



GENDER ELECTION MONITORING MISSION LIBYA

GENERAL NATIONAL CONGRESS ELECTION

7 JULY 2012

FINAL REPORT



“Women’s empowerment achieved to date is a benchmark to beat and not a threshold to be maintained”





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**GENERAL NATIONAL CONGRESS ELECTION
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FINAL REPORT

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GLOSSARY

ACHPR-PW	Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa
AFTURD	L'Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche et sur le Développement
ATFD	L'association Tunisienne Des Femmes Démocrates
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
GCI	Gender Concerns International
GEM	Gender Election Monitoring Mission
GNC	General National Congress
HNEC	High National Elections Commission
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
IPU	International Parliamentary Union
LTDH	La Ligue Tunisienne de défense de Droits de l'Homme
LEAP	Libya Electoral Assistance Project
LFCS	The Libyan Forum for Civil Society
LWU	Libyan Women's Union
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NTC	National Transitional Council
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UDHR	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSMIL	United Nations Support Mission in Libya

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sabra Bano, Director of Gender Concerns International

With its commitment to women's rights, Gender Concerns International (GCI) has followed the unfolding events in Libya with huge interest. So it was with great honour, that we were delighted to be invited by Libyan women's organizations to visit Libya in early 2012, and to explore opportunities to support women in their desire to participate equally and meaningfully in Libya's new democratic processes. Gender Concerns International has distinct expertise in monitoring elections from a gender perspective in a number of countries including Pakistan (in cooperation with Pakistani civil society organisations), Morocco (with the Moroccan Human Rights Council (CNDH) and in Tunisia (supported by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and three major women and human rights organisations, La Ligue Tunisienne de défense de Droits de l'Homme (LTDH), L'association Tunisienne Des Femmes Démocrates (ATFD), L'Association des Femmes Tunisiennes pour la Recherche et sur le Développement TDH (AFTURD)).

This track record and its commitment to a gender focus, places Gender Concerns International in a unique position to be able to offer valuable expertise and sharing lessons learned which could meaningfully support Libyan women in asserting their right to be heard and represented in Libya's new decision making processes. With that in mind, Gender Concerns International conducted a pre-electoral assessment mission to Libya to gauge the level of support required and desired by Libyan civil society and women's organisations in particular, in order that they could assess the first Libyan elections in over 50 years –and indeed, the first ever in which women have participated from a distinctly gender perspective.

This pre-electoral assessment mission confirmed a clear need to support Libyan women both technically and organisationally to achieve their aspirations as the future leaders of Libya. Our consultations highlighted the critical nature of adopting a holistic approach and sustained commitment to women's involvement not just during, but more importantly, following the elections. As part of the assessment phase, GCI had numerous meetings with Libyan women, and agreed on partnerships with the Libyan Women's Union and the Libyan Forum for Civil Society. Following careful analysis and consultation with key Libyan stakeholders and our new Libyan partners, Gender Concerns International decided to officially launch the Gender Election Monitoring (GEM) Mission Libya in June 2012 to observe from a gender perspective the National Elections for a General National Congress scheduled for 7 July 2012.

As the Head of the Gender Election Monitoring (GEM) Mission, I am pleased to acknowledge the all women mission team which comprised of six international observers and support staff from Belgium, The Netherlands, Tunisia, Germany, Australia and the United Kingdom and 25 local Libyan women trained by GCI in election observation from a gender perspective. While it was a short-term mission in country of 10 days, naturally much preparatory and post-election work was undertaken. I am extremely grateful to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Libyan Electoral Assistance Project (LEAP) for supporting this initiative.

The Gender Concerns International Gender Election Monitoring (GEM) Mission is a uniquely developed initiative and is the only team among major international election monitoring missions worldwide to adopt an all-female and gender focused mission. It was also the only mission to train 25 women from across Libya in election monitoring from a distinctly gender perspective and firmly integrated them as part of the GEM Mission team. The unique model of the GEM Mission was designed not only to monitor elections from a distinctly gendered perspective, but to mobilise local women to participate in the elections as observers and support women's increased political participation before, during, and after elections. The eagerness and willingness of these women to take up leadership positions in Libya is a true inspiration to us all.

From revolution to post-conflict transition, women have actively participated in the building of Libya as a free and functional democratic state. They participated as voters, election administration staff and candidates in the first national free elections in over five decades, and the first ever in which women participated, held on 7 July 2012. They celebrated hand-in-hand with unprecedented optimism and hope, to herald a new period in Libyan history. Gender Concerns International now looks to the future and hopes that the Libyan model of nation building, and peace and security is one that will be fully inclusive of women, and champion women as the new leaders of Libya, ready to guide Libya into a distinct phase in its history. The coming years will be a crucial period for the future role of women leaders in Libya. We join with the women of Libya in hoping that the historic election of 33 new women leaders as a result of the General National Congress elections will be the tip of the iceberg in paving the way for future generations of women leaders in an inclusive and democratic Libya.

