		

- Jordan

Name	Position	Institutions
Mr. Sharaf Abu Ruman	Director of information and Communication	Independent Election commission Jordan
Ms. Amna Al Zoghbi	President	Jordanian Women Union
Mr. Amor Al-Nawaisa	Program Manager	Al Hayat center- Rased
Mr. Imad AL Qura'an	Board Member	Rasheed Transparency International- Jordan
Ms. Kaltham Amish	President	General Jordanian Women's Union
Ms. Nour Bushnaq	Leader	National Current Party
Ms. Abla Abu Ulba	General Secretary	Hashd Party
Hayat Almsemi	MP	
Dima Tahboob	MP	

- Female Candidates in Jordan

Ms. Fadwa Al Shiekh	Ms. Maha Al Ewidat	Ms. Tagreed AL Khawldeh
Ms. Faleeha qbielat	Ms. Fasel Sbehat	Ms. Hamdeh Al Hajaya
Ms. Buthina AL Tarwneh	Ms. Aida'a Al Khatab	Ms. Zienb AL Zubaidi
Ms.Fatmeh AL Khalyleh	Ms. Alia Abu Hlile	Ms. Randa AL Sha'ar
Ms. Masyoun Meqdady	Ms. Sabah AL Shaar	Ms. Rasmyyeh Al Ka'abneh
Ms. Abla Abu Ulba	Dr. Hanan Khriesat	Ms. Rana Kabriti
Ms. Maryam Freihat	Dr. Sabah AL Nawayseh	MS. Manal AL Dmour
Ms. Sawsan mdenate	Ms. Ensaf Al Khawaldeh	Ms. Hind AL Fayez



## Research Tools

### Research Questionnaires

Questions targeting NGOs, local election observations organizations and women organizations

#### ● Section one: General information

Address	Date of establishment	Name of the organization
Profession	Title	Name of the representative
Telephone number	Email	
Did you publish a report in your/their role in the election Can we obtain a copy?	Type of involvement: observation, Support, or awareness	The role of the organization in the election

#### ● Section two: General policies

1. Did you conduct any evaluations for the election law in Jordan/Lebanon regarding achieving equality to women? What were the strengths and weaknesses of the law?
2. In your view, does the election system have any effects on women candidates' opportunity to get to parliament? What are those special effects?
3. To what extent are you satisfied with the fact that the quota system in Jordan has 15 seats on governorate level/
4. Do you believe the efforts in the advocacy campaign in Lebanon to legalize the quota in the election law are sufficient?
5. What is the percentage of women representation in the parliament you are advocating for?
6. Based on your monitoring, is there any impact of threshold on women representation?

#### ● Section three: practices

1. Do you think campaign finances are affecting female candidates?
2. Based on your assessments do you believe a female candidate's chances to compete with male candidates is persuaded by the election finances?
3. Based on your monitoring to the new political party finance system in Jordan, do you believe it will make any impact on number of female candidates on political party lists?

4. Base on what you documented on the last election, what were the different kinds of pressure female candidate faced?
5. Are you satisfied with the different kind of support local and international civil society are providing female candidates with?
6. Base on your analysis what were the main issues reducing the number of women in the parliament in Jordan/Lebanon?

## ● recommendations

1. Based on your recommendation, what are the mechanisms to reduce the impact of campaign finance on women's chances?
2. What are your recommendations to grantee a female candidate's access to adequate financial resources for her campaign?
3. What are your recommendations to develop the election finance regulations? What is the role of the election management in achieving equality between all candidates?
4. What do you recommend to make the all candidates commit to the ceiling of the campaign finance?
5. What do you recommend for improving the role of the election management in supporting women to become candidates in the election?
6. What are your recommendations to the public institutions in regards to supporting women aiming at running for elections?
7. Based on your analysis, what is your future plans in supporting women to become a candidate? And in the campaign finance?
8. Did you discuss with your international partners, what is needed to support women becoming candidates and supporting their campaign finance?
9. What are your recommendations to develop the role of the public and private media in supporting women becoming candidates and in campaign financing?
10. What are your recommendations for reducing the challenges women face in campaign finance?



