



UNIFIED COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF NATIONAL STUDIES RELATING TO THE PROJECT OF :

Strengthening the role of
political parties and trade
unions in promoting women's
political participation

Prepared by:
Dr. Siham Al-Najjar

Assisted by:
Rim El Halwas Ghorbal

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INTRODUCTION

“The future currently cannot be predicted reasonably, this is not due to the deficiencies of methodologies but to the nature of this particular period characterized by a high degree of instability, the presence of a massive number of internal and foreigner stakeholders and a significant pragmatic degree manifested by the acting political parties to adapt to changes”.

These expressions are quoted from the book “A country of advantages and the Arab Spring” for the Lebanese scholar Adib Nehme, and describe perfectly the period in which our region is living. This description is based on the picture characterizing the development of the situations in Arab countries during the three last details, in this phase we witnessed a semi total degradation of the legitimacy of the state and governing systems in Arab countries, a loss of the political and social basis on which these countries have built their historical legitimacy. The region is living amid a significant regression of the role of political parties and trade unions movements, whereas programmed and organized political tyranny was the direct reason behind the vanishing of the political life and the regression of the role of political parties and trade unions to treat the social matters according to a political vision and within effective and clear programs, the weakness of these structures led to the pessimism of male and female citizens in terms of their possibilities to affect the policies and to put pressure in order to change the same.

The political tyranny weakened the role of political parties and trade unions as a change tool in the society whereas the transition operation and democratic transformation which started with the revolutions or what was called “ the Arab Spring” destabilized despotic systems and all the component of the political society. This change in which the region is living is a difficult period creating significant challenges to the political parties and giving opportunities to the establishment of new ones while obliging other political parties and trade unions to develop and foster their role to coop with the Arabic people ambitions and aspirations. The Arab revolutions restored the role of the people in all its components and provided dynamic waves in the political life in some countries witnessing the Arab Spring while opening horizons to develop and promote the role of political parties and trade unions while inciting some of them to review their social and political programs.

The phase in which our region is living gave rise to many problems or issues directly related to the conditions of women and their participation in political life.

First: there is a necessity to redefine the concept of the political participation in the light of the effects of the movement and its manifestations on the necessity to reformulate the concept based on the experience, secondly we should discuss the role of the women movement as one actor in the democratic movement and to analyze this role based on experiences: did we succeed in attributing the national struggle to the women's struggle and reversely.

How does the movement reflect in terms of modifying the priorities and strategies

What role does the women movement play in facing the situation of the region on the social, financial and political levels as well as the religious terrorism and disadvantages unjust financial policies and military systems regenerating tyranny regime? what role does this movement play in creating political leaderships and women leaderships?

Also the current challenges raises questions about the Quota as a mechanism to achieve a quality and the importance of the experience in adopting the quota in some countries and the extend this created in making really women participate in the public life in non democratic areas. How did it succeed to integrate the women affairs within the strategies and plans agenda and do they constitute the sound tool to overcome the gap of inequality between the two genders in public life

In addition to what preceded it is also important in this stage to analyze the current and future relationship with the political parties and trade unions considering that these frames in the Arab region are passing through a period of reconstitution and reorganization and its necessary to reform the same on the basis of the effective participation of women while promoting and raising the questions about the women affairs and defending the same

The political parties and trade unions were able to confirm that they are patriarchal masochist frames and structures in which all kind of discrimination and violence against women are practiced and the big majority of the same does not take the women problems seriously but consider them as marginal. Also their internal regulations and structures do not include any measures or procedures enabling women to reach decision making or leadership positions, the analysis of the political and syndical experience in five countries of the Mena region (Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia) show clearly the exclusion of women from decision making positions and keeping them in minor ones were their missions and roles are limited to the common activities

Facing this situation and in order to enable women in participating efficiently in politics and the democratic change as well as the social and political movement witnessed by the region and in order to guarantee the establishment and development of political parties and trade unions on democratic basis human rights, public liberties and private one pursuant to the principles of human rights and social justice and gender a quality a group of organizations works on the regional project entitled “promoting the role of political parties and trade unions in enhancing the political participation of women and had the following objectives

- 1 Foster and encourage equal practices in social financial and political life in five countries of the MENA region**
- 2 Empower women and pushing her and motivating her towards the participation in social financial and political life**

This comprehensive regional study comes as a continuation of a project which led to five national local studies carried out by the partner organizations which helped in the objective study of the condition of women’s participation through the analysis of the structures, programs, formation, statements, and private thinking of political parties and trade syndicates, the analysis of the obstacles hindering the real participation of women, providing a knowledge basis for political parties and trade unions on the change methods and structural reform and formation to foster the effective participation of women in additional to enabling trade unions and political parties to take appropriate recommendation and action plans

Based on the regional dimension of the project and seen the common challenges and the importance of the regional analysis for the women participation in political parties and trade unions, **this study is issued in order to:**

- Put the light on the reality of women’s participation in political parties and trade unions in five Arab countries
- Reveal the reality of women’s participation in political parties and trade unions in five Arab countries
- Showcase the obstacles and introduce the common and divergent matters

- Reveal the challenges and concerns relating to women's participation in political life
- Understanding the reality of the movement and democratic transfer in five Arab countries and their relation on women's participation in public life
- Introduction to the real means to promote the role of political parties and trade unions in developing a dialogue sustaining and upholding women's affairs

The partner organizations in this study and project are based in general in their work on the various matters of human rights and their beliefs to achieve a quality between both genders which is one of the pillars of the modern democratic civil nation for which the Arab people made the revolution where the abolition of discrimination between genders constituted a common liability and a social objective

Finally we want to pay a tribute to the efforts of the researcher doctor Siham El Najjar and to thank all the researcher men and women who participated in preparing the five national studies which constituted the basis of the data mentioned in this comprehensive study

The Lebanese democratic women's gathering as regional coordinator of the project "promoting the role of political parties and trade unions in enhancing the political and public participation of women also thank its partners which are the Arab institute for human rights in Tunisia and Morocco the woman study center in Jerusalem, the Egyptian women affairs institution and manifests its valuation to the partnership with oxfam novib and the support of the European union

Manar Zeitar

Regional coordinator of the project - Lebanese Women Democratic Gathering



PREFACE

Many studies revealed the weakness of women's participation in political parties and trade unions/ syndicates in the Arab world¹ still they had a prominent participation but the participation in many Arab countries (in demonstrations, the sit-ins, inside the prisons, on websites and social networks²...) which led to the emergence of new forms and dimensions of political participation of women through various means and structures (social networks, associations, women's groups, etc.). However, the question remains about the reasons behind the lack of political and trade unions /syndicates recognition of the role of women in the political movement witnessed in many Arab countries in recent years. It is ironic that the struggle for democratization in the Arab world and in which the women was a partner in various stages was based on the exclusion of the female element from the decision making sphere (weakness and sometimes the absence of the female presence in the Ministerial composition and advisory committees and decision-making positions, weak female presence within the political parties and associations, trade unions /syndicates, especially in leadership positions...). The

¹ See, for example:

Balol Saber, «the political empowerment of Arab women between resolutions and international trends and reality», newsletter of the University of Damascus for Economic and Legal Sciences, Vol. 25, the second issue.2009.

Thamina Naima, *Tunisian women in positions of leadership : opportunities and restrictions*, Afak center for Studies and Research, 2012.

Center of Arab Women for Training and Research, Kawthar, *Arab Women Development Report 2010 – Arab women and participation in decision-making and adoption*, Tunisia. 2010.

Collective authors. *Political participation of Arab women, the challenges in front of the actual consecration of citizenship, a field study in eleven Arab country*. Arab Institute for Human Rights. Tunisia, 2004.

Borsali Noura. *Tunisia: egalitarian challenge: Feminist Writings / Noura Borsali*. Tunis: Arabesques, 2012.

Center for Research, Studies, Documentation and Information on Women (Tunis) *Women politics and unions in Tunisia: 1993 / Tunis: CREDIF, 1994. 456p.*

Gribaa Boutheina. *Project «Strengthening women Leadership and participation of women in politics and decision making process in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia « .Tunis. 2010*

Kerrou Mohamed and Najjar sihem, *Action Research on «women's political participation at the local level in Tunisia»*, Tunis, UN-INSTRAW & CAWTAR September 2009. http://www.genderclearinghouse.org/upload/Assets/Documents/pdf/rapp_tunisie_final.pdf

Sihem Najjar and kerrou Mohamed, *stage decision. A sociological look at the decision-making power of Tunisian Women* (Book published in collaboration with Mohamed Kerrou) Beirut, Tunis, University Studies Enterprise and Publication (MAJD) – Arab Center for Women for Training and Research (CAWTAR) 2007.

² Maryam Ben Salem, «Tunisian Women and differentiated uses of web sphere as political participation tool», in Sihem Najjar (ed.), *Hactivism in North Africa and the Arab World*, Paris, IRMC–Karthala, 2013, pp. 141–148.

Maryam Ben Salem, «Processes of (de) legitimization female cyber-activism in Tunisia to a depletion of discrimination based on gender? «Sihem in Najjar (ed.), *Social networks on the Internet at the time of democratic transitions*, Paris, IRMC–Karthala, 2013, pp. 253–262.

Caroline Angé, «The «intercesseuses' Mediterranean Democracy: Women's words on blogs between self-expression and universality of reason» (ed.), In Sihem Najjar, *Social networking on the Internet at the time of democratic transitions*, Paris, IRMC–Karthala, 2013, pp. 263–278.

Sihem Najjar, «The cyber women and claims of democratic change in Tunisia,» in Sihem Najjar (ed.), *cyber activism in North Africa and the Arab World*, Paris, IRMC–Karthala, 2013, pp. 149–175.

fact is that we cannot achieve a transition to democracy in the state and society by reproducing mentalities and practices not recognizing the principle of gender equality and participatory democracy.

In this context, we wonder about the ability of parties and trade unions /syndicates to adapt to the new situation and to attract women to apply the principle of participatory democracy within their structures. They are invited in this critical transition period in the history of the Arab countries to defend women's rights and the principle of equality between the genders. What are the mechanisms controlling the pathways to involve in the decision-making spheres in parties and trade unions / syndicates structures? What is the true position of women and their role within the same ? And how they can overcome the obstacles that prevent the effective participation of women in political parties and unions? What is the role that can be played by political parties and trade unions / syndicates to promote the political participation of women in this period witnessing many changes?

Before tackling these issues we will begin to provide the framework and methodology of the comprehensive study than we will focus on many essential points that will help us to cover all the aspects of this subject break down as follows

- 1 The underlying causes of paying attention the women's political participation today.**
- 2 Motivations of focusing on political parties and trade unions / syndicates structures.**
- 3 Concern in the five selected countries (Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Lebanon, Palestine), each having characterized of the political and social levels.**

FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY OF THE COMPREHENSIVE STUDY

This study falls within a comprehensive study relating to a regional project³ involving the five selected countries: Tunisia, Palestine, Lebanon, Egypt, Morocco, relating to strengthening the role of political parties and trade unions / syndicates in enhancing women's political participation. The project was based on a primary goal which is stimulating the political parties and trade unions / syndicates to provide a democratic environment and respect the human rights and the principle of equal opportunities to achieve equal opportunities between genders and empower women to participate in political life and social and economic sectors. Despite the availability of literature on the political participation of women in various Arab countries, we are focusing in this study on political parties and trade unions / syndicates as the same are the structures playing a crucial role in determining the political participation of women and control the political sector and its actors and the change or consecrate the distribution of roles between the genders which was not tackled in the Arab region and which represents the added value of this project. It is necessary to emphasize that the social and political movement experienced by some of the Arab countries during the last three years imposed the need to reconsider the concept of political activity and trade unions / syndicates action in general and in the concept of political participation of women in particular. This movement led to question about the role of political parties and trade unions / syndicates in framing the social actors and about the legality of these political structures. This critical phase has been characterized in the history of the Arab region, by the emergence of multi-parties and trade unions / syndicates on hand, and restructuring and reorganizing parties and trade unions / syndicates on the other hand, which requires careful the necessity for women participation and gender equality to engage in the political parties and trade unions / syndicates activity including undertaking leadership roles of leadership within the same.

The various completed national studies in the framework of this project showed that women had participated in various battles and struggles (the struggle against the Israeli occupation in Palestine, the participation in the national movement facing the dictatorial regime, revolution and protest movements in Tunisia, presence of Lebanese women at all levels-including the military and fighting participation during the bloody civil war that lasted about seventeen years and through various political crises experienced by this country, the effective participation of Egyptian women in their struggle against colonialism and in the 1919 revolution and struggle through the twenties of the last century for the right to vote to present their candidacy and playing a key role in the political protest movements, which paved the way for the January 25 revolution: the Kifaya movement, the April 6 Youth movement, the rebel movement, then the revolution of 25 January, the participation of Moroccan

³ This project is supervised by the Lebanese Women Democratic Gathering in partnership with the Arab Institute for Human Rights and the Centre for Women's Studies (Palestine) and the Center for Egyptian Women's Issues in partnership with Oxfam Novib and the support of the European Union.

women in the national movement and their keenness to take responsibility since the dawn of independence in the first collective organized elections in 1960 ...). However, this role played by women has not been reflected on their presence in leadership positions within the parties, trade unions / syndicates and state institutions, or at the level of legislation.

Regarding the methodology adopted to prepare this study , it was based on national studies relating to the five selected countries in addition to the literature available about the status of women in the political field and their presence within the parties, trade unions / syndicates and on the leadership level. To perform national studies, the researchers relied on the methodology based on the one hand on the content analysis of the domestic laws of a sample of parties (with religious references and others progressive), unions, and on the other hand interviews focus and workshops with women leaders and men leaders and / or women and men engaged in parties and trade unions / syndicates of both gender. Based on this participatory methodology the reality of women's participation in political parties and trade unions / syndicates was analysed and various recommendations were given to the different actors in enhancing women's political participation and insuring the application of the principal of equal opportunities between genders in regard to access to the leadership of these political structures

Below are the national studies which represented the basic foundation for the comprehensive study :

Dr. Hafiza Chukair, Dr. Mohammed Shafiq Soursar (assisted by RIM Bin Rajab): «Women and Political Participation experience of political parties, trade unions / syndicates and trade unions / syndicates and associations in Tunisia.»

A. Ayman Abdul Majeed and dr. Saked Gus (assisted by of Najla Barakat): «The political and trade unions / syndicates participation of women in Palestine concurrently with the Arab revolutions. Reading the Palestinian reality in the context of gender relations.»

A. Dr. Saada Ollowa, Dr. Ghassan Slaiby : «Study of regulatory needs to promote the participation of women in political parties and trade unions / syndicates in Lebanon.»

D. Abdul Rahim Al maslouhi: «Strengthening the role of political parties and trade unions / syndicates in enhancing women's political participation. Moroccan case.»

A. Ahmed Abul El Magd: «the participation of women from where to where? Question for the conscience of the nation.» A study of the degree of participation of Egyptian women in the political and trade unions / syndicates structures and ways to change and structural reform to promote the active participation of women.

We will discuss the following points referred to above:

1

Why attention to the political participation of women today?

Regarding the first point of political participation of women, it is one of the subjects extensively asked by many researchers and those interested in political affairs and activist in civil society and the political and human rights and representatives of international organizations ... but the privacy and sensibility of the current phase associated with political mobility impose to reconsider this issue in the light of the new challenges.

the political participation of women today may be summarized on the following six key points:

- The political and social movement: the participation of women? its recognition? Were they able to assume their positions ?
- Reconstitution of the relationship between the state and its social structures and actors (including women).
- The emergence of new forms of political participation: what role could women play ?
- The importance of the direct or indirect role played by many social actors (family, peers , school, religious institution, political parties, unions, extremists, legislators, etc.) at the level of insisting women to engage in politics or get away from him and take their cautions
- Raise the issue of democracy (and participatory democracy), participation and citizenship impact of social movements:
- Question the efficacy of the presence of women within the political parties, trade unions / syndicates and associations with regard to the defense of women's rights and equality between the genders: does the presence of women enhance their rights?

We will try through this introduction to clarify these various matters and focus on the points not addressed in the available literature on the subject matter studied.

The follower of dialogues and discussions raised within the political sphere can see that that the issue of women's political participation is the center of conflict between the various intellectual and ideological⁴ currents that have become visible and public after the political and social movement witnessed in the Arab region.

⁴ Stéphanie Latte Abdallah, «Gender and Politics», in Elizabeth Picard (ed.), *Politics in the Arab World*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2006, pp. 127–147.

Some defend the women's rights and gender equality, and sustained women issues as an integral part of human rights, and exploited this issue to provide a modernist image of his parties' orientations ... the issue of women's political participation is addressed in a manner reflecting the contradictions gripping the framing methods of political parties, trade unions / syndicates, associations and organizations ..

In order to try to think about the motives of interest in women's political participation in this historic fateful stage it is important to confirm that at the contrary to what is common in literature on this issue, we do not aim to present a positive or negative image for the involvement of women in politics as a way to defend their rights and an important indicator to activate the principle of equality between the genders. Our discussion of this issue is based on a dual perception of political participation of women we are not concerned in this participation as far as we are concerned in the nature of the involvement of women in politics does it always go towards the defense of women's rights and the principle of equality between the genders, or are women involved in politics to infuse ideas and orientations against women rights? In both cases it is necessary to develop action plans and programs for the advancement of women's political participation.

Also addressing this issue requires to pay attention to the various types of women involved in political activity. This pluralism can be summarized in two main factors: The first relates to ideological orientations and different politics (Islamic, socialist, salafist ...) that affect (positively or negatively) the importance of political participation of women and its nature.

The second factor is the existence of «women political successive generations» which orientations and positions and choices and strategies are determined according to the historical and political context of each country. In this context we can distinguish between successive generations of militants and activists in the political field in the Arab world: political participation related to national movements, and resistance to colonial power and tyranny, participation in nation-building and modernization of society, defending public human rights and in particular women's rights, especially under dictatorship systems (or opposition to the system or contributing to burnishing its image and its defense), engaging in the process of resistance to the dictatorship systems or defending them, participating in building democratic systems. As noted by the researcher Monia Bannani Chraïbi there is a historical period or «imprint of time» defining the relationship with politics. The researcher even says that this does not only affect the generation, but different age groups coexisting in a specific historical era ⁵ .

⁵ Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi, « Youth « Moroccan and politics, the generational division revisited », in Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi and Iman Farag (ed.), *Youth in Arab societies Beyond the promises and threats*, Cairo, CEDEJ, *To the places to be*, 2007, pp. 137-163, p. 139.

It is important to emphasize that each generation specific concept of political activity and political mechanisms relating to political participation (supporting the rebels, field work, participation in the political awareness, associative activity, activity on websites ...). The most important characteristic of the political participation of women in the Arab world is also relying on networking and integration into the regional and Arab organizations enabling women to improve their abilities in the political sphere and exchange experiences with militants and activists in other countries. There are many studies showing the importance of regional and global transnational dimension in terms of women's political participation. Based on the work of the researcher Mounia el Bennani Chraïbi⁶, it is necessary to focus on multiple levels of political participation with the local context (the university, the neighborhood, the city, the party, the basic union ...) to the national level (the government, the General Trade unions / syndicates ...) to regional and global levels associated with social and historical context that determines the national and regional situation (the Algerian crisis, the Lebanese civil war, the Israeli colonization of Palestine, the Islamic movements in the Arab region ...) or global (democracy and human rights, the fight against terrorism, etc.).

Perhaps what explains the interest in women's political participation is an effective presence in the protest and demands movements that stands out mainly outside the institutional frameworks (especially the ones parties and unions). In this regard, it must be emphasized that this is due to the inability of the parties and trade unions / syndicates to respond to the expectations of women and keep up with societal changes, which produces an imbalance between the reality of these institutions and social movement with all its contradictions and aspirations and representations⁷... a gap between the political parties and union strategies and the needs and concerns of women.

It should be noted that the support of political participation of women is a political and social will built on the recognition of women and the principle of equality between the genders. The «recognition» in considering that a certain position is worthwhile and requires the intervention of social actors⁸ for the vehiculing a new vision of social system and working on consolidating and including it in the community priorities. The place of a women is linked to the core values of the community in a specific period of history, such as the struggle for independence or seeking to build a democratic system or equitable development ... no doubt the women will contribute to the concentration of new values into the political field.

The political participation of women passed several periods of times we see women engaged in political work and sometimes not or far from it. The current phase is characterized by the presence of women on the political arena playing a key role at the level of trying to bypass the stage successfully.

⁶ Same reference, p 157

⁷ Michel Maffesoli & Hélène Strohl, *the new good thinkers*, Paris, Moment Éditions, 2014.

⁸ Rémi Lenoir, «sociological Purpose and social problem» in Patrick Champagne, Rémi Lenoir, Merllié Dominique and Louis Pinto, *Introduction to sociological practice*, Paris, Dunod, 1996, pp. 51-100, p. 77.

One of the reasons that lie behind the interest in women's political participation is to re-constitute the relationship between the state and social structures and actors (including women). In the midst of political and social movement witnessed in the Arab region, the relationship the state and its institutions became more complex, the collapse of dictatorships in Tunisia and Egypt led to the weakness of the state which requires the rehabilitation of institutions to retrieve their functions and be able to control the political, social, economic and security conditions. In other countries which did not witness popular movements striking the political system, these are not immune of political and social transformations. In Morocco, King Mohammed VI had an initiative to make significant reforms on the legislative, political and economic to meet the demands of civil society. In Lebanon, the political and social conditions are passing a very sensitive phase as a result of what is happening in the Arab region and the «state of instability, which imposes itself, therefore the youth demonstrations, in 2011 were not able to abolish the sectarian system that is shaking the pillars of partisanship dominating most of the collective and political⁹ awareness ». Palestine is also witnessing a transition of the relationship with the colonizer which expressed fear of what is happening in the Arab region making it more difficult to control the situation and to avoid unrest in the occupied territories. Women have demonstrated and in this critical phase their ability to play an active role in the political field, even if they are moving in invisible frames (their presence is still modest in the media landscape, particularly in television interviews and in leadership positions in the parties ...).

It is worth to mention a fundamental issue associated with this phase characterized by the weakness of the state and reflected by the need to pay attention to the political socialization since the dissolution of state institutions has led to the intervention of many parallel groups (groups or extremist parties) which has mobilized many of the young women and men. To avoid this situation it is necessary to develop policies and action plans to enable the state institutions, political parties, trade unions / syndicates and associations in turn, to perform their role on the level of framing individuals and groups and ensuring the political socialization.

We will stand at a fundamental issue concerning the political role played by women in the light of the sensitive current phase, which is characterized by the emergence of new forms of political participation.

The weakness of the presence of women within political parties and trade unions / syndicates does not necessarily mean lack of interest in political affairs, as there are many indicators reflecting their involvement in political work outside the traditional frameworks¹⁰. Mounia el Bennani Chraïbi have shown that the rate of participation in the legislative elections in Morocco in 2007 did not exceed 37%, which refers to a large degree of political apathy of citizens under dictatorial regimes, while the big demonstrations of support for Palestine or Iraq's express rejection of the nation

⁹ Saada Alouwe, regulatory needs to promote the participation of women in political parties in Lebanon (STL study in the framework of this project)

¹⁰ Eric Darras, «Presentation. For a realistic reading of unconventional forms of political action »in CURAPP, Politics Moreover, Paris, PUF, 1998, pp. 5-31

state¹¹. As Mariam Ait Aoudia¹² showed the political participation in dictatorial systems takes different aspects deferring from the participation in political activity on the old democratical systems. The political participation is represented in the emergence of various types of resistance by controlling categories against the power expressed as the beneath policy¹³.

In terms of political activity of women during the period that followed revolution in some Arab countries, the fragility of the institutionalization of the official political field operation in gendered some kind of confusion before rebuilding and restructuring¹⁴ the same, which served many groups to extend their influence and attract women as well as the emergence of a protest or revolutionary social movements. In this context, Olivier Fillieule shows that «every organization or group of organizations establishes work strategies consisting of a series of interactions with target groups, which are reflected in resorting to protest action¹⁵.»

In order to analysis of women's political activity outside the traditional and structured frameworks, the researcher Miriam Ben Salem¹⁶ highlighted the importance of the concepts of «civil commitment» or «activism»¹⁷ which are two concepts enabling to study the various aspects of women's political participation. The researcher has shown, based on a field study she has carried out that social actors themselves (who do not belong to political parties and unions) distinguish between the political sphere they reject and the civil commitment or activism they are defending. Failure to engage in political parties and trade unions / syndicates does not mean a lack of interest in both public and political affairs but the social actors tend to put pressure on the authority in different ways (petitions, protests, sit-ins, expression through social networking, etc.) in order to influence the process of decision making or policy-making or change the balance of powers while maintaining the distance that separate them from the traditional political frameworks¹⁸. To emphasize the importance of the new forms of political participation, Charles Tilly suggests the concept of «action directories», which means « alternative action devices¹⁹ ».

¹¹ Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi, «Conflicts in the Middle East in the mirror of imagined communities: does the Arab street exist? The case of Morocco», in *a contrario*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2008, pp. 147–156, p. 148.

¹² Myriam Ait Aoudia, Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi and Jean-Gabriel Contamin «Contribution to a social history of lagroyenne design politicization», *International Review*, 2010/3 No. 48, p. 207–220, p. 215–216.

¹³ Jean-François Bayart, Achille Mbembe, Comi Toulabor *The beneath politics in black Africa. Contributions to a problem of democracy*, Paris, Karthala, 1992. Jean-François Bayart, «The policy statement», in: *French Political Science Review*, 35th year, No. 3, 1985. pp. 343–373.

¹⁴ Myriam Ait Aoudia, Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi and Jean-Gabriel Contamin «Contribution to a social history of lagroyenne design politicization» p. 216 ..

¹⁵ Olivier Fillieule, *Strategies Street*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 1997, pp. 37–39.

¹⁶ Maryam Ben Salem, *Traditional Forms, new forms of political engagement of young women in the transition context. The case of Tunisia*, CAWTAR, 2013, in press.

¹⁷ Frédéric Sawicki and Johanna Siméant «The sociology of militancy: a research field to open up,» *International Symposium: How to think the continuities and discontinuities of activism? Trajectories militant practices and organizations*, June 2006.

¹⁸ See Maryam Ben Salem and also same reference

Pierre Bourdieu, «The political representation. Elements for a theory of the political field», *Proceedings of the Social Science Research*, No. 36–37, February–March 1981, pp. 3–24

¹⁹ Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, 1978 in «To map the contentious politics,» Doug Mc Adam, Sidney Tarrow, Charles Tilly, *Politix*, Vol. 11, No. 41, 1998, p 15.

It is necessary to take into account the non political determinants of politics since social frames characterized by a high degree of political violence require thinking about the « forced politicization ²⁰» a Like mothers and wives witnessing the infiltration of politics to their homes following the disappearance of a son or husband (such as mothers and wives and daughters of political prisoners), or students who are forced to adhere to a political movement within the university campus, or the marginalized who enter into conflict with the authority, etc..

Many studies²¹ emphasized the importance of the role played by associations at the level of providing and environment for a political participation compensating by doing so the default resulting from the inability of the political parties and trade unions / syndicates to attract in general social actors and women in particular. Morocco, for example, witnessed a significant shift at the level of development of civil society that continues to play a central role in the direction of progress of public freedoms and women rights. Tunisia witnessed after the revolution the emergence of associations having different political orientations, which makes us wonder about the boundaries between what is related to parties and what is related to associations. Palestine is characterized by an effective associative work and integration between parties and associations²² .

In this context Ayman Abdul Majeed and Saed Gasser showed in the study related to Palestine on the «political and union participation of women in Palestine concurrently with Arab revolutions and interpretation of the Palestinian reality in the context of gender relations» that studies on the political participation of women treated the transformation of the Palestinian women's shift from the institutionalized political action to a civil action, which put several question marks: «Does the shift of the women political elite to civil action create an emptiness and a gap in the creation of a new generation within the political parties? Did the women organization work on attracting the female young generation towards professionalism in the civil action rather than political professionalism and work within parties? Did parties adhere to this case and blamed the women movement «to acquit itself» and to move away from the social and developmental demands related to women's rights? did the dilemma of the Palestinian political action begin to be reflected as free of women especially with the successes of political Islam over the Liberians and socialists account?».

In her study of the Moroccan civil society, the researcher Mounia El Bennani Charabi showed that the association is an environment to attract citizens in order to distance them from institutionalized²³ political activity.

²⁰ Myriam Ait Aoudia, Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi and Jean-Gabriel Contamin «Contribution to a social history of lagroyenne design politicization» p. 217.

²¹ Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi, «Mirror Games of the» politicization «of the association members area of Casablanca», *International Review*, 2011/1 No. 50, pp. 55-71; Jean-Noel Ferrie, «The limits of democratization by civil society in North Africa,» *Maghreb-Mashreq*, 175, 2003, p. 15-35; Johanna Siméant «A humanitarian» apolitical «? Boundaries, political socialization and self-realization areas, «in Jacques Lagroye, *Politicization*, Paris, Belin, 2003.

²² Marteu Elizabeth, «Complements or alternatives? «Women's associations and Palestinian Arab political parties in Israel, *The Social Movement*, 2010/2 No. 231, pp. 45-62

²³ Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi, «Mirror Games of the» politicization «of the association members area of Casablanca», *International Review*, 2011/1 No. 50, pp. 55-71, p. 55.

She has highlighted that engaging in associative work is an alternative to political participation and a space enabling to avoid engaging in political action. On the other hand, the researcher showed the existence of a theoretical separation between civil society in Morocco and the state²⁴ and political parties.

In a comparison between the associative work and political activity, Mounia El Bennani Charabi highlighted that social actors interviewed consider that the political field is characterized by the predominance of personal interest and sterile clashes, which makes it far away from the concerns of people. Local associations are unit their members around the political interest regardless the differing views and positions and give associations the priority to what is tangible and close²⁵.

As for the social actors influencing in women's involvement in political action or their reluctance thereof it is necessary to question about the individuals, groups and institutions imposing a political orientation for some social²⁶ cultural or economical issues and who contribute by doing so in the politicization of some individuals (both men and women, young and old) and social problems (women's rights issue, the issue of the veil and dress in general, the issue of mixing or separating genders, the separation between public space and private space...) and putting these subjects in the arena of controversy issues or community debate. Based on the work of historians, Mary Ait Audia distinguishes between the «politicization of the top», which is done at the level of the electoral actors and political rivals and institutional commentators and media professionals guiding ordinary citizens towards a particular political orientation and defending it and the «politicization of the bottom» taking place through peer group and social relations and daily practices and local conflicts ...

which would lead to the awareness of certain issues and questions. However, these social actors may prevent the participation of women in political action by putting aside some of the activities and issues and lifting all political nature and character of them. Based on this, such point should be considered as it relates to the political distancing of women carried out by some social actors at the level of the formulation of recommendations and proposals to enhance women political participation. Also within the framework of dictatorial regimes, the political action within the opposition parties, is considered as an adventure and in some cases a «stain» for the individual and his family therefore women resort to other means of political action, including associative activity.

We will address another issue enabling us to understand the reason of interest of women in political participation addressing the issue of democracy (and participatory democracy), and human rights in gendered by the social movements.

²⁴ Same reference p 57

²⁵ Same reference p 60

²⁶ Myriam Ait Aoudia, Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi and Jean-Gabriel Contamin «Indicators and vectors of the politicization of individuals: heuristic virtues of crossing glances», *International Review*, 2011/1 No. 50, pp. 9–20, p. 17

Revolutions that took place in some countries in the Arab region put the question of democracy at stake, therefore many issues relating to the instatement marginalized and excluded categories from the decision-making and participation in public affairs. The issue of gender is one of the most fundamental questions concerning participatory democracy. Where is the position of women in the midst of this controversy, and this social movement? What are the frameworks of practicing the participatory democracy? What is the place occupied by women? Is the practice of democracy in favor of women, or does the absence of mechanisms ensuring their rights make them more marginalized ?

At the conclusion of this part of the introduction it should be noted that we cannot raise the issue of women's political participation, without addressing the feasibility of women's involvement in political parties, trade unions / syndicates and associations. Experiences in some Arab countries that have witnessed revolutions and protest movements proved for example, that elected women do not necessarily defend women's rights, but often adopt attitudes and decisions, of their party even though those are unfair towards women . There is no doubt that such a position requires to design a plan of action and programs in the field of pushing women and men elected to play a key role on the level of defending human rights in general and women's rights in particular and to change the positions of their parties in this context.

We should emphasis on the importance of the matter treated in this unified comprehensive study represented in the importance of asking ourselves on the extend based on which parties and trade unions / syndicates are respecting the principles of a quality between genders and to which extend they are applying the principles of democracy on the level of their organization and operation and functioning. Are these frames providing an appropriate environment for political activity and claims of social actors especially women? What is the efficacy of work on women's issues, without paying attention to the structure of parties and unions? Or do these institutions require fundamental thinking about the core reforms making them progress before tackling the role of women within the same?

Before discussing the next point about the motives to focus on political parties and union structures, we will be introducing the concept of «political participation».

²⁷ Various national studies confirmed this issue, in relation to Lebanon Saada Alouwe showed, through the study on «organizational needs to promote the participation of women in political parties in Lebanon» that «women's committees at parties, at their inception, restrain their activities and demands in the party's policy, which reflects the inability to impose the public feminist agenda and raised at the national level, to their party. « the study relating to Egypt (titled: the participation of women from where and to where? Question for the conscience of the nation) carried out by Ahmed Abou El Magd tackled the performance of deputies of the Freedom and Justice Party in parliament, where MP Azza El Jaref proposed the abolition of sexual harassment law, and justified that stating that the cause of harassment is the nakedness of women, and thus the harassing person is not mistaken. Reda Abdullah adopted also the claim to amend the family laws in conformity with the law, and refused membership of the National Council of Women until displaying this to the group.» Huda rich, member of the Legislative Committee of the People's Assembly, considered that talking about the laws and regulations of women, is special and not the subject of this period, considering that the nation is going through a dangerous phase, and there are necessities more important such as the constitutional legislations and the legislation and presidential elections, the constitutional announcement and other, therefore talking about laws and rights of women is premature».

THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

To try to define the concept of political participation we should recall that this project concerns activity of women within the conventional frameworks (political parties, unions). But as the political participation takes many forms and considering that the female presence within the political parties and trade unions / syndicates is still modest, it is necessary to focus on political participation in various aspects in order to identify the factors helping to encourage women's political activity outside the conventional frameworks and benefit from them to enhance the role of political parties and trade unions / syndicates in enhancing the political participation of women.

Based on the analysis of political participation carried out by Daniel Gaxie²⁸, it is necessary to emphasize that engaging in political action within the conventional institutional frameworks requires the availability of a range of political and cultural competencies. In this context Gaxie confirms that the «political activity asymmetric to citizens», referred to different degrees of political competence associated with social, cultural, and gender affiliations and accordingly a distinction could be made between citizens who have the knowledge and know how about the political field, and its institutions and citizens who have a sense of incompetence in this field or ignorance in its hidden sides making them reluctant to engage in it.

Political education also plays an active role at the level of individuals involvement within the institutional frameworks of political activity as it enables them to have knowledge about a set of concepts and practices such as the party, the union, the ideology, the election, the party representation and the democratic one.

With regard to political²⁹ activity outside the conventional frameworks, there are many studies that have shown that not engaging in political parties and trade unions / syndicates does not necessarily mean a lack of interest in political affairs but also reflects the inability of the conventional political frameworks to attract the attention of people from different social groups and on the other hand the resort of a significant number of them to methods and institutions they deem more appropriate to achieve their demands and make their voices heard and express their attitudes toward issues and questions they consider significant or crucial.

²⁸ Daniel Gaxie, *Hidden census. Cultural inequalities and political segregation*, Paris, Le Seuil, 1993.

Jacques Lagroye, *Political Sociology*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po / Dalloz, 1991, p. 288.

²⁹ Sophie Maurer, *school, family and politics. Political socialization and citizenship learning. Review of Research in Political Science*, Paris, Folder Studies No. 15, Family Allowances, CNAF, December 2000, p. 7.

In order to analyze the various aspects of women's political participation it's necessary to highlight the experiences of women within the conventional framework of political action or outside the same which are not necessarily tied to the environment and sometimes are far apart in time. Also the specificity of each historical period and every geographical environment (local, national, regional, global) should be taken into account as they engender ways and mechanisms defined by all social actors.

In general, Jack Lagroye³⁰ defines the political activity as «a development of activities having a political significant.» It must be emphasized that political participation as shown by Lagroye is an interactive relationship and a relationship with the world of power, therefore, political parties and trade unions / syndicates are invited to motivate women to engage in political action and empower them with mechanisms and competencies necessary to enable them to position within those parties and trade unions / syndicates and play an active role at the political level.

³⁰ Jacques Lagroye, *Political Sociology*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po / Dalloz, 1991, p. 288.

2

Why focusing on political parties and trade unions structures?

What distinguish this work is that it has started from a systematic and cybernetic choice reflected in raising the issue of women's political participation from a main introduction relating to the role of political parties and trade unions / syndicates in supporting the presence of women within them. What is the significance of this proposal? What is the role of political parties and trade unions / syndicates in this critical phase of history of the Arab region?

There is no doubt that the choice of parties and trade unions/syndicates is due to the fact that they represent classic frameworks «for the practice of democracy.» They are considered mechanisms to apply the democracy principles. Alexis de Tocqueville³¹ has emphasized the role of parties and «intermediate bodies» in the functioning and operation of democracy at the national and local levels. One should also emphasize that democracy is based on the electoral process, which in turn reflects the recognition of the multi-parties and the principle of power-sharing and the different views and attitudes. In the same context Hans Kelsen showed that democracy cannot be conceived and achieved on the ground without the parties and said in this regard: «No democracy can exist seriously unless individuals are gathered according to their goals and political affiliation, i.e. unless these collective formations enter between the individual and the state, a part of which represents a common direction amongst their members, which is a political party. Democracy is, therefore, and necessarily and inevitably a state of parties³².»

Parties and trade unions / syndicates are a significant basis to achieve democracy but their presence does not mean necessarily an application for the principles of democracy and their operation and progress does not respect always and automatically the democracy principles. Based on this we focused on these institutions within the frame of this study in order to encourage the same to respect the principle of human rights in general and women rights in particular by making them participate in political field and enabling them to share authority. In this context it is worth to recall that the principle of human rights represents also one of the democracy pillars³³ and accordingly it should be achieved by parties and trade unions / syndicates.

This also requires focusing on fostering the role of parties and trade unions/syndicates to encourage the political participation of human since these institutions started in the past year to become weaker and to lose their credibility and efficiency.

³¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Paris, Gallimard, 1951.

³² Hans Kelsen, *Democracy. Its character, value* (1929), *Economica*, 1988.

³³ Sylvain German, «Democracy: a simple idea and ... a problem,» in *Social Studies*, No. 81 – March 1998, and the foundations of democracy, http://www.scienceshumaines.com/la-democratie-une-idee-simple-et-a-probleme_fr_9818.html, Published 01/03/1998.

In this contest Bernard Manin³⁴ showed that the party loyalty became weaker and reduced in various developed democracies during the last years.

Parties playing in the past an important role on the level of the integration and union of people – and which were obtaining the locality of citizen from generation to generation expressed in the parties democracy lost nowadays this role. Parties and trade unions / syndicates represented in many countries and periods a tool for political engagement and to service agenda far from their missions and objectives.

On another level parties and union are considered frames bearing significant liability on the level of the presence or absence of women in the political arena. Seen the presence of many actors on the political mobilization level and considering that trade unions / syndicates and parties are not anymore monopolizing the public dialogue, these conventional frames for the political participation are invited to reconsider their work methodology in order to attract women

The conventional role of parties and trade unions/syndicates is translated in providing an environment to frame social actors and politicians (inclusive women) and frames for a social education in the political field. Still the studies about the political education in the Arabic societies are rare³⁵. But to enable trade unions / syndicates and parties to promote the political participation of women it is worth to adopt a series of measures relating to the networks and the social relations by fixing the political mobilization and political activities environments as well as objectives close to the expectations of women in order to attract them

Based on what preceded it is worth to confirm that parties and trade unions / syndicates active in authoritarian³⁶ systems require restructuration seen the social movement witnessed in the Arab region. The authoritarian system were controlling and inspecting all expression and movement aspect within these representative institutions and deprived from their initial role i.e. pressure groups. Many trade unions / syndicates and parties were active under the control of dictatorial systems and with their support which oblige them today to reconsider their relation to the authority and citizens, in Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt the political systems before the protest movement were characterized by a dual aspect concurrently based on dictatorial and democratic³⁷ elements.

³⁴ Bernard Manin, *The principles of representative government*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1995, p. 15.

³⁵ We may mention some works available about this subject:

Bernard Sabella, «The political socialization of young Palestinians position of adolescents and their parents in terms of politics and society,» *Maghreb-Mashreq*, «Youth in the Arab world: Challenges and Opportunities», No. 171-172, 2001, pp . 42-51.

Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi and Iman Farag (ed.), *Youth in Arab societies Beyond the promises and threats*, Cairo, CEDEJ, Aux places to be 2007.

Merzouk Mohamed, «When young redoubled ferocity: Islamism as generation phenomenon,» *Archives of religions Social Sciences*, No. 97, 1997, pp. 141-158.

Carla Makhoul Obermeyer (Eds.), *Family, Gender and Population in the Middle East. Policies in Context*, Cairo, The American University in Cairo Press, 1995.

³⁶ Droz-Vincent Philippe, «What future for authoritarianism in the Arab world?» *French Political Science Review*, Vol.54, 2004, p. 945.

³⁷ Larry Jay Diamond, «Thinking about Hybrid Regimes,» *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, 2002, p.31. Philippe Droz-Vincent, «What future for authoritarianism in the Arab world?» *French Review of Political Science*, 2004.

The presence of trade unions / syndicates and parties in itself is one of the democracy elements but putting pressure on the same or attracting them by the authority is a dictatorial practice. The relation of these institutions with the authority makes them adopt the same trend reflected in the non application of the participative democratic principles

Finally, we should confirm that parties and trade unions / syndicates are today in the mid of political conflicts and retaliations which makes them obliged to clarify their position and priorities towards the state and those adhering to them as well as the rest of the citizens who will consider these parties according to their political status

3

Why choosing the five countries (Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Lebanon and Palestine)

The diversity of social and geographical frames to be analyzed with this study reflects the difference and the privacy of positions and situations. They are social frames in which the political participation³⁸ of women opportunities are available (inclusive obtaining information and using modern communication tools namely internet, social³⁹ media) and others imposing political neutralization for individuals and groups. There are also political situations benefiting from the political activity of women and others preventing any movement outside the institutions control by the authority ... according to the diversity of experiences and situations we have selected 5 Arab countries to enhance the role of parties and trade unions / syndicates in fostering the political participation of women i.e. Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Lebanon and Palestine. The selection of these countries is based on two reasons the first is focusing on countries deferring on the level of historic development in terms of politics... (Condition of establishing the state and its institutions, the openness of political systems the development extend of trade unions / syndicates and parties ...) at the second reason is translated in the extend of development of women rights in these countries and the extend of availability of the political participation opportunities for women.

When talking about Arab world or Arab region we should not omit and forget the various objective conditions characterizing each of the Arab countries, still this does not mean that there are not common aspects between these countries making them one cultural unit enabling us to speak about the Arab world by considering it an independent geopolitical unit mixing between its various components and condensed interactivity and various conflicts. This unit is independently defined through the external positions and views making it an independent world on its own despite the presence of borders within it⁴⁰.

Based on this we have selected Tunisia and Egypt as those two countries enjoy an opening on political systems compared to other countries⁴¹ (as Syria , Yemen and

³⁸ Herbert Kitschelt, «Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies», *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 1986, pp. 57-85.

Peter Eisinger, «The Conditions of Protest Behavior in American Cities», *American Political Science Review*, 67 (1), 1973, pp. 11-12.

³⁹ Gonzalez-Quijano Yves, « Digital cultural backgrounds «Arab revolutions» Sciences Po, in March 2011, http://www.sciencespo.fr/cei/sites/sciencespo.fr/cei/files/art_ygq.pdf. Camau Michel, «Globalization and democratic authoritarian Arab exception <, *International Review*, No. 30, January-March 2006. Ben Néfissa Sarah and Destremau Blandine, social protests, civil revolutions, political transformations in the Arab Mediterranean *Revue Tiers Monde*, Armand Colin , 2011, p. 11.

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Picard, «The Arab world, a set constructed by representations and structured constraints» in Elizabeth Picard (ed.), *Politics in the Arab World*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2006, pp. 11-28.

⁴¹ Regarding the discrimination between the dictatorial closed and open systems : see James Raymond Vreeland, «Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter Into the United Nations Convention Against Torture», in *International Organization* 62, Winter 2008, pp. 65-101.

Luis Martinez, «The Arab spring a surprise for Europe», *Project No. 322*, 2011, p. 7.

Libya for example and considering that these are the two countries from which the revolution started⁴². Tunisia was selected first as women rights in this country are developed and second because it was the starting point of the revolution and because it can go in confirmed a step towards democracy if this was hard. Egypt was selected due to the strategic role it plays in the Arab region; Morocco was selected owing to the social movement which led to social and political reforms carried out by the authority to prevent the categorical change that happened in Tunisia and Egypt⁴³.

Here it is worth to mention that the political participation of women should be read on the light of this social, political and cultural environment of each country. At the contrary of Tunisia and Egypt which witnessed two revolutions against the authority symbols and namely the person of the commander as indicated by the French university teacher Michel Camau⁴⁴ the protest movement in Morocco⁴⁵ were not targeting the royal system or the king but where the revolution with the king⁴⁶. The nature of the political system (presidential, royal , republican ..) controls the level of demands and protests, therefore the revolution in Morocco was one with the king in order to perform reforms without harming the symbolism of commander considering that the protester are well aware about the difficulty to change the system

Palestine was selected as it is enjoying a social and political privacy under occupancy in addition to the fact that it is not protected from a political movement witnessed by the region which may have reflections on the militantism (fostering the Palestinian militants to revolt against the occupant) and the reaction of the occupant authority which became more severe in its practices to prevent any tentative of resistance or protestation.

In an article titled “identity changes in the Arabic political scene and its effects on the choices of resistance and settlement in Palestine” Ibrahim Abrach showed that the Palestinian cause is linked by history to its Arab and Islamic environment, therefore the Palestinian are the most sensible people to what is taking place around them in terms of cultural and political changes this is why the success of Arab citizens in Tunisia and Egypt to get rid of the head of the authority and the similar attends in more than one Arabic countries raised the hopes of many Palestinians that a positive change will occur on their cause namely that the political forces which participated in the revolution and specifically the group of Muslim brothers adopted many slogan against Israel and the conspiracy of countries but when these Islamic groups became political and took authority in Egypt and Tunisia and

⁴² Hamit Bozarslan, « Reflections on the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutionary configurations » *Movements*, 66, 2011, 11-21.

⁴³ See the declaration of the king on March 9, 2011

⁴⁴ Michel Camau «The disgrace of the chief. Arab popular mobilization and leadership crisis, » *Movements*, 2011/2 No. 66, p. 24.

⁴⁵ Bennafla Karine and Seniguer Haoues, «Morocco proof of the Arab Spring: defused a challenge? » *Outre-Terre*, No. 29, 2011.

⁴⁶ Pierre Piccinin, Morocco – The forgotten revolution of the «Arab Spring». Meetings with the Moroccan opposition <http://www.paperblog.fr/4570947/maroc-la-revolution-oubliee-du-printemps-arabe/>, published June 1, 2011

at a lower level in Libya this optimism degraded and was replaced by a fear from a new equation in the middle east translated by enabling the political moderated Islamic groups namely the Muslim brothers by Washington and the occident and give them the power in order to fight the radical political Islam groups and not to harm the security of Israel or interfere in the Israeli-Palestinian⁴⁷ conflict. The access of Muslim groups to authority was not only a matter of replacing a party by another but it was a warning that the political culture of the region will change and the opinion of Arab nation in their identity will defer and that the surrounding world and the enemy friend concept will be different as the future alliances network. His article ended by showing a serious situation that should be taken into consideration : the Arab spring increases the occident and American power in the Arab region and therefore no single Arab country is now outside this control and during this Arab spring the Israeli settlements and Judaization of the Daffa strip and Jerusalem and the profanation of sacred places increases as the financial and economic situation decreases even the Arab countries effort to achieve a Palestinian conciliation and to stop the division are suspended. On another level Ayman Abdel Majid and Thaer Gasser revealed in the study relating to Palestine that alike the Arab spring some youth movement tried to raise slogans in order to create popular movement between the people these slogan varied between political “towards the end of the division “and economic “against corruption and towards the end of poverty and unemployment” and social “foster the social participation” but remained seasonal movements in dealing with reactions on certain matters.

Lebanon was selected due to its private and special confessional , religious and social constitution and the reflection of this on the status of women in the political field as well as the geographical situation of Palestine and Syria witnessing serious and radical disturbance which will affect the whole region, Lebanon also faced a wave of movements and social and political disturbances --- that disturbed the Arab region in the form of youth manifestations during 2011 to request the abolition of the confessional system⁴⁸.

In conclusion the study of enhancing the role of trade unions / syndicates and parties in the political participation requires the confirmation of the various categories of women therefore we shall adopt in this study the concept of political participation of women on purpose to draw attention to the presence of different aspects, conditions, and situations proper and relating to the relationship of women with politics.

⁴⁷ Ibrahim Abrash, «identity changes in the Arab political scene and its impact on my choice of resistance and settlement in Palestine,» Middle East Online 0.4 May 2013, <http://middle-east-online.com/?id=154515>

⁴⁸ Saada Alouwe, study of the organizational needs to promote the participation of women in political parties in Lebanon

The comprehensive study is composed of five chapters:

The first chapter relates to the data about the general frames of political participation of women: the specification of the current period witnessed by Arab societies and the situation of parties and unions

The second chapter relates to the role of union and parties as well as institutional frames to enhance the political participation of women (mechanism to enhance the political participation of women, reality of women in trade unions / syndicates and parties in various countries)

The third chapter relates to the reasons behind the weak women presence in political parties and union structures focusing on the various obstacles faced by women

The forth chapter tackles the experiences of parties and trade unions / syndicates in fostering the women participation and defending their rights

The last chapter provides a series of recommendations to the various actors and stakeholders in the field of fostering the political participation of women

1

CHAPTER 1: THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK

Characteristics of the transition period
experienced by the Arab societies

The reality of political parties and trade unions
/ syndicates in concerned Arab societies

Evolution of the political parties and trade
unions / syndicates in the studied Arab
countries

Parties
Trade unions / syndicates

The role of political parties and trade unions /
syndicates during the protest movements

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WITNESSED BY ARAB COUNTRIES

The current phase following the social movement and political changes in many Arab countries is the result of an imbalance between entities, social differences, the high unemployment rate for university graduated the political oppression and financial dependency, the financial corruption, the violation of human rights and citizenship... these factors engendered revolution which did not only have repercussion on the countries which experienced them but on the whole region and led to blurred potentials where it is difficult foresee the future ⁴⁹.

in order to understand the role of union and parties in fostering the political participation of women we should try to describe the social political and economic situation and environment of the current period . in this field it is necessary to confirm that the political opportunities structure available to trade unions / syndicates and parties as well as persons and groups is appropriate to the political activity since the countries subject of the study have a political and syndical plurality never witnessed before and the citizens in general became more concerned in politics and in the public affairs. Facing this situation described as a comprehensive and general politicization of the society there are many new challenges in front of the conventional institution for the political framing, especially after the creation of many new environment of the political activity.

It is worth to mention that the Arab region nowadays is witnessing a conflict in both directions: the first direction is the reproduction of all systems in new images and the second trend is translated in creating a status of radical change affecting the structures namely the political social and economic structures ... and the struggle is not simple namely in the presence of a regional struggle to achieve a new trend against the popular will for a different path.

We can ask our self did the current situation following the political or social movement in the Arab region provide more opportunities for women in the political participation, in this field Laure Franck⁵⁰ showed based on the analysis of Mac Adam the presence of 4 factors defining the structure of political opportunities: openness or closure of the political and institutional system stability or instability of political alliances presence or absence of allies with the political elite capacity or deficit of the country to stop the opposition, all these factors should be taken into consideration to show the extend of the capacity of parties and trade unions / syndicates to move to support the political participation of women.

⁴⁹ Pierre Favre, *Understanding the world to change*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 2005, p. 61.

Mounia Bennani-Chraïbi and Olivier Fillieule, «For a sociology of revolutionary situations. Insight on Arab revolts» *Presses de Sciences Po | Science French review Politics*, 2012/5 – Vol. 62, pp. 767–796, p. 768.

⁵⁰ Laure Franck, *protest movements in the Arab world and set of scales: limits on the reading and explanation of the trans-nationalist particularism*, University of Geneva, Green Lab, No. 2, 2012 <http://unige.ch/sciences-societe/speri/files/9614/0309/7371/Franck.pdf>, p. 23.

On the other hand hidden phenomena burst and were translated in political Islam and radical and terrorist movement which destabilized the political environment which may engender a disinclination of women in the political participation as this field represents many risks making the political activity a risky adventure or some women adhered to the radical movement due to their political unawareness and because some of these radical movements attracted them (here we discuss the issue of sexual intercourses, illegal immigration and help provided by some women to fanatic radicals...) and the political parties and trade unions / syndicates should perform their role on the role of framing to enable other groups from mobilization and to attract women which is an evidence that women are used politically which reflects the shift from using women as a body for an individual property controlled by the masochism of the brother or father or husband to the legalization of the appropriation of the women body into a collective status on which maximal methods of violence and banishment are practiced towards a new dimension by a new framing of the legal violence.

On another hand, the political retaliations and the general environment tensioned in this transitional period invites the trade unions / syndicates and parties to play a categorical role on the level of controlling the situation and warning individuals and groups and infusing the citizenship spirit in them. We should not forget that trade unions / syndicates and parties witnessing all these challenges and occupying this tensioned environment are weak due to the control exercised on them by dictatorial systems or due to their loyalty to these systems.

We notice during this transitional period a rebalance of forces between some pressure groups amongst which trade unions/syndicates and the ethics organizations. This change is due to the new stakeholders and the old actors which are all aiming to achieve a dialogue between the social partners reducing the weight of the responsibility in terms of the social organization while participating in the social education during this serious period characterized by conflicts between the private and public institutions⁵¹. We should not forget in this context the important role played by trade unions / syndicates and political parties in Tunisia in the frame of the national dialogues which enabled to overcome the political crisis and to limit the conflicts on a series of matters relating to the constitution.

The countries which witnessed presidential and legislative elections (Egypt and Tunisia) are facing higher challenges imposing on them to work in order to calm the political and social environment and control the conflicts and aware women and youth to the necessity of participating in the political activity and the democracy trend building.

⁵¹ Eberhard Kienle and Laurence Louër, «Understanding the economic and social issues of the Arab uprisings», *International Review*, 2013/4 No. 61, p. 11-17, p. 17.

We recall for example what happened in Egypt during the transitional period where women leaderships were subject to defamation and the resulting effect of creating a social concern towards distancing women from the social life by creating a terrorist environment targeting women in general.

What is the reality of trade unions / syndicates and parties in countries selected for this study during this serious phase of the history of the Arab region and in which condition these institutions are operating and is the matter of political participation of women considered one of the priorities of their work plans ?

THE STATE OF PARTIES AND TRADE UNIONS / SYNDICATES IN CONCERNED ARAB SOCIETIES

It shall be recalled that the main objective of this study concerning the political participation for women is the role that should be assumed by parties and trade unions / syndicates in this domain, accordingly, we will work in this part on trying to find out about the status of these institutions to the socialization of women to overcome the transitional period and achieving participatory democracy.

It must be emphasized that the history of political parties, trade unions / syndicates, development and functioning conditions vary from one country to another. So we will try to stop at each context to determine its specificity.

The political and syndical scene development in Arab countries included in the study:

◆ THE POLITICAL SCENE

Based on the study carried out by Mounia Bennani Chraïbi ⁵², we realize that the party scene in Morocco is characterized by diversity. Based on the study of Rimi Lovo in the sixties, the researcher showed that the party scene in Morocco is characterized by two different orientations reflecting the geographic, social and cultural differences and handle the division between rural and urban environment (which includes the 2 party composing the national movement: the independence, a bourgeois nationalist urban conventional party and the National Union of Popular Forces, a middle-class party composed by modernists) and the rural environment (it includes the National Union of Popular Forces). As the response for opposition parties, the first “ administrative “ party was founded in 1963: the front defending constitutional institutions which is composed by bourgeois .Mounia Bennani Chraïbi pointed out that the power was able to settle at the seventies beginning by oppression and division of its opponents⁵³. At the end of nineties, Morocco was opened on the political level with the civil society evolution as a substitute for political community.

King Hassan II implemented constitutional reforms in 1996 and founded in 1997 the first parliament to be elected directly. He also appointed a former opposition leader Abdul Rahman Yousfi (Secretary General of the Socialist Union Party) as prime minister ⁵⁴.

⁵² Bennani-Chraïbi Mounia , “ the party Moroccan space : a polarized microcosm? » French Magazine of Political Science, 2013/6 Vol. 63, pp. 1163-1192.

⁵³ Bennani-Chraïbi Mounia and Mohammed Jekhally , “ the dynamic protestation of February 20th Movement in Casablanca, » French Magazine of Political Science, 2012/5 Vol. 62, p. 867-894, p. 871.

⁵⁴ Political parties in Arab world <http://www.aljazeera.net/specialfiles/pages/c98311f0-d028-4063-8efb-f1d4a119e65f>

In 2008, a new administrative part appeared: Authenticity and Modernity Party (AMP)⁵⁵ and during the legislative elections on 2011, the Islamic Justice and Development Party reached the presidency of the government which was marked by political pluralism . Mounia Bennani Chraïbi showed that, since the opposition moved to governmental parties, the party Moroccan life is marked by two phenomenon: rival parties to accumulate governmental and electoral mandates and other parties boycotting elections⁵⁶. It is clear that the political scene in Morocco is divided into institutionalized political structure, protest and political space outside the conventional frameworks. We can also distinguish between activist's parties and elder parties. This difference affects relation with politics and values. Among the major points that the researcher stressed on their importance is that the political scene does not reflect the society structure where parties are dominated by urbanites, men, elderly and owners of certificates and the Supreme and medium tires engaged in the public sector⁵⁷.

Here we must mention the women weak presence among parties despite that chapter 26 of members law related to political parties states that every party should work on the expansion and dissemination of the participation of women and youth in the political development of the state level. On the other hand, Zein Al Abidin Hamzaoui showed that the political parties are suffering from the lack of applying democracy in its internal organization : “ we notice that the Moroccan political party has a closed organizational structure and not being open, not only on the society and the nature of changes but also on internal discussion, whether individual or collective, it is the a phenomenon that has been associated with the logic of exclusion and counter exclusion, which leaves a negative impact on the production of ideas and concepts⁵⁸.«As for women's presence inside these parties, the national Moroccan study has shown that it is still timid although women organizations has formed a pressure group to implement the principle of gender equality opportunities and respect for the state of its obligations and commitments at the level of application of international conventions and treaties ratified on the ground.

The researcher “ Al Rahim Al Masluhi said that the “ independence party is considered the first Moroccan political party where woman reached leadership positions and this took place when 2 women reached the top of declarative elected bodies , which is the Central Committee of the year 1982 by 10%. Afterwards, and during the nineties, woman 's existence in political organs start to increase until the law parties imposed in 2005 on this latter equity in their internal laws concerning woman's presence rate within its bodies⁵⁹.

⁵⁵ Ibid . page 875

⁵⁶ Bennani-Chraïbi Mounia , " the party Moroccan space : a polarized microcosm? «French Magazine of Political Science, 2013/6 Vol. 63, pp.1163-1192,p.1166

⁵⁷ Ibid page 1168

⁵⁸ Zein Al Abidin Hamzaoui , the political parties and the issue of democratic transition in Morocco http://www.aljabriabed.net/n91_01hamzapui.htm.

⁵⁹ Abed Al Rahim Maslouhi , promoting the role of political parties and trade unions in supporting women's political participation. Moroccan case

While in Lebanon, the political scene reflects the social structure based on sects, tribes and inheritance. There are in Lebanon, many of the parties (about 90 party) all of which are, most of the time associated with sectarian affiliations. The Lebanese have approved in November 22, 1943 a national charter regulating political life. This Charter specifies the distribution of seats among religious groups.

We notice, that during the civil war, the country was divided into two coalitions of political forces and parties: the Lebanese National Movement (a left-wing coalition led by the National Kamal Jumblatt, the Progressive Socialist Party) leader, and the Lebanese Front (a right-wing coalition led by the governor of the Phalange Party). Starting from the year 1982, several political parties became active in the form of militias, the militarization of the parties led that parties became directed by their military wing.

The deputy Farid Al Khazen showed that the political parties has several imperfections which can be summarized by 3 factors: first, the political regime that reigned since the end of the war then the complicated relations between parties and the electing public and third, the shortcomings showed by the democratic crisis at the level of the internal management of the parties and adopt the logic of mobilization based on sectarianism. Based on this, the researcher distinguishes between three types of parties: pro parties (which are represented in Parliament and in the government), authorized parties (which are not involved in power) and prohibited parties (in conflict with the regime)⁶⁰. The parties are often supported by prominent figure on the local or national level.

The alliances are built for electoral purposes accidentally to negotiate with tribal leaders and representatives of religious communities. And until 2005, the party was unable to win any more than 12.5% of the seats in the parliament and no parties coalition have won more than 35%. The political forces in Lebanon were divided into 2 coalitions: 8 March and 14 March and this happened when the first coalition organized a big demonstration to “thank Syria” after the calls demanding it to get out of Lebanon, following the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. The second coalition responded by a counter demonstration. The “8 March coalition included Shiite and Christian forces, with Druze and Sunni small parties, notably Hezbollah and Amal and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and the Democratic Party, Ba'ath Party, the Free Patriotic Movement and Marada. As for the March 14 coalition, it was composed by Sunni, Druze and Christian forces, most notably the party of the future, the Lebanese Forces, the Phalanges Party, the Progressive Socialist Democratic Party, the National Liberal party. After the 2005 elections, the “March 14» coalition won a relative majority of seats in parliament and issued the elections in coordination with Hezbollah in some areas under the slogan «prevent sectarian tension.”

⁶⁰ Farid El-Khazen, «Political Parties in Postwar Lebanon. Parties in Search of Partisans», *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, No. 4, Autumn 2003, p. 605–624.

Kazem Khalifeh, *Lebanon phoenix proof of the international geopolitical map (1950–2008)*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2009.

Although women were partners of men in struggling against the Israeli occupation and getting out the violence cycle (and their participation in the military wing of parties) however, the parties excluded them from the decision-making cycle and their presence on the political field is limited and weak.

As for Palestine , the history of political parties is related to the history of resistance. Palestinians, men and woman, were engaged in resistance in organizations and nationalist and patriotic parties inside and outside Palestine . Outside Palestine, there were 3 nationalist movements with a special effect in the Palestinian scene: the Arab Socialist Baath Party (founded in Damascus in the early forties and spread its branches in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq), the Arab Nationalist Movement (founded by members of the Executive Committee of the Association of Al Urwa Al Wuthqa by the American university in Beirut students in late forties and early fifties) , the Nasserist belonging of Palestinians. Many Palestinians were active in the Communist Party in Jordan, and the Islamic groups in Egypt. In the late fifties, the Palestinians established Palestinian organizations following the failure of the Palestinian action within the Arab parties.

These organizations did not contain the word party, but called by the names: Movement or front or organization. Despite the lack of accurate statistics for these organizations, its numbers , until the beginning of sixties, have exceeded to reach 100⁶¹. Several parties were implemented :the Palestine Liberation Organization, Fatah, the Palestinian National Union, the Palestinian Liberation Regiment, People's Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front, the Palestinian National Liberation Movement Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) ...The establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization led to many reactions, some are supporters and others are opponents, and With the declaration of the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization, general Union of Palestinian Women was issued, which first conference was held in 1965 after a series of meetings in Beirut, Gaza and Jerusalem. The union's program stressed the importance of union activity program and national liberation and women's role in the liberation path⁶². According to a study done by Jamil Hilal⁶³, Aymen Abdel Majid and Saed Jaser showed that the post-Oslo negotiations stage marked the emergence of a new political system with a governing regulation, parties and opposite groups. This stage witnessed the modernization of the Palestinian political system and the emergence of the elections which provide cover for the democratic legitimacy of the existing systems.

The political scene is characterized by division due to occupation and the position towards Zionist entity⁶⁴, as well as a result of the attitudes from some of the issues such as the Syrian crisis⁶⁵.

⁶¹ Refer to : Ehab Ferwana, the PLO ... parties Palestinian groups 0.2009, <http://www.wafainfo.ps/atemplate.aspx?id=4321>.

⁶² Ayman Abed Al Majid and Saed Jass(with the help of Najla Barakat), political and syndicate participation of women in Palestine Coinciding with Arab revolutions. The Palestinian situation within the context of gender relations.

⁶³ The Palestinian system after Oslo , .. Institute for Palestinian Studies 0.2006.

⁶⁴ Vivian Petit, «Israeli Colonization, division of the Palestinian political parties,» published Nov. 24, 2011, <http://www.legrandsoir.info/colonisation-israelienne-division-des-partis-politiques-palestiniens.html>.

⁶⁵ Nicolas Dot-Pouillard, «Palestinians riven by the Syrian crisis. Divisions among the Islamists and within the Left « Orient XXI, <http://orientxxi.info/magazine/les-palestiniens-dechires-par-la,0389>.

This is the case for many Arab countries despite that Palestinian women was and still struggling side by side with men but the literatures available about this subject does not handle their contribution except for studies dealing with the political participation of women directly.

As for the situation in Egypt , it is similar to other Arab countries. where political parties have emerged during the nineteenth century as a result of cultural, economic and social interactions experienced by Egypt-. The political scene in that period was described as different , some of the parties represented the national side while others were loyal to the king, as for the rest of the parties are pro-colonization. The National Party, which was led by Mustafa Kamel, was established in 1907 as the first party in Egypt. The constitution of 1932 approved by a multi-party royal system and free democracy. The Wafd Party, topped the list of the most popular national parties in Egypt's history until 1952. It formed the government alone more than one time.

After the revolution of 23 July 1952, the political parties were banned from work except the socialist union party. Parties were not allowed to work except in 1976. however , the Islamic movement was not allowed to form a political party that's why the brotherhood work officially under a licensed party but were strongly present on the scene and are considered one of the most important political movements and were able to take 36 seats in the parliament in 1987.

Ahmad Abou El Majed said the numbers of the parties “which applied for approval for founding a party since parties founding in 1976 until 2001 are 61 party, 8 were accepted after appliance and 8 were refused then the refusal was rejected by the parties commission . As for those who applied and were rejected by the parties court, they are 41 party and 3 were rejected by the parties commission and the issue was not ruled until 2003⁶⁶.