The results of the Gender Election Monitoring Mission Libya and analysis are explained in detail in this report. The report is a culmination of the sustained hard work and dedication of the GEM Mission team of combined Libyan and international observers, Gender Concerns International and its partners.

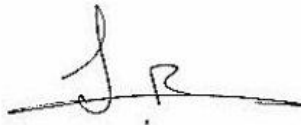
I wish to thank all the individuals and organisations involved in the GEM Mission Libya for supporting the initiative and their unwavering commitment to the necessity and value of applying a gender lens to election monitoring. First and foremost, I would like to express deep gratitude to our partners Dr. Farida Allaghi, Director of the Libyan Network for Civil Society and Samira Massoudi, Director of the Libyan Women's Union, the dedication and passion of whom facilitated the great success of the mission. Gender Concerns International is confident that the valuable partnerships and cooperation founded between our organizations will only grow and flourish in the future.



Dr. Farida Allaghi, Director of Libyan Forum for Civil Society and Samira Massoudi,

Director of the Libyan Women's Union.

We also acknowledge and record our appreciation to the people of Libya and the numerous organisations and people who assisted in the deployment of the Gender Election Monitoring (GEM) Mission Libya, with particular emphasis on the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Libya which fully supported the mission, the High National Election Commission (HNEC), for their cooperation and assistance throughout the GEM Mission, the Embassy of Libya in The Netherlands, Luis Martinez-Betanzos –Chief Electoral Advisor from UNDP Libya, and Andrea Cullinan of United Nations Support Mission in Libya UNSMIL/UN Women Libya for her continued support, particularly during the inception period of the mission. Further special thanks goes to the domestic and international observer team for their enthusiasm and dedication during both pre-election trainings and the election observation itself, the Gender Concerns International local staff in Libya and the Gender Concerns International headquarters staff for its continued support from afar. I also acknowledge the appreciation of Abdurrahim El-Keib, Former Prime Minister of Libya who personally thanked Gender Concerns International for its work in Libya. But most of all, I wish to commend the courage, wisdom and efforts of all Libyan women who seek to demand and uphold their rights – you are an inspiration to us all.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'S. Bano', with a horizontal line extending to the right.

Sabra Bano
Director, Gender Concerns International

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1. Executive Summary

1.1 Introduction

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his/her country. Nevertheless, despite women constituting at least half of the electorate in the majority of countries, women continue to have unequal access to political and economic decision-making processes.

1.2 Mission Objectives

The importance of women's participation in the decision-making process of Libya cannot be understated and must be supported. In order to do this, Gender Concerns International, in collaboration with its partners, the Libyan Forum for Civil Society (LFCS) and the Libyan Women's Union (LWU) launched the Gender Election Mission and deployed 15 teams in eight areas of the country, including Tripoli, Benghazi, Al-Zawiya, Murzuq, Sabha, Ajdabiya, Sabrahta and Girian. All observers were deployed one day prior to the elections and observed all aspects of the opening, polling, closing and counting. A comprehensive analysis of the pre-electoral framework, the elections themselves and of the results follows in this report.

1.3 Context

Prior to the National Congress Elections of Libya in July 2012 women did not enjoy full access to their political, economic and social rights and therefore the majority of Libyan women were unable to effectively take part in society. Despite poor representation at high levels of governance, both in the previous and the transitional administration, Libyan women consistently advocated for change through a strong civil society presence and mobilized amongst themselves to discuss the guidelines of the Electoral Commission Law and to agree on a shared agenda. This shared agenda supported the inclusion of special temporary measures in the electoral law for women.

The original law included a 10 per cent quota for women but this was strongly opposed by civil society. Instead a zebra alternative system was introduced for the proportional seats where women were included on the party lists both horizontally and vertically. Such a system does encourage a higher proportion of women to participate however it does not always guarantee absolute gender parity amongst the parties and of course by no means ensures that an equal number of women are elected as males.

1.4 Electoral System

Libya is divided into 13 administrative districts headed by 13 High National Election Commission (HNEC) sub-offices. Within these 13 districts there are 73 constituencies. The General National Council comprises 200 members elected both by a mixed comprising majoritarian (individual candidates; 120 seats) and proportional representation (PR) (closed lists; 80 seats) system.

Since 1972, the formation of political parties had been prohibited by General Qaddafi, and therefore after the fall of his regime and in the lead up to the elections, the development of political entities blossomed, resulting in over 145 political entities registering. For the 7 July 2012 election, a total of 130 political entities actually fielded candidates for the 80 proportional seats. The fact that so many political parties did run in the elections made it

difficult for a zebra system to be maintained both horizontally and vertically, and meant that 140 out of a possible 376 (37 per cent) lists were headed by females. The remaining 120 seats did not encourage gender parity at all, and only three per cent of candidates amongst the 2,548 were indeed women.