## Questionnaires targeting election management body

### ● Section one: General info

Title	Name of representative	Election management
Did you publish report for the last election Are their section for women and election campaign Can we obtain a copy	Telephone number	Email

### ● Section Two: Election

1. What is your evaluation of the adopted election law in Jordan/ Lebanon concerning achieving equality for women?
2. What is your evaluation of the implemented election system and its impact on women candidacy?
3. What is your evaluation of the adopted women quota in Jordan regarding the 15 seats in governorates?
4. Do you support the women quota in Lebanon?
5. What is your opinion of the adopted threshold's impact on women representation, in Lebanon?

### ● Section three campaign finance

1. What is your perspective of campaign finance and its impact on women candidates?
2. Do you believe the new political party finance regulation in Jordan will increase the number of female candidates?
3. What is the kind of support the election management provides women candidates with, and do the women receive equal support in the election campaign?
4. Do you support the cancellation of the resignation from public office to women candidates and replacing it with unpaid vacation?
5. Based on your experience what is the kind of harassments are used against women candidates during election and do you have any examples?
6. Based on your recommendation what is the optimal mechanism to reduce the impact of campaign finance on women candidates?
7. What do you recommend to secure access to sufficient financial resources for women candidates to manage their election campaign?
8. What do you think of the regulations and decisions in campaign finance and what is the role of election management in the attainment of equality between all candidates?

9. What is your evaluation of the ceiling for the election campaign spending?
10. What are the mechanisms do you use to observe the commitment of the Election list and candidates of the campaign finance ceiling and not violating it?
11. What are the adopted bans on lists and candidates if they violate the ceiling of the campaign finance? Can you give examples of such a ban you used against lists or candidates?
12. What is your assessment of the role of the election management in supporting women candidacy in the election?
13. What is your evaluation of the role of public institutions in supporting women candidacy in the election?
14. What is your assessment of the rule of international organizations in supporting women candidacy?
15. What is your evaluation of the role of public and private media in supporting women in their election campaign?
16. What is your recommendation to minimize the challenges facing women in their campaign finance?

## Questionnaire targeting political parties

### ● Section one: general information

Address	Date of establishment	Political party name
Election rounds the party participated in	Title in the party	Name of party representative
Number of lists the party participated in	Telephone number	Email
Number of women candidates in the party list	Number of votes the party has acquired	Districts the party participate in
Ranking of women in the list/lists	Number of overall candidates	

1. What is your evaluation of adopted election law, in Jordan/Lebanon concerning achieving equality between men and women?
2. What is your evaluation of the implemented election system and its impact on women candidates?
3. What is your evaluation of the adopted women quota in Jordan regarding the 15 seats in governorates?
4. Do you support women Quota in Lebanon? if not please explain why

5. Do you support the increase of women quota in Jordan by having one seat in every single governorate?
6. What is your opinion of the adopted threshold's impact on women representation, in Lebanon?
7. What is your perspective of campaign finance and its impact on women candidates?
8. Do you believe public funding to political parties can enhance female candidates to compete with male candidates?
9. What are your assessments of the political party law? or 1909 law and its amendments?
10. What is your assessment of the new political party funding system in Jordan and its impact on women and party participation in the election? In Lebanon what is your position regarding public funding to the parties for election?
11. On what criteria does the party select their male and female candidates for the election?
12. Does the women quota have any effect on the party for selecting women candidates?
13. What is the support the party provides women candidates with, and does a woman obtain equal funding in their election campaign?
14. Does the party give women the chance to represent them in the public and private media?
15. Do you support the cancellation of the resignation from public office to women candidates and replacing it with unpaid vacation?
16. Based on your experience what is the kind of harassments are used against women candidates during election and do you have any examples?
17. Based on your recommendation what is the optimal mechanism to reduce the impact of campaign finance on women candidates?
18. What recommendations do you have for women candidates to secure access to sufficient financial resources for to manage their election campaign?
19. What do you think of the regulations and decisions in campaign finance and what is the role of the election management in the attainment of equality between all candidates?
20. What is in your opinion on the adherence of candidate lists and individual candidates, from both sexes, to the election campaign ceiling?
21. What is your opinion on the capacity of the election management to control campaign finance?
22. What is your assessment of the role of the election management in supporting women as candidates in the election?
23. What is your evaluation of the role of public institutions in supporting women candidacy in the election?
24. What is your assessment of the role of civil organizations in supporting women to run for election?
25. What is your assessment of the role of the election management in supporting women candidacy in the election?
26. What is your evaluation of the role of public and private media in supporting women in their candidacy and election campaign?
27. What is your recommendation to minimize the challenges facing women in their campaign finance?
28. What are your recommendations to secure equality in campaign finance, especially for women?