Political parties at the time of Mubarak's governance worked under the power control, except that the revolution caused a recovery on the political scene, where the number of parties reached about 84 parties, and in the 2012 parliamentary elections only about 15 parties were present in the parliament .After the transfer of authority from the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood to military rule, political parties were expelled from the political scene as” unconstitutional parties”. The actual constitution of 2013 provided under the article 74 : “Citizens have the right to form political parties with notification regulated by law. It is prohibited to engage in any political activity or to form political parties on a religious basis or a discriminatory basis of gender, origin, sect or geography. It is prohibited to exercise activities against democracy, secretive, having a military or military-like nature. Political parties can only be dissolved with a court ruling.”

⁶⁶ Ahmed Abul Magd, the participation of women from where and to where? Question for the conscience of the nation. «Study on the degree of participation of Egyptian women in the political and trade union entities and ways to change and systemic reform and structural To promote the active participation of women.»

⁶⁷ Ibid.

The supreme Administrative Court ruled to dissolve the Islamic Party of Freedom and Justice in August 2014 considering it is the “political arm of the terrorist and banned Muslim brotherhood movement.”⁶⁸ Adding to this, 15000 persons went to prison, and many of them were sentenced to death penalty and the brotherhood scholar was sentenced to life imprisonment.

As for the political scene in Tunisia before the revolution the Constitutional Democratic Rally was the party dominating ruling and political life after Ben Ali became president. It was instead the Socialist Constitutional Rally party, the only ruling party during leader Habib Bourguiba governance. During Ben Ali governance, figured opposition parties were considered typical due to their limited effect⁶⁹.

They are : **Movement of Socialist Democrats, Unionist Democratic Union, Popular Unity Party, Movement for Renewal, Social Liberal Party, Progressive Democratic Party, The Democratic Forum for Labor and Liberties, green party for progress. The Movement of Islamic Tendency (today known as renaissance movement) forbids any activity.**

Ben Ali won a fourth presidential mandate in 1999 for 99.4% of votes and “the Constitutional Democratic Rally “ruling party won 94% of the votes in municipal elections in May 2000. 121 parties managed to reach ruling after the 2011 revolution, the leftish parties in Tunisia were able to get 13% of the seats of National Constituent Assembly after the elections of 23 October 2011.

During these elections, women represented 46% of the registered voters and 48% of the total candidates. However, they won only 27% of the seats in the national constituent assembly (59 among a total of 217 whom 42 are from the renaissance movement). Women represent currently 31% of the assembly given that nine women came to replace men as a result of the resignation of some and the death of others⁷⁰.

The Tunisian political scene has witnessed tenses and conflicts between the Troika parties (the ruling coalition) led by Islamic Renaissance Movement and opposition parties, especially because of the ruling period and determining the next election that will end the transitional period. The troika ruling came to an end after the national dialogue which took place on October 5th 2013 and joined many parties after an initiative of the Tunisian General Labor Union and the Tunisian Union of Industry, Commerce and Handicrafts (which is represented by its president Wadad Bouchmaway) and the national Lawyer’s union (known as the ‘Quartet’ for dialogue) and with the support of 3 leaders: Interim President, the Prime Minister and the President of the National Constituent Assembly.

⁶⁸ Counselor / Muhammad Hamed Al Jamal, “ resolving political parties and unconstitutional groups”. Al Wafed, 16 August 2014 <http://www.alwafd.org/>

⁶⁹ Céline Braun, , What is the purpose Tunisian parties? Sense and nonsense of political liberalization. <http://remmm.revues.org/2862>.

⁷⁰ Monia Ben Hamadi «Tunisia: Selma Znaidi, one more woman to the Assembly », HuffPost Maghreb, http://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/2014/04/29/tunisie-femme-assemblee_n_5233556.html?utm_hp_ref=maghreb&ir=Maghreb/

One of the main reasons that led to political assassination that caused the severe political crisis experienced by the country's national dialogue is the assassination of opposition Chokri Belaid (a lawyer and Secretary General of the Democratic Patriots' Movement, he was assassinated in 6 February 2013) and Deputy Mohamad Ibrahimi (deputy in the national constituent assembly for People's Movement, general coordinator of the party and former secretary general of the People's Party movement belonging to the Nassarist movement. He was assassinated in 25 July 2013) on the first hand and the deep conflict between Troika and opposition on the other hand.

After efforts and negotiations, the "Quartet leading the dialogue was able to draw a roadmap to get out of the crisis which consists on: accelerate the ratification of the Constitution, the resignation of the government of Ali Al Ored (the renaissance party), form a government of technocrats, accelerate the termination of the transitional phase and approve on the Independent High Electoral Commission and the electoral law. Thus, the quartet played a major role in providing the consensus among all political parties on key issues related to democratization.

After overcoming the legislative elections stage (on October 26 2014) and through the preparation for it, many parties witnessed resignations in its ranks as a result of conflicts over the presidency of the lists and composition. Although the «modernist» parties defended within the Constituent Assembly on the horizontal equity which stirred controversy among the various political orientations (which was not accepted by the council), however, it suggested a small number of women on top of the electoral lists⁷¹. Women's rate was 47.39% (or 4511 among a total of 9519 candidates for parliament)⁷². Regarding the election results 68 women managed to win the elections of 217 deputies (or a rate of 31.3%) , (35 belonging to the Call for Tunisia movement, 27 for the renaissance party, 2 for the Free Patriotic Union, 2 for the Popular Front, 1 for the democratic movement and 1 for the current of love) it is worth mentioning that none the candidates presented under independent lists won.

It is necessary to emphasize that the World Organization for Gender Concerns International (in collaboration and partnership with three Tunisian organizations: Tunisian Human Rights League and the Tunisian Association of Democratic Women and the Association of Tunisian Women for Research and Development) initiated the assignment of 110 women (of whom 10 international observers) to monitor the conduct of legislative elections in order to measure progress in terms of women's rights compared to elections held in 2011. women are called to monitor the number of presidents of polling stations, the number of women candidates and preview special arrangements for pregnant women⁷³.

⁷¹ Sandro Lutyens, «Tunisia – Elections: After supporting the horizontal parity, political parties offer a minority of women heads of list < HuffPost Maghreb, http://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/2014/08/19/tunisie-parite-horizontale_n_5690997.html.

⁷² Refer to this link: http://www.chawki.gaddes.org/resources/Femmes_listes.pdf.

⁷³ Refer to " the World Organization for gender assigning 110 women to monitor Tunisian elections,» the source site, in the October 16, 2014/ the global organization for gender assign <http://ar.webmanagercenter.com/2014/10/16/53388/l-110->

The observations were distributed to 450 polling centers to 27 electoral districts which have been selected depending on the symbolic of electoral department, the population and the quality of the polling center ⁷⁴.

As for presidential elections, 4 woman were presented as candidates⁷⁵ they are: Amina Mansour (president of the Democratic Movement for Reform and Construction Party, a small party), Kalthoun Kenno (a judge exposed to many restrictions under Ben Ali regime), Leila Hammami (independent , academic and an expert in human development), Badra Qalol (President of the International Center for Strategic, security and military Studies). However, the Independent High Electoral Commission rejected files of three of them because they did not meet the requirements of law .Noting that the conditions for being a presidency candidate require the nomination of 10 thousand citizen according to chapter 38 of new Tunisian constitution or recommendation from ten deputies in the National Constituent Assembly, or 40 mayors. 27 candidates were accepted among them one woman who is Kalthoun Kenno , she submitted as an independent candidate.

⁷⁴ Refer to : Mission of monitoring women's participation in elections : delayed credit cards threatens our business, October 25, 2014, <http://www.assabah.com.tn/article/91334/>

⁷⁵ Salah Al Dine Al Jorchi , " women and presidency in Tunisia , 6 August 2014 <http://www.alaraby.co.uk/opinion/268a766e-7224-4a46-b2fb-f32a788b2d4e>

◆ THE SYNDICAL SCENE:

The Egyptian syndical organization is characterized by collusion with power. General Federation of Trade unions / syndicates of Egypt is a government institution founded under the rule of Gamal Abdel Nasser, but it adapted with the economic openness policy under the authority of Sadat and then Mubarak⁷⁹. The head of the General Federation of Trade unions / syndicates of Egypt was at the same time the Minister of Labour since the inception of the Union, which confirms the «governmental» nature of the trade union activity⁷⁷. Since the announcement of the openness policy, Egypt witnessed three episodes of protest: 1975-1984, 1977-1994, and from the late nineties until today. In many situations Union colluded with the regime against workers, whom it is supposed to represent. On the other hand, the researcher Eric Gob showed that the state keen to attract party leaders to ensure their support by enabling them physical and symbolic privileges. Also, the State intervenes in the selection of candidates for syndical elections.

During the year 1975, Sadat laid limited multi-party and placed it under control. Rally Party became the only recognized left-wing party; its members participated remotely in the labor movement during the seventies and eighties. The leftist has been weakened as a result of the dominance of the Arab Nasserite Socialist orientation and the resolve of the two communist parties in 1965. However, the Egyptian Communist Party, which reestablished in 1975 and the Marxism organizations emanating from the New Left student have only received the limited support of workers.

Starting from 1976, the candidates are no longer forced to belong to the ruling party, but government members are always called during the syndical committees' election to reduce the presence of opposition's representatives. The Ministry of Labour continued the supervision on the electoral process and often threatens the undesirable candidates⁷⁸.

On 18 and 19 January 1977 the government announced a reduction in support for basic materials, which reached up to 50%, which led to riots that nearly toppled the regime. But unlike what happened in 1975-1976- strikes, the leftist has remained far from these movements. Egypt also witnessed protest movements as a result of enacting a law during the summer of 1988 to double the contributions of employee in health and retirement system. Starting from 1991, Egypt has entered the stage of Neoliberal system intensify with the support of syndical organization, which led to widen the gap between managers of syndicate and base.

⁷⁶ Joel Beinin, "The role of workers in popular Arab uprisings of 2011," *The Social Movement* 1/2014 (No. 246), pp. 7-7 URL: www.cairn.info/revue-le-mouvement-social-2014-1-page-7.htm. DOI: 10.3917 / lms.246.0007

⁷⁷ Eric Gobe, "The "Arab" trade unionism in the prism of authoritarianism and corporatism" in Olivier Dabène, Vincent Geisser, Gilles Massardier (Ed.), *democratic authoritarianism and authoritarian democracies: Convergences North-South*, 2008.

⁷⁸ Ibid

At the legislative level, Ahmed Abul-Magd⁷⁹ showed that «the first syndical law in Egypt is Law No. 85 for the year 1942, then the Legislative Decree No. 319 of 1952, and then the chapter 4 of the Labour Law No. 91 of 1959 provided the syndical sentences, then law No. 62 of 1964 was replaced by the mentioned section”. These laws have confirmed three basic pillars: the dominance of the administrative authority over trade unions / syndicates, the imposition of necessary organic system and trade unions / syndicates preventions from engaging in politics. Then current law No. 35 for trade unions / syndicates was issued in 1976 and amended by Law No. 1 of 1981, Law No. 12 of 1995, and Law No. 97 of 2012. Syndical structures lack the basic conditions of democratic governance, where Ahmad Abou Al Majed showed that «the recent election of the Union and its syndicate for the session of 2006 2011, witnessed a large number of violations, such as refrain from giving members the syndical membership certificate so as not to be able to run to the election, or refrain from receiving the securities pretending the lack of completeness, or delete the names of candidates whom were, in this session, belonging to the Muslim Brotherhood.»

At the beginning of the new millennium, syndical structures witnessed a turning point following the privatization policies and companies' sale and thus forcing workers «on early retirement, trending to derogate rights, whether in profit or instead of meals or transportation» the workers' movement developed by the end of 2006, beginning of 2007 after the success of Mahalla workers' strike, and real estate taxes employees in achieving the demands filed by workers in both cases, this wave continued in increasing beyond the removal of Mubarak.”

Perhaps the most prominent action for trade unions / syndicates (after the revolution of January 25, 2014) is related to allow» independent trade unions / syndicates to deposit their paper in the Ministry of Manpower and immigration and its directorates after that dr. Ahmed El-Borai, Minister of Manpower in the Ministry of Essam Sharaf Masmi, issued the declaration of principles on syndical freedoms in March 12, 2011 in the presence of the ILO Director, then Juan Somavia, in addition to pledge to issue a new law on trade unions / syndicates at the earliest opportunity, and therefore Egypt went out from the black list of the ILO. And thus independent trade unions / syndicates became active away from the state control. The syndical freedoms law, which was discussed more than three times, had not been ratified.

Women played a central role in the syndical movement, which paved the way for the January 25 revolution, we mention for example, the labor movement for textile workers in Mahalla in 2006 who chanted «**where are men? Women are more important**» to motivate men to participate in the Mahalla strike, which was the beginning to the labor movement rise, which also was one of the basic pillars to move Mubarak»⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ Ahmed Abul-Magd, the participation of women from where and to where? Question asked for the conscience of the nation, "a study on the degree of participation of Egyptian women in the political and syndical entities and ways of rchange and structural reform to promote the active participation of women."

⁸⁰ Ibid

As for Tunisia, the situation is different from Egypt. During the colonial period, Tunisian General Labour Union was one of the most important organizations on which Habib Bourguiba relied on for political mobilization and colonial power resistance. After the independence, the Tunisian General Labour Union (employee organization) contributed with the Tunisian Union of Industry, Commerce and Handicrafts (norms organization) and the General Union of Tunisian farmers (peasants' organization) in order to develop presidential programs. During the Constituent elections (1956) and legislative (1959) the Tunisian General Labour Union joined the Neo Destour to be with the Tunisian Union of Industry, Commerce and Handicrafts and the General Union of Tunisian peasants «national front». Bourguiba has failed to weaken the Union and subject it to the party because, contrary to the syndical organization founded by Abdel Nasser during his reign, the union is a strong and long-standing organization founded by Neo Destour⁸¹. In March 1963 the ruling party started to monitor directly the «national organizations» (Tunisian General Labour Union, the Tunisian Union of Industry, Commerce and Handicrafts and the General Union of Tunisian peasants). Eric Gob highlighted that the country's relation with syndical organizations was based on a process to make the society a state through the expansion of the state apparatus (the state - the party), the reduction of individual freedom and the independence of the institutions on the one hand, and the state favoritism which is represented by the need to maintain the regime and the distribution of wealth on the other hand⁸².

During the seventies Tunisia witnesses the failure of collaboration, which weakened the ruling party's ability to mass mobilization and led to the strengthening of the Union for its active role in finding a utilitarian compatibility. Union has organized a general strike on 26 January 1978 to face the authority to put pressure on high living. With the arrival of Ben Ali to power, the Union was independent from the party and the state. However, it has been weakened when attracted its symbols from the presidency during Sousse Conference in 1989, and thus the Union was forced to accept the structural reform program. Ben Ali's regime also took advantage of Union funding by the state to dominate it and reduce its strength through the income tax deduction at source system. But the union remains a strong organization even though it is forced to accept the privatization and liberal orientation. Tunisian General Labour Union, which contains 750,000 employees of 3.8 million, is considered the largest civic organization in the state.

It must be emphasized at the low representation of women in leadership positions of the General Union of Tunisian Workers. In this context, the study on Tunisia, carried out by Dr. Hafizah Shuqayr and Dr. Mouhamed Shafiq Sirsar, showed that «so far, and despite the long history of the syndicate, which was established since 1946, only one woman arrived, and it is the first and the last, to the governing body, currently means the Executive Office of General Union of Tunisian Workers,

⁸¹ Michel Camau, *Powers and institutions in the Maghreb*, Paris, OPU, 1983, p. 42.

⁸² Eric Gobe, "The "Arab" trade unionism in the prism of authoritarianism and corporatism" in Olivier Dabène, Vincent Geisser, Gilles Massardier (Ed.), *democratic authoritarianism and authoritarian democracies: Convergences North-South*, 2008.

Michel Camau, "State, public space and development. The Tunisian case", in El-Malki H. Santucci AD (eds.), *State and Development in the Arab World, Crisis and change in Maghreb*, Paris, Editions of CNRS, 1990, pp. 67-78, p. 74.

she is Ms. Sharifa Almsaadi»⁸³. In the framework of the 22nd Ordinary Conference of the Union, started on December 25, 2011 in Tabarka, 50 persons ran for the Executive office election, including seven women, who have not been elected⁸⁴.

On the initiative of a group of syndical women, a committee for studying working women's issues has been formed within the Office Studies of the General Union of Tunisian Workers in the year 1982. This committee is working under the supervision of the Assistant Secretary General in charge of working woman and youth. The number of syndical members in the administrative board is four members of the total 91 members, 3 of them are present one year ago ⁸⁵.

After the revolution, Tunisia has witnessed syndical pluralism with the foundation of the Tunisian public university for work, the Union of Tunisian Workers, and the Tunisian organization for work (a syndicate with an Islamic reference founded in August 2013 by the Front of Syndical Path Correction alienated from the Tunisian General Labour Union, and thus it is the fourth syndical organization in Tunisia and the third after the revolution). In addition to the weakness of women's syndical participation in Tunisia, their presence remains modest (if not absent) within the leadership of trade unions / syndicates structures. Except the Tunisian public university for work that registered the presence of two women in the syndicate's office of a total of 11 syndical representatives; they are Sabiha Ben Ammar (woman, gender and public space) and Youssra Samida (International Relations and Solidarity).

The syndical movement in Morocco is not different from the situation of Egypt and Tunisia, as it suffers from bureaucratic and opportunistic proliferation in its ranks, and the marginalization of struggles and major demands of national dimension.

It is also characterized by «political investment» in favor of a social group that exploited their positions to get more gains. To overcome the difficulties, mainly resulting from the harassment by the authority, syndical work turned toward the local struggle service to defend workers' interests. And when talking about the status of women within the trade unions / syndicates, Abdul Rahim Almaslouhi⁸⁶ showed that «the syndicate in Morocco has remained an excellent structure of male given the social representations that strictly limited it in violent manifestations (strike and confrontation with the employers) on the one hand, and the behavior of the syndical organization, which shrinks itself to make it a male structure on the other hand».

⁸³ Hafizah Shuqayr and Mohammed Shafiq Sirsar (with the help of RIM Bin Rajab): women and political participation, the experience of political parties, syndicates and professional associations in Tunisia.

⁸⁴ The new Executive Office of the General Union of Tunisian Labor <http://www.babnet.net/cadredetail-43227.asp>

⁸⁵ Amal Al Huthaili, "studying day by the initiative of the Arab Forum for Citizenship: Women discuss difficulties and problems of woman's political participation in the electoral process", Morocco newspaper, Monday March 31, 2014, Policy / 7278 semester on the initiative of the Arab Forum for citizens women that discusses the difficulties and problems of woman's political participation in the electoral process <http://www.lemaghreb.tn/>

⁸⁶ Abdul Rahim Almaslouha: strengthening the role of parties and syndicates in promoting women's political participation, the Moroccan case.

He also highlighted that the official statistics on female presence within the structures of trade unions / syndicates are accurate, however, some studies show that « out of 320,000 involved in the Moroccan Labor Union in 2006, there are only 57,600 women, i.e. only 12%,» which led him to wonder If this is the case of the oldest syndical organization in Morocco, so how would be the case of the other trade unions / syndicates?».

It is worth noting that trade unions / syndicates in Morocco were eager to defend women's rights, as the Moroccan Labor Union has established since 1962, the Progressive Union of Moroccan Women. Abdul Rahim Almsalouha explains this early interest in women's issues by three key factors: «the first is ideological, to the fact that the syndicate has adopted the progressive option, and thus the interest in women represents an embodiment of this option; the second factor is historical, can be concluded from the political time, and the year 1962 is the year of the first constitution of the kingdom after the independence, and therefore interest to women stems from the desire to involve them in take responsibility to contribute to the historic moment, especially since the Constitution provides the equality between men and women in political rights. Finally, there is a third factor that is objective in nature, which is the intensive exit of woman to the labor market».

Perhaps one of the most important achievements of the syndical movement in Morocco is the Labour Code, the text that devotes equality between woman and man in pay.

Regarding the Palestinian syndical scene, it was overshadowed by the political nature to support the national movement against the occupation, where trade unions/syndicates were formed on the basis of political partisan affiliation. However, this situation, according to Raja Khalidi and Muhannad Hamid⁸⁷ became a reflection of factional quotas and the priority of party representation as an essential pillar to the survival of trade unions / syndicates on account of syndical work consolidation on the ground. The two researchers highlighted that the evolution of power in 1994 and the entrance into the stage of various state institutions building (which is different from the Revolution) requires the distinction between political action and syndical action. But this did not necessarily reflect on the practices within the syndical organizations that have maintained their original organization of confusion between partisan and syndical work.

On the whole, there are 5 labor trade unions / syndicates in Palestine; each varies according to the circumstances of its creation. It is noticeable that the emergence of the majority of these trade unions / syndicates and their development was not the result of the working class conflict with the employers and the government, but it was in most cases due to political conflicts between various factions as well as the differences and divisions among the leading parties within the syndical movement.

⁸⁷ Raja Khalidi and Muhannad Hamid, "the trade syndical scene in Palestine", Assafir, syndicates and social issue, 11/12/2013, <http://arabi.assafir.com/article.asp?aid=1429&refsite=arabi&reftype=articles&refzone=articles>

Distinction can be made between three main unions: the General Union of Palestinian Workers (which was established outside Palestine under the umbrella of the PLO), the General Federation of Trade unions / syndicates of Palestine (resulting from the natural evolution of the syndical movement inland) and the Federation of Independent Trade unions / syndicates (which emerged as a result of natural evolution of the syndical movement in order to overcome the imbalances suffered by syndical action during the previous period).

The syndical arena in Palestine has seen a conflict between the General Union of Palestinian Workers and the General Federation of Trade unions / syndicates of Palestine since 1997 as a result of their different positions toward the settlement put forward by the Israeli Histadrut about the issue of compensation for Palestinian workers inside the Green Line. Raja Khalidi and Muhannad Hamid showed that the General Union of Palestinian Workers reflects the political composition of faction that prevailed in the stages of syndical «national» action, while the General Federation of Trade unions / syndicates of Palestine headed for the nearest path to the basic labor issues demands without completely stay away from political interaction with the national and partisan/factional issues. The two researchers highlighted that «through an alliance between the two movements: national / the power, and syndical / workers, we find in these two models a syndical structure similar to this that has dominated the Arab syndical action scene in general, on the eve of the outbreak of the social and economic Arab Spring, where official syndical movement coexisted with regimes that do not pay attention to the working class issues, its drop was the direct objective of many Arab movements during the year 2011 at least».

The appearance of General Federation of Independent Trade unions / syndicates has coincided, according to Raja Khalidi and Muhannad Hamid, with the emergence of the two following phenomena:

- 1 In the wider Arab context,** the trend since 2011 to dismantle or curtail the role of previous “official” trade unions / syndicates and the establishment of trade frameworks that are actually independent of all institutions of power (whatever its political or sectarian color), and really able to critique the power and put the labor, social class and economic demands, on the agenda of the existing (or renewable) regimes, the fact that these deferred demands are the main causes of the Arab mass movement (despite all attempts to hijack it by spreading sectarian, monetary or security culture).
- 2 In the Palestinian context,** the strategic option adopted by the PLO in Oslo and Paris to catch the train of globalization and economic liberalization, as the rest of the south ex-colonial, produced amazing results after 20 years of its spread in Palestine, especially in the last era of the post-Arafat regime.

The Palestinian Authority, stripped of sovereignty, did well the Liberal performance to be considered a successful model of good governance by institutions «Washington Consensus» mandated to «support the peace process». Although the power subjective experience under long-term colonial occupation looks unsustainable in principle (and the experience of other colonial peoples is the best evidence), the implications of these fundamentalism policies on poor families and working class are no less devastating than Arab counterparts, and also look in turn unsustainable».

There is no doubt that this syndical pluralism can contribute to the advancement of syndical reality and to strengthen its role and participation in the formulation of public policies and in defense of workers' rights as well as the political role played by syndical organizations in the field of resistance.

Regarding the participation of women in syndical activity, Ayman Abdul Majeed and Said Jas showed that it regressed after the Oslo «With the deepening of the spread of thought and practices emanating from political Islam and what coincided with such scare and intimidate.» The trade unions / syndicates remained «monopolized by the conventional leaders» and did not develop leaders, youth and women's cadres, and so remained «locked on closed organizational thought of political parties.» The results of this situation are «factional conflicts on narrow haplotype representation away from the rights demands agenda», in addition to a gap between the syndical base and its leadership with the lack of «appropriate mechanisms to communicate, especially with women's base.»⁸⁸

Like the Palestinian syndical movement, the trade union movement in Lebanon⁸⁹ complains of weakness, divisions, domination and subjugation of political will caused by the civil war and sectarian divisions, which will negatively reflect on finding solution for social, economic and political problems that Lebanon face today. Shadi Nashabah shows that the Lebanese syndical movement went through four main stations:

⁸⁸ Ayman Abdel-Meguid and Said Jas (with the help of Najlaa Barakat): women's political and syndical participation in Palestine, coinciding with the Arab revolutions. Reading of the Palestinian reality in the context of gender relations

⁸⁹ concerning the syndical movement in Lebanon, we relied on the following reference: Shady Nashabah, 'syndical work in Lebanon between the period of bringing workers' rights and prosperity and the period of bow and dependency', on November 23, 2010 <http://www.chadinachabe.com/?p = 707>

① **Incorporation station from the twenties until the independence:**

Lebanese syndical movement arose in the early twenties of the last century after the founding of the General Workers' Party in the Greater Lebanon in 1921, and included a number of trade unions / syndicates: Rgie in Bikfaya, Presses Workers Syndicate, Railroad Workers Syndicate, Chefs Syndicate, Carpenters and Barbers Trade unions / syndicates, Zahle Workers Syndicate, and others. The syndical movement at this stage was characterized by ambivalence between the defense of workers' right in association and establishment of their professional trade unions / syndicates on the one hand, and the pursuit to achieve national independence from the French mandate on the other hand. As a result, the syndical movement has seen harassment of Mandate authorities and attempts to abort its formation and struggles.

2 From the independence until the Civil War: the syndical movement flourished during this period where its spread in all regions of the country, marked by the strong organization and the importance of the number of involved and played an important role in the political and demands of life.

The most important achievements of the syndical movement are:

- ① Working for the adoption of the Lebanese labor law (1946) that regulates workers' relationship with employers and ensures their rights. «In spite of the gaps that characterized the law, but it formed the most important hinge in its history and later founded to develop and organize Trade Unions.»
- ② Obtaining the license for the National Union of workers and employees trade unions / syndicates in (1966), which included Trade unions. “This Union played a key role in advancing the development of the syndical movement and leading to the establishment of the General Workers Union in Lebanon on April 25, 1970, which is considered the most important achievement in the history of the labor movement during the seventies and eighties of the twentieth century.»
- ③ Calling the rejection of all sectarian forms and working to build a citizen community.
- ④ Rejecting the violence and adhering to the democratic struggle represented by the strike, demonstrations and protests.
- ⑤ Emphasizing on Lebanon's independence, sovereignty and non-interference in its affairs with the establishment of cooperative and solidarity relationships with the neighboring Arab countries, and a committing to the Palestinian cause and the need to find the solution guaranteeing the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent state.»

③ **The labor movement during the civil war until the Taif Accord in 1989:** the sectarian divide and civil strife have negatively influenced on the syndical movement. Faced with this situation, the syndical movement sought to «preserve its unity, prevent the escalation of the civil division in its structure, and to maintain communication between leaders.» It also struggled in order not to lay off workers and staff and close the industrial and professional institutions during this crisis ...

④ **Post-Taif Agreement: this phase (1991-1995-) witnessed the emergence of many trade unions / syndicates and unions;** the subject of its affiliation to the General Workers Union was a big problem in April 24, 1997. 8 licenses have been issued to establish the following unions: Lebanese Federation of public vehicles trade unions / syndicates and transport in Lebanon, union of workers and employees' trade unions / syndicates in the South, Union of Jabal Amel for agricultural workers trade unions / syndicates, union work of the national syndicate in the north, Union of workers and employees in paper industries in Lebanon, the union of workers and employees in steel industry in the south, the National Federation of workers and employees in the south, the Lebanese workers' Union of mining mechanics trade unions / syndicates, the General Federation of Trade unions / syndicates in Mount Lebanon, the General Federation of farmers trade unions / syndicates in Lebanon.

It is noticeable that there are 52 Labor Trade unions / syndicates in Lebanon include more than 500 trade unions / syndicates. «This division in the labor movement has led to the weakness of its ability to express the demands of its members.» Shadi Nashabah shows that «the arrival of political and sectarian parties to the decision-making authority in the General Workers Union makes it a political tool moving to serve the goals of some parties» and that the Lebanese Societies Act authorizes «for every three trade unions / syndicates and above to form a union.

This opened the door to random births of trade unions / syndicates and trade unions / syndicates that made in the same sector, such as the sector of road transport, three unions; for each a political direction. The law also allows each labor union two delegates in the Executive Board of the General Workers' Union, regardless of the number of members of the Union. The problem is that each party in Lebanon is demanding today his share of members within the General Workers Union and the entry to the trade unions / syndicates is subject to political and sectarian considerations and not labor ones, as they carry out the directives of their parties without looking forward to workers' demands.»

Ghassan Salib⁹⁰ has pointed out, in the context of his work on the study of organizational needs to enhance the participation of women in trade unions/ syndicates in Lebanon, to a decline in syndical membership, as trade unions/ syndicates are undergoing in a retreat stage where the enrollment rate is less than 5%. As well as it lives a crisis of confidence between it and its rules and the weak presence of female.

In general, studies have shown that woman's access to the labor market and their high educational level did not contribute to the elimination of disparities between woman and man because men are not doing the same work and they have not the same jobs and wage like women⁹¹.

In addition to that the presence of women in decision making positions still shy, and even if managed to reach a leading position, posts vary depending on the power level and does not have the same effect. There is also a large proportion of women who work half the time or in sectors weak in syndical activity (such as the services sector). It should be noted that the trade unions / syndicates complaining many shortcomings are today required to reconsider its functions and ways of conduct so that it can overcome the current stakes, including the advancement of women's political participation.

⁹⁰ Saada Oulwa and Ghassan Salibi: the study of organizational needs to promote the participation of women in political parties and syndicates in Lebanon.

⁹¹ Homa Dean, Women in syndicates: methods and good practices for the integration of the gender dimension. Methods and good practices for the integration of the gender dimension, Training, Health and Safety (ETUI) Belgian Federal Institute for the Equality of Women and Men, 2006.

THE ROLE OF PARTIES AND TRADE UNIONS/ SYNDICATES DURING THE PROTEST MOVEMENTS

Political parties did not have an important role at the beginning of the revolutions and protest movements in Egypt and Tunisia due to the repression meted on some of them (there are many members of the non-recognized parties who are in prison or in exile) or to the complicity of others with the regime. However, many of these parties joined the demonstrators and contributed in framing the moves⁹².

However, in Morocco, the opposition parties expressed since the beginning their support of the movement of 20 February, especially Unified Socialist Party (by enabling demonstrators from the use of its headquarters), the Democratic Approach Party (by motivating its members to join the February 20 Movement) and they are two parties that always criticizes the regime⁹³. It is noteworthy that these two parties have a relationship with the left-wing trade unions / syndicates and associations. Mounia Bennani Chraïbi showed that this movement has enabled, for the first time in the history of Morocco, to overcome political differences⁹⁴.

Lore Frank has confirmed in her study about the protest movements in the Arab region⁹⁵ that there are two dominant visions about the role of trade unions / syndicates during the Arab protest movements: The first vision is that the role of trade unions/ syndicates was «minor» as is the case in Egypt, where some consider that the trade unions/ syndicates were «non-effective» or they did not play any role in the protests, however, the second vision considers that trade unions / syndicates had a dual role due to its dealing with dictatorial regimes, making it vulnerable to protests.

However, it must be pointed out that this does not apply to all the countries studied. In Morocco⁹⁶, for example, trade unions/ syndicates and associations provided a framework for the demonstrators and protesters on the logistical level along the lines of the Labor Democratic Confederation, which announced its participation to the February 20 Movement⁹⁷.

⁹² Concerning the role of parties during protest movements in Tunisia and Egypt, see: Bozarlsan Hamit, "Reflections on the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutionary configurations", published by Mouvements, No. 66, 2011.

⁹³ Abdullah Turabi and Lamia Zaki, "Morocco: a royal revolution?" Mouvements, No. 66, 2011, p. 101.

⁹⁴ Mounia Bennani Chraïbi and Mohamed Jeggillaly, "the dynamics protester of the February 20 Movement in Casablanca", French Review of Political Science, 2012/5 Vol. 62, p. 867-894, p. 873.

⁹⁵ Laure Franck, protest movements in the Arab world and set of scales: limits on the trans-nationalist reading and explanation of the particularism, University of Geneva, Green Lab, No. 2, 2012
<http://unige.ch/sciences-societe/speri/files/9614/0309/7371/Franck.pdf>, p. 58.

⁹⁶ Abdullah Turabi and Lamia Zaki, "Morocco: a royal revolution?" Arab Spring, understanding the current revolutions, Mouvements, No. 66, 2011, p. 100.

⁹⁷ Temlali Yassin, "The role of the UGTT syndicate in the Tunisian intifada" A l'encontre, published on 25 January 2011, <http://alencontre.org/moyenorient/le-role-de-l%E2%80%99ugtt-dans-%C2%ABl%E2%80%99intifada-tunisienne%C2%BBhtml>.

The Tunisian General Labor Union also played an active role during the revolution by declaring a general strike then framing the protest movements. Michael Bashir also showed that trade unions / syndicates played an important role during the Egyptian revolution through mobilizing and framing citizens⁹⁸. Sarah Ben Nafisa has showed that the role of trade unions / syndicates and their weight in countries that have experienced revolutions and protest movements was more important than the opposite recognized political parties⁹⁹.