1.5 Election Administration

Gender Concerns International commends the high number of qualified female staff working predominantly in the female polling stations and some in the male polling stations on Election Day. Nevertheless, the Board of Commissioners which governs the HNEC is comprised entirely of men. This is contrary to the original version of Article 8 of Law Number 3 of 2012 which states that two women from civil society organisations should be present, though the law was amended. Gender Concerns International recognises that the number of commissioners has been reduced from 17 to 11 and that two previous female members of the commission have left. However it regrets that these women were not replaced by someone of the same gender and that the Central Administration of HNEC is only represented by 25 per cent of females.

1.6 Voter Registration

Registration resulted in a record 2,866 million voters, 45 per cent (1.3 million) of which are female. In Ubari, the figure reached 51 per cent. Problems in the first few days of female voter registration were quickly resolved and women were able to register with minimal difficulty. This was supported by concerted efforts by civil society to encourage female participation.

1.7 Registration of Female Candidates

Approximately 1,200 candidates registered to run for the 80 proportional seats, of which 540 (43 per cent) were women under the zebra system. An overwhelming 2,500 persons registered to become individual candidates. Unfortunately, due to the lack of women candidates, inadequate financial resources and the relative guarantee of a proportion of these women winning a proportional seat, only 84 women (three per cent of all individual candidates) ran as individual candidates.

1.8 Electoral Campaign

The short campaign period was lackluster in its content and generally political entities failed to include or address women's issues in their platforms. Despite very low internet usage, women tended to use social networks such as Facebook to campaign and shied away from traditional door-to-door campaigns mostly due to socio-cultural restrictions. Posters of women were defaced in several areas of the country, including the capital and in more security prone areas such as Benghazi. To date, no prosecutions have taken place.

1.9 Election Observation

The strength of civil society was illustrated by more than 4,400 Libyan female observers who were accredited to monitor the elections. In total, nearly 17 per cent of the observers were made up of female candidate/entity agents, media or domestic observers. Civil society also played an important role in delivering and imparting voter education, however it did not

always reach the rural areas and very few specific voter education programs targeted women.

1.10 Election Day

Women of all ages turned out to vote, especially youth and young adults. Many females celebrated the day by venturing out to vote in groups or in the company of their family. Many women were accompanied by their children. Gender Concern's observers visited over 150 polling stations in eight regions of the country. Observers witnessed moving scenes of women crying and kissing the ground thanking Allah, singing and proudly showing their inked fingers in recognition of a symbol of a new era.

In most polling stations observed, security agents were present, including female agents. This was particularly pertinent in Sabha and Benghazi. Campaign materials and campaigning was observed in some isolated stations and in Murzuq, security agents were observed to actively encourage voters how to vote. However, in general, the stations were run in accordance with the procedures. In Benghazi there was an attempt to steal a ballot box, however the culprits were stopped and the ballot box was returned to the polling station.

In approximately 51 per cent of the polling centers, managers were female with a record 82 per cent of females in Benghazi and 70 per cent in Al-Zawiya. Female polling stations were mainly run by teachers, engineers and doctors and almost all of them had received training.

Female polling staff was present in some male stations in Tripoli and a few outside of the capital. Observers assessed the organisation and adherence to procedures in the female stations as mainly excellent and a few as good. Gender Concerns International managed to observe one Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) station in Janzour. The staff was dedicated and observers assessed the organisation of the station as excellent. Nevertheless polling staff were unable to vote as they had been previously instructed not to do so, possibly because polling staff at IDP stations were registered in different constituencies to those that IDPs could vote in.

The presence of media was relatively strong in Tripoli but lower in the other regions with the exception of Benghazi whereby women media represented the mass of observers on Election Day and were present in 80 per cent of stations observed. The presence of political representatives was more prominent in Benghazi and Al-Zawiya (40 per cent) than any other region. Domestic observers were present in almost all the stations across the country, mainly emanating from the Shahed Network.

HNEC issued regulation 293 which highlighted that the selection of agents and observers should be based on the gender of the polling stations observed. The regulation may have intermittingly prevented some available male party agents to observe female stations, thus leaving many female stations without a political entity/candidate representation at all. Nevertheless, this regulation did not always deter male domestic and international observers from observing in the female polling stations and vice versa.

In many stations, mostly elderly women needed some kind of assistance or instructions on how to vote. In Benghazi, both female and male voters left the polling stations without voting after not fully understanding how to select a candidate on the ballot paper. Special assistance was given to the elderly, disabled and pregnant women when needed, however some of these voters experienced difficulties in accessing polling stations that were located on the second floor.

1.11 Analysis of the results

The complete preliminary results of the election were announced on 17 July 2012, with a total of 33 seats awarded to women. Only one female individual candidate won a seat and the remaining 32 were candidates from political parties running for a proportional seat. The actual number of women who won proportional seats was 32 out of a possible 80. This is equivalent to 40 per cent of women being represented under proportional seats.