### ● Section one: General information

Name	Social status	Phone number
Email	Address	Age (less than 35)-(36-45) - (46-60)-(61-75)
Level of education	Profession	Election district
Election list	Number of votes acquired	Votes acquired by election list

### ● Section two: Political effectiveness

1. Do you always/occasionally participate in elections and have you had a non-participatory role in the election
2. Were you aware of the needed campaign finance
3. Did you know in advance the resources for campaign finance acquired by the nominees of the previous election and where did you acquire this information?
4. Did you previously participate in fundraising campaign for female/male candidate, what was your role?

### ● Section three: Election

1. Did you previously run for any election, was it national, local or other institutions, and in which year?
2. When did you decide to run? And who encourage you?
3. Did you work on a specific plan for running? Who assisted you in preparing it? What did it include?
4. During your election campaign were there any tactics you were planning to do and were unable to, due to limited financial resources, if so, please mention them
5. was it possible to do these tactics in a different way (without them being completely financially covered)?
6. If there were volunteers, did they need training, and why?
7. Was there a fundraising unit for the campaign?
8. List your main moral and financial supporters ranked by their contribution ( 1 being the highest rank).
9. Were you in need of training in financial management, to manage the campaign more effectively?

10. Were there any donors that offered restricted or unrestricted funding? Please provide a detailed answer
11. What do you believe are the most needed resources (Financial, moral, services...etc.) for the success of the election campaign, please rank them based on their importance (1 being the most important)
12. Do you think being a woman candidate has impact on your funding opportunities? How? Please provide examples?
13. Were there any advantages in regards to campaign services from organizations, individuals or else because you are a female candidate? Please specify and give examples if possible.
14. Did you try to build coalition with other candidates or political parties, and was the aim of this coalition acquiring financial support for the election campaign.
15. What tactics did male candidates use and you wanted to use, but could not because of limited financial resources?
16. Based on your analysis what was the motive that led voters to choose a certain candidate?
17. Did the public media assist your campaign? And where your campaign activities covered by private and public media?
18. Which social media platforms did you use in your campaign? And did you have qualified staff for that?
19. Do you think there was vote buying in the election and by whom?
20. If you were an independent candidate, what were the most campaign finance challenging issues that you have faced?
21. Do you think other candidates received foreign financial support? Do you believe that the procedures and regulations implemented by the election management to monitor campaign finance is sufficient? And does it ensure equality between all male and female candidates?
22. Did the campaign finance regulation allow internal donation? Does it have a ceiling? Based on your information, were the restrictions actually applied?
23. Do you think the state should provide public support for candidates and how?
24. Do you think female candidates need to be provided with additional benefits compared to their male counterparts? and how so?
25. During your election campaign, starting with when you decided to run, till the announcement of the election results, did you face any type of harassment? By whom? And what were the methods that they used? And what was your response to them?
26. If you can go back in time to the days of the election campaign, what would you like to change?
27. If another woman planned to run for elections, what would you advise her in general, and on campaign finance in particular?
28. If the election management asked for feedback on your experience and especially regarding campaign finance, what would you tell them about your experience and what would you recommend?
29. For the organizations advocating for more woman representation in public institutions, what would be your general recommendation, and what would be your recommendation be in campaign finance specifically?
30. Was money a primary reason for the number of votes you received, and how?



Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the  
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