Samir Amin showed that the important role played by trade unions / syndicates in Egypt is due to the openness of the system in Egypt since 2007, which enabled the emergence of about 50 trade unions / syndicates, most of it was independent of the system that give them a margin of freedom¹⁰⁰. The study carried out by Abdullah Tourabi and Lamia Zaki also showed that the trade unions / syndicates in Morocco were able to play an important role in supporting the protest movements due to the openness of the regime¹⁰¹.

However, in Tunisia, Eric Gob showed that the Tunisian General Labor Union has already opposed the authority in 2006 when it refused to participate in the parliamentary elections because the regime was intended to impose its candidates¹⁰² and the role of the Union, which supported the Tunisian revolution, still major to success the transitional phase.

It is necessary to emphasize that the various available literatures on the role of trade unions / syndicates in protest movements in the Arab region do not depend on the gender approach, which makes the role of woman hidden.

⁹⁸ Michael Bashir Ayari, "No, the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions are not "revolutions 2.0" Mouvements, No. 66, 2011, p. 60.

⁹⁹ Sarah Ben Néfissa and Blandine Destremau, social protests, civil revolutions, political transformations in the Arab Mediterranean, *Revue Tiers Monde*, Armand Colin, 2011, p.12.

¹⁰⁰ Laure Franck, protest movements in the Arab world and set of scales: limits on the trans-nationalist reading and explanation of the particularism, University of Geneva, Green Lab, No. 2, 2012

<http://unige.ch/sciences-societe/speri/files/9614/0309/7371/Franck.pdf>, p. 74.

Samir Amin, "2011: the Arab Spring?" *GRESEA echo*, No. 70, April-May-June 2012, pp. 2-7 http://www.gresea.be/IMG/pdf/GE_70.pdf.

¹⁰¹ Abdullah Turabi and Lamia Zaki, "Morocco: a royal revolution?" *Mouvements*, No. 66, 2011, p. 98.

¹⁰² Eric Gobe, "The "Arab" syndicalism through the prism of authoritarianism and corporatism" in Olivier Dabène, Vincent Geisser, Gilles Massardier (ED), *democratic authoritarianism and authoritarian democracies: Convergences North-South*, 2008.

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CHAPTER 2

The role of political parties, trade unions / syndicates and democratic frameworks in enhancing women's political participation

1. Mechanisms to promote women's political participation
2. The reality of women within parties and unions. Between theory and practice

The political representation of women in political parties and trade unions/ syndicates is one of the topics that were an important part of the public debate about political reforms projects in Arab countries. The role of woman in these political institutions remained modest, if it has been compared with her population ratio in the community, as the social roles of men and women in almost all societies represent an important form of stratification and social gradient, also it is a key factor in structuring the types of opportunities and life chances faced by individuals and groups¹⁰³. Women often suffer from all forms of discrimination that reflect the state of injustice surrounding the roles of woman in political life, as the men's roles have a higher value and rating than the women's roles.

Women in almost all communities bear the primary responsibility for child-rearing and care and household chores, while men usually ensure the livelihood of the family. The prevailing division of labor between genders has led to men and women assuming unequal positions in terms of power, prestige and wealth¹⁰⁴. This hierarchy has reflected negatively on woman's roles in the society, including the political action.

This situation reflects the involvement range of Arab countries and societies in the democratic process, as the political representation of woman and her presence in the political life are essential in order to talk about an overall democratic system that achieves the equality between all groups in society, including women. Talking about expanding the base of woman's political representation is important to increase the legitimacy of the elected political institutions.

Political parties and trade unions / syndicates form an essential mechanism by which woman occupies the elected posts and political leadership positions. Political parties may seem, for the most part, at first glance interested in enhancing the role of woman. In spite of this, women are often attracted for purely pragmatic reasons. In fact, the decision to strengthen the participation of woman in the political process is rarely made because it is "the right decision", but usually is a part of the political parties' calculations in order to achieve further electoral gains or enhance the legitimacy or credibility, and some parties use woman as a symbol of progressive policies without having any real commitment to achieving progress. In this case, women are considered as "bringers of electoral votes" for the party and they are not seen as candidates that provide a qualitative addition to the political life.

The general understanding of political parties' role is based on the change, and so it is hoped that the parties play a major role in changing the status of women in society, contributing to a fundamental change in the stereotypical roles of woman, and encouraging overcoming various obstacles to participate in decision-making.

¹⁰³ Anthony Giddens, *Sociology*, 7th edition, chapter 15.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*

Accordingly, women and their issues remain subjected to conventional notions, where the parties are dealing with woman, as it is prevalent in the community, in terms of exclusion her from access to decision-making positions and weakens their participation in the public policy of the party, despite pretense positive attitudes toward woman. After the passage of the particular events, parties back to the utilitarian and exclusionary practices.

The exclusion of woman from political action represents the exclusion of an important category of society that becomes not represented, and for this reason the demands of many human rights organizations, activists and intellectuals feminists in the various countries of the world resonated and contributed to strengthening the political empowerment of woman, followed by national and international efforts to encourage countries to take into account the gender in the design, formulation and implementation of policies. This revealed the term of **gender mainstreaming** that has been defined as "the community process taking into account the impact of public policies and programs to achieve gender balance, and through which imbalances and discrimination in relations between man and woman are treated."¹⁰⁵

From this point, come the concept of woman political empowerment after the recommendations of the Fourth World Conference about Woman in Beijing in 1995, and is intended to give woman strength, capabilities and ability to be an active element in the change. Which means that the concept of political empowerment is closely linked to the achievement of woman's herself and her presence on the ground, by strengthening her capacities in political participation through her involvement in a real and effective way in all the political organization' activities from political parties to trade unions / syndicates, i.e. carrying the woman to decision-making positions in society and parliament¹⁰⁶. However, it should be noted that the concept of empowerment, despite its importance, did not take the direction of a structural change where it was mainly focusing on women unilaterally without paying attention to the community system as a whole.

¹⁰⁵ May Al-Dabbagh, Asma Ramadan, "Social gender: rooting the concept in the Arab world and using it in the formulation of effective public policies", Beirut, Idafat Journal, issue 23-24, 2013, p.130.

¹⁰⁶ Saber Balloul, "Political empowerment of women between international resolutions and orientations and reality", Damascus: Damascus Journal of Economic and Legal Sciences/tome 25- issue 2, 2009, p.650.
<http://www.damascusuniversity.edu.sy/mag/law/images/stories/645-686.pdf>

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Fostering Women's Political Participation Mechanisms

These mechanisms, proposed by the Good Practice Guide to Enhance Women's Political Participation¹⁰⁷ in a series of actions that contribute to the promotion of their representation within the political parties and trade unions / syndicates, represent the following:

◆ The Internal Organization of Parties and Trade unions/syndicates:

- (a) Address gender equality in internal party and syndicate regulations, through the adoption of gender equality in the founding documents as an important step to provide a framework in order to move towards quick response and more comprehensive political parties¹⁰⁸.
- (b) Adopt measures for women's participation in decision-making structures, such measure indicates the party's commitment to gender equality. Although the involvement of women in parties constitute between 40 and 50 percent, but the proportion of woman in party leadership positions does not exceed 10%¹⁰⁹.
- (c) Set targets for participation in party conventions; such events provide a great opportunity for delegates to build the political and financial relationships necessary for successful political careers¹¹⁰.
- (d) Establish women's wings and sections within political parties, as this mechanism enables women in the party to place women's concerns on the party agenda in order to adopt resolutions and recommendations for their, in addition to meet, discuss and deliberate, articulate their priorities, and seek solutions to common problems. It is important that the women's wings are formally integrated into the structure of the party, with defined roles and responsibilities.

¹⁰⁷ Manuela Popovici, Empowering Woman for Stronger Political Parties: Good Practice Guide to empower Woman's Political Participation, UNDP, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. October, 2011, p. 2.

http://www.ndi.org/files/Empowering-Women-ARA_0.pdf

¹⁰⁸ Empowering Woman for Stronger Political Parties: Good Practice Guide to Empower Woman's Political Participation, p.15

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, p.16

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p.17

◆ Quota for women candidates:

According to Article 4 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979 (CEDAW), "Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail, as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved. Article 7 of this Convention states Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

(a) to vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies; (b) to participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof, and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government, (c) to participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

Before that, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 states that the women have the right to vote in all elections, on equal terms with men without distinction of any kind, as well as women have the eligibility to elect all elected bodies by universal suffrage, on equal terms with men, without distinction of any kind, as well as the necessity to hold public position without any discrimination against them.

As a result of women's experience in elections across the world, we find that in many Arab countries, the conviction of public opinion has increased concerning the necessity of a quota for women in the elections.

The quota find its main legal corroboration in the CEDAW Convention that provides the possibility of resorting to legislation and adopting of discriminatory procedures for the benefit of women "the positive discrimination"¹¹¹ on a temporary basis to accelerate the pace of gender equality within the community.

The quota is intended to be temporary political tool designed to allocate seats for women's representation in elected assemblies to address the historical inequality and discrimination against women in political life¹¹². The quota system had been adopted after the recommendations of the Beijing Conference on Woman in 1995, and stated in the Millennium Development Goals Declaration 2000 to increase woman's political representation.

¹¹¹ "Adoption by states parties of special measures, including those measures contained in the present Convention, aimed at protecting maternity shall not be considered discriminatory, but it must not be but shall in no way entail, as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved."

¹¹² Ali Al Sawi, Parliament's Member's Guide on protecting woman's right, Cairo, UN body, Egypt office, 2011, p/14.

Some statistics indicate that the quota system has been adopted in the elections of members of parliament in more than forty countries, and the parties have voluntarily identified provisions for the quota in more than fifty other countries¹¹³.

In this regard, we can consider the "women's quota" system a mechanism that grants the positive intervention to increase woman's quota, enhance her role and ensure her position, through adopting her as a temporary solution, till the disappearance of differences based on the gender at all levels, so she can participate in the electoral process without resorting to these measures, and enabling her is done on the basis of full justice and fairness of the electoral process based on a clear and appropriate constitutional patterns¹¹⁴. Electoral quota has become an important political tool to increase women's ability to access to decision-making circles. When it's properly implemented, it ensures women's access to these positions. There are two types of electoral quotas: **candidate quotas and reserved seats.**

(a) Candidate quotas: Candidate quotas seek to affect the nature of candidates ensuring that a proportion of candidates presented for election are women. These quotas can either be legislated, where the law specifies a minimum percentage of candidates who must be women, or they can be voluntary, where a political party voluntarily adopts a specified target of women candidates to put forward to contest the election.

(b) Reserved seats: Reserved seats stipulate that a certain proportion of seats in a legislature or parliament must be awarded to women¹¹⁵. The recourse to the quota system is justified by the need that the voluntary support for the presence of women in positions of power would result in the medium term to develop perceptions of the roles of women and their status in society. The application of quota measures considered a "temporary and special measure" that can be repealed when attaining the goals set by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Woman¹¹⁶. The quota remain a temporarily system to enable women to achieve a ratio of political representation in parliaments and elected councils, although the opposition by critics, but this positive discrimination remains acceptable and can be generalized by practice. Because the quotas can be very effective if they are suitable for the electoral system and designed properly, but despite its adoption in many countries all over the world, quota remained controversial as a mechanism to improve the representation of woman¹¹⁷.

¹¹³ Georgina waylen, *Engendering Transitions Women's Mobilization, Institutions, and Gender Outcomes*, London: Oxford, 2007, p. 11

¹¹⁴ Issam Ben Sheikh, *Empowerment of woman in the Maghreb under the approved opportunities and constraints electoral systems*

¹¹⁵ *Empowering Woman for Stronger Political Parties*, p.22

¹¹⁶ Mouhamad Moukeit, *Political representation of women and gender approach in Morocco and the world*, Al Dar Al Baydaa: 2007, p.17

¹¹⁷ Georgina waylen *Engendering, Transitions Women's Mobilization, Institutions, and Gender Outcomes*, London: Oxford , 2007, p. 11

◆ Political parties support for candidates in campaigns:

It is important that political parties support women candidates in the campaign, where men often control the networks of support that provide resources for the electoral campaign. In a survey of 300 parliamentarians undertaken by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, half of respondents identified capacity building related to techniques for electoral campaigning and outreach to constituencies as the most important to support their electoral candidacies. The parties claim to follow many strategies to support women candidates during the election campaign through the following measures:

- (a) Provide training to women candidates,** such training may target fundraising, message development, working with the media, building voter contact and outreach programs, writing campaign plans, and designing targeted methods of voter communication. As well as helping in finding sources of funding, as economic resources are important to support and enhance woman to help her in the election campaign management.
- (b) Gender sensitive electoral monitoring and security provisions:** political parties therefore should appoint agents or monitors during the registration and voting processes to ensure that voters are able to cast their ballots without intimidation.
- (c) Gender sensitive voter information,** where parties' campaigns should highlight to woman the importance of her vote for society as a whole and emphasize her right to vote as equal member of that society. Women should be part of the management, planning, and implementation of voter information campaigns. Organizing such campaigns and educational seminars requires tailoring messages and content to the socio-cultural background, literacy levels, and the political situation in the concerned country.

We can deduce now that political parties and trade unions/syndicates are the most important democratic channels that contribute to raising the proportion of woman's political representation in elected councils, but this path towards the empowerment of woman remains without meaning outside the voluntary initiatives of political parties and trade unions/syndicates, which provide assistance, expertise and training for woman to improve her representation so that she can contribute to the formulation of concepts and projects that contribute to women's interests services in public policies.

But the question that imposes itself: **"To what extent is the application of these mechanisms to activate the political participation of women within the parties and trade unions / syndicates?"**

¹¹⁸ Empowering Woman for Stronger Political Parties: Good Practice Guide to Empower Woman's Political Participation, p.32

¹¹⁹ Ibid, p.32

¹²⁰ Ibid, p.34

¹²¹ Ibid, p.35

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The status of woman within parties and trade unions/syndicates: text and application

Political parties are one of the main bridges of political participation, specifically to frame the participation in elections, and attain parliamentary positions. They also play an important role in determining the candidacies and presidency of the parliamentary or the ministerial portfolios committees. Political parties usually determine the parliamentary and governmental leaders and provide support to its elected members by providing information or media or popular support for voters. There is no doubt that political parties can play a pivotal role in strengthening women's political participation, or vice versa, because parties influence or at least seek to influence public opinion and intervene heavily in determining public policies and major choices for the country.

In order to illustrate the disparity between the parties and syndicate concerning the issue of women's representation, we can focus on foundation texts of the parties and for this purpose, parties have been collected by ideological trends. As for the trade unions / syndicates, we will show the extent of the involvement of women in these professional organizations later.



IN TUNISIA

◆ Parties

What is observed in Tunisia today is that political parties do not have specific figures in terms of the number of people belonging to it, or the number of women having leadership tasks, or at least they don't want to disclose these numbers for reasons related to the political conflict. Also there are differences in the figures provided by some of the parties' leaders that have been questioned, during the study carried out by the Tunisian study team, regarding the number of women in the central or lower structures. Some common denominators between the parties can be confirmed despite the lack of data accuracy concerning the engagement, as the engagement of women in political parties remain weak in spite of the movement that took place after January 2011.

¹²² Hafiza Shkeir and Mouhamad Shafik Sersar: women and women's participation. The experience of political parties, syndicates and professional associations, Tunisia, Arab Institute for Human Rights. January 2014

As for the position of women within the foundation texts of the parties, we can distinguish between the parties with an Islamic reference and parties with a modernist reference. And so, Annahda is the most important party in the Islamic movement, where its constitution, which was prepared with the beginning of the preparation of the draft Tunisian constitution, do not talked about women's rights. Its third chapter states that: "All Tunisians are equal in law" without emphasizing on the equality in rights and duties between Tunisians men and women, also the chapter 10 stated that: "The Islamic Sharia is the basic source of legislation."

As for the modernist parties that include the leftist and liberal parties, raising the issue of political participation varies from one party to another and there are no procedures concerning the presence of women in decision-making positions in the basic regulations or foundational laws of political parties even though some of these internal systems created offices for women . This is what we find, for example, in the Statute of the Republican Party, who discussed in the chapter 42 the office of woman and determined its nature that is a ring of thinking, intervention and working special for the women party members. The office intervenes in all matters concerning the rights and representation of woman in society and implements the public policy of the party in the women's field in coordination with the various structures¹²⁵.

The Basic Law of the Tunisian Workers' Party did not confirm the principle of equality and women's rights and did not form a private women's committee in the party even though the party's work program has acknowledged the full and effective equality between genders and has canceled all manifestations of discrimination legislatively and de facto¹²⁴. But the party founded since 2012, the Association of Tunisian Women for Freedom and Equality.

This association has identified their objectives as following: Working on the abolition of all forms of discrimination in all the Tunisian legislation, making the principle of gender equality a constitutional principle that applies to all laws and providing physical conditions to ease the burden on women by equalizing in the right to work, following the positive discrimination policy to achieve equality in functional plans and decision, equalizing in the wages between genders, recognizing maternity as a social function, approving paid maternity leave before and after childbirth, preventing the employment of women at night in the private industrial harmful to the health, providing nurseries and kindergartens near the workplace by the State and economic institutions, canceling all forms of discrimination and preventing degrading images of women in textbooks, media and cultural products, resisting ideas, traditions and customs that devalue the woman, criminalizing sexual harassment and prostitution and encouraging women to engage in political and civil action to defend their rights and to address all anti-women reactionary currents¹²⁵.

¹²³ Republican Party, Rules of Procedure, Tunisia 2012

¹²⁴ Tunisian Worker's Party program: " toward democratic and popular alternative", Tunisia 2012

¹²⁵ Women's League of Tunisia for freedom and equality, Tunisia 2012

In general, we can say that the general characteristic of political parties in Tunisia during the pre-revolutionary period, is in line with the status of the Arab countries, which is the weakness of female presence in party work, i.e. there is a lack of women in leadership positions at all levels and in all spaces, and a limited presence in the Mediterranean and lower structures.

Latifa Lakhdar, professor of History in the University of Tunis and Vice President of the Supreme Commission for democratic transition, notes that the women scene after the revolution raises major and even confusing questions because "there are indications that are not good at all reflecting in the weakness of women at the head of the electoral lists. This weakness will lead necessarily to a weak of presence in the Constituent Assembly and the proportion of women attending the council does not exceed 10% ¹²⁶. Lakhdar accuses political actors to marginalize woman through the political process, stressing that "there is a kind of woman exclusion and we do not know if it is intentional or unintentional," noting that "in all cases, and for whatever reason, it seems illogical."

In the opinion of Lakhadr, the result of the equity principle which was approved by the supreme body to achieve revolution's goals was not important because "men's mental succeeded to exclude her." And she accuses political actors with trickery at the level of electoral lists presidency, except the modernist pole where the percentage of women's presence is 50%.

The activist Nora Alborsali says: "We considered the principle of equity an historically gain but we were believing that political parties will put women at the top of the lists but actually they did not represent more than 5% and they were the subject of criticism, even in struggler large parties and without the Democratic Pole the percentage would be 1%." Alborsali adds that Tunisia witnessed, after the revolution, a significant participation of women in political life due to the large number of parties "to provide women will and desire to participate, which resulted in the existence of a new women's faces that have become active in the political scene and in the associative field" But she considers what happened in reality a "marginalization at the level of decision-making positions."

The Tunisian political arena lives today the same scenario, as such absence of woman in the upcoming legislative elections presidency lists that will be held in October 2014 is a shock among women, activists, human rights activists and some politicians after she confirmed once again the duplication of political discourse and embodied the inferiority perception towards her so the only way to glorify her social and political role is at the level of discourse without application, making this presence limited without giving her a leadership position in the party, despite her struggles. This confirms that the idea of equity in the electoral lists is like a lie or illusion, stating that most of the parties are not convinced by this principle, and they resorted to the women to complete their lists and fill the vacancy.

¹²⁶ Mnawe Malliti, "Tunisian women at a crossroads: the modernity or Salafi", middle east online, October 2, 2011
<http://www.middle-east-online.com/?id=118305>

So finally, all the discussions that took place to determine the lists were overshadowed by masculine mental and there is no place for the woman.

We note in the same context that only one woman in the party of Nidaa Tounes movement headed the electoral list, which is the treasurer "Salma Lummi Rakik" who headed the list of Nabeul 1, compared to 5 women heading Annahda lists, 2 women to the Popular Front lists, 3 women to the Tunisia Prospects Party lists, 5 women to the Masar party lists, 4 women to the lists of block party for Labour and Liberties and 3 women to the Republican Party. As other parties have many problems at the level of women's choice to represent the party in the legislative election and all of it represent the numbers of electoral seats granted by the political parties for women on the top of her lists in some constituencies out of 33 constituencies, 27 of it in Tunis and 6 abroad ¹²⁷.

◆ Trade unions / syndicates

The participation of women is in ascending pattern with the progress of the democratic transition, she has become heavily involved in the various forms of expression and action. But these moves did not necessarily lead to a strengthening of the actual presence of women in organizations and professional associations. The landscape of organizations and trade unions / syndicates in Tunisia still reflecting an uneven reality between organizations that has exceeded the obstacles of woman's representation and organizations where woman still not represented adequately, if not absent. Six organizations that have exceeded the issue of women's representation in its structures were monitored, and they are: the Young Lawyers Association, Tunisian Magistrates Association, Tunisian Magistrates Union, Tunisian Journalists Union, Tunisian university professors and study ers Union and Industry and Trade Union. The notable is that such unions, despite the importance of the women's representation on it, did not considered women's issues in their programs, but were limited to professional concerns in general.

The two organizations that did not exceed the obstacles of women's representation are: Tunisian Union of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Tunisian Labor Union, they are two majestic organizations established a long time ago, but their leaderships are not mixed with women nor have few union officials.

Tunisian Union of Agriculture and Fisheries includes the National University of peasant which has one of its objectives to contribute to the economic, technical and social advancement of women and peasant women but the female element

¹²⁷ Sandro Lutyens, « Tunisie – Elections: After supporting the horizontal parity, political parties offer a minority of women heads of the list», HuffPost Maghreb, http://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/2014/08/19/tunisie-parite-horizontale_n_5690997.html.

is marginalized within this organization,¹²⁸ prompting members of the National University of peasants to claim the need to review the attendance rate of women in union structures in order to achieve no less than 30% of Women represented in both local or regional trade unions / syndicates bodies or at the national level The Tunisian General Labour Union, the oldest Tunisian union organization, where the percentage of women's involvement evolved after the revolution of 14 January 2011 from 48% to over 50%. However, and in spite of this important figure at the grassroots level, the percentage of woman's representation in the union's structures do not increase 2% in the best of cases since 2007, and it's in a significant decline¹²⁹. We notice that the presence of women is still tiny. Parties, trade unions / syndicates and professional associations in Tunisia have a lack in the female element, and even if they are led by women, they did not take real decisions for the integration of women in decision-making positions and did not adopt programs to strengthen the status of women in their organizations, they only have slogans without any impact on the level of application.



MOROCCO

◆ Parties

Political parties in Morocco are characterized by the diversity of ideologies and beliefs. Some are ancient and contemporary of the country's independence, and the others are modern generated by the political developments or excreted by social or partisan splits factors. Law No. 29.11 on political parties states the need to expand and mainstream political parties for women's participation in the political development of the country, by seeking to achieve the ratio of one-third for women within its nationally and regionally bodies, in the horizon to achieve equity between men and women as set forth in Chapter 19 of the Constitution, which the struggler partisan sees it a valuable asset.

Noteworthy that the Moroccan legislator determined a certain percentage (one third) that parties should seek to achieve, in contrast to the Law No. 36.04 that used to organize political parties under the 1996 Constitution and left the determination of this percentage for the Statute of the party. The one third is the minimum proportion, and therefore parties that are interested and supportive of women's political participation, may exceed this percentage to access the equity or less.

¹²⁸ Contribution of Working Women Committee in General Union of Tunisian Workers, enhancing the representation of women in unions and decision-making bodies, Saliha Almhok, World Social Forum (Dignity) session 12: Tunisia from March 26 to March 30, 2013. The study points to the weakness of women's representation compared to their involvement and estimate the proportion of women's representation in the Tunisian Union of Agriculture and Fisheries with 9%.

¹²⁹ Contribution of the Committee of Working Women in General Union of Tunisian Workers, enhancing of the woman's representation in unions and decision-making bodies, presented by Salha Al Mouhawak, World Social Forum (Al Karama) session 12: Tunisia from 26 March till 30 March 2013.

¹³⁰ Article 26 of the Law No. 29.11 concerning political parties

Although the differing ideologies, all parties have adopted the one third percentage set forth, while the remaining category of parties have identified a percentage less than one-third since the word "seek" used by the legislator in this article gives the possibility to determine a proportion less than one-third.

We will seek through the following to highlight the status of the woman within the parties by highlighting her status in the internal laws:

○ **Justice and Development Party:** it is a political party with an Islamic orientation; it is the party spearheading the current government after winning more than a quarter of the seats in the parliamentary elections of 2011. This party has worked to amend its statute within the delays set by Article 72 of the law of parties. However the percentage of women's representation in the General Secretariat of this party did not exceed 16%, while Article 17 of the law of parties stipulated the allocation of at least 25% of women in the decision-making and executive bodies of parties.

○ **Independence Party:** it is a conservative party; it is one of the first parties in which women achieved leadership positions with a percentage of 10% in its structures since 1982. Although its statute has been amended in 2012, the revised text does not talk about the percentages of woman's representation at the local and regional level, it only allocates 30% among 100 members elected by the National Council to form the Central Committee, and it stipulates this percentage if available.

○ **National Rally of Independents:** it affirmed its seeking to reach the one-third proportion within all its bodies nationally and regionally and in standing for election. We can find that it already approached this ratio at the national level, where women's representation was 28.57% in the political office.

○ **Authenticity and Modernity Party:** in order to set the proportion of women that should be available within its national and local bodies, this party used in its statute an accurate drafting stating that "the representation of women should not be less than one-third..." so we can discern that the goal is to reach equity. Authenticity and Modernity Party has been able to overcome this rate, reaching 35.71% for the representation of women in the party's political office.

○ **People's Movement Party:** This party did not work like the other parties to fit its basic law with the Constitution of 2011 and the law of parties. Its statute determines not less than 20% for women among elected members in the decision-making and executive structures of the party and in the National Board; it also considers void any list that do not meet this condition. However, in fact, the women's representation in this party did not exceed 13.63%.

¹³¹ We have been relying on the national study "strengthen the role of political parties and syndicates in empowering women's political participation. Moroccan case", Dr. Abdulrahim Al Maslouhi, April 2014, pp.38-44

○ **The Socialist Union of Popular Forces:** Article 26 of the amended Statute of the party identified concisely and vaguely the percentage of women that should be present in the party's bodies, however, this party was able to overcome the proportion of one-third in the members of its political office where the percentage of women in this body was 34.37%.

◆ **Trade unions / syndicates**

Due to the important development of the syndicate's activity in Morocco as a result of the syndicate pluralism on the one hand, and the expansion of economic activities and public functions on the other hand, and as a result of law obsolescence and the lack of response to developments, the Ministry of Employment and Vocational Training has taken the initiative to adopt a law concerning trade unions/ syndicates on October 10, 2010. This law has been strengthened due to the constitutional amendments of 2011 as these amendments added a new wave of democracy, the parity democracy, as the second paragraph of Article 21 provides as follows: "establishing, regulating and conducting the professional syndicate, basing on democratic principles that allow all members to participate in the election of decision-making, administrative and executive bodies. The basic laws and regulations include special requirements that ensure the women's representation in these bodies. "

To give effect to the provisions of this law, trade unions / syndicates have adopted in its basic laws the measures of positive discrimination through quotas system. Trade unions / syndicates work like parties on the framing and defense of the rights of groups that they represent, this task has affected it by creating organizations that are parallel to the syndicate, including women's organizations, which can be explained by the syndicate's study for the expansion of its women's base. However, we can notice the delay in adopting the quota system in comparison with the political parties imposed by law 36.04 to determine the percentage of women and men in their basic laws since 2005, As for the trade unions / syndicates, this procedure is voluntary and not mandatory through legislation, which caused the differences in women's ratio within bodies, between parity or one-third and 10%, which could be interpreted by the age of trade unions / syndicates in the one hand. On the other hand, the adoption of quota system is a syndicate awareness of the difficulties faced by woman and preventing her to contribute to the leadership of the syndicate action.



◆ Parties

Since the revolution of January 2011, Egyptian woman was the axis of a lot of events. She caused controversy about her role in the political successive scenes, most notably the parliamentary elections, the formation of political parties and movements - we should mention here the April 6 Youth Movement, which was founded by the young writer Israa Abdel Fattah and the Constitution Party, which is currently chaired by Dr. Hala Shokralla - protests of the second wave of the revolution and the restructuring of the national Council for Women. With the breadth of parties map in Egypt after the revolution, Women Lawyers and activists see that most of the political parties did not deal with woman as it should, in addition to the social heritage who believes that woman do not have the efficiency to exercise political action.

According to Dr. Amani Tawil¹³², an expert at Al Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, the political parties did not realize the importance of women's employment in its programs. Freedom and Justice Party (the political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood) did not realize the essential role that women play in society and did not clarify its attitude concerning the support of women candidature to presidential election. However, Al Nour Party (a salafi party) adopts a hostile attitude to women and considers that the presence of physical differences between man and woman do not qualify her to have a developmental and political role in society like man.

As for the parliamentary elections, according to the report of the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights (an NGO) entitled « After Revolution Parliament Return Woman 11 Years Back ... Egyptian Woman in the First Parliament after the Revolution». The first parliamentary elections after the twenty-fifth of January revolution has seen an unprecedented popularity from Egyptian women as candidates and voters¹³³ after that the revolution opened for them the doors of hope for a new tomorrow ensuring social justice. But the result was disappointing, declaring the victory of only 9 women on parties' lists, while no woman won on the individual seats, as well as the appointment of two women, so the number of female deputies was 11 deputies among 508 male deputies, by not more than 2%.

¹³² Amani Tawil, "The challenges of women's political participation, democracy", digital Ahram, 1st July 2013
<http://digital.ahram.org.eg/articles.aspx?Serial=1372153&eid=3486>

¹³³ According to the study carried out by Nouhad Abulkomsan, "In parliament 2012: What Women lost and what Egypt lost", a report by the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights in December 2012 that the representation of woman in the parliament of 2012 is estimated by only 2%, and in the Shura Council by only 2.7%, despite the extensive participation of woman as candidate and voter in the elections. 984 women have stand for the parliamentary elections, both on the lists, or compete for individual seats, and 396 candidates for the Shura Council elections, as the number of women who are entitled to vote is 23,000,500 citizens, and the electoral commissions witnessed the presence and active participation of women to cast their vote.

At the end of his report, the center considers that the parliament of revolution could not lead Egypt towards a fair parliamentary representation of woman, calling the Legislative Council to quickly take legislative measures to ensure the participation of women with a percentage not less than 30% in all elected councils in Egypt. As for the protests of the second wave of revolution; and according to another report for the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights entitled «Egyptian Women between Revolution's Wings and Reality Erosion», there is a big difference between the status of women in January 2011 and in December of the same year. As their pictures of struggler headed newspapers and global magazines after their participation in the revolution of January, their pictures headed the same newspapers at the end of the year as naked and oppressed.

The report highlighted what it described as the bitter reality experienced by Egyptian women, which is can be summarized by the deliberate exclusion as advocating policy pursued by the government after the revolution. The report monitored attempts to marginalize the role of woman on the political and social levels and the absence of security and its impact on violence against woman: At the political level, the report monitored the exclusion of women from the ministerial changes and conservative movement, the abolition of woman's «quota» in the parliament, and the placement of at least one woman in the lists, without specifying her order.

Women's organizations have expressed their deep concern about the weakness of women's representation in the parliament chambers, in such a way that do not fit with the stature and capabilities of women in society, calling for the need to emphasize the establishment of citizenship principle, and for the women to be equally represented in all stages of drawing the future of Egypt, fitting as well as with the real size of their role in society. Also, popular meetings called for the need to defend the rights of women, highlighting that women experienced, after the revolution, violations from the part of the state, parties and community, and that the current laws do not reflect equality, freedom or social justice.

The following describes the status of woman in the programs of some political parties that have the freedom to work after the revolution, whether new or old parties.

- ① **Freedom and Justice Party:** this party talked about woman's issues in its electoral program in more than one place. Some were under the title: "The conditions left by Mubarak regime," where it has been mentioned that the divorce rate reached 50% because of poverty, unemployment, and "the corrupt personal status laws that led the youth to refrain from marriage."

One of the principles that the party seeks to achieve is "equality and equal opportunities". In this context they mentioned the woman's guarantee to get her rights, "without contradiction with the Islamic law and in order to balance between her duties and rights." Also they mentioned the woman when they talked about "human building" in human development chapter where they emphasize the importance of woman's social support to help her to fulfill her role in society and enhance her participation in elections and legislatures membership, as well as supporting the eradication of illiteracy plans among women and subsidizing woman breadwinner, in addition to respect "the authentic role of women" as a wife, mother and generations builder.

Talking about family, the party program refers to the Egyptian family facing "systematic corruption" by several sides as "the National Council for Woman", "Motherhood and Childhood National Council", and civil society organizations that receive "suspicious funding," in addition to "corrupt laws", which came in response to international dictates because of the signature on agreements that do not fit the Egyptian culture and identity, such as the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of discrimination against Women (CEDAW)."