Although this figure is well below Afghanistan (27.7 per cent), Tunisia (26.6 per cent)¹, Iraq (25.5 per cent), the United Arab Emirates (17.5 per cent) and Oman (18.1 per cent (in the upper house)), it currently surpasses the figures of the majority of the Middle East and North African States including Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Oman and Kuwait – all of which have held elections in the last two years.

The participation of women in the first elections for over four decades is most certainly an important and positive step towards the realisation of the importance of women's political participation in new Libya. Nonetheless it is essential to note that equality does not just emanate from the numbers of women in a parliament but how they use their voice effectively to influence policy and decision making.

Due to the operation of the zebra system, women were represented as candidates in every electoral district. However, their representation over the span of elected political parties is very limited. A total of 20 political parties were able to secure a seat out of the original 130 political entities which ran in the elections. The number of women per electoral district varies from 22 per cent in Sabha and 25 per cent in Sirte to a maximum of 44 per cent in Tripoli.

The National Forces Alliance and Justice Construction Party hold nearly 60 per cent of the congress and the remaining 19 parties have between one and three seats apiece. The National Forces Alliance has an equal number of women and men and The Justice Construction Party will be made up of 41 per cent of women. Five other parties will each have one female candidate, while the remaining 13 parties will have one male candidate to represent them. The 33 seats translate into 16.5 per cent of female representation in the national congress.

1.12 Conclusions

The holding of the first elections in almost five decades can be heralded as a milestone for Libya's young democracy and has proved to both Libya and the region that Libyan women are empowered to partake in political life. This is a huge achievement in itself. Nonetheless, with all emerging democracies, we must not be complacent and think that the battle has already been won. There is much work to be done, and although women have now surpassed the first hurdle by being represented in the congress, they must continue to be supported. Their capacity needs to be built in order to ensure that they become the harbingers of change and are able to have an effective and significant effect on the decision making process of the country.

To this end, Gender Concerns International outlines some key recommendations (see table of recommendations and action points) in order to galvanize the work already done and

¹ Source – www.ipu.org

harness further support in order to **ensure that the level of women's empowerment achieved to date is seen as a benchmark to beat and not a threshold to be maintained.**

2. Background

2.1 Introduction

Without the active participation of women and the incorporation of women's perspective at all levels of decision-making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved.

Beijing Platform for Action, Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states: **“Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.”**² These rights were universally recognised as universal, inalienable and indivisible. Nevertheless, despite women constituting the majority of a population of any given country, women continue to have dramatically unequal access to political and economic decision-making processes.

The Economic and Social Councils' aim to have at least 30 per cent of women in positions at decision-making levels by 1995 were highlighted and endorsed by the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995³. This platform put women's rights at the forefront of policy and women's rights were universally recognised as universal, inalienable and indivisible.

Although much has been achieved in the last 15 years in the realm of advancing women's rights and their active participation in all areas of society, the average number of women who are currently represented worldwide in political bodies is still at a dismal 20 per cent. The average in Arab states is even lower and, regionally is the lowest in the world, standing at an average of 13 per cent⁴.

Following on from various United Nations Security Resolutions on women peace and security aiming to address the issue of women's meaningful and effective participation through a concerted effort made at national, regional and international levels, a range of opportunities for women's political participation is continually gaining momentum.

Temporary special measures including quotas which aim to address the under-representation of women in decision-making processes have been used successfully in many transitional and post conflict countries. Obstacles to women's participation are multivariant, often stemming from socio-economic disadvantages and socio-cultural attitudes which discriminate against women. In the Arab world, and as can be seen by the low levels of female participation in decision-making bodies, these barriers are further exacerbated by deeply entrenched socio-cultural norms within a patriarchal society and the fact that many Arab women are discouraged from forming part of the formal labour force. Nonetheless, the Arab Spring is providing a unique window to address and eventually overcome these hurdles. For Libyan women in particular, the national congress elections have created an opportunity where women and men alike can contribute to a future of inclusive democracy and women's political and economic participation in the country.

² The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 21 (<http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>).

³ The Beijing Platform for Action was held in Beijing, China, in 1995. It is an agenda for women's empowerment which aims at removing all the obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life through a full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making (<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/>).

⁴ <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>.

2.2 GEM Mission objectives

“We are aware that the road will be long, but since we have contributed to the revolution, we hope that Libyan women will take all their place in the reconstruction of our country”.

Libyan woman, Interview FIDH/ ATFD, Djerba, Tunisia, July 2011

Years of research, results and anecdotal evidence inform us clearly that the importance of women’s role in democratic processes cannot be understated and must be supported. All the efforts undertaken by the government, civil society and the international community to promote the participation of women in the 7 July 2012 elections must be further capitalised upon and the momentum to place women and men equally at the forefront of reconstruction of the country post-election should not be lost. A comprehensive and holistic approach to analysing the progress to date and its implications for the future development and empowerment of women will support such efforts. To this end, Gender Concerns endeavoured to deliver support which contributed to the continual building of the capacity of Libyan women as agents of political change, as women leaders in politics and civil society, and importantly, as women connected to a wider supportive regional and international network to mark the way for continual progress in the future.

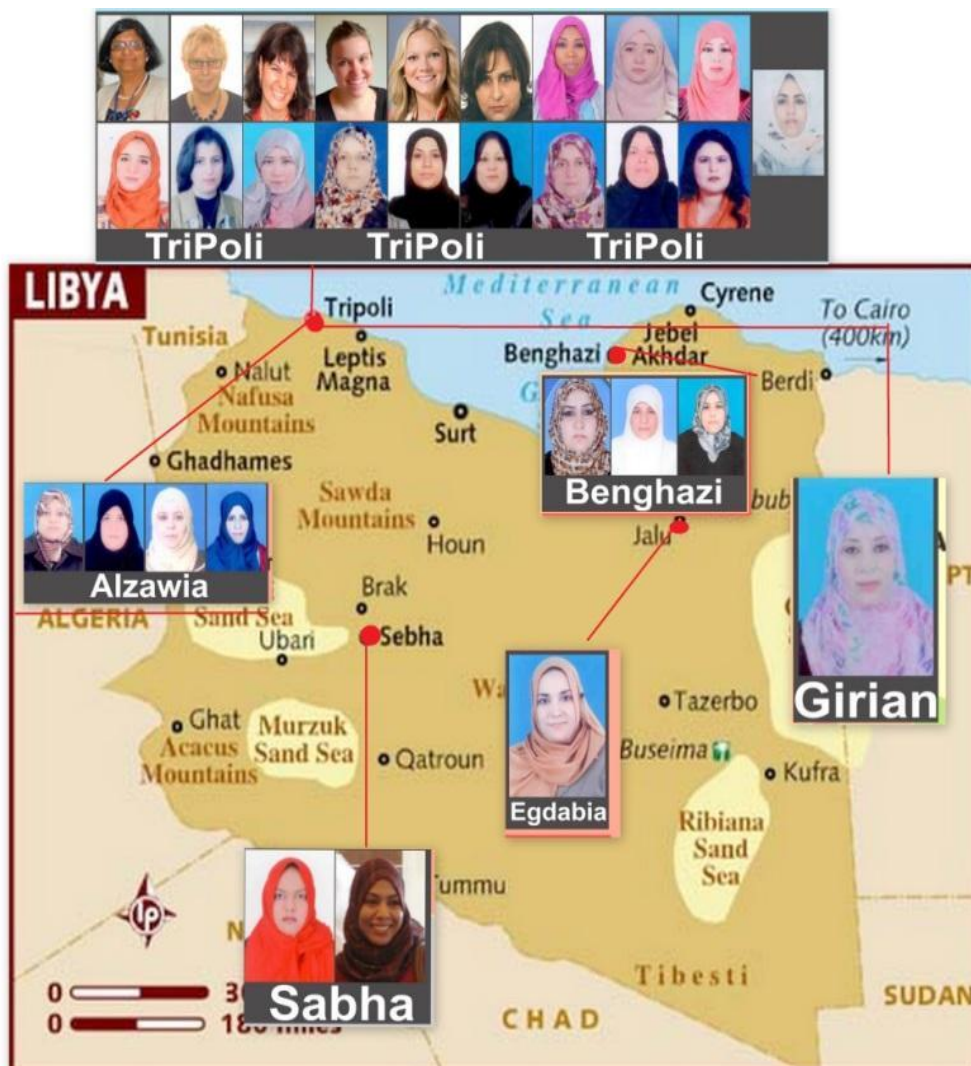
In order to ascertain the level of genuine participation of women in the future development of democracy in Libya, it is necessary to properly incorporate their experience prior to, during and subsequent to the election process and evaluate the specific issues they face as women in their communities and as individuals as part of that process. The experience of women in the democratic process is diverse and ranges from participation as voters to participation as candidates, observers and administrators of the elections. Accordingly, comprehensive analysis should entail a critical assessment of the extent to which women were able to freely participate in the electoral process and to what degree they were able to contribute to the administration and management of the election process itself. Only then can it determine whether women were genuinely able to participate or not. The resulting recommendations will improve the electoral process for women in future Libyan democratic elections, both local and national.

In order to achieve its objectives, Gender Concerns International, in collaboration with its partners the Libyan Forum for Civil Society (LFCS), and the Libyan Women’s Union (LWU), conducted intensive training sessions over two days on election observation from a gender perspective. 25 women emanating from varying regions around Libya were selected to participate in the training and were joined by six experienced international observers. The women were deployed in 15 teams in 8 areas of the country including Tripoli, Benghazi, Al-Zawiyah, Ubari, Sabha, Sabrahta and Ghuryan. All observers were deployed one day prior to the elections and observed all aspects of the opening, polling, closing and counting. A comprehensive analysis of the pre-electoral framework, the elections themselves and of the results was undertaken.