The party offers a vision to address family problems. It offers outreach programs to resolve these problems, activate laws and regulations to protect the rights and save the community, cancel the National Council for Women, as well as the Motherhood and Childhood National Council - who played the role of "intelligence arm" of international parties- and to establish a National Council for the Egyptian family instead of them. As well as amending the labor laws to allow for the birth mother to spend more time with her children, and reviewing the personal status laws to "purify it from materials that may destroy the family."

② **Al-Nour Party:** talking about woman in the Al-Nour Party program is done under the title: "the social field program" where the party considers that the status of woman in society should be based on "full equality in human dignity between man and woman, and the importance of working to maintain the differentiation between them in social and humanity roles". Then they talked about problems faced by women, and which is divided between problems experienced by the community as a whole, such as poverty, unemployment, etc., and other suffered by woman, in particular, such as weakness of social awareness on woman's issues, aspects of various forms of violence against woman, the problem of the woman spending on a family, as well as divorce and secret marriage problems.

The party believes that the solution of these problems lies in the conduction of study and intensive studies and the development of plans to change the culture of the community and its concepts, which leads to the activation of the woman's participation at all the levels. In addition to the launching of media, religious and social educational campaigns in order to correct the negative mental image of woman. Provided that these campaigns are based on the ethical values derived from the Islamic law and Egyptian tradition. Finally, the formation of fund powered by zakat and endowments institutions in order to help the disadvantaged groups of Egyptian woman.

③ **The Egyptian Social Democratic Party:** the program of the party states the obligation to not to deal with the woman in the Egyptian society from the perspective of exclusion and isolation. The party also addresses the need to review labor laws, provide employment opportunities for woman and the opening of all the fields for her, as well as the need to provide nurseries and services to the workers to help them join the labor market. The party also focuses on the need to provide legal protection from harassment in workplaces.

④ **Egyptian Liberal Party:** among the principles of this party, we mention the faith in the role of woman in society and the need to enable her to participate in all areas and to take over all public functions.

⑤ **Wafd Party:** in the context of that the Egyptian citizen is the cornerstone in the overall development of the country, comes the talk about Egyptian woman that have a large share in development programs as she is "the mother school that if you prepare her so you prepare a good nation." In another context, comes the talk about modifying the personal status laws to avoid family problems, which is overstocked in the courts because of the current law.

⑥ **Egypt Revolution Party:** the woman was not mentioned in this party's program, only in one item in the social program where the text stipulates the attention to woman and the development of her participation in the political and social work.

◆ Trade unions / syndicates

Although the Egyptian legislative regulation knew professional associations for decades and the women entered the work areas in different professions organized by trade unions / syndicates, whether those professions that require the joint of the syndicate for practicing such as the syndicate of doctors, lawyers, journalists, etc ... or professional associations which do not consider the joint a condition of practice. However, the practical reality highlights that the role of woman in the management of the affairs of her career by taking leadership positions in professional association that belong to is not clear yet.

But in general, and throughout its long history, the Egyptian syndicate movement did not witness a strong participation of women who her relationship with trade and labor trade unions / syndicates in Egypt still significantly restricted in the range of membership without a strong trend toward improving this participating to the top level of syndicate action, including membership of boards Association, committee chairs and syndicate division.

It should be noted the example of Dr. Mona Mina, member of the Council of General syndicate of Doctors, that has obtained the post of secretary-general of the syndicate in the council elections, and thus it became the first woman as secretary-general of the syndicate since its establishment in 1920¹³⁴. The achievement of Dr. Mona Mina is added to the successes of Egyptian woman, especially in this period of Egypt history during which woman is trying to prove her ability and right to participate alongside man for the advancement of the homeland. Dr. Mona Mina considers that the Egyptian woman is able to access and success in any leading position as long as she has the persistence, determination and ability to face all the difficulties, calling all the women of Egypt to continue the fight to access all their rights.

It is worth mentioning that Dr. Mina is the fourth woman to become the membership of the Board of doctors, and the first woman to occupy the post of Secretary General. She has fought many battles during medical work in order to reach a better life for doctors and all those working in the medical sector. She also founded a movement that includes all doctors to search for their rights wasted by governments; she called it "Doctors without rights" and she became the general coordinator of the movement before she won in the syndicate elections in 2011.

¹³⁴ "Officially ... Mona Mina win the post of Secretary General of the Medical Association", Almarshad, 19 December 2013. <http://almashad.net/Articles/530818.aspx>



LEBANON

◆ Parties

Concerning the issue of women's political participation, Lebanese parties are characterized with lack of party's support, such as financial aid for candidate and the limited access to political networks; which pay the attention of the observer to a duplication of standards that discriminate against the full integration of woman in the political life of the state. It seems that the official data for some political parties address the issues of gender equality and political participation of woman in the form of courtesy.

○ **Lebanese Communist Party:** the formal political statement of the Lebanese Communist Party does not treat directly with women's participation in politics. However, the second part of the article (A) calls for the need to enhance and ensure equality and equal opportunities for all the Lebanese (without dealing directly with gender). Also, the Part IV of the article (E) calls for the participation of woman equally in the cultural and educational fields. Women did never reach senior positions in the Lebanese Communist Party, despite the absence of restrictions related to this issue.

○ **Lebanese Forces Party:** The official political statement of the Lebanese Forces includes within its main principles (Article 10) an article recognizing the fact that the internal stability of Lebanon depends on the cooperation and equality among all ingathering and sects without distinction or discrimination on the basis of religion, gender or language. The statement also mentions the need for full participation (without specifying whether by individuals, communities or on the basis of gender) in the political affairs of the state. Between 1994 and 2005, Ms. Strida Geagea, was acting on behalf of her husband, who was serving a life sentence in prison, as head of the Lebanese Forces and she has been elected with five other women in the parliamentary elections in 2009¹³⁵.

○ **Syrian Social Nationalist Party:** the official political statement of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party does not defend explicitly the woman's role and participation in Lebanese politics. Although the party is secular, it has never nominated a woman in any parliamentary election and no woman was able to reach a high position within the hierarchy of the party, despite the absence of any restrictions on its internal laws¹³⁶.

¹³⁵ "Lebanese Parliament", Wikipedia
<http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/>

¹³⁶ "A delegation from Democratic Women's Caucus visited the Party", the official website of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party,
<http://ssnp.net/content/view/22681/174>

○ **Amal Movement:** Although the official political statement of Amal movement deals with the issue of equality in society at the individual and community levels, the issue of woman's political representation was not explicitly treated. Amal did not nominate any woman for the parliamentary elections during the past two decades. As well as no woman has reached a leading position within the party organization¹³⁷.

○ **Future Party:** encourages a wider participation of woman in the state's political affairs. During parliamentary elections in 2005, Future Party succeeded to lead two women to the Parliament, Bahia Hariri and Ghinwa Jalloul. We notice a strong contribution of woman in social and cultural activities initiated and carried out by the current¹³⁸.

○ **Hezbollah:** Although the original official political statement only dealt with internal and regional political issues and did talk about political and social equality between genders outside the permitted by Islam, Hezbollah allows women to participate in many social and political activities. However, the women's members, as it is the case in the other parties, do not have a remarkable presence in the leadership of the party despite the fact that a woman (Rima Fakhri) was appointed in the party's political Council in 2005¹³⁹.

○ **Progressive Socialist Party:** Progressive Socialist Party is dealing with the issue of women's political participation, but not in a direct manner, so by making her depend on the overall social and political progress in Lebanon. No woman reached the higher positions in the party ever. Women members are given a strong mandate in the social and cultural activities organized by the party¹⁴⁰.

○ **The Free Patriotic Movement (FPM):** This movement is recent in terms of active and organized political movements in Lebanon. Within the "Citizen 2" of its political program, FPM mentions woman's liberation as one of its objectives they work on to achieve through the introduction of "woman's quota system in public departments and institutions." During the 2005 elections, Gilbert Zuwein was nominated by the movement. The movement also has a Committee specializing in woman, headed by the daughter of MP Michel Aoun¹⁴¹.

¹³⁷ Amal movement, Wikipedia

<http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/>

¹³⁸ "attitudes praise the completion of the martyr president life by his family and confirm adherence to the principles and foundations launched for the renaissance of Lebanon", Future, No. 1898, p. 4, 22 April 2005
<http://www.almustaqbal.com/v4/Article.aspx?Type=np&Articleid=117852>

¹³⁹ "Women within "Hezbollah", between a relative success in overcoming male legacy and the inability to participate in political decision", Alrai, 13 April 2010, <http://www.alraimedia.com/Articles.aspx?id=185780>

¹⁴⁰ Assem Bader Al Dine, "Lebanese secular parties and its statue", ahewar, 12 August 2007
<http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=105667>

¹⁴¹ "Woman in Lebanese elections: second-class citizenship", Aswat, 7 January 2009,
<https://www.aswat.com/ar/node/1185>

We conclude that women's issues in the majority of parties is considered a purely women's affair and it never happened that the president of a party or its political office talked about a feminist issue, addressed it or support it only through partisan women. Also, she does not make a great effort to adopt seriously these issues such as sit-in, protests and demonstrations organization. We see that partisan participation in women's activities is limited to partisan women that are basically strugglers, and their participation is from personal and combative motives more than it is representative to this party or that.

◆ Trade unions / syndicates

The National Study of Lebanese state has highlighted the decline in partisan membership. This decline has coincided at a stage where two exterior factors overwhelmed, one party where the party's movement suffers from a terrible retreat stage so the rate of enrolment dropped to less than 5% and the trade unions / syndicates lack the confidence of citizens in general, men and women, in particular. The political factor is mainly due to one of the political crises in Lebanon, which caused the paralysis of executive and legislative authorities. No disagreement on that the political conflicts and Lebanese political sectarian divisions have produced more than one labor union. There is no doubt that there is confusion between labor interests and political interests, as the political intervention played a direct role in the fragmentation of the Lebanese syndicate's mechanism of action. The review of the history of the syndicate's movement in Lebanon and the Lebanese political status, imposes the following question: Do the search for separation between parties and political is objective within reach? Is the syndicate's movement in all spectra non-politicized at all? Is it possible to achieve this ideal ambition? Is this proposal serves the building of intact syndicate's movement in light of the political, sectarian and functional structure?! The various studies acknowledge that the political participation of Lebanese women is influenced by this sectarian fragmentation¹⁴³, which negatively reflect on strengthening the party's involvement of woman, in a field governed by a system based on quotas. We should also refer to the impact of the regulatory formula for syndicate's confederations in Lebanon on female representation within these frameworks as it is based on the Confederate formula that has two principles not available, the first is that representatives of trade unions / syndicates are assigned and not elected, thus there is no election for upper bodies by lower bodies, and the second is that this formula lacks to the equal representation of trade unions / syndicates in the General Union bodies, regardless of the number of members and thus the majority of trade unions / syndicates that constitute the General Labor Union reflects a professional and sectoral reality as much as it reflects a sectarian political orientation.

¹⁴² "Lebanese Women Democratic organization, the study of "organizational needs to empower women's participation in parties and syndicates in Lebanon", Beirut, May 2014, p. 59

¹⁴³ Shadi Nashaba, syndicate's action in Lebanon between bringing rights of workers and prosperity and the bow and dependency, November 2010.

<http://www.chadinachabe.com/?p=707>- Azza Al Horr Mrouweh, woman's issue in Lebanon, 2007

<http://www.dctcrs.org/s2114.htm>



◆ Parties

Despite the early involvement of women in political parties, they did not leave a mark on improving their political participation as it remained weak compared with men's participation, in addition to excluding them from decision-making positions in these parties that some of it adopts an enlightening thought that supports the integration of women in political and public life. The gap remained wide between theory and reality of women in parties to which they belong because of the tyranny of the political factor on the historical stages of the Palestinian people, which led to the identification of objectives and strategies focusing on freedom issues, while other issues was postponed until achieving the political goal. The experience proved, although the regression of national project and the emergence of new political parties and maybe they are alternative to the old parties, that the subject of women is not central to the parties. This maybe explains an important aspect of the reasons for the decline of Palestinian women's activity in the current phase, especially in the absence of a clear strategy for those parties about the situation of Palestinian woman, the absence of a clear vision for each party, the non-determination of its position towards woman and turning this situation into programs and working agendas on the ground.

By reference to the national study of Palestinian situation and contained Palestinian partisan witnesses expressing the deterioration of the woman's participation in Palestine and its causes, most respondents agree that the reality of the Palestinian political arena, especially in the post-Oslo Treaty, as well as the occupation, have contributed in the exclusion of Palestinian woman from the political arena. In the same framework, a leadership in the Popular Struggle Front confirms that there are two factors affecting the participation: "the objective factor, associated with the occupation and its practices that contributed in the generation of a severe foil case and had its impact on public participation and the self-factor, where sections live a case of alienation as a result of sagging and debility so she become unable to touch and accommodate the movement of the public."¹⁴⁴

A female leadership of the Palestinian People's Party describes the declination and exclusion of political parties from the arena of Palestinian political act, and the parties acceptance to the case of marginalization and how this fact influenced on Palestinian women by saying: "There is a decline in participation since the coming of power until today, where power dealt with the Palestine Liberation Organization

¹⁴⁴ Center for Women's Studies, "the political and syndicate woman's participation in Palestine to coincide with the Arab revolution, Reading the Palestinian reality in the context of gender relations," Ayman Abdel-Meguid, dr. Saaid Jas, Najla Barakat, April 2014, p. 25.

(PLO) as follower and not as a partner, and so political parties have been marginalized..... The first affected by this situation are Palestinian women, from two sides: the first from the general situation of being women governed by customs and traditions as the international funding was not working within a perspective that enhances the women's participation towards change at the grassroots level, but was under certain titles and has a clear agenda to systematically empty the regulatory, party and political action from its content, which is a reason no less important than the first reason.¹⁴⁵"

A female leadership in Fida party has analyzed the transformation that hit the Palestinian women's movement and the strength of their participation connecting to Oslo, as well as the exclusion of political parties from the political action circle by Fatah after Oslo. This exclusion created a feeling among activists' women that the power is monopolized by men, and that the quotas were based on male gender and the attention was at the individual circle.¹⁴⁶"

Donia Al Amal Ismail pointed out, in a study entitled "political participation of Palestinian woman between form and content"¹⁴⁷, the existence of an inverse relationship between the percentage of women and the power level, as the number of women decreases in political parties' senior positions. For example, women represent 5% of the members of the Central Committee of Fatah versus 4% of the members of the upper motor Committee, while in the Popular Front they represent 10% of the general Central Committee, and 30% in the Executive Office of Fida, also they represent 19% of the Central Committee of the Party itself, which is the highest percentage of women's participation in parties, although Fida is a small party compared with the other parties.

As the rate of women's participation in the structure of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine in the West Bank is higher than the rate in Gaza, the proportion of women in the Central Command in the West Bank reached 18%, while the share of the Gaza Strip was 13%, and in the general Central Committee was 19.5% in the West compared with 16.5% in Gaza. Despite the fact that women's representation in the central committees, which are the most important decision-making body of the party, is higher among left-wing parties, it remains a small percentage compared to the overall percentage, as well as the presence of women in such committees did not lead to the imposition of policies and partisan programs that adopt the feminist agenda parallel with the national action agenda, and women stayed adopting the national project that has been a priority in their activities.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 23

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p.24

¹⁴⁷ Donia Al Amal Ismail "Political Participation of Palestinian Woman Between Form and Content", *ahewar*, issue Nb. 960, 18-09-2004 <http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=23609>

In contrast, the same study showed that the Palestinian women's participation in non-governmental organizations is the widest, the oldest and the most versatile and effective, in spite of all that can be said about the quality and quantity decline of participation. Palestinian women found a real breather in these organizations that have arisen in the absence of the state, and gave them the opportunity to prove themselves as active citizens in the community and real participants in its issues and problems, in spite of the numerous difficulties that activists women faced previously by the Israeli occupation authorities, where they were seen as official institutions, carrying the case of national liberation as the first priority in the agenda of its work, even that which has taken - apparently - a social character.

During the period of Intifada women accounted for the work of these organization, and often its management due to the larger space of freedom than men- that are targeted by the occupation or absent because of arrest, deportation, stealthy or otherwise - and thus we can look at these institutions, including non-governmental organizations, as one of the political situation results that produced in turn an urgent need to a social support expressing himself with various images and forms. We notice that in the tyranny of political action stage, and the work within agenda that do not put women's issues on top of its priorities, women used to accept working within non-governmental organizations by national / struggle motive, but gradually and with the decline of the Palestinian national project and the stagnation of the political parties, especially leftist ones, the women's interest in national action faded to be replaced by a new feeling associated with political conditions and regression, a feeling with frustration and sense of refraction and futility of any activity; it's a feeling caused by the shock of the sudden political changes, putting institutions, individuals and people in front of the question:

What is the feasibility of what we do?

◆ Trade unions / syndicates

Despite the trend of woman to engage in many activities, her low participation in syndicate's action remained clear. Wejdan Al Bayoumi¹⁴⁸, project coordinator of women's issues center, describes that syndicate's structure in Palestine is based on factional quota as the trade unions / syndicates' federation is non-independent, in addition to the politicization of syndicate's work and the domination of men on leading bodies, trade unions / syndicates and boards to be closed directors for specific parties, which makes the reluctance of women to participate in syndicate's action larger.

It's obviously clear, by the results of the national study of the Palestinian state, which showed that the syndicate's action in Palestine is a reflection of party's work, and with the regression that hit the political parties, the syndicate's work declined in Palestine

This big problem is reflected through the trade unions / syndicates' negligence for its expected role of developing the situation of Palestinian workers and advancing the labor syndicate's movement in Palestine due to the lack of trade unions / syndicates' independence and the weakness of its interest in woman's participation in the labor market and depriving her from opportunities. In the situation of decline, real gaps associated with social gender situations emerged and feminist element's participation became limited in comparison with men. The Palestinian woman is wondering where the interest of participating and joining trade unions / syndicates that did not provide services or interests is, in addition that the syndicate's work is voluntary if these frameworks lost the main object in order to satisfy funding institutions.

It's also highlighted that the role of Palestinian woman in the syndicate's action is similar to her situation in all the roles assigned to her in the community, and that the masculine environment of the Palestinian society does not allows woman to exercise her rights fully, whether on the political, social, or syndicate level. Regarding the non-exercising of the Palestinian woman for her rights at the syndicate's level, it could be said that previous periods represented men's monopoly of syndicate's action, for example, but not limited to, if we look at the Federation of Trade unions/ syndicates that includes three main unions¹⁴⁹, we find that there are no women

¹⁴⁸ Women's Issues Centre organizes a seminar on women's rights between theory and practice, Maan news agency, October 27, 2010 <http://www.maannews.net/arb/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=328279>

¹⁴⁹ Palestinian arena includes three essential unions: the General Union of Palestinian Workers, the General Federation of Trade Unions of Palestine and the Federation of Independent Trade Unions. The first was established outside of Palestine under the umbrella of the PLO, the second grew up as a result of the natural evolution of the syndicate's movement inland. However the third model of syndicate is the General Federation of Independent Trade Unions, which was newly established in the context of the natural evolution of the trade union movement, and in the context of the invitation to address the imbalances suffered by the syndicate's action during the previous period. What distinguishes the rise of this new syndicate power is the synchronization of the pursuit, in the wider Arab context, the trend since 2011 to dismantle or curtail the role of previous "Official" syndicates and establish trade frameworks that are actually independent from all institutions of power (whatever its political or sectarian color), that are actually able to critique power and develop workers' demands and social and economic class, on the agenda of the existing (or renewable) systems of governance, the fact that these deferred demands are the main cause of the Arab mass movement (despite all attempts to hijack it by spreading sectarian, money or security culture). Raja Al Khalidi, Muhannad Hamid, the syndicate scene in Palestine, <http://arabi.assafir.com/article.asp?aid=1429&refsite=arabi&reftype=articles&refzone=articles>

members in the governing body. Among the six trade unions / syndicates, we hardly find two or three and if we reviewed the syndicate members we know that the percentage of members women do not reach 1% noting that they have their presence, interaction and value in society.

Rima Katana Nazzal , Writer, feminist activist and member of the Secretariat of the General Union of Palestinian Woman, said that the reasons of woman behind leaving syndicate's work are numerous, including that the women's organizations such as associations and unions, although it addressed in their programs to the working or professional women, but this trend has remained in its theoretical framework without practice through activities and mechanisms, no invitation has been addressed to the working and professional members who joined the feminist institutions to incorporate in trade unions / syndicates for affiliation in specialized frameworks, also their activities have not been systematically oriented to achieve their demands and syndicate's cases.

Nazzal pointed out that trade unions/ syndicates and professional trade unions/ syndicates has turned into political institutions working on political affairs more than logistical concern on the basis of which it has been formed, making workers and professionals turning a blind eye to the membership because their concerns and interests has combined with political concerns. Trade unions / syndicates in the mind of their audience are factions or political objects, noting at the same time that the internal conflicts, splits and regulatory differences in trade unions / syndicates contributed to the move away of women from membership and affiliation, as well as the absence of democratic life on trade unions / syndicates is represented by the periodic elections to renew the governing bodies and the organizational preparations, such as placement campaigns and basal conferences, made the governing bodies eternal to their respective owners like it is a private sector and individual ownership, which reduced women's opportunities, excluded them from trade union action, stood as an obstacle to the renewal of their blood and supplied them with new powers either feminine or masculine.

With regard to the damage caused to women due to their absence or excluding from union work, Nazzal explained that this absence led in turn to the absence of syndicate woman's demands and issues from the syndicate programs, as males cannot represent the concerns, interests and demands of woman. The absence of woman caused the loss of momentum for syndicate's work and the effectiveness of feminist worker sector who suffers from concerns, intersected with the concerns of Labor and professional sector and had a privacy as it suffers from legal and financial discrimination and is exploited and specifically in the unorganized sector such as female workers in agriculture or secretaries, nurses, domestic workers and contractors with underground contracts...

The absence of woman in trade unions/ syndicates led and will necessarily lead to her absence in the national and social work, and then the national and political movement lost the mass momentum. Nazzal also noted that the non-participation of woman in syndicate reflected the non-participation of her in the debate about the laws affecting her and relevant with her daily physical and living concern and made laws masculine when setting and discussing it and until approval.

Bayoumi sees that the damage starts from the smallest components of society, the family, and finishes with leadership bodies that make community decisions. Women's interests have damaged as a result of this absence, so the working woman became the most vulnerable to exploitation in the various sectors of employment, whether they are private or public, in terms of employment, wages and promotions' discrimination and also at the level of laws. There is a clear discrimination against women at this level, it affected women's interests, even in emergency projects that have been implemented over the last four years and the proportion of women who benefit was very small, which caused a number of negative implications on the status of working woman. Depriving her from jobs opportunities and violating her rights become humiliating and led her to deal at her expense unfair monopoly, in addition to that the marginalization and exclusion of women become constitute of cultural components of our society.

Various national scenes and one reality of Arab women political participation:

Based on what was previously presented, fields of convergence and diversion between different political scenes presented in the study can be adopted, considering the Arab woman's political participation in parties and trade unions / syndicates, the Arab woman is involved in several points concerning her participation in public life and particularly in political life. These characteristics represent a motivating or hindering factor for woman's presence on the political scene.

In order to understand the characteristics of this common reality, **the characteristics of the national political scene of each country** were analyzed and taken into account

It is noticeable that the political system in Lebanon is based on the adoption of consensual democracy between the national community components which assures that it is complex and multiple. The consensual political system is characterized by the reality that it is not only based on constitution but also on conventions and agreements concluded between sects on the basis of equity between Christian and Muslim sects as main components of country as well as the relativity base within every sect¹⁵¹.

¹⁵¹ The granting of all 18 Lebanese sects, the authority to manage the personal status of its citizens is considered a woman subordination to sectarian rules and depriving her from any civil belonging as a full citizen with rights and duties, the Lebanese women Democratic gathering, the study of "regulatory needs to empower the participation of women in political parties and syndicates in Lebanon", Beirut – May 2014, p. 28.

The nature of this political reality affected the Lebanese woman's situation in the parliament, where the political participation of women in the parliament is affected by sectarian and masculine standards governing the representatives of people arrival to power. Few women were elected in parliament "they came from a tribal environment inheriting political positions¹⁵²". The women participation in parliament is thus by family and sectarian inheritance what makes it hard for woman to participate in politics under the historical legacy ,which divided work according to gender making the private sphere a steady for woman and her ambitions.

It is worth mentioning that several trade unions / syndicates in Lebanon has been established under a party initiative¹⁵³ and its membership is dominated by sectarian character, it did not aim to meet a regulatory labor need but a party tendency towards parties ideological orientations. This reflects the grave flaw in internal approach of trade unions / syndicates, what lead to consider that the process of women enrollment into trade unions / syndicates is nothing more than a routine practice despite the convergence of involvement rates for men and women¹⁵⁴. However, these converged ratios are not considered a "total "involvement, but women remain a way of mobilization and this is showed by the fact they do not take leadership¹⁵⁵.

It is noticeable that the situation of Palestinian woman on the political scene is different from the situation of Lebanese woman for lack of sectarian sort, adding that unclerness of both, party and sectarian positions combines sometimes with the existing social system. However, sectarianism effect in Lebanon is more severe on woman with evidence that the quota system remains rejected while it is approved in public life in Palestine by the parliament, trade unions / syndicates, parties and local authorities. Although there are often some faults while combining with the community and family culture over women's interests.

The feminist movement in Palestine has recognized early the exclusion process exercised by political parties against women and especially for senior leadership structures, which led in turn to increase participation gaps between men and women. Therefore, women leaderships issued a document criticizing the political parties' positions towards woman's issues and her participation in the general political scene, denouncing the absence of the leadership role of women within the parties. These unclear and unstable positions of parties were issued to ensure that feminist movement was convinced of the absence of the agenda to confront conservative and conventional forces concerning women's issues.

¹⁵² Lebanese women democratic gathering , the study of " regulatory needs to empower the participation of women in political parties and syndicates in Lebanon", Beirut – May 2014, p. 30

¹⁵³ Ibid, page 67.

¹⁵⁴ The national Lebanese study shows that the percentage of women's enrollment into syndicates is between 40% and 43%, page 87.

¹⁵⁵ As for the elected women presence in executive boards of 8 syndicates, ratios are around 0% and 33% , Lebanese women democratic gathering , the study of " regulatory needs to empower the participation of women in political parties and syndicates in Lebanon", Beirut – May 2014, p. 92.

It is noteworthy in this regard, the negative role of Fatah movement as for the absence of woman through taking the power and the exclusionary attitude towards woman's issue considering the national issue as a priority¹⁵⁶.

This fluctuation is reflected when revising the internal organization for parties and trade unions / syndicates and their effects on women's representation within their frameworks, as no real changes were noticed in parties programs or their political system to face the cultural and social structures based on the principal of woman's exclusion. Despite the clearness of ideological sources of secular, progressive and left ideology supporting the gender equality principle, on the basis of civil citizenship, these parties however, are still handling the subject timidly and it does not figure on the list of their priorities and struggle agenda and is associated with contrary practices of theorizing released by parties specially the "left" ones.

This shows the state of uncertainty in intellectual and ideological practice undergone by parties which affects negatively and mainly woman's issue and gender equality.

The syndical situation in Palestine is not different from the party situation, it is more complicated because trade unions / syndicates are formed in their majority by electoral alliances with different political and social agendas led by electoral conflicts for syndical winning or quota divisions, this situation gives priority to the demands of the trade unions / syndicates members rather than caring about class and social agendas for women and their issues.

What make the trade unions / syndicates more closed are the isolation of syndical trade unions / syndicates from their social and class reality and the compatibility of their programs with financial agendas in the context of the marginalization of the principles of democracy and freedoms and civil rights, especially for women. This way, parties and trade unions / syndicates are *on a compromise vision and not seeking*¹⁵⁷ to contribute to the empowerment of women's status in political life.

Among the points of convergence that have been deduced after studying various national reports is *the primary role of the constitutional and legislative guarantees*, in condition of their activation, to enhance women's integration in political life. Morocco and Tunisia have been relatively succeed in realizing this since the constitution of these two countries guaranteed the right of woman to participate in political life and have been activated through the legislation of a law for parties seeking to activate this constitutional principle practically .

¹⁵⁶ Ayman Abdel-Meguid, D. Saed Gaz , Najlaa Barakat" political and syndical participation of women in Palestine within Arab revolutions , viewing the Palestinian situation in context of gender relations , "the Jerusalem Center for Women's Studies, April 2014, p. 33.

¹⁵⁷ Ayman Abdel-Meguid, D. Saed Gaz , Najlaa Barakat" political and syndical participation of women in Palestine within Arab revolutions , viewing the Palestinian situation in context of gender relations , "the Jerusalem Center for Women's Studies, April 2014, p. 42.

Back to the Moroccan experience, we notice the stable development of woman's representation in elected structures, although slow, under a clear constitutional support. The adoption of quota mechanism in 2002 allowed 30 women to reach the parliament by more than 10% and 17% in 2011¹⁵⁸.

In reference to the reasons of this remarkable improvement of Moroccan woman participation in parties, we noticed that Morocco sought to be among countries supporting human rights and public freedoms and specially woman's political rights and primarily the right in political action. The Moroccan constitution dedicated a clear chapter for freedoms and fundamental rights, articles 2 and 3 from chapter 19 of Moroccan constitution of 2011 ensured that the state is seeking to implement the principle of equity and form a body for it: "the state is seeking to implement equity between men and women, and forms for this purpose an union for equity and fighting all discrimination forms¹⁵⁹.

It should be noted that the constitutional amendments to the political rights of woman were in interaction with a number of UN recommendations stating the need of a transformation from a semi-voluntary guarantees of political parties based on compliance to legislative guarantees by emphasizing and enforcing mechanism quota, though gradually.

However, the Moroccan experience is not devoid from impurities. The accomplishments that have been achieved by political parties were not followed by syndical achievements. This is due to the fact that the same constitutional amendments of 2011 did not provide the mandatory adoption of quota mechanism and made the women representation in leadership structures one of her matters. As for the Tunisian experience, under the Constitution of January 2014, Tunisian woman has been able to fortify her human rights gains at a constitutional level, as the Article 21 stated that: "Citizens and female citizens are equal in rights and duties, and they are equal under law without distinction."

The controversy aroused again in Tunisia considering woman's participation in political life like the formation of electoral lists considering parliamentary and presidential elections for the upcoming year 2014 based on a new constitution which was approved by the National Constituent Assembly. Although gender equality was provided in lists under the new electoral law which provides gender equality in each electoral list, otherwise, it will be completely dropped; the weak presence of women on top of electoral lists is remarkable in a country claiming to be modernized and is considered to be an exception in the Arab world in this regard.

¹⁵⁸ Dr. Abed El Rahim Al Sawlahi "empowering the role of political parties and syndicates in woman's political participation, Moroccan status", the Arab Institute for Human Rights, April 2014, p. 9

¹⁵⁹ Dr. Abed El Rahim Al Sawlahi "empowering role of political parties and syndicates in woman's political participation, Moroccan status", the Arab Institute for Human Rights, April 2014, p. 22.SD

The Tunisian institutions are thus called to ensure serious implementation of constitutional principles in order to surpass the limited development of woman's participation within the political parties and the apparent imbalance of woman's participation in trade unions / syndicates¹⁶⁰.

The importance of constitutional guarantees and their role of ensuring woman rights like the Egyptian example in context of Arab spring which was expected to bring revolution to the level of rights, public and individual freedoms especially for women. Egyptian woman played a major role in the events of January 2011 revolution, however, the constitution amendments of 2012 were out the scope of the Egyptian constitution concerning woman rights, the constitution of 2012 did not include any explicit article on woman's rights¹⁶¹ and against discrimination towards her or any article of positive distinction of woman to allow her to participate in public life, therefore the constitution did not last long and a new constitution was formulated in 2014 including more than 20 articles trying to reform the injustice towards woman's in the constitution of 2012. However, woman's had biggest ambitions in constitutional articles emphasizing equity of political rights alike the Tunisian constitution and the Article 19 of Moroccan constitution known as equity article.

Based on the aforementioned, should we wonder about the capability of political parties and professional trade unions / syndicates in women's integration under the present social mobility?

In an attempt to answer this question, Hala Morgan presented a study¹⁶² aiming to analyze the events associated with the present democratic transformation process, concluding that this process is confused and changeable and under a considerable political pressure as well as a clear weakness of woman's participation in political life through the democratic transformation process which is due primarily to the growing gap between law /or constitution and the implementation.

Accordingly, the study er noted the need of presence of supporting mechanisms for gender perspective in the implementation of all laws concerning political participation of woman in political parties and trade unions / syndicates as stable elements of civil society.

¹⁶⁰ Dr. Hafiza Chkeir , Dr. Mohamad Chafik " woman and political participation, experience of political parties, syndicates and professional associations, the Arab Institute for Human Rights, Tunisia, p. 32.

¹⁶¹ Mr. Ahmed Abul-Magd, a lawyer, "participation of woman, where does woman and political participation emanate from? And to where? "Question for the conscience of the nation. Study on the participation of Egyptian women and structural reform to empower the active participation of woman," p. 10.

¹⁶² Hala Morgan, the role of civil society in the democratic transition: political parties and syndicates "(gender perspective in the Egyptian parties and syndicates: case study), conference on" The Role of Arab civil society organizations in the social multi-party dialogue ", humans Development Foundation, December 2012.

Thus, there is a great responsibility for decision-makers in civil society institutions where this study considered trade unions / syndicates and parties as examples for being the most important elements to the democratic transformation.