The Gender Election Monitoring Mission Team Libya.

2.3 Deployment map



2.4 Context

Women under the Qaddafi regime did not enjoy full access to their political, economic and social rights and therefore the majority of women were unable to effectively take part in society. Political activity including the ability to form parties was greatly restricted under the previous regime. During his 42 years rule, a total of 4 women occupied ministerial posts, in the ministries of culture, media, social affairs and women.⁵ At the time of the fall of the regime, there was only one female minister in office – in the Ministry of Women, Family and Childhood.⁶ In the aftermath of the fall of the Qaddafi regime in October 2011, when the National Transitional Council (NTC) was established and included two women - including one who was appointed to be in charge of Legal Affairs– Dr Salwa Fawzi-El-Deghali. In November

⁵ Source - <http://arabwomenspring.fidh.net/index.php?title=Libya>

⁶ Source – <http://arabwomenspring.fidh.net/index.php?title=libya>

2011, the NTC announced a new cabinet, and included 2 women out of 28 posts: Fatima Hamroush – Minister of Health and Mabrouka Sherif– Minister of Social Affairs.⁷

Despite poor representation at high levels of governance, both in the previous and current transitional administration, Libyan women have consistently advocated for change through a strong civil society presence. In relation to the inclusion of the views of women’s and civil society organizations in the actual formulation of the electoral laws, the NTC’s electoral committee launched a public consultation process on 1 January 2012. Civil society groups quickly mobilised to analyse the draft and present their comments to the NTC. The women’s movement in Libya mobilised efficiently, engaging with national and international legal experts for a series of consultations with women and youth to discuss the guidelines of the Electoral Commission Law and to agree on a shared agenda. The shared agenda supported the inclusion of special temporary measures in the electoral law for women. An initial 10 per cent quota was recommended; however, many of the women’s groups, including the Voice of Libyan Women and the Libyan Rights Organization, labelled this figure as “scandalous” stating that the figure was too low, and would represent a maximum ceiling for female seats rather than a possible minimum. Debate consequently focused on percentage, rather than a deeper understanding and debate on the idea of temporary special measures themselves. While a quota was not included in the final version of the official electoral law, a modest special measure for the proportional representation lists was included.

⁷ IDEM

3. The general framework of the Libyan elections

3.1 Legal Framework

Pursuant to the fall of the Qaddafi regime, a Constitutional Charter for the transitional period was drafted. The Charter declares that all Libyans are equal before the law, that they enjoy equal civil and political rights, that they shall have the same opportunities and that they are subject to the same public duties obligations, without discrimination due to religion, belief, race, language, wealth, kinship or political opinions or social status (Article 6). There is no reference to sex as a ground for discrimination. The State further guarantees women all opportunities which shall allow them to participate entirely and actively in political, economic and social spheres but does not include a provision guaranteeing these opportunities “on an equal basis with men.”

Libya is party to various international human rights instruments pertaining to the rights of women. It is signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)⁸ and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)⁹. It has also ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)¹⁰ in 1989, with two reservations with regards to Articles 2 and 16 (c) and (d), concerning inheritance, marriage, divorce and the custody of children¹¹. Some years later, Libya notified the United Nations of a new general reservation, intending to replace the initial reservations, stating that “accession cannot conflict with the laws on personal status derived from the Islamic Shariah.”

Libya has also ratified several regional instruments including the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (ACHPR-PW 2003)¹² and is a member of the League of Arab States. Libya is also signatory to the Arab Charter on Human Rights¹³ and the Cairo Declaration.¹⁴

3.2 National Transitional Council (NTC)

During the Libyan Civil War, a National Transitional Council (NTC) was established as an Executive Board to assume government functions in areas under rebel control. An announcement on 27 February 2011 in Benghazi informed of its establishment and its purpose which was stated to “act as the political face of the revolution”. An executive team was put in place by 5 March 2011. In August 2011 the NTC issued a Constitutional

⁸ The ICCPR is a multilateral treaty adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966 which commits its parties to respect the civil and political rights of individuals.

⁹ The ICESCR is a multilateral treaty adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966 which commits its parties to work toward the granting of economic, social and cultural rights to individuals.

¹⁰ CEDAW is an international convention adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly. It is described as an international bill of rights for women.

¹¹ Libya made reservations stating that these areas would be governed by Sharia Law

¹² ACHPR-PW, better known as Maputo Protocol, guarantees comprehensive rights to women including the right to take part in the political process, to social and political equality with men, to control over their reproductive health, and an end to female genital mutilation.

¹³ The Arab Charter on Human Rights was adopted by the Council of the League of Arab States in 2004 and affirms the principles contained in the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights and the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam.

¹⁴ CDHRI is a declaration of the member states of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference adopted in Cairo in 1990 which provides an overview on the Islamic perspective on human rights, and affirms Islamic Shariah as its sole source.