- Decision-makers and policy makers should consider women's issues as a part related to the democratic transformation process and that no proper democratic transformation without women's intervention in the change process.
- Decision-makers must constantly evaluate their policies and their impact on women in practical and private life to ensure the involvement of half of the society in transformation process.
- Decision-makers should involve women in decision-making and policy development by providing leadership positions for women in the state.
- Civil society institutions, especially the political parties and trade unions / syndicates, must give women the opportunity to reach leadership positions by putting them on top of their electoral lists in either legislative or local elections.
- Women's work in parties and trade unions / syndicates should not be reduced as this will isolate them from what is going on in political, social, economic and cultural life, instead, they must be integrated with their issues, a part of general issue in party work and involve them in all matters related to public affairs.
- Parties and trade unions / syndicates must include political participation programs for women leaders within the strategy of action in these institutions, the woman understanding of her society's issues and not only women's issue contributes in creating women leaders within syndicate or party.

Last but not least, although the quota of Egyptian woman particularly and Arab woman in general from the Arab revolution spring is not yet complete, however, the issue of activating and stimulating the political participation for woman in Egypt is not the priority of society. The serious issue is that the woman participation in parties and trade unions / syndicates is still considered an individualist feminist issue and not a social issue at all. Woman, at all educational, social and economic level must therefore know that she is the only one capable to achieve freedom ensuring her social equity and human dignity allowing her to perform her role in society whether inside the house or outside properly.

Therefore, and with all what Arab Countries witnessed and still, under the democratic transition, due to popular revolutions that broke out and had a major influence on some Arab countries where it took place, and indirect impact on the surrounding countries, the new perceptions to change the situation and to redevelop have a strongest effectiveness on women mobilization in society under this democratic transition, an urgent need to a more worthy considered investment from what is already predominant. No one can deny woman's role who were side by side with man in requesting democratic transition in Arab countries and creating a radical change in Arab societies, and therefore we must emphasize that any result can be expected in a social movement in these Arab societies after these revolutions, must be based on a clear agenda through contributing and investing of woman's abilities in educational, political, social and cultural mobilization. This ambitious project needs to build a coherent community system which is conscious and aware of the facts of the following state at the local, regional and global level, requiring the need to invest in wasted society energies especially woman's capabilities in building society.

The Tunisian experience is a great example, it sought to guarantee political and constitutional reforms to establish the concept of citizenship in which all forms of discrimination are rejected and in particular those based on gender and for women being at the front of democratic formation which puts equity issues and non-discrimination at the core of change path, the equity principle has been adopted in all lists candidates of National Constituent Assembly elections and this was realized after the amendment of chapter 16 of the decree concerning the election of National Constituent Assembly which acknowledged in his first formula assigning 25% of the seats for women.

The supreme commission board has ratified by its majority to achieve the goals of the revolution and political reform and democratic transition, this amendment described as " historical" is considered a rehabilitation to Tunisia and the history of common struggle between men and women for democracy which cannot be " exclusionary ".

Equity is a principle that allows establishing a proper democratic approach considering that equity contributes in establishing a new vision of relations between men and women like what happened in 1956 when ratifying the personal status code as gender equity in constituent assembly reinforced the status of Tunisian women as a full citizen with rights and duties and can participate in political life.

Therefore, progressive forces and social, cultural, democratic policy should elites, similar to what is done by civil society institutions in Tunisia, her historical responsibility in consolidating citizenship and equality issues and discrimination against woman. In order to achieve this, official bodies and civil society organizations must work on reformulating the role of woman in development and coordinating efforts according to a deliberate strategy system is achieved through its axes to invest what could accommodate changes cells in community towards achieving greater efficiency for their role as consistent with the requirements of the integrative role along with men.

When will parties and trade unions / syndicates assume their responsibility for a serious framing for woman's political participation? Parties and trade unions / syndicates should play their role as institutions and structure of Liberian and new Liberian policies on the life of poor and marginalized individuals, women at first. It is the time to be resolved with duality which makes it fluctuate in taking the right decisions in this regard. Therefore, the activation of the political participation of Arab woman is considered an essential element seeking to consolidate a new distribution of social and political function of the individual at Arab societies on the basis of ability and efficiency and not on the basis of gender and the eradication of gender inequality and its consequences on intellectual and cultural Arab system values, until devoting citizenships and democracy of Arab individual regardless his gender or other distinction characteristics between human beings .

Despite all of what has been achieved over the years of gains on the level of activation of the political and social role of Arab women and their political rights, we still cannot talk about the elimination of the manifestations of marginalization, exclusion and discrimination, which affects the Arab woman within political parties and trade unions / syndicates.

The weakness aspects in political will led to a decrease in women's participation in electoral process and woman's representation in parliament and the limits of her participation in decision-making positions in executive authority, as well as depriving women from political participation on all its aspects. Another weakness aspect in political will is the ratifying of some Arab countries of international human rights conventions in general or ratifying it with reservations of the articles related to human rights while keeping legal provisions of discrimination against woman, and inspire cultural legacies based on subordination and support, validated.

In the same context, it is also referred to traditions and social customs that force woman, in many cases, to express her opinion according to the wills of others and not according to her beliefs in candidate's programs. The concept of political participation embraces values and practices based on partnership, equality and recognition of capacity, efficiency and promotion of action fields and political behavior. These are all absent or incomplete aspects requiring more effort to establish the necessary awareness for the success of this path.

Therefore, any strategy or road map aims to a wider participation of woman in political life and not temporary or short-term measures, it should rely thus on complete vision of number of basis and struggle actions leading to increase woman's participation in political life and allowing her to perform a real and effective progress in the political field.

3

CHAPTER 3

The reasons for the weakness of female presence within political parties and trade unions / syndicates structures

- | | |
|---------|---------------------|
| First | Political obstacles |
| Second | Economic obstacles |
| Thirdly | Social obstacles |
| Fourth | Cultural obstacles |

The building of democracy and achieving freedom, a quality and development in Arab societies should pass inevitably by promoting the general women rights and consecrating their participation in political life namely through fostering the equality in the field of civil status and establishing mechanisms to protect women rights, providing equal opportunities between genders, supporting the capacity of Arab women to combine between their right to work and their family duties, and providing their rights in power structures and mechanisms as well as decision making positions. A categoric change in Arab women conditions in general as well as their participation in political life namely may not be achieved in general or particular vision but by a comprehensive and integral one not limited to the role of governments but based basically on a civil community through its institutions and mainly the women and legal associations.

It is worth to mention that women's participation in political life and the importance of their role in the public affairs are facing since many years a significant importance reflecting the faith of all parties that women have an effective and significant political role in Arab societies

The women participation in political life is based on the condition of the society in which they live and this participation relies on the degree of freedom and democracy of the society on the political level and on the social freedom granted for women to practice this role. Therefore we cannot discuss the political women participation apart from cultural, social and economic conditions of the society

If we consider that political women participation is deemed as one of the significant factors to know the progress of modernism and development and civilization promotion in any society closely linked to the rights and freedoms levels and the women rights in theory and reality, should we analyze the condition of women in Arab countries we will notice that the issue of empowering women on the political level and promoting their participation efficiently in the political activity is still shy and did not have the importance on the agenda of political parties being pro-government or in the opposition generally in the Arab nation due to the prevailing social condition and the vision of women as less than men and accordingly this will affect negatively the presence of women in the political life and their ascending to the political positions¹⁶³ .

¹⁶³ Statistics from the official website of the United Nations Development Fund for Women, entitled Women and politics for the year 2014 http://www.unwomen.org/~media/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Library/Publications/2014/wmnmap14_fr%20pdf.pdf

Driven by our belief that the women participation in political life is an index and a measure of development of the society and in order to insure and foster the presence of women in political life through the development of their participation in parties and trade unions we should first and basically tackle all the obstacles with their various reasons hindering the integration of women efficiently and permanently in political life.

In general and before speaking about details we can say that women rights issue did not enter yet in the comprehensive development operation in our Arab nation inclusive their right to participate in political life whereas many researchers and studies¹⁶⁴ show the weak participation of women in the elections and their limited participation in parliament and weak participation on the level of the executive power. This representation problem is not limited to decision making power but is ramified to political parties and trade unions.

Also the political and trade union participation of women requires a change in the existing structures and is linked to the effective rate of rights based on justice and on illuminating social, financial, and category gaps in order to balance the public life participation,

In this chapter we will try to expose all the obstacles hindering the achievement of an efficient and conscious political participation of women in Arab societies and analyze the same in details and provide some recommendations to overcome those obstacles and achieve the required objective which is the promotion of Arab women participation in political life

¹⁶⁴ Report of the United Nations Development Fund for Women on women's participation in the parliamentary elections after the revolution. Comparative experiences of Egypt, Libya and Tunisia. Alvahrh, December 9 to 10, 2012. <http://www.agora-parl.org/sites/default/files/file.pdf>

1

POLITICAL BARRIERS

The political obstacles are important factors hindering women from participating in political life; we hereby mention in general those obstacles.

- **The electrical and political systems:** Negatively affect the women participation as violence; corruption and money weapon prevail in politics which lead women to reduce their participation.

In Egypt the political violence against women constituted a measure challenge before the revolution of May 25, 2011 this challenge became more monstrous and serious after revolution and was considered as one prominent obstacles for political women participation driving many women not to participate as candidates or electors, therefore Egypt registered a significant regression on the level of political rights of women and was ranked 125 over 133 worldwide according to the genders gap report issued by the international financial forum 2012.

Egypt reached the rank 128 over 131 nation in terms of women representation a parliament due to the regression in women representation (12.5 in parliament in 2010) and was reduced to 10% in parliament – 2011 (what was called the revolution parliament) whereas the rate of women in the state council was five out of 180 seat i.e. 2.7 %

In Tunisia the political seam was less difficult since the elections of the constitutional council in October 2011 registered 37.27 % for women electors' participation against 62.73 % for men

Therefore, this condition is not considered as an exemption for the figures during previous historical periods since during eras there was an inequality between the rights of men and women despite the modernism acquirements which cannot be denied but the condition of women remains as secondary element in societies in all civilizations and cultures. For instance, worldwide this inequality is translated by the presence of 7 women's presidents against 143 men! What are the changes of Arab women after revolutions and what are the democratic benefits and where do women stand in these revolutions.

Asma Lmourabet deems in her study that the time did not arrive to provide a detailed or acquired evaluation of changes that these revolutions may provide for the benefit of women in the future and for the interest of all Arab societies in general. The indexes so far for seen are not encouraging and remind the historic condition of women after all the revolutions

There is a real reconsideration of the trend sequences relating to Arab women abide these revolutions, because the presence of women on the public arena is not you, all women that lead the major revolutions were marginalize afterwards and were kindly requested to go home. The researcher El Mourabet adds that Arab women revolted against the traditional culture and against the political despotism. In this field this dual problematic should be dismantled. I.e. the social tyranny and the traditional oppression. By working on these true aspects of democracy and religious mentality reform, the social changes may be realized. This liberation process shall inevitably face a significant resistance but the women dynamics will not stop whatsoever the obstacle may be.

The best example of this is chapter 28 of the preliminary draft of the Tunisia Constitution between the persons concerned in public affairs as well as the civil organization and associations whereas this chapter was described as an opposition to progress and violation of the acquirements of Tunisian women and some politicians even said that chapter 28 is the beginning of the change of the Tunisian society prototype and a discrimination between genders. The opposite political trend (more Islamic) considered that the reactions are in fact political positions to earn more votes. Therefore the women rights issue and their acquirements became the gear for competitiveness between political parties and a door for electoral advertising.

○ **Weakness and shy political and trade union support:** the majority of political parties in Arab countries do not evaluate the role of women and their abilities to work in public and adopt an erroneous conception of women participation not overcoming a formal participation or a limited one. The position of parties is reflected not on the level of representation in supreme bodies or candidacy to election but on the composition level in terms of women political parties executive presence. All the parties contented to constitute committees for women which declared objective was to enhance the membership of women but the reality was different totally in Lebanon and Palestine this particularity hindering women participation in parties and trade unions is accentuated, for example one of the aspects of this obstacles was a blurry relationship between the political parties and trade unions in Palestine considering that the first did not take a categorical position towards women affairs as social issues. As we have pointed in the previous chapter the trade union reality does not differ significantly from the political parties and trade unions on the account of women issues, therefore we can conclude that the political and trade union Palestinian environment does not respond to women movement within political parties and unions due to the gap between the ideological identity of parties and trade unions and the effective practice within their organizational structures. An activist unionist in Palestine analysis this degrading situation by the occurrence of an inversion

in many trade unions concepts in Palestine compared to the Palestinian history and the role of trade unions in the struggles against occupations, this inversion is linked to the change in the syndical activity from a sustained struggle to a seasonal one relating to funding., the Lebanese political and trade union reality is not different from the Palestinian one considering that in general political parties and prevailing political forces on the political arena imply the weakness of commitment of these powers in women affairs notwithstanding the significant role of Lebanese women in ending the civil war. Accordingly we can see that women affairs inclusive the issue of promoting their political presence do not constitute an important article on the road map of political programs or electoral plans of parties which are providing utmost independent organization of women within their organization for social, religious, educational and health objectives reflecting the traditional vision of divining roles within the Lebanese societies, regarding the trade union membership of women this remains a routine practice not reflecting at all a serious and conscious commitment to the importance of trade union movement and is reflected in the representation of women in the executive councils of the most important Lebanese syndicates and unions ranging at 33 % maximum and 0 % minimum.

In Morocco the reasons are different even if the situation was alike the previous countries. The Moroccan women suffer from an exclusion from the unions activities which is mainly reflected by the absence of studies from political parties and trade unions relevant to the membership of women in the same, this limited participation of women in trade unions in Morocco is based mainly on the late adoption by syndicates and trade unions of shares systems compared to the political parties obliged by the law 36.04 to define a share for women and men in their bylaws since 2005. Regarding trade unions this procedures remained not obligatory by legislation, it is worth to mention that many Moroccan syndicates confirmed in their last conferences the adoption of a text based on the last Constitution amendment consecrating the principle of a quality but notes the different of rates fixed for women in the organization between the real equality or third or 10% which may be interpreted by the difference between the period of existence of syndicates

○ The characteristics of the political system: the political participation of women is limited especially due to the absence of democracy, exclusion of votes not favorable to the governing party and authoritarianism. In addition to this in general some Arab societies are characterized by a confessional and tribalism supremacy which is prevailing on the political and electoral systems in Lebanon and Palestine which are based primarily on the affiliation to the tribe or to the families whereas their special rules prevail. In this system the candidate is elected by all the voices or the representative of the tribe participates in the election not as an individual in the society enjoying all the rights and obligations and therefore this system is based on confessional

and tribal representation not on the women and men citizen representation , this characteristic negatively affect the promotion of political participation of women within a political system similar considering that reaching decision making positions in Lebanon is done by male inheritance mechanism which is generated by the patriarcha male supremacy. A woman may be elected by inheritance in case of absence of a man to continue the path. By nature women are the big losers in the confessional political system based on family political inheritance and patriarchal system and confessional distribution of representatives of the people as well as confessional seats therefore the confessions discriminating women basically will seek a male representative in legislative, executive and procedural institutions.

○ The raise of Islamic movements to governance and their opposition to the women claims namely in terms of participation in political life, Arab women in the Arab spring nation feared seriously about the position of women and their acquirements especially after Islamic currents took control over the political arena and the burst of some declarations qualifying women as ignorant or their participation in parliament as corrupting democracy in addition to many other declarations insulting and offending women. In Tunisia, women condition was significantly instable when El Nahda movement ascended to power with all the debate speaking about ideologies totally different from the current condition of Tunisian women with all their legal acquirements especially in civil status. El Nahda movement within political alliances relating to women political participation approved the decree number 35 relating to the election of the constitutional council by adopting the equivalence rule and the alternate electoral lists between men and women in addition to all the chapters relating to the right of women to be a candidate for all political positions. In Egypt the situation is more complex, the report prepared by the national association for the protection of rights and liberties revealed that the political parties of the Islamic current in which the Egyptian women participated in protests and manifestations in the Midan El Tahrir (Tahrir square) during may 25th 2011 turned over the Egyptian women once in power and stopped defending their rights or protecting their acquirements and limited their role within the family to give birth to children and raise them. This report revealed the negative effects of the Ekhwan parties (brotherhood Islamic party) policy regarding the women affairs as these were marginalized and unclear.

In Palestine the situation is not different considering that the Palestinian and their participation in politics are weak since they are clearly and obviously excluded due to the religious reference of parties prevailing on the political arena adopting a mentality of excluding the women from the participation in political parties and trade unions.

2

ECONOMIC BARRIERS

It is necessary to focus on the economic factors to understand the reality of women's partisan and syndical participation. What distinguishes the economic structures in the communities of this study is its adoption of liberal and neoliberal policies through privatization, opening of free market, economy restructuring and opening to the private sector at the expense of poor and marginal groups and in favor of influential economic layer that enhances the poverty, marginalization and economic underdevelopment, where this caused the decline in political and syndical participation, as the Arab structure of the economy is still service and there is escape from the focus on industries and agriculture and policies are practiced in order to exclusion from the public sphere. Add to that the structure of the economy is always related to the determination on the basis of gender, thereby creating a structural imbalance, its victims are the poor, women and youth. Economic transformations affect woman more than man, as the woman in Arab societies do not enjoy economic independence, therefore, poverty and preoccupation with life demands are the most important economic obstacles to woman's participation in public life. Dr. Saber Balbol has confirmed through his study entitled "political empowerment of Arab woman between international resolutions and trends, in the one hand, and reality, in the other hand" on the existence of a clear imbalance in equality to engage in economic activity, which prevents the entry of woman in the economic sphere and her contribution to the production process, which contributes directly to her economic liberation and develop her ability to participate in decision-making. Economic obstacles are a real obstacle to the political empowerment of woman, and so we can conclude that the incidence of poverty and its feminization is the most important barrier to effective and lasting participation of Arab woman in political life and public affairs.

According to the World Bank report on gender equality in the Middle East and North Africa¹⁶⁵, and despite the narrowing of the gender gap at the level of education, this gap is still prominent on the level of access to employment. The study also highlighted that as the gaps between genders in manpower and employment are related to social and cultural norms, international evidence shows that it limits the access to basic services and livelihood opportunities for women, including access to wage earning work, voting and other forms of community and political participation. And so the study confirmed that the understanding of women's economic obstacles in the region is in itself an understanding of the limited political participation of Arab women. In Palestine, the weight of the economic and social concerns and the absence of social justice elements led the Palestinian woman to lose faith to participate, to mobilize and to the content of those measures that could affect her present and future live.

¹⁶⁵ Summary of gender equality in the Middle East and North Africa, March 2010
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTMENAINARABIC/Resources/MNA_Gender_AR_FINAL.pdf

3 SOCIAL BARRIERS

When we talk about the Arab woman's conditions, we have to take into account the existence of disparities between the Arab societies concerning the degree of woman's liberation and the development in her participation and integration process. Political experiences of countries, the role of intellectual elites, the accumulation of reform processes and the degree of openness to the other, are factors that affect the level of woman status development.

Some of the Arab countries contribute in a number of these obstacles, notably the following:

- The nature of the prevailing mentality within the Arab community named patriarchal society. Where the prevailing culture in the society works on the distinction between public affairs and private affairs, and determines that the role of woman is limited to work at home and with kids, while the state administration, i.e. public work, is considered an integral part of man competence. Although the enrollment rate of women in the electoral rolls in many Arab countries is higher than the enrollment of men, it is not in terms of women's participation concern, but in terms of the exploitation of women's votes, which represent a voting bloc to strengthen a candidate chosen by the family or the tribe against another candidate. Thus the community and patriarchal culture create, within the party and syndical body, a repulsive atmosphere to women from action, party and syndical partnership: as customs and traditions restrict their rights practice, because the community consider any activity or syndical womanly voice a rebellion against the prevailing customs and traditions.
- The prevalence of violence against woman, i.e. the discrimination against her, the violation of her rights and the assault on her moral, physical and sexual entity. We emphasize that violence begins in the family and then extends to the community such as street, school, state institutions and employment centers, it is associated with cultural heritage based on the principles of subjugation and control, and the absence of public and freedoms democracy. We agree that violence affects political participation by creating unbalanced relationship between women and men.

- The phenomenon of illiteracy and low educational level of women in many Arab countries¹⁶⁶ hampers efforts to improve rates of political representation and leaves weakness in woman's political and civic culture. It is worth mentioning that this situation is mainly suffered by the rural woman, where many of the research highlighted the lack of rural woman's interest in the political affairs of various dimensions, whether party or syndical¹⁶⁷, as is the case for woman in Egyptian, Tunisian and Moroccan society¹⁶⁸.
- In total, not dealing with the issue of woman's political participation as a community issue and looking at it as a partisan issue or issue of welfare.

¹⁶⁶ Sarah ben hamadi, "774 million illiterates in the world: What about the Maghreb?" HuffPost Maghreb, September 9, 2013, http://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/2013/09/09/analphabete-maghreb_n_3893221.html

http://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/2014/03/04/femmes-rurales-ni-lire-ni-ecrire-tunisie_n_4895260.html

¹⁶⁷ Maryam Ben Salem, Soumaya Ben Cheikh. "Policies and vulnerable young women in Tunisia", Tunis, CAWTAR – UNESCO, 2013.

¹⁶⁸ In the framework of the campaign to support rural woman in the upcoming elections, Amani Al Hadari, a representative of the advancement of Juraid women in the south Tunisian Association, said: «in remote areas, we observed more responses in this category for registration compared with the educated category, while is to be noted that there is a general ignorance of electoral process». Al Hadari adds Urban «a lot of rural women do not know what elect means, when and how. We often find that this category is targeted by the parties to exploit their voices».

The Assembly, which is working with the Tunisian Mediterranean, cited that it had succeeded in recording five thousand rural women after twenty days from the start of the registration process and helping eight thousand voters to make sure that their names are in the lists of voters

http://tu-med.blogspot.com/2014/05/blog-post_6518.html?view=timeslide

4

CULTURAL BARRIERS

◆ **Religious side:** among the cultural obstacles that have limited the development of the political participation of Arab woman, we cite the vision for woman in Islam that is based on gender discrimination through the depriving woman from a lot of rights. While the Koran and the rite did not correctly prevent the political participation, many of the scholars based on an uncertain talk and on the custom to infer the rule of preventing the political participation of Muslim woman. Taking roles in public life by women is linked to the lack of independence. This rule had a clear impact on the prevailing culture that has developed the disqualifying of woman politically.

◆ **The legal side:** The weakness of culture vogue at the level of rights and individual freedoms practice, with the past accumulations resulting from the weak conviction to the principle of the state law, the estrangement emerged between citizens and state institutions and the violation of political rights in general created a situation of limited involvement of women in political action. These cultural and social accumulations caused the lack of confidence in women and the lack of woman's self-confidence to carry out political functions, which led actually to the remarkable numerical limitations of woman's presence in parties and trade unions / syndicates, and then the weak impact on the decision-making structures, in addition to the marginalization of her role within these structures, but in some structures where the provision of woman's activity within the party is just for political propaganda. This cultural barrier limits the woman's participation especially because the party leaders do not want to face the rejection of society, which let them eschew the raising of the issue of strengthening political participation of woman in parties and syndical organizations or take the necessary measures to encourage women to sweep the political spaces and to interest in the conduct of public affairs.

◆ **Self-side:** self-obstacles are mainly related to woman, it is a subsidiary variables affected by the original variables (cultural and objective) to produce beliefs and women's attitudes of political action.

The most important problem at this level is the abstention from politics¹⁶⁹, which is the inevitable result of woman's political exclusion reflected in the absence of any form of configuration, training and surrounding on the one hand, and the seasonal woman's action on the other hand, and so, the result will be the weakness and attenuation of woman's presence at the political level.

¹⁶⁹ Abstention from politics is a general given year linked to political life, but it is greater among women than men, especially in small towns.

The abstention from political action is the most important challenge faced by woman, despite the availability of regulation, woman do not engage in parties and trade unions / syndicates, and if some considers that the problem lies in the community due to the exclusionary approach to these organizations, it is also personal in a part. In this regard, we cite what the representative of a political party said "the headquarters are open in regions and agencies, but we do not find women willing to engage in the party nor to take responsibility, we look for them with great difficulty with the exception of some strugglers with struggle tendency. This is a common problem among parties, and the large difficulty facing the parties"¹⁷⁰.

The weakness of women's political participation is dramatically shown in small towns and rural world, which makes parties looking for women in the election period for the nomination, despite their lack in Party ideology, and almost all parties meet at this point, although the old of some of it.

In addition, we cite as self-barrier the problematic of lack of training and experience in the political sphere, as if the configuration opportunities for women in cities are available, they are not available for women in remote areas. And even if there are women's energies, they will lose it in the absence of formations and accompanying.

We also note that seasonal women's work and the lack of its continuity with the same vital during the election phases, is an obstacle because women just work at the electoral moment when the debate condenses as well as the movement of them around their representation and presentation, and when they reach parliament, a kind of recession and seasonal activity appears, while the political representation of woman must always be associated with seminars as an example of citizenship and democracy culture fixing.

◆ **Objective aspect:** The objective obstacles of feminist political action is only an extension of cultural obstacles mentioned above, as the prevailing masculine culture in political and partisan action limits the movements of women and narrows the areas of work. It is clearly shown that the yard work of parties and trade unions / syndicates is the mini form of a battlefield where women take the roles of warriors to enable themselves from leadership roles, far from partisan feminist sectors, but within party or syndical structures. And among objective barriers, we recall the fact that the space of parties and trade unions / syndicates and they way and time to held meetings are not encouraging for women to stay long time in politics, they are rules formulated from the presence of man, and while drafting, gender has not been taken into account, and thus the scenario of meetings in places and times that do not fit women because of the intersection of their businesses inside and outside home.

¹⁷⁰ Mr. Mohamed Hanin, Moroccan party representative, certify through its participation in the focus group discussions for Moroccan study that "strengthen the role of parties and syndicates in promoting women's political participation: Moroccan case". Under the supervision of Mr. Abdul Karim Almsalouha.

Based on the above review of obstacles to the Arab woman concerning the serious and lasting political and syndical participation, we can extract common obstacles in front of this goal, as it is clear, on the other hand, the existence of nature and composition of community obstacles.

◆ **The common barriers:** all obstacles exposed previously are present within our Arab societies where women in these countries suffer from it, without exception, and though varying degrees. The most important are those that carry social character and include the impact of masculine quality of Arab societies and what it evolved from cultural practices, habits and closed ideas that influence the concentration of rules to build the foundations of a serious and sustained political participation within political parties and professional organizations.

Perhaps one of the most important manifestations of this type of obstacles is the escalation of physical and moral violence against woman in public areas. In this context, statistics¹⁷¹ indicate, through the last survey on violence against women, which dates back to 2010, the increasing of violence phenomenon against woman; where 47.6% of women between 18 and 60 years are exposed to one of the types of violence, physical, sexual, economic or psychological, at least once during their lives, the text of the new Tunisian constitution in Article 46 stipulates that the State will bear the responsibility to protect woman against all forms of violence, and in which: "the State shall take measures to ensure the elimination of violence against women."

As for Egypt, and despite the fact that the role of Egyptian woman in the revolution was clear, she was one of the prominent victims who paid a heavy price after the dropping of former President Hosni Mubarak's regime, as she suffered political marginalization and violence as a result of lawlessness. The total of women's death in the first half of the first year of revolution¹⁷², reached 94 violent incidents, including 51 women dead, 11 infected women, 15 usurped 5 suicides, and 12 hijacked.

In Palestine¹⁷³, the violence has touched 37% of women who have been married and subjected to a form of violence by their husbands in 2011. The highest rate of violence directed by husbands against wives was in Jericho Ghor province in the West Bank (47.3%), and the lowest was in Ramallah and Al Bireh (14.2%). However, in the Gaza Strip, the highest rate of violence was in Gaza province (58.1%), and the lowest in Rafah governorate (23.1%). On the other hand, there are about 5% of women that have been subjected to psychological violence in the street, 1.3% to sexual harassment and 0.6% have experienced physical violence in the same place.

¹⁷¹ Mohammed bin Rajab, "Tunisia, law criminalizing violence against women. Do it solves the problem?", *altagreer*, August 15, 2014, <http://altagreer.com/>

¹⁷² Sabri Hassanein, "rates of violence against women is rising in Egypt after the revolution," *Elaph* 7 July 2011, <http://www.elaph.com/Web/news/2011/7/667423.html#sthash.5b7SOFIt.dpuf>

¹⁷³ "Domestic Violence", *Wafai*, <http://www.wafainfo.ps/atemplate.aspx?id=3184>

In contrast, 4% of women have experienced psychological violence by service providers in places to provide public services.

In Lebanon, statistics¹⁷⁴ indicate the distribution of these crimes all over Lebanese regions, but the percentage rises in the Mount Lebanon area. According to studies conducted by Dr. Fahmiya Sharaf al-Din (Women Democratic Gathering), the surprise came that 27% of violated women have university education, 48% of them are employed and 51% unemployed. Also the Association "Say No to violence"¹⁷⁵ declares that harassment rate in Lebanon, especially of girls and women, is large in the workplace, and some women are exposed to threat by the harasser to leave work if they consider breaking the wall of silence, which is contrary to the law of human rights and Lebanese constitution, the Assembly also emphasizes that there is verbal and sexual harassment against women where the numbers and proportions vary between regions. Statistics, on which the Assembly worked, show that around 69% of foreign girls and women in Beirut are subjected to harassment.

Morocco, is one of the countries with a high proportion of woman violence, which pay the Moroccan government, through the year 2013, to launch a national campaign to combat violence against women in the workplace, under the slogan "Enough of violence against salaried", in order to pay attention to the prevalence of violence against women in Moroccan society, limiting their contribution to the country's development. Bassima Hakkaoui, Minister of Solidarity, Women, Family and Social Development, showed at the launch of this campaign, that "the economic cost of violence against women exceed the cost of road accidents in Morocco, due to the negative effects that afflict the soul before the bodies, paralyzing the movement of a large part of society."

The minister reported that the violence in workplaces represents 16% of the total cases of violence against women, i.e. 280 thousand women and 32 thousand women of sexual violence in the workplace. While psychological violence has reached 13.4% of women in the workplace. The same minister revealed the presence of 6 million women in Morocco, aged between 18 and 64 years, were subjected to violence in some way, whether in the marital home, on the street, or in the workplace, and that during the period between June 2009 and January 2010, according to official statistics¹⁷⁶.

¹⁷⁴ Misa Suleiman, Hanin Assadik, Marie-Jose Azzi, "a report on on violence against women in Lebanon," Youth Group of the International Network for Rights and Development-Lebanon November 25, 2013, <http://youthgroupnrd.wordpress.com/men-in-different-areas-and-in-varying-proportions/>, Anbaa, August 31, 2013, <http://anbaaonline.com/?p=145774>

¹⁷⁵ "Society Say No to Violence monitored violations of harassment against the Lebanese and foreign women in different areas and in varying proportions," Anbaa, August 31, 2013, <http://anbaaonline.com/?p=145774>

¹⁷⁶ <http://www.maroc.ma/ar/>

Arab societies, subject of research, meet in terms of obstacles to woman's political participation at the level of illiteracy in the ranks of women's segment, especially in rural areas. Where the Egyptian, Moroccan and Tunisian societies include high percentage of female illiterate, while these ratios are limited in Palestinian society

The rural Moroccan¹⁷⁷ women recorded a significant delay compared with the urban counterpart. Hence, 58.2% of rural girls and women aged 10 years or more do not have any level of education in 2011 (compared to 29.8% in cities), and 0.6% of them have a high level of education (compared to 8.7% in cities). However, such a level can be improved thanks to the dissemination of study where the rate study of girls aged between 6 and 11 years in rural areas is about 91.8% in the period between 2009 to 2010, compared to only 62.2% in the period between 1999 and 2000 (95.1% and 87.4% respectively in the cities).

As for Egypt, the United Nations Commission for Woman issued a statement¹⁷⁸ confirming that the main problems dogging Egypt is the high illiteracy rates, adding: "despite the considerable efforts made to eradicate illiteracy, but the illiteracy rate is still high." The United Nations has pointed out, in its statement, that the statistics that ended the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics, showed that male illiterate rate in 2010 fell to 18.8% versus 33.6% for females, commenting that the illiteracy rates are the worst in northern Egypt more than South and worse in rural areas than urban. It also reported that the illiteracy rate among young women in northern Egypt is twice the rate among young men in the same age, and the level of non-enrollment in school among females is three times higher than among males, 5% for males and 15% for females.

In Tunisia, way is made after the revolution to publish the results of studies and statistics research about the status of women in Tunisia. It is worth to mention that previous system was marketing to a bright image of woman completely different from reality experienced, as the National Survey on Employment for the second triple of the year 2011, prepared by the National Institute Statistics, showed that the illiteracy rate among females was 25.9% compared to about 11.2 for males¹⁷⁹.

However, the Lebanese and Palestinian communities are characterized by limited rates of illiteracy. In Palestine, female illiteracy rate is three times and a half more than male illiteracy rates (1.8% for males versus 6.4% for females in 2012), while the illiteracy rate for females¹⁸⁰ was 15.3% in the year 2001.

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¹⁷⁸ Manal al-Issawi, "the United Nations: the illiteracy rate in Egypt is still high and most among women," 7th day, September 8, 2013, <http://www.youm7.com/story/2013/9/8/>

¹⁷⁹ <http://ar.webmanagercenter.com/>

¹⁸⁰ <http://www.maannews.net/arb/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=572369>

Perhaps illiteracy, being a common obstacle, inevitably leads to refer to another common obstacle which is the poverty among women, because woman hardly seeks to earn a living, which makes her disregard her political rights as a citizen.