Declaration¹⁵ which set out a road-map for Libya's transition to a democracy. This included a tight timeline to promulgate an electoral law, an electoral commission within 90 days of the declaration of liberation¹⁶ which in turn would prepare for elections which would take place within 240 days of this same date.¹⁷

3.3 High National Elections Commission (HNEC)

The NTC established the High National Elections Commission (HNEC) under Law No 3 -2012 in mid January 2012. The law provided for an individual 17 member commission^{18,19} which created a structure to oversee and administer the election process. The headquarters of the High Commission is based in Tripoli, and 13 other sub offices were established in the 13 electoral districts. It is a national body that has a legal capacity and an individual financial disclosure and is charged with the following tasks:

- 1- Preparation, implementation, supervision, monitoring of the election of the General National Congress and announcing its results in accordance with the principles and rules adopted for the electoral process in the Elections Law.
- 2- Raising public awareness of the importance of elections and encouraging people to take part therein.
- 3- Draw up guidelines for the electoral process in order to achieve progress and implementation of the Elections Law.
- 4- Registration of voters and preparation and reviewing of their records.
- 5- Formation of specialised committees for the electoral process, voting, counting and scheduling elections.
- 6- Selecting the date for accepting application forms for the candidates and candidate registration.
- 7- Accreditation of local and international observers and representatives of the candidates.
- 8- Develop a mechanism for the receipt of complaints and grievances that fall within its competence and making decision therein in accordance with the Elections Law.
- 9- Determining the period of electoral campaigns and monitoring them.
- 10- Organising the elections for the Libyans residing overseas in countries that are determined by the High Commission and the possibility of conducting elections in these countries in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation.

¹⁵ This was later amended by the Constitutional Amendment 1 – 2012 in March 2012

¹⁶ Libya declared liberation on 23 October 2011

¹⁷ The elections were originally foreseen to take place on 19 June 2012 but were delayed until 7 July to allow adequate time for the electoral preparations

¹⁸ This was amended twice with Laws no 31 and 44-2012 to a final membership of 11

¹⁹ In late April 2012, five members of the commission, including the chairman were replaced. The reasons behind the dismissals were not clear, although some speculated that the commission was moving too slowly and as a result delaying the elections beyond a timeframe which was deemed to be acceptable.

3.3.1 The General National Congress (GNC)

The responsibilities of the General National Congress are outlined in the Constitutional Declaration of August 2011 and the Constitutional Amendment No 1 – 2012 of March 2012. The primary responsibilities of the GNC are twofold:

- 1- Appoint a Prime Minister, who shall in turn name a government, within 30 days of the GNC's first meeting.
- 2- Select, within 30 days of the GNC's first meeting, a Constituent Assembly form outside the membership of the GNC to draft a constitution for the country.²⁰ The 8 August 2012 marked the occasion when the NTC symbolically handed over power to the General National Congress. They are tasked with choosing a new interim government to take over from the NTC, and will continue to guide the country until new elections can be held based on a new constitution, to be drafted by a constituent assembly of 60 members.

3.3.2 Electoral System

Libya is divided into 13 administrative districts headed by 13 HNEC sub-offices. Within these 13 districts, there are 73 constituencies.

The General National Congress comprises 200 members elected both by a parallel system utilising both individual based (majoritarian -individual candidates; 120 seats) a party based system (proportional representation (PR), closed lists; 80seats). The majoritarian system is divided into first past-the-post and single non-transferable voting systems and took place in 69 out of the 73 constituencies. In 40 of these constituencies, the electorate was able to vote for a single candidate for one seat in each of these constituencies; the remaining 29 constituencies had more than one seat. The number of seats allocated to each electoral district and subsequently each constituency was calculated according to the population figures and other criteria, with Ghuryan, Tripoli and Benghazi being the most populated.

²⁰ Nevertheless, the NTC announced shortly prior to the elections, 5 July 2012 that the Assembly would instead be directly elected at a later date.