The most important numbers that can be inferred are those of rural women in Morocco. In terms of standard of living¹⁸¹, as Moroccan rural households headed by women spend each year an amount less by 37% the amount spent by their counterparts in cities (8,417 dirhams per year compared to 13 thousand and 317 dirhams), this disparity in spending leads to great disparities in the area of poverty where the poverty rate, among rural households headed by women, was nearly 15% in 2007, which exceeded by 3.8 times the rate of poverty among urban households headed by women (4%).

The proportion of the population living below the national poverty line within the Palestinian territories is 22%¹⁸² and the national poverty line is the line taken by the authorities of a particular country to measure poverty.

Despite the fact that woman's participation in work is an important developmentally requirement in the comprehensive and sustainable development process, the unemployment rate is still high among women, reaching 32.9% in 2012 while it was 13.8% in 2001¹⁸³.

Perhaps the effects of poverty feminization on the status of woman in Arab societies are the fixation of displayed gender discrimination and the consolidation of woman's inferiority perception, making women more marginalized and likely to be excluded. It may support this marginalization due to the absence of necessary framing and explicit legal texts to strengthen woman's political participation in parties and trade unions / syndicates, where the latter is not making the required effort to activate this path. One of the characteristics of political parties in the Arab countries is the grave absence of explicit legal texts in their statutes and political programs.

States, subject of this research, have common cultural points that represent obstacles to the effective political participation of woman within the party and professional trade unions / syndicates' frameworks; as the absence or weakness of citizenship culture of Arab peoples, especially women, leads to a fatal weakness in the degree of participation in public affairs. This obstacle is mainly associated with political obstacle concerning the political system of each country, and here reveal the differences between the communities in question.

181 "The number of women in Morocco was in 2011 about 16.4 million women", Echoes of Morocco, March 8, 2012 <http://www.assdae.com/>

182 Human Development Report 2011, the Statistical Appendix, http://www.un.org/ar/esa/hdr/pdf/hdr11/HDR_2011_AR_Tables.pdf

183 <http://www.maannnews.net/arb/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=572369>

◆ **Country-specific barriers:** Despite its meeting in all social, economic and cultural barriers, the political obstacles vary as the political system of each country has its own impact on woman's political participation and thus on the extent of its accession to party and syndical structures.

The political system based on sectarian, applied in Lebanon, made the woman's political participation linked to sectarian quota system. And behind the Accord code that characterizes the Lebanese political arena, woman is wandering in the hotbeds of marginalization as a result of inheritance mechanisms for decision-making positions, and the necessity to respect sectarian affiliations, which denies any sense of belonging to a homeland more comprehensive in which Lebanese woman is just a citizen, regardless of her ideological affiliation.

Palestinian women suffer almost the same situation as the Palestinian society is tribal. But the sectarian system in Lebanon is more acute for women than the clan system and on the other hand, the absence of the state in the political sense in Palestine led to give priority to political concern, therefore this influenced on the cultural and social concerns, and perhaps the hesitation of secular political forces was also a reason in hampering chances of democratic progress, and thus the Salafis opportunities strengthened to sustain their intellectual activity and resist the developments that might revive the modernist thought and therefore the going out of woman from the private sphere to the public sphere and strengthen her involvement in public affairs conduct.

It should be emphasized that the obstacles related to the colonial structure and distortion of public space to participate through various practices which had an impact on the levels of political participation of women, especially after Oslo. Egypt and Tunisia share their suffering from dictatorial regimes before the outbreak of revolutions and these systems have been characterized by following a politics projected on the basis of false statistics, but in the context of consensus or international pressures, they were signs of woman's progress. With the outbreak of revolutions, women in Tunisia and Egypt transcribed radical changes to improve their reality, but the changes were in the opposite direction as a result of the rise of Islamic movements to the rule.

The problem lies in the culture derived from norms, social heritage and some of the provisions of Personal Status Law. While the law sees the woman as having all the rights of citizens, the community sees her as a minor individual. We find, in some countries, that the Personal Status Law establishes the inferiority of woman and do not provides her with security making her reluctant to participate in political activity, which has been separated thanks to the Moroccan family Code, which formed a major transformation contributed to the advancement of Moroccan woman's rights and thus it putted an end for past practice that was unfair to a large extent for woman.

Family Code was the crowning to years of struggle efforts waged by a group of democratic, Jurists and women's associations, which raised the slogan of struggle to change the laws in the direction of eliminating all forms of discrimination against women, resisting violence towards them, activating the mechanisms of their protection, supporting woman's access to decision-making positions, enhancing the culture of equality as a value and practice and developing a positive image for the role of women and their place within the community. The family code worked to activate the principle of equality, as the wife has become equal with her husband to ensure family care, unlike the requirements of the previous Code, which put the family under man's care¹⁸⁴.

Woman still suffers from poverty, unemployment and dedicated budget for programs to develop their ability to work as well as the absence of accurate and realistic statistics about the extent and size of their participation in the economic sectors, manpower and the proportion of decision-making.

And so, policies must be drawn for the development of woman's role and to develop clear strategies committed to specific targets to achieve respectful rates for woman's participation in political life, or to put mechanisms that will gradually raise the rates of this participation and the concentration of national and regional bodies that accompanied the process of woman's empowerment in line with the variables of national policies so these strategies and public policies lead to the achievement of clear progress in the amount and type of this participation.

Woman's achievement of maturity and cultural awareness, keep up with the times and doing active role in the community depend on education, not only in terms of that she is the half of the society but also because her education is an added value in the evolution and development of society under the transformations that took place in the Arab country, which shows through that the woman is conscious to her social and political role, and the actors in the power must provide her the appropriate atmosphere of education, employment opportunities and equal salary as the man.

For her part, the Arab woman must seek to prompt legislative, legal and constitutional provisions to ensure her empowerment and serious and important involvement in the institutions and organs of social and political systems.

On the other hand, woman's issue must be considered a social issue that is not less important than other socio-political issues in the course of national and democratic liberation. As introduction, women's issues can be adopted as initial principle which can not be compromised.

¹⁸⁴ <http://wonews.net/ar/index.php?act=post&id=184>

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CHAPTER 4

Some experiences and successes in the field of supporting trade unions / syndicates structures and political parties for political participation of women and full of women rights

1. Political parties experiences in enhancing the participation of women and making them reach decision-making positions and exercise their rights
2. trade unions / syndicates experiences in enhancing the participation of women and making them reach decision-making positions and exercise their rights

The distance between woman's participation on the one hand and her penetration of leadership positions and decision-making circles on the other hand, both in government institutions or organizations and structures of civil society, still vast and do not translate the size of actual woman's participation nor even what she has earned in many Arab countries from the arsenal of human rights that do not obstruct her in theory from advancing to the highest positions. In political parties and professional trade unions / syndicates, the situation is not exception to this reality experienced by most of the Arab countries and even those who approved quota and equity in order to pay woman to engage in political action and reach decision-making positions.

Constitutions and legislation of 119 countries around the world have recognized the equity rule or quota in order to strengthen the presence of woman in political life and activate her participation, as international conferences related to woman approved this rule and invited to take all measures that support political participation of woman and decision-making circles reaching. The Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Woman "Beijing" for the year 1995 stressed in the strategic objective (g) on "the need to take measures in electoral systems encouraging political parties to include woman in electoral or non-electoral public office at the same proportions and levels available to the man, and to protect and enhance the rights of woman and man on an equal footing in political practice and freedom of association formation, including membership in political parties and trade unions / syndicates. Governments and other actors called to address the problem of inequality between man and woman concerning the power-sharing and decision-making at all levels. "

The convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) for the year 1979 also stipulated the possibility of resorting to legislation and adopting discriminatory measures in favor of woman "the positive discrimination" temporary to accelerate the pace of gender equality within the community. According to Article 4.1 of this Convention «Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures that aim to accelerate equality between men and women is not considered discrimination as defined in this Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards, as they must stop these measures when the objectives of equality in opportunity and treatment have been achieved ».

Declaration of the Millennium Development Goals of 2000 devoted the third goal for the promotion of gender equality and woman's participation and empowerment. It also pointed out that in many countries, woman still face discrimination in participation in the decision-making process.

¹⁸⁵ www.quotaproject.org/fr/country.cfm

¹⁸⁶ Beijing declaration and Platform for Action

Some statistics also indicate that the quota system has been adopted in the election of members of the parliament in more than forty countries, and parties identified provisions for the quota system in more than fifty other countries.

The countries that have ratified these international conventions should be progressed concerning the participation of woman in public life, including political and syndical action. As the political and syndical activity is linked to the struggle, and working on the adoption of a set of principles and values devotes democracy, dignity and citizenship, and ensures the full enjoyment of human rights. In addition, the political and syndical action seeks to create a force to face the monopoly of power and the manifestations of exclusion, marginalization and inequality ... and based on that, party and syndical activity should be the optimal custodial for the effective participation of woman in public life and decision-making and to defend their rights.

However, if it talk was based to what already exists on the ground, it is difficult in this case to find a diverse and multi positive experiences and good practices in fostering woman's political participation in the Arab region. Usually, the adoption of the quota system or equity is referred to ruling regimes and Women's movement in the solid structures of civil society, more than its adoption by parties or trade unions / syndicates at the heart of their internal systems. Its adoption is associated with events and electoral occasions that usually employ the participation of woman to serve specific political agendas. We can say that to this day, the issue of strengthening the political participation of women was not treated properly as a strategic objective that requires its actual practice at the heart of party's work and syndical activity, as it exceed the arithmetic quantitative dimension to the qualitative and human rights dimension of the participation in public life and to dedicate citizenship and democratic values.

How political parties and trade unions / syndicates in Tunisia, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine and Egypt approached the issue of woman's representation in their structures? How they dealt with the principles of equality, justice and equal opportunities in relation to the presence and participation of woman? What are the most recorded experiments, their characteristics and impacts on partisan, political and syndical of woman's participation?

This part of the report reviews the political parties and syndical structures' experiences in enhancing the participation of woman in the Arab region, and in consecrating woman's rights and maintains it. The most important lessons learned from political shifts have affected women's conditions and their participation in public life as they have raised several issues related to their rights on the table.

¹⁸⁷ See <http://www.un.org/ar/millenniumgoals/images/momentum/infogph2014/MDG3.jpg>

¹⁸⁸ Georgina waylen, *Engendering Transitions Women's Mobilization, Institutions, and Gender Outcomes* (London : Oxford , 2007) Page 11

1

Political parties experiences in enhancing the participation of woman and enabling her to reach decision-making positions and exercise her rights

Woman's political participation has a special significance as it's an indicator for the empowerment of citizen participation to develop the mechanisms of democratic practice; it also constitutes one of the most important mechanisms of democratic change in order to serve the community in all areas. Thus, when woman reach decision-making positions, she can access and practice her rights, as well as she can work on women's issues to make it social issues that do not interest only women, but also serve the idea of equality between all citizens, and push in the direction of consecration of human rights.

At the level of the countries included in the study (Tunisia, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, and Egypt), such experiments is absent in Lebanon where political participation is controlled by laws related to sectarianism and inheritance that affect in turn the relationship between citizen and the state, which reduces the opportunities for woman to actively participation in political work, as woman cannot participate in public affairs or run for election without blessing and approval of the family. Even during the voting process, woman is usually invoked to family ties. The political inheritance remained the main gate for woman to participate in political in general, and to enter the parliament, in particular, which is confirmed by the common saying that "Lebanese women enter Parliament in Black."

Doreen Khoury, a study er and expert in election affairs, said in this context, that "the empowerment of woman's political representation is facing many intractable obstacles, which are historically weak state, obstruction of the political and legislative processes, discriminatory personal status laws and stable political inheritance. So it seems difficult to make any meaningful reform from top to bottom, not only regarding the rights of woman, but a real political reform of the current political system with the current ruling class."¹⁸⁹

In light of this fact of closed political participation, civil society organizations called for the need to adopt the "quota" system in order to strengthen the political representation of woman in parliament. In this context we notice the campaign entitled "activating the political participation of woman in Lebanon and the Palestinian center in Lebanon", launched by a group of Lebanese and Palestinian civil organizations¹⁹⁰ with support from the Norwegian People's Aid.

¹⁸⁹ Political participation of woman in Lebanon, how family, community and state conspire against woman's participation in public affairs, Heinrich Boell Foundation website

<http://lb.boell.org/ar/2013/10/17/lmshrk-lsyst-llmr-fy-lbnn>

¹⁹⁰ Woman's Union, Lebanese Women Democratic Gathering, Social Rescue Association, the Committee of the Lebanese woman's rights, the National Foundation for Social care and vocational rehabilitation " Atfal Al Soumoud House", the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections, Popular Aid for Relief and Development.

This campaign aimed to activate the role of woman in politics and to develop her participation in the regulatory frameworks, popular committees, trade unions / syndicates and associations; it is based on the mob of woman's political participation supporters, as it represents one of the mechanisms of democratic change and devotes the values of citizenship and equality.

In addition to woman's rights campaigns, the Civil Campaign for Electoral Reform represented a pressure mechanism on politicians in order to adopt a fair and just election law. Since its establishment in 2006, thanks to a broad coalition of civil society groups, the campaign is seeking to adopt a series of reforms that are commensurate with the international standards for democratic elections, including proportional representation, lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 years and the candidacy age from 25 to 22 and adopting of the women's quota in candidacy lists with a rate that is not less than one-third¹⁹¹. But the political participation of Lebanese woman remained low and her laws gains still limited and so she suffers many forms of discrimination. The components of civil society did not succeed in standing in the face of political forces control on planning and decision circles.

The matter is not much different in Palestine, where tribal and political affiliation impact on woman's participation. Despite the adoption of the quota system by some political parties in the leadership bodies (FIDA Party 40%, the Palestinian People's Party 25% and Fatah 20%), these parties did not take any actions or discriminatory measures in favor of the woman in their internal organization except the "Front popular for the Liberation of Palestine" that has identified as a condition of membership, the taking of a progressive position in relation to the participation of woman and her issues with the commitment to exercise this position.

Talking about the adoption of quota system in political parties was accompanied with differences or some times contradictions. Despite the trend towards raising the proportion of the quota in the elections, where the governing legislative system of parliamentary and local elections stated the minimum representation of women at least 20% and issued a preliminary decision to increase that percentage to 30% according to the Palestinian president directives¹⁹² some left-wing parties still refrained from the application of the quota at the heart of its central leadership bodies and committees. Quota experience in Palestinian political parties did not exceeded its quantitative that did not pay in the direction of the abolition of exclusionary practices against politicians women, and did not constitute a mainstay for more awareness about women's rights. As well as, quota was not considered a measure that aims, at the medium and long term, to develop perceptions of the multiple roles of women and their status in society.

¹⁹¹ See <http://www.ccerlebanon.org/>

¹⁹² Beijing Platform for Action after 20 years, the Ministry of Woman's Affairs, State of Palestine, April 2014, p. 14.

On the other hand, the election of the female leadership "Zahira Kamal" for the position of General Secretary of the Palestinian Democratic Union "FIDA" in 2011 is considered a bright spot in the Palestinian party work, as she got the largest number of votes of the members of the Central Committee to be the first woman at this position at the level of political parties and Palestinian factions, and the fourth woman in the Arab region.

In contrast, we cannot overlook the achievements made in order to enhance the participation of woman in political life and decision-making positions, thanks to the mobility of civil society organizations and women's struggles, as the report of the Palestinian State on the progress made in the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action +20, refers to many measures and the most important are:

- Approving women's quota in local councils by nearly 20%
- Appointing of many women in important decision-making positions, such as governor, president of the Capital Market Authority, and president of the Central Bureau of Palestinian Statistics as Secretary of State.
- Holding an expanded meeting with political parties and forces in order to sign the Charter of enhancing woman's participation in political decision-making.
- Conducting an audit for the internal organization of political parties.
- Preparing an assessment about woman's experience in political parties and a draft of assessment about woman's experience in the elections. In addition to the preparation of a code of conduct signed by the political parties to ensure woman's participation in political parties.

These measures were not accompanied by a party motionless to carry out reforms that ensure a fairer and more equitable representation of women. The failure of all political actors for the adoption of measures that develop woman's participation and the absence of a national strategy that commits all involved parties to apply it, make the path of strengthening of the political participation of woman an unsurpassed path.

Frame 1: Article 19 of the Rules of Procedure of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine: the duties of party member

Article 19: (Duties of party member)

1. To work for strengthen party's intellectual, organizational and political units. **2.** To implement the decisions of the party and its policies, to adhere to its positions and to perform the tasks entrusted to him. **3.** To practice criticism and self-criticism, to reveal the defects, shortcomings and errors of the party, and to inform partisan entities about these shortcomings, mistakes, defects and all action that may harm the party or the masses. **4.** To be honest and straight toward the party and to avoid lying, twisting and hiding the truth or distort it. **5.** To keep the secrets of the party in all cases, and to be constantly vigilant against the enemy and his plans activities. **6.** To constantly struggle in order to achieve national goals and interests of the masses, and to be an example to others in courage, discipline, struggle, sacrifice and enduring hardship and difficulties. **7.** To publish the party's policy and orientations among the public and to invite them to get around his positions and to enroll in its ranks. **8.** To affiliate to the mass organization and the union or the syndicate that covers his field of work and activities. **9.** To struggle against reactionary harmful and behavioral sediment of the feudal and bourgeois society. To struggle against false appearances in party work such as selfishness, showmanship, individualism and bureaucracy, routine work without enthusiasm, the transcendence of the small daily tasks, raising self-criticism and love of revenge, and at the same time to struggle in order to acquire the progressive qualities and values, the desire to learn, to have sincere relations, and to respect the diversity of opinion and the right to full diligence and commitment to the issues of the party and the people. **10.** To keep the party's property, to be honest and to contribute to the development of party's financial resources. **11.** To study the history of Palestine, the reality and problems of people, the national cause, and everything that is issued by the party. **12.** To study the Arab situation, the reality and the problems of the Arab liberation movement, the Zionist movement and the reality of the Zionist entity. **13.** To study the scientific socialism, the national heritage of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, the democratic and progressive humanitarian heritage of peoples and to work on the development of its political, cultural and theoretical consciousness. **14.** To take a progressive scientific attitude on the issue of woman and to commit to practice this position.

The member who neglect these duties or fail to perform it actively, lively and vigorously, should be the subject of criticism and education; and disciplinary action will be applied against any member if repeated neglect these duties.

Source: the Front website <http://pflp.ps/ar/post/416/>

Morocco is one of the countries that took, since the House of Representatives elections in 2002, measures to increase the political representation of women through the allocation of party list for female candidates, which led to the entry of 30 women to the Council and thus the female representation increased from 0.6% in 1998 to 10.7% in 2002. Election results of 2007 has declined in the number of women in parliament, so recommendation have been given to move from semi-voluntary guarantees of political parties based on compatibility to legislative guarantees, which was happened in 2009 during the municipal elections when the electoral code has been modified through the allocation of an additional circuit for women to compete. Then the interior minister announced that the government will provide financial incentives for political parties that will provide a largest number of women candidates in the elections, which will also win.¹⁹³ In this election, 3406 women won versus 127 in the elections of 2003.

It should be noted that strengthening of political representation of woman in Morocco, was not at the initiative of political party, but it was the result of political will on the one hand and the feminist movement within civil society organizations on the other hand. The Moroccan King Mohammed VI lunched in 2011 the new Constitution of the Kingdom which states in Chapter 19 that "man and woman enjoy the same civil, political, economic, social, cultural and environmental rights and freedoms."

Also, the Constitution of 2011 provided that the State should seek to achieve "the principle of parity" between men and women. As well as, it stated the creation of a body for equity and all forms of discrimination combat, but this body has not been created till 2004 despite the passage of three years from the decision of its creation. The Constitution of 2011 provided a review of the quota proportion that increased women representation in the House of Representatives election for the year 2012 from 30 seats to 60 seats, according to the regulatory Law of the House of Representatives.

Concerning parties, they have been divided into two categories in the position of women's quota in the party bodies; one category determined a proportion less than one-third and the other adopted the same percentage stipulated in Article 26 of the regulatory law 29.11 on Political Parties, which is the third. Some parties have explicitly referred to the need to respect the quota in national and local bodies, while others only referred to the adoption of quota either nationally or locally.

During the House of Representatives hearing to give confidence to the government on 26 January, Abdelilah Ben kirane, the head of the Moroccan government, blamed the weakness of woman's representation on parties that did not nominate enough women within its local lists during the last legislative elections, pointing out that the proportion of women candidacy in these regulations did not exceed 5 per cent, and that the number of women who won in the recent elections within the

¹⁹³ Morocco offers financial incentives for parties that nominate more women, an article in Magharebia site dated 17/10/2008, <http://magharebia.com/ar/articles/awi/features/2008/10/17/feature-01>

local lists did not exceed five women, four of them belong to parties that make up the coalition government. Ben kirane position came in response to criticism from his opponents about the weak presence of woman in his government, which did not include only one woman.¹⁹⁴

In the absence of parties real will, the Moroccan women's organizations played a prominent role in order to push toward the approval of parity and so a women's lobby has been formed under the name of "Movement for one-third of the elected seats for women"; this lobby is a gathering of about 1000 Moroccan Women's Association that struggle to fit the reality of Moroccan woman with legislations and international conventions. In 2011, they increased they demands to a "movement for parity democratic" and they demand the translation of the constitution requirements in the regulatory law of political parties and regulatory law on the organization of the House of Representatives, and thus the text clearly stated the equity as a mechanism and measure that prevents the announcement of the principles and political will.

In Tunisia, the political parties did not adopt the quota system in their leadership positions because the basic law number 32 issued in 1988 on the organization of political parties did not refer to this system in its provisions. Also, the Decree Number 87 of 2011 on the organization of political parties, issued after the revolution, did not receive any attention in the need of involving women in parties leadership positions and did not propose or approve any measures that enhance the presence of the woman in decision-making circles and party leadership. After a considerable debate and controversy, political parties adopted the Decree number 35 of 10 May 2011 on the National Constituent Assembly elections, which adopts in its chapter 16¹⁹⁵ the rule of equity and rotation within electoral lists between women and men.

It must be recognized that women and men human rights leaders within the supreme body to achieve the goals of the revolution, the political reform and democratic transition are the ones who pushed in the direction of equity adoption at the heart of the lists on a rotational basis, and it has been supported by national organizations and figures and women's leaders from outside the body. Nevertheless, this decree helped only 65 women to reach the membership of the National Constituent Assembly from among 217 seats, i.e. nearly 30% of the seats. This weak representation in the presence of this decree led to approve the vertical equity and object the horizontal equity, making most of the lists headed by men and not women, and therefore the chances of winning were bigger for men than women.

¹⁹⁴ The Moroccan president blamed the weakness of women's representation on political parties, Medill East Newspaper, 27 January 2012. http://classic.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=4&issueno=12113&article=660823&feature=#.U_8G8v15NqU

¹⁹⁵ Chapter 16 provides that "candidacy should be submitted on the basis of equity between women and men. Candidates within lists will be arranged on a rotational basis between men and women. The list that does not respect this principle will not be accepted only within the limits of individual number of seats assigned to some circles».

The proportion of women was 46% of the total registered voters, and 48% of all candidates on the electoral lists. However, women occupied only 27% of the seats in the National Constituent Assembly, a percentage lower than the one recorded by Tunisian woman before the revolution (28%). The number of lists headed by women was 128 lists of 1,518 with a proportion more than 7%. So men won most seats, as all parties did not appoint women on the head of their lists except the alliance of "Democratic Modernist Pole", which applied the principle of vertical and horizontal equity with 16 women and 17 men heading its 33 constituencies that won only one seat in the constituencies. Women headed 128 out of 518 lists or approximately 7% ¹⁹⁶.

The path of democratic transition in Tunisia has witnessed a number of critical and fateful decisions in view of woman's rights as the rejection of the concept of "integration between woman and man" and the demand to establish the concept of "gender equality", where the year of 2014 crowned these efforts by constitutionalizing women's rights, stipulating gender equality and lifting reservations on the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women "CEDAW"¹⁹⁷, but the principle of equity between women and men at the top of the lists on the basis of the horizontal rotation met with objection in the National Constituent Assembly and has not been stipulated in the approved electoral law in 2014. It is cast a shadow over parties' preparations for legislative elections in October 2014 where woman was absent; but she was present in August 2014 for the presidency of the electoral lists of the most important parties by three women for Renaissance Party, Prospects Tunisia Party and the Republican Party and Popular Front and one woman for NidaaTunisia Party. While four women have ran independently for presidential election.

Motionless of Tunisian women in politics remain sustained in various renewable forms, and one of the latest manifestations is the announcement of Mariam Bilali, businesswoman, on 17 June 2014 for the establishment of a new women's party "Tunisian woman party", in order to be a political framework of all women's powers so as to maintain Tunisian woman's gains and to push for her development and strengthen.

¹⁹⁶ Graphic presentation about the political participation of woman in Tunisia during the elections of 2011
<http://www.fwelections.com/ar/visualizing-womens-political-participation-during-tunisia-2011-elections/>

¹⁹⁷ see Tunisia report to review Beijing Platform for Action +20, 2014

Frame 2: Democratic Modernist Pole statement on the occasion of Woman's Day in 2011

The Democratic Modernist Pole, which adopts a community project to establish for a new Tunisia who realizes its gains and the values of its old civilization, considers that the women's movement is an integral part of the social movement, which led to the revolution of freedom and dignity. The pole seeks to make the resulting democratic path a success with the participation of all members of society, women and men, young and youth. The Pole also appreciates the role played by the Tunisian woman in the revolution that shook the pillars of corruption and tyranny, as well as her outstanding role in economic, social, cultural and political fields. The Pole notes the emergence of community project indicators threatens the modernist gains made for woman since the independence. The pole recorded that despite legislation of Tunisian women compared with their counterparts in the Arab countries, the Tunisian woman's status has remained without hoped, especially concerning her participation in the development and management of public affairs and her share in employment, as women experiencing a situation of fragile in several fields especially in the private sector. The Pole also recorded the weakness of woman presentation in programs and television and radio interviews after January 14, she is the one who participated in the revolution, martyred and presented martyrs ... From these points, the Pole confirms, on the occasion of celebrating the anniversary of the issuance of the Personal Status Code on 13 August 1956, on his adherence to:

- Tunisian woman's legislative gains
- The role of women in society as they are citizens and have full rights
- Activate their role in the democratic transition process, and renews his call for them to register on the electoral lists and participate in the National Constituent Assembly elections through candidacy and election
- Work on embodying the principle of parity actually and behaviorally, as an interim strategy in the field of women's participation
- Principles announced in the base of his work and inspired by the enlightened values of our civilization and international human rights culture

The Pole also calls to:

- Make the equality a retractable constitutional principle
- Develop what is stated in the woman's legislative system, including the Personal Status Code and delete all discriminatory laws that would hinder her participation in all spheres of life
- Recognize explicitly, in the next country's constitution, the right of women to access all responsibilities, including the right to run for the presidency

The pole seeks, through the various structures and activities, to develop the culture of citizenship and renounce all forms of violence and discrimination on women, as it is also working on changing attitudes through the dissemination of the culture of equality and equal opportunities between genders and parties. As well as, the Pole will work through its economic, social, cultural and political program, on:

- Achieving full equality for women in all fields and supporting their presence in decision-making positions
- Raising the reservations made by the Tunisian state when ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
- Changing the stereotypes of women in textbooks and media
- Improving the working and living conditions for rural woman and giving her the place that deserves in the development
- Eliminating the handling and the fragility of the operating
- Recognizing the role of women in society and gradually eliminating the inferior perception that make them a second class social object
- Resisting illiteracy and poverty among male and female citizens.

The Democratic Modernist Pole, congratulates Tunisian women in their Day, and emphasizes that woman is accounted for the title of modern and is an essential pillar to measure the progress of societies. The Pole struggles also to build a civil society devoting the values of citizenship and concretizing the permanent recognition of the rights and status of women in society. As it confirms his quest to legislate a democratic constitution inspired from our cultural heritage and modern values and principles, to be the basic guarantee for a community that is solidary, plurality, diverse and anti-discrimination on the basis of gender, color, race or religion.

Democratic Modernist Pole

Source: Page of the Pole on Facebook:

<https://ar-ar.facebook.com/notes/p%C3%B4le-d%C3%A9mocrate-moderniste>

However in Egypt after the revolution, despite the adoption of justice and equality by the principles of the revolution, this was not reflected on most of the programs of new and old political parties. Even the election law did not oblige the parties to ensure a minimum of women's participation, it only oblige them to include a woman at least in every candidate list to record a formal attendance of woman in the parliament. As a result, the woman's representation became weak in parliament in the absence of parties supporting and its various (religious, liberal, leftist or mixed) for women in the hoped form.

At the level of electoral alliances, Egyptian Bloc coalition nominated on its lists 46 women out of 290 candidates. Electoral lists were characterized by putting woman in a late status of electoral lists and only one candidate has won, she is MP Sana Saeed for the second circle of Assiut. The nomination of "the revolution is ongoing" alliance is limited to 33 women out of 206, and no woman has won. Within this context, we cannot ignore the role of the feminist revolutionary movements in the creation of a political and social movement, which came as a reaction to the marginalization and exclusion of woman, and it's represented by the establishment of the "coalition of Egyptian women" and "National Front for Egyptian women". The "coalition of Egyptian women" is established in February 2012 following the weak representation of woman in the new government and in the political structures that were formed after the revolution in order to amend the constitution and legislation. The "National front for Egyptian women" was founded in June 2012 in order to reject all forms of discrimination against women and to encourage women's participation in the drafting of the Constitution in fair and equity title.

At the level of parties programs,¹⁹⁸ it is noted that most of the parties, which were founded after the revolution of 25 January 2011, has incorporated the problems of women in their parties programs and did not specify a special chapter. Only five parties (among 14 new parties) stated the non-discrimination against woman. They are the "Middle", "Liberal Egyptians", "Justice, Renaissance and development", "Liberty and Justice" and "Freedom-Constitution". Also, the two parties "Democratic Egyptian Social" and "Reform and Development" incorporated woman in the economic, social and political component of their programs. While three parties with an Islamic reference (Al-Nour, Freedom and Justice and the Reform and Development Party) focused on woman's status in the family with the distinction between man and woman in social and humanitarian roles, despite that their programs provide the principle of equality.

¹⁹⁸ "Egyptian woman between field liberation and parties restrictions", a report on the status of women in the parties programs before and after the revolution, the Egyptian Center for Woman's Rights.

At the level of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council, People's Assembly elections in 2012 has resulted the growing of fundamentalist currents voices that refrain the role of woman and restrict her right to participate, especially in political life, where the presence of woman in parliament is considered "corruptive" and the nomination of women by the Salafist parties was "coercive".

In addition to cancelling women's quota and the text that provide the necessity to include at least one woman in each electoral list. As for the Local Administration Act of 43 for 1979, it does not include any discriminatory text for women to enable them access to the membership of local councils.

The absence of luminous experiments to support the participation of women and enhance their rights is due to several reasons, such as that the most of political parties are no longer playing an enlightening role in society, do no longer form a real change tool within the community and do not push for the creation of social mobility on the critical issues. In addition to the lack of awareness and real desire to talk about woman's issues in parties' programs for women's issues, and the lack of networking with civil society structures to improve woman's representation in political activity.

The situation of Arab countries in dealing with the empowerment of woman's political participation confirms that the adoption of the quota system or parity during the election remains an inadequate procedure, and that the activation of this participation should exceed quantitative calculations to include deeper political, legislative and social reforms. The rapprochement of experiments of adopting quota in the countries included in the study in terms of the weakness of the results that have been reached despite the different situation of each country, and in term of the time of adoption and its emergence on the surface of national events during major electoral events prove that dealing with the issue of woman's political participation is done in accordance with ready templates and in response to electoral situations and conditions, and does not serve the importance of woman's issues or human rights issues in general. It also does not take into account the community context and the political climate of the country, not even the reality of women's participation in all aspects of life. As the political participation of woman still far from considering it a strategic goal that do not only reflect on the status of woman and their situations, but also affects the reform and development of community as a whole.

While the results recorded at the level of political participation of the Tunisian and Moroccan women are better than in Egypt, Palestine and Lebanon, but the reality of the situation of woman in political parties is similar to a large extent at the level of the experiences and good practices rarity, the lack of woman's representation within parties, the limitation of woman in conventional roles that devote the discrimination and the exclusion from leadership and decision-making

positions. Perhaps the non-arrival of political reform winds to the parties' structure, mechanisms of conduct and work, and the reality that women do not invest their partisan participation in order to adopt new rights for women and enhance their status and participation in development, may affected the status of woman and her role at the heart of these parties on the one hand, and the pace of legislative reforms related to woman on the other hand.

Finally, we cannot talk today about strengthening the political participation of woman in isolation from the reality of freedoms and political and civil rights, in general, and the reality of party work, in particular, including the mechanisms of the parties, their structures, the reins of power ... also we cannot extrapolate quantitative indicators for the size of woman's participation without delving deeper in qualitative dimension of this participation and the extent of investment of woman's political participation to serve woman's issues and advance it.

Some experiments that are recorded at the level of parties' support for women need to be replicated in the region, in addition to document their tracks and draw lessons from it. The assessment of such experiments should exceed its impact on the reality of women, their community participation and rights conditions, to reach its effects on the democratic process, the legal system and human development in the embracing community.

2

Labor trade unions / syndicates experiences in enhancing woman's participation and reaching decision-making positions and exercising her rights

Trade unions / syndicates work is considered one of the most important of activist work in order to devote citizenship, dignity, freedom, democracy principles and implementation of rights. .. Trade unions / syndicates activity plays a prominent role in adjusting political balance and making the political perspective at the core of political decision which must take into account all society categories, their needs and demands . Under the tight political field on active participation of woman, like Trade unions / syndicates work and real experience of woman participation in public affairs, in countries of revolutions, such as Tunisia and Egypt, trade unions / syndicates had a prominent role in framing protests and gathering rules of categories and affecting the revolution's paths and what follow it through pressure and the implementation of economic and social rights of all societies categories .

History of Trade unions / syndicates struggle reveals the leading role of many Arab women, we mention the Lebanese “ Warda Boutrous” who worked at the “Regie Libanaise des Tabacs et Tombacs” and was considered in 1956 the first martyr of confrontations between workers and the state¹⁹⁹, and the Egyptian lawyer “ Fatima Rabih “ the first one who got a provision of guarding abolition on the lawyers syndicate in 13 July 1999 and the Tunisian business woman “ Wadad Bouchmay “president of the Tunisian Union of Industry, Commerce and Handicrafts and the first Arab Woman to be in a similar position, how used her position along with the Tunisian General Labor Union and the Tunisian League for the Defense of Human Rights an important role in the development of the Tunisian national dialogue and framed initiative, and efforts to get out of the political crisis which took place in Tunisia in 2013.

We remember within this context, the Tunisian scholar Tahar Haddad “ who liberated Tunisian woman “ and who was a politician and unionist who fought many battles for labor rights and woman liberation and prevent polygamy, we are asking questions about what trade unions / syndicates have realized to woman? Did it represent a space to enhance woman's participation and exercising her rights? Did trade unions / syndicates adopt women's rights in confronting conservative and reactionary forces? How did trade unions / syndicates deal with woman's issues whether on her union activity level or her mobilization on humanitarian level? What are the main experiences registered at this level?

¹⁹⁹ Kamal Saleh , what prevents women from union leadership: trade union or indifference ?, an article issued from the electronic newsletter "publication" 1 May 2012 <http://www.al-manshour.org/node/1604>

A Palestinian unionist considers that “women trade unions / syndicates leaders are in a state of isolation and exclusion within the existing structure in some unions, the masculine mentality assigns stereotype roles for women in the trade unions / syndicates, the agenda of parties does not include a process of assigning women leaders in trade unions / syndicates and gives priority to men to represent her in trade unions / syndicates . the women union leadership is not invested, but on contrary it is excluded from work which creates a gap in women leadership within the absence of integrating women effectively, controversy, women are moved to the reproduction area only through restricting their role in women and child . women opportunities are derived mainly from their forces by the mean of parties, the failure of their orientations towards women union representation became clear as the priority is in favor of men not women, therefore, the main competition is reflected by structures among women themselves while men remain out of the competition within the quota raised by some trade unions / syndicates to represent women ”.

The words of this unionist summarizes women participation in trade unions / syndicates and how this latter handles women issue and her participation in union’s activity. Same for the political activity as experiences focusing on trade unions / syndicates support for women and their rights are rare, although some trade unions / syndicates adopted the quota principle and the formation of committees for women into trade unions / syndicates, these measures, and according to experiences witnessed in most countries has led to restrict women's activity in issues related to woman and consecration of the conventional visions of the status of women and their roles, making women Trade unions / syndicates activity with a limited impact and effectiveness.

As for countries included in the study, Lebanon lacks initiatives aiming to increase women representation in the executive boards of Trade unions / syndicates while there have been no initiative in five trade unions / syndicates which are the unions of water Authority employees, social security, civil aviation and Beirut banks, there were a semi-campaign in the Bank syndicate in the North province and an initiative to adopt Quota in the “ Ogero” union which was not a success story while the Regie Libanaise des Tabacs et Tombacs” employees union adopts a quota in its internal organization.

While in Palestine, no representation rates were approved in leading bodies among many trade unions / syndicates except for two trade unions / syndicates: the Palestinian General Federation of Labor trade unions / syndicates and the Palestinian nursing and midwives syndicate. "Palestinian General Federation of labor trade unions / syndicates" in 2004, did not reflect the various clauses in the representation of women in different structures. It was pointed only to "give women quota of not less than 20%," but it did not reflect inside the rules of procedure or in any structures and at any level.

Article 32 of the syndicate structures and bodies stipulated information on the "working woman Affairs Department," defined as one of the specialized department in the Palestinian General Federation of Trade unions / syndicates consisting of women in Trade unions / syndicates departments. Its role is to work on strengthening the working woman skills and her performance and developing her role in the syndical movement and in local community, the federation also adopted a decision concerning the formation of a gender department as a department of political and programmatic dimension the Union instead of Department of Women's Affairs. As for the university trade unions / syndicates, the General Authority for the University of "Bethlehem" stated that the representation of women should be 23-women at least in the administrative board, also a woman presided for the first time the Bir Zer university syndicate during 2011- 2013 electoral cycle.

Although the Palestinian Journalists Syndicate, did not recognize any quota representation for women in the leadership Syndicate bodies, the rules of procedure has approved to include in the electoral list at least 20% of women candidates at the condition that one of them should be among the first five names and one at least from all following five names.

In Morocco, measures provided for in chapter 19 include trade unions / syndicates as well, from here comes the necessity to achieve equity in leadership of trade unions / syndicates structures in response to the spirit of the Constitution, and the new wave of democracy, which is the equity democracy. It also includes the bylaws and the roles of procedures of trade unions / syndicates to ensure the representation of women in these trade unions / syndicates²⁰⁰.

According the bylaws of trade unions / syndicates, Morocco trade unions / syndicates adopted in their recent conferences quota for women and in different leading organs of the syndicate, which reflects that trade unions / syndicates are going towards compatibility between bylaws and by-laws with new constitution of equity ,as well as practicing gender approach as a mechanism not only in dismantling facts according to gender but also to use them to make syndicate open for women alike men despite different obstacles preventing a good effectiveness of these instruments.

²⁰⁰ The second clause of Article 21 of the draft law.

Thus, we find that the first syndical organization approving quotas in its various organs of the system is the National Labor Union in Morocco, which stated: “ a percentage not less than 10% is allocated for women in different consultative and decision- making bodies for trade unions / syndicates, universities and trade unions / syndicates within it . but it seems that the National Labor Union in Morocco²⁰¹ moved in the direction of the suitability of its internal law with constitutional development, to guarantee the third for women “ was undergone on the level of the internal organization amendment which guarantees the one-third because the one- third is a constitutional factor and also of regulatory law, considering the rule of procedure of central general syndicate and this was clear in women’s representation in the National Assembly as the highest-decision-making body so that after the conference must take into account the third issue . ”

The second syndical organization providing positive distinction measures is the National Labor Union in Morocco which dedicated a chapter for women and youth²⁰² quota . As for women’s quota, it provides that “ in order to guarantee a equilibrate and equitable women participation in all national, sector, local and regional organs of the “ union ”and parallel categorical organization . Union works gradually on the activation of “at least one third of equity “ theme with rule of procedure to an applicable women quota according to a determined schedule²⁰³.

By reference to the document - Decision about working woman - presented at the Tenth National Congress of the Union, we find that the proposed attainment of one third according to the time schedule, at least in 2014, that the Union would achieve gradually, starting from 20% in 2011 and 25% in 2012 and 30% in 2013 to up to one-third²⁰⁴ in 2014. We note that the document also emphasized the need to "adopt the same mechanism, whether in representative institutions or in the configuration and all procedure programs, as well as participating in dialogues and collective negotiation ." This means that the quota in one-third of to be activated in all organs and functions of the Union. In addition to this, chapter 7 provided that: “the administrative commission includes also women chosen from its part by the suggestion of national secretariat after consulting the national commission of working women.²⁰⁵”

It seems that this number added to the Administrative committee²⁰⁶ is outside the quota suggested in chapter 13 specified on the one- third and this can be concluded from the formula of presenting it as a proposal before being adopted by law²⁰⁷ which is the same thing that the representative of the trade unions / syndicates referred to in her words regarding this point ²⁰⁸.

²⁰¹ The last fifth national conference of the National Federation of Labor was held in Morocco on 10 and April 11, 2010.

²⁰² Chapter XIV of the Basic Law, which was approved in the tenth national conference held on 11 and 12 December 2010.

²⁰³ The first clause of Chapter XIII.

²⁰⁴ See decision about working women sponsored by the Women's Committee of the Conference.

²⁰⁵ The second clause of Chapter VII of the statute.

²⁰⁶ According to the first clause of Chapter VII of the management committee comprising 163 members.

²⁰⁷ Issuing a decision about working women as follows: "In addition to the quota system for the representation of women within the trade union devices, allocating seven seats in the National Commission within the decision-making structures (Administrative Committee of the National Council of the Union so as to provide a regulatory channel between the central structures of the National Committee of Working Women," which indicates that these seven seats are outside the quota specified in the third.

²⁰⁸ Decline in this regard its intervention in the Appendix.

As for the worker's union trade unions / syndicates, there were amendments on their bylaws which provides equity and by adopting nomination respectively . **The Democratic Confederation of Labor adopted also quota measure and amended their international regulations** to conform with the constitutional developments.

Although the quota system was adopted in law by 3 union organization, and the others declaring their will to include the quota system in their conferences, but the difference is noticeable of defined ratio for women in the organs between reaching equity or third and 10% which can be deducted from the point of view of syndicate ages . The adoption of quota system is an awareness from the union actor of the difficulties that may prevent woman from contributing in syndical work, specially that it is an important rule, particularly on the private sector to other social sector in public sector like education and health from other part. On the other hand, the adoption of this measure comes in the context of rising feminist consciousness and the multiplicity of voices inside and outside the trade unions / syndicates and claims the involvement of women and the assumption of leadership positions in various organizations.

In Tunisia, some women activist's union women have made tremendous efforts for the revision of the Bylaws and the Rules of Procedure of the General Union of Tunisian Workers to create an environment that provides the gender equality through the adoption of a gender approach . This what the National Committee of Working Women Union General Tunisian Workers sought by the hard work that aims to reform a false status within the union structures concerning women representation in leading positions specially that the regulations of Tabarka Conference (December / 2011) which confirmed the necessity of representation of women in management levels and decision- making in the general Tunisian labor union, that's why there were an initiative in the restructuration of the organization in a way that fits with the reality of mobilized work that we can't work within a stable and fixed structure the suggestion of revising some of the fundamental law²⁰⁹ chapters what guarantees 20% of women representation in all the union structures of the main syndicate until the top of the pyramid structure and recognize the role of the national coordinator of working women which guarantees for her the right to vote.

In this context, some of the proposals confirmed the addition of a new chapter in the bylaws of the organization require that «the Tunisian General Labor Union works to adopt positive measures to ensure fair representation of women in management and the powers of decision structures on all the responsibilities of the rules of procedure and adjust the quota system for women's participation

²⁰⁹ Tunisian General Labor Union. Department of women and youth worker and associations. National Bureau of Working Women. Proposals for a legal revision of the Basic Law and the Rules of Procedure of the General Union of Tunisian Workers. Women's representation structures and powers of the management decision towards an integrated approach to gender equality Tunisia. 0.2012.

in all structures and responsibilities of association levels taking into account the specificity of the Trade unions / syndicates structures in accordance according to a gradual time schedule.

The unionist also requested that the quota rule will be respected on all syndical levels so as the equity remains the rule allowing women to attend the actual structures within all organizations, professional associations, because the equitable distribution of seats does not necessarily guarantee equal representation of women cannot be the actual attendance in leadership positions.

Six organizations has reflected a remarkable exceeding to women representation issue, as some of them are an important representation of woman whether for profession or association membership or leading role and all these associations and organization presided by women which are youth lawyers organization, association of Tunisian judges, syndicate of Tunisian magistrates ,syndicate of Tunisian journalists, union of university professors and Tunisian study es, and Trade and Industry Union.

But the strong presence of women within the Trade unions / syndicates organizations and even presiding over it did not lead to the contribution of these structures in the urging in the direction of strengthening the position of women and the defense of women's rights, but it certainly contributed to the support of a new perspective of the roles of women especially on leadership and decision-making level, especially since women have reached the presidency of these organizations by election not by appointment.

While in Egypt, the women's presence is different between professional and Trade unions / syndicates although women has achieved major success on the level of Trade unions / syndicates and being in severe competition on the board of these trade unions / syndicates but her presence in their professional counterparts which reached the number of 24 trade unions / syndicates was the weakest, in a frustrating way, women, over passed year had to get seats in the membership of professional trade unions / syndicates was not 10 cases although women represent 37% of professional trade unions / syndicates membership, the highest representation of women was in nursing syndicate about 92% and less representation for women was in the practitioners syndicate 5%.

And because trade unions / syndicates did not take the initiative in enhancing woman's rights and defense of her gains specially at the legislative level, they are involved into the mobilization of the civil society structures in the logistic woman mobility specially after revolution. For example, we remember, the conference of support of Egyptian women which was held in April 2013 by the general syndicate of Egyptian doctors which was a response to the support of Egyptian woman launched by presidency institution . Also the farmers trade unions / syndicates in Mounoufia which was held in July 2014 its first women conference.

Therefore, we wonder whether these activities come along with a clear and strong strategy to enhance woman's participation or it is just a response for women demands among the trade unions / syndicates structures ? It seems that through trying to monitor the Trade unions / syndicates experiences in women's rights and participation to the non development of an agenda dealing with woman participation in a way urging a direction of supporting a new and positive approach for woman's capabilities and the role she should be doing after revolutions and reforms in most of Arab countries.

The final statement of the first syndical symposium of Arab working woman held under the slogan of "enhancing Arab working women rights" Hammamet – Tunisia 14 -16 May 2014

The participants emphasize that the achievement of political stability in the Arab world and ensuring security and safety became a priority because, this what ensures by the rule of law and organizing life among society members in Arab countries as well as providing and enhancing social security.

- Participants confirm their refusal and condemnation to terrorist operations carried out by some extremist groups in the Arab world in which women is most of the time the first victim whether directly or indirectly, these operations cause fear and terror, murder and destruction, and the disintegration of societal components and major damages to the social structure, they are considered one of the most severe violence type against family in general and woman particularly.
- Participants call Arab governments to respect and implement equality laws and to fight violence and harassment against women and set up the necessary tools to control their implementation accurately and precisely.
- Participants call senior leaders in Arab Labor Trade unions / syndicates to work on a more expanded woman participation in leadership positions at all levels, and reject her marginalization by trying to satisfy her in participating in working woman commissions only.

²¹⁰ Refer to the website : <http://www.ems.org.eg/l3.php?id=578>

- Participants welcome the initiative of the union of Arab banks, trade and business to enable woman in taking leadership positions by the election of Mrs. Nasria Al waslati, General Secretary of the banks league – Tunisian Labor Trade unions / syndicates – as a member in the general secretary and making her the first unionist woman to reach a leader membership at the level of the Arab labor and vocational unions.

- Participants call the senior leaders in Trade union / syndicates to respect their right in participating in Arab and international Trade unions/ syndicates delegations with respect to Arab and international standards which provides woman's participation for not less than 25% in delegations, especially in the 2 Arab and international work conferences, and other Arab and international syndical conferences.

- Participants call working women to join trade unions/ syndicates and to accomplish a high rate of women presentation so they can defend their interests and their rights trough the trade unions / syndicates they belong to.

- Participants call the Trade unions / syndicates to increase their effort in order to contribute to woman unemployment eradication especially in poor and marginalized regions and work on women organization and defending their rights for social protection in an unstable economic particularly.

- Participants call to the need to intensify education and awareness programs for working women and inform them of their rights and their duties, and the ways and methods of appeal and litigate against facing of violence or injustice or exceeded their rights, or of harassment and verbal violence.

- Participants calls to the necessity to work and support dealing with union media, and increase the creation of social networks and link them to a unified network and support the news agency of Arab workers.

- Participants request to strengthen social protection mechanisms, social security and to include working woman in the various sectors of the public, private and joint, and the informal economy and the protection and empowerment of women subjected to abuse and activating the role of law and equality before law, no matter of their gender.

- Participants call labor trade unions / syndicates operating in the agriculture sector to strengthen its efforts to protect women working in this sector and demand conditions and better working conditions for them, and the development of necessary legislation to ensure their right to appropriate remuneration convenient with their effort and hours of work.
- Participants call labor Trade unions / syndicates to intensify their work, seminars and lectures awareness workshops to raise women awareness methods and types of violence, and enable her to figure out that what she may be enduring is a violence and a violation of her rights and is not natural and against customs and traditions.
- Participants call activating laws and international conventions that enhance women's rights and status in society and maintain her integrity as an important part of the community.
- Participants call labor Trade unions / syndicates to adopt studied strategy plans to activate international labor standards, which were absent from the public and private facilities and institutions through the issuance of awareness publications and demanding the participation of gender and fighting against forced labor and request equal earnings as well as fighting against gender discrimination.
- Participants call the General Secretariat of the International Federation of Arab Trade unions / syndicates to expand its program in cultural courses and seminars field on various Trade unions / syndicates and labor laws in order to include a larger number of women.
- Participants greet and manifest their respect to the struggling Palestinian women and ensure being next to her until the Palestinian people achieve its right of building an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, and the return of all refugees to their homeland Palestine and demand the international community and the Arab governments and all associations and Trade unions / syndicates to exert more pressure to force "Israel" to release all prisoners from Israeli prisons and detention centers

- Participants express their solidarity with Syrian, Iraqi, Egyptian, Yemeni and Libyan women in fighting the physical and psychological suffering caused by terrorist operations carried out by terrorist extremist and outlaw groups.
- Participants salute the resilience of Arab woman in the occupied Syrian Golan and her resistance to displacement as well as her attachment to her land, and also the steadfast women in southern Lebanon and call to support women in all armed conflicts regions.
- Participants salute the General Secretariat of the International Federation of Arab Trade unions / syndicates for holding the first syndical conference of Arab working woman and the Tunisian labor Syndicate for the warm welcoming.

The stark duality between the speech supporting woman and her right on one hand and the exclusionary practice towards women in the decision-making bodies does not create a ground for legislative and social change and recognizing woman roles and rights on the other hand, women is called in the first place as well as the supporting structures for her locally, regionally and internationally on the other hand to emphasize on a way to change woman's situation in private area which will affect the level of mentalities and the level of woman's participation in public sector.

Women labor activism of public sector must attain the private sector by refusing the discriminatory practices which start to form in children's minds and stay in all their life stages which makes it hard to change it in age advanced stages and is re-produced thereby in state institutions and structures consciously or not.

5

CHAPTER 5

RECOMMENDATIONS AND PROPOSALS TO ENHANCE THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND TRADE UNIONS / SYNDICATES STRUCTURES IN ENHANCING WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

1. For the benefit of organizations working in the field of enhancing women's rights and human rights
2. For the benefit of women activists
3. For the benefit of the political parties
4. For the benefit of the trade unions / syndicates and trade unions / syndicates
5. for the benefit of the media

All the studies of national, regional and international reports agree on the continuity of woman weak participation in politics and trade unions / syndicates in the Arab region and its decline concerning that this participation is related to many factors and reasons exceeding the individual capabilities of woman, her status and her empowerment, affected by the general political climate and social and cultural visions of our Arab society which remains a major obstacle towards participation in general and women participation and involvement in political and syndical action particularly, although disproportionately from one country to another.

The way parties and trade unions / syndicates deal with women issues and their participation is still presenting many problematic preventing the effective and powerful presence of women among her structures, because the question of woman integration is not presented yet like a priority reflecting the responsibility of these structures and its commitment to urge for the consolidation of equality, justice and democratic values both within state institutions or in the community as a whole.

Even when the issue of woman participation and her reaching for decision-making bodies, the practices are usually adopted to open the path for her to reach decision – making positions and a way to demonstrate the modernist party or Trade unions / syndicates or political structure to respond to its requirements and is not a target developmentally and humanly freestanding.

The fluctuation and lack of clarity and seriousness in dealing with the problem of women's political participation, make the most of the party and Trade unions/ syndicates organizations in the Arab countries live the anomaly at the level dealing with women's issue which makes it contradict with the demanding, rights and awareness message which she is defending and working in its favor. Adding to this, the slow pace of the internal structural reforms to these organizations, what effects the opportunities for participation and decision-making for men and women both, and women in particular, the authority transition mechanisms and improving and participation paths in drawing policies and decision-making within these organizations are usually limited to a group itself and the opportunity to get to it is hard and complicated particularly for women.

This isolation created a huge gape of trust especially with women base and forms, with the lack of confidence, a situation of frustration and abstention from political and Trade unions / syndicates work contributed to the lack of young effective leaders from political and syndical work and the renewal of these organizations and facilitation of the reform and restructuring operations.

Therefore, the women's involvement in both political and syndical sector is considered, until this day a great challenge and a central problematic among women prior issues, requesting more struggling on social level and organizational and structural level as well. and in order that this situation do not lead to a further lack of women's confidence in the ability of both organizational and structural levels to the adoption of a strong and supportive speech for women's movement and abstention from syndical and party work to search for new forms of participation into civil society structures and virtual spaces.

The work became common on the regional level and the networking in order to exchange experiences and lessons is a unavoidable necessity to create a joint working base more effective in policies and urging a stronger commitment to international work and reference, which was formed as a result of an integrated and coherent path to the recognition of rights and filling gaps.

We mention in this part of the study a list of recommendations emanating from this comprehensive study with a regional dimension and directed for the benefit of the most important actors and stakeholders in the political and syndical participation of women, **which may constitute a joint action basis for the next stage :**

◆ **For the benefit of organizations working in the field of fostering women's rights and human rights:**

- ① Implementation of joint call and advocacy activities on the local level **to urge governments to the serious and actual implementation of international conventions** concerned with human rights in general and woman human rights particularly and this so woman can enjoy the rights set forth to accelerate equality.
- ② **Checking the existing legislation and the introduction of new legislations** which are dedicated to the principles of equality and equal opportunities through endorsement of laws that raises economic dependency and social marginalization of women, including the fight against gender-based violence, and the fight against legislative discrimination and the adoption of legislation and enforceable laws.
- ③ **Gathering the best party and syndical practices** to enhance woman participation on Arab level and **disseminate it** for trade unions / syndicates and parties in order to follow the same path.
- ④ **Enhancing gender awareness among politicians** and syndical activists on all structures basically, regionally and centrally, through the implementation of **training programs at the regional level** allowing the exchange of experiences and establishing partnership relations among syndical structures and political parties.

◆ **For the benefit of women activists**

- ① **Invest woman's commissions and their activation to become influential** structures urging to enhance women's rights as well as to coordinate with the rest of the infrastructure **to support a gender perspective into the core of the political and Trade unions / syndicates action.**
- ② **Refuse to confine women's role in the "conventional"** fields providing gender discrimination like the activist women always handling the social status and women issues exclusively.

③ Develop **a strategy for partnership with the media** towards supporting a new perspective to the capabilities of women and their roles in community in general, and to improve the presence of women in mass-media in particular.

④ **Activate existing woman structures** (like Commission for Women at the Inter-Parliamentary Arab Union.) to facilitate the coordination and consultation and **to seek the adoption of the quota and equity** at the regional level.

⑤ **Create women leaders locally** what opens the path for woman to reach the highest levels and so that the parties find strong candidates capable of competition and winning the elections.

⑥ **Organize awareness campaigns** in women's communities to inform them about their rights, and educate women and men both that women's participation in party political work and leadership positions in parties and trade unions / syndicates is a part of the human's development in the country.

◆ **For the benefit of political parties**

① **Create an Arab party code of honor paving the way to a party life and environment that accepts women's rights** and guarantees the integrity of the electoral process and respecting its results and ensuring peaceful transition of power and equal gender representation and fighting various kinds of discrimination detracting women's rights as citizens.

② Reformulate the bylaws of parties to determine the mechanisms and binding process for the election of women in the leadership positions, this aims to solve the problem of succession of generations and giving the opportunity to the younger generation and representation for everyone, and formulating explicit and clear texts in this regard, and institutionalized mechanisms reflecting a stable and durable visions when dealing with woman's participation.

③ Carry internal awareness activities for men, particularly in small areas, towns and village to educate members of the party on the importance of attracting women and the positive impact of their participation at the local level of development, which will contribute to the dissemination of the culture of equality and make men supporters not opponents.

◆ **For the benefit of labor and vocational trade unions / syndicates and unions:**

- ① Foster Arab networking through activation of mechanisms and common independent commissions, and the holding of regular periodic meetings to keep up with the ongoing political and social changes taking place in many Arab countries and to develop a common framework identifying the main directions of the syndical work.
- ② Review labor laws to remove all forms of discrimination that affect working women and stand as an obstacle to their involvement in both party and syndical work.
- ③ Carry out joint regional campaign defining the importance of Trade unions / syndicates action and the necessity to engage and join it, primarily based on attracting women and young people
- ④ Intensify regional training sessions in favor of Trade unions / syndicates leaders and strengthen the communicative and negotiating abilities, and support their involvement and intensive participation in collective negotiations, and the right to punish for the abuses affecting women, both within the organization or at work.

◆ **For the benefit of media:**

- ① Urge the public media to play a role in spreading the equality culture and fighting stereotypes about women reflecting an incorrect perspective about her status and roles.
- ② Form both men and women informative through training courses on human rights and the skills of dealing with Trade unions / syndicates issues and political participation.
- ③ Add an article for press code of honor reserved for quota equity in media and involving women in all forums and dialogues specially those related to public affairs and activate existing codes.

Country	Major recommendations
Morocco	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Work for the transition from third to equity, and invest the constitutional developments that enable the achievement of equity. 2. Transition from numeric equity to gender equity, relying on equality in assuming party responsibilities. 3. Request the use of equity in asking questions on the level of parliamentary hearings and feedbacks and asking for equity in the presidency of permanent committees and rotation in the presidency of parliamentary groups side by side with men.
Palestine	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Advocate and adopt transformative initiatives mobilizing the energies of youth and women in Palestinian society. This can be only achieved through a clear will of political parties and Trade unions / syndicates to face the reality and struggle to change it, this links between intellect and ideology and practices and enhances the party and syndicate relationship “humanization away from unveiled perception of women» in a changing social context. 2. Renounce identification and compromise within conventional societal structures and with political Islam in private and social women issues in general, and face community and tribal special culture preventing gender equality.
Tunisia	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Review laws that are still restricted to certain rights related to political affairs, such as Law No. 4 of 1969 on public meetings, processions, parades and demonstrations and gatherings in order to be consistent with the provisions of Chapter 37 of the Constitution which guarantees peaceful freedom of assembly and demonstration. 2. Amend the political parties law to include equity or at least to add an article ensuring woman representation leadership structures. 3. Send an observatory to monitor to what extent the equity principle and socialization of women in decision-making positions are achieved (directed to monitor the parties and the syndical structures), it also includes civil society bodies.

<p style="text-align: center;">Egypt</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adopt the election system of relative lists as the more responsive system for the weak representation of Egyptian women in politics and taking into consideration the necessity to allocate a quota for women in local councils when modifying the current local Administration law (law no.43 of 1979). 2. Amend the professional and Trade unions / syndicates (law no. 35 of 1976, and law no.100 of 1993) to allow equitable representation for women in the companies administrative boards. 3. Adopt legislative amendments to ensure the existence of an independent and impartial body responsible for the electoral process. 4. Adopt the syndical freedom law proposed by independent trade unions / syndicates and civil society organizations.
<p style="text-align: center;">Lebanon</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Issue a unified personal status civil law and abolition of different kinds of discrimination against women in legal articles at all levels as well as removing reservation on the convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. 2. Establish operational mechanisms for the national human rights plan adopted by the Lebanese Parliament. 3. Adopt a modern and fair electoral law based on relativity out of sectarian constraint ensuring correct representation for all so that the electoral process rises to the level that makes it a true representation of people's will mechanism. 4. Adopt women quota in legislative election for 30% at least and 30% at least in the cabinet and within the bylaws of parties themselves.

These recommendations cannot be implemented on the ground unless all intervening and active parties commit to the human rights principles and according to the private framework of international conventions and conferences. They should be supported by regional efforts to develop a common vision and a unified framework considering main orientations and at the same time taking into account the specificities of countries and its priorities.

Perhaps, the institutional performance of mechanism of good governance, liability and transparency is to ensure social responsibility of each party in the Arab societies in the path of development of Arab societies and their democratization. The success of democratic processes in our Arab countries still depend on the new social culture which the woman carry at the first place and depends on establishing and activating the control and liability which creates a climate more suitable to the woman exercising her rights in work without any aspects of injustice and discrimination.

Conclusion

Women's participation in parties and trade unions / syndicates is usually raised in a way reflecting contradictions of framing mechanisms such as parties, trade unions / syndicates, associations and organizations. Behind women's participation there are always hopes and victories, neglecting that this participation may be sometimes "an out of tune song" responding to the structure's conditions to which women belong being a party or a syndicate and to its regulations and attitudes and ideas embraced by the same, it is also related to the community practices, perceptions and representations of men and women roles in the public sector.

Looking at the role of parties and trade unions / syndicates in enhancing women's political participation is treating in fact two major issues: on one hand women's participation in politics, and the reality of parties and syndical work on the second hand, which are inter affected.

The characterization previously made about parties and trade unions / syndicates reflects their inability to keep up with the society modernization process properly which results in an imbalance among various society institutions. We notice thus that the political institutions' evolution goes in a slower pace compared to social and economic changes.

The task entrusted to parties and syndical structures probably exceeds coping with society's modernization process and acts like a path towards enhancing equality, justice and democracy principles, good governance and participation values, it is thus the first frame work of women's participation motivating the equitable participation for them at every level.

However, women's participation in parties and syndical structures in different Arab countries remains absent, in a way reflecting the reality and the fact of women's participation in public affairs even in countries that have witnessed changes where women played a major and prominent role.

The challenges and obstacles to achieve the above-mentioned are not limited to a bunch of external challenges but is also associated with the general political climate and governance regime characteristics and power distribution and are issued from the parties and syndical structures and their mechanisms , their conduction, references , their position towards women ,their status and roles ..

These obstacles prevent sometimes both women and men participation but their implications have more severe impact on women particularly.

Within this scope, parties and trade unions / syndicates are called upon to share experiences and corporation related to the actions and framing among each national unit or between different countries , parties and trade unions / syndicates should preserve their legitimacy and are called upon to consider women's cause as their priority and include it in their agenda, as well as the necessity to institutionalize the status of women by creating a program based on equal gender opportunities and shares system and positive distinction . Experts and specialists in social gender and women rights should be integrated as well as taking advantage from the great knowledge in order to develop practical and applicable programs and projects.

Trade unions / syndicates and parties are requested today to be in close contact with women especially young women to raise their awareness to the role of these organizations and the benefit gained from their engagement therein. In order to attract women, these organizations should determine women's needs and concerns by the mean of making studies and organizing training courses for them, and sending messages and signals which may raise women awareness of the importance of their participation and their great importance. These organizations should show clearly that they are seeking seriously to solve social gender issues. They can adopt a new methodology to attract women through campaigns known as «1 + 1” so as each involved person should attract a new person. In this context, persons involved are required to attract new persons with similar professional and cultural characteristics.

For parties and trade unions / syndicates to be closer to women from different categories, they should stress in their framework on privacy issues at the core of women's concerns (gender equality at all levels, defending vulnerable and marginalized women groups reducing women's unemployment and equal remuneration) and not to be limited to major public problems.

There is no doubt that democracy and participatory democracy, which are mainly based on the presence of, political and syndical participation for all citizen require to ensure rights and duties equality not only within the scope of laws and legislation but also practically. In order to achieve this , parties and trade unions / syndicates must ensure the necessary climate so as persons will be able to exercise their civil and political rights , it is thus necessary to enhance women's capacities allowing them to participate in parties and syndical work .

As for overcoming the obstacles preventing political participation, women should be involved in a work within the institutions located in her environment ((associations, clubs, community groups, trade unions / syndicates), as there are places where she can improve her abilities and develop her political activity competences. This

experience allows women to believe in her capacities and integrate in the political field. We must emphasize, here, on the importance of being a part of a group or a certain association where you can find a path to syndical and political field.

These institutions play a major role in the transition from struggling for power to a social right defense. Women should be present in parties and trade unions / syndicates leadership position to achieve their demands and defend their interests.

The ensuring of human rights principles and specially women's rights is related to the presence of a legal and institutional framework locally, nationally and globally. We must also emphasize that men are part of the process of applying social gender approach; they are requested, alike women, to achieve gender equality in public and private sectors. In addition, women's issue should be considered an important social case for various social actors .

The problematic of women's participation in parties and trade unions / syndicates remains a very complex renewed subject requiring more attention for its mobilization and for all actors and targets and their opinion towards women's participation. The transformation periods witnessed by many countries in the region and its repercussions on many other countries that have rushed to implement proactive reforms for the wave of changes , a historical opportunity witnessed by the region which should be invested to enhance humanitarian values and universal principles and demolish regressive perceptions and consolidates others about women's roles and rights, by developing a common framework urging parties and trade unions/ syndicates to assume their historical responsibility aiming to the transitional periods success and political, social and economic stability .

The current changes taking place in the Arab region confront parties and trade unions / syndicates with major challenges which the most important is to attract women from extremist groups within the absence of political and institutional framing parties and trade unions / syndicates. We must point a fundamental issue related to the transitional period characterized by the weakness of the nation reflected in the need to pay attention to the political education since the degeneration of state institutions led to the intervention of many parallel groups (extremist groups or parties) which have mobilized significant numbers of young men and women). In order to avoid this situation, it is needed to implement policies and plans of action to enable the state institutions, parties, trade unions / syndicates and associations to play their role of framing individuals and groups and ensuring political education. Moreover, the current changes represent a significant turn requiring all parties and trade unions / syndicates to reform and reposition in the new political environment characterized by its complexity and the appearance of new powers threatening the guaranteed acquired rights of women and preventing gender equality.