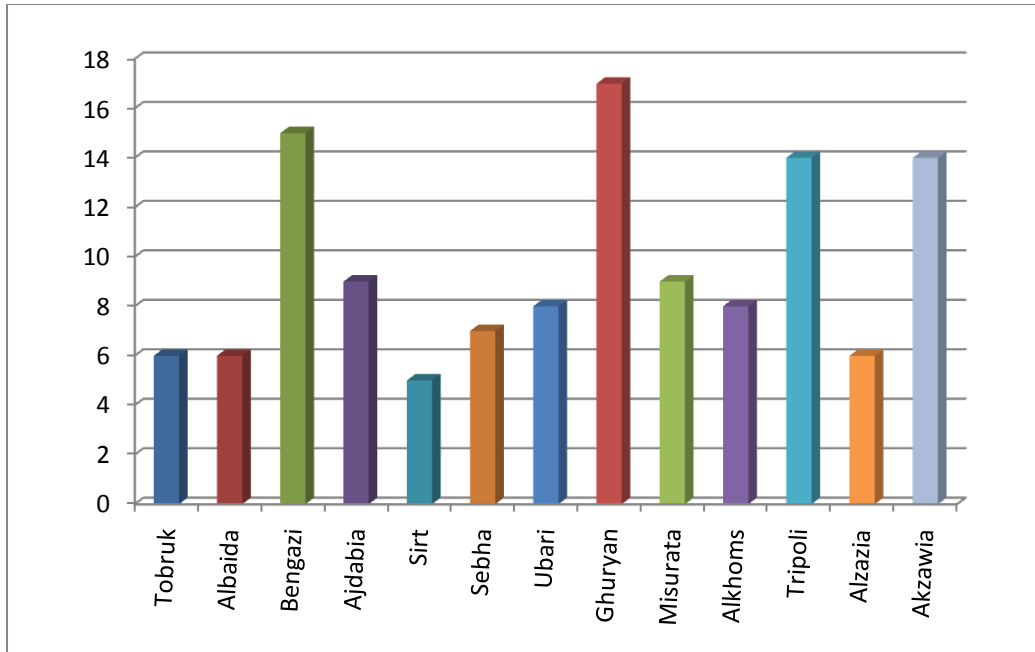


Figure 1: Number of majoritarian seats per electoral district

For the election of the remaining 80 seats, the 73 constituencies were grouped into 20 proportional electoral districts (with the exception of Ghuryan, which did not have proportional seats) and voters elected candidates emanating from 130²¹ political entities in closed lists.

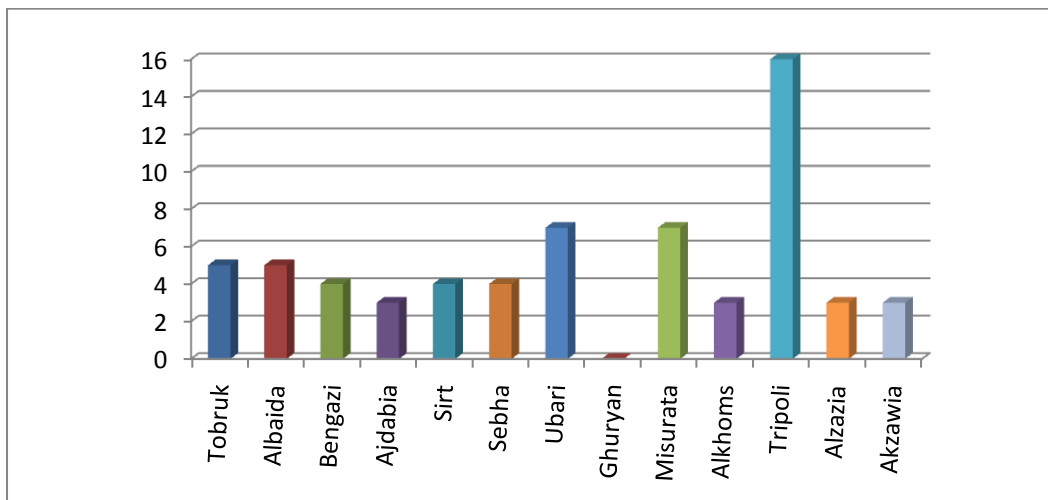


Figure 2: Number of proportional seats per electoral district

Much debate occurred regarding how to promote women’s participation in the electoral process. As mentioned above, the NTC originally proposed a 10 per cent quota for women. The figure of 10 per cent was strongly opposed by civil society and therefore upon publication of the electoral law adopted on 28 January 2012, a quota was not included. Nevertheless modest special measures were included that all proportional seats would

²¹ A total of 145 political entities were registered, however only 130 different political entities actually ran in the 7 July 2012 elections.

adopt a zebra alternative system whereby women were included on the party lists both horizontally and vertically. The zebra system encourages a higher proportion of women to participate, however it does not always guarantee gender parity amongst the parties and of course by no means ensures that an equal number of women are elected as males. This was particularly pertinent in the Libyan elections, as various factors prevented a gender parity being maintained across the board.

3.4 Political Entities

Under a zebra alternative system, gender parity is allegedly guaranteed by ensuring that men and women are placed on the lists alternatively. If a political entity is represented in more than one electoral district, the same should be applied horizontally. Since 1972, the formation of political parties had been prohibited by General Qaddafi, and therefore after the fall of his regime and in the lead up to the elections, the development of political entities blossomed, resulting in over 145 political entities being registered. For the 7 July 2012 elections, a total of 130 political entities actually fielded candidates. In the wake of a transition, especially with new found political freedoms, 2012 has witnessed the birth of new political entities.²²²³ This is of course a sign of the eagerness to promote political diversity but often, due to a lack of an established political platform, different factions tend to establish many new political parties instead of galvanizing support around a few already organised groups. This is a recurrent problem in young democracies emerging from a dictatorial regime and is one of the many problems that affects the fluid development of democracy in its infancy. In turn, a high number of political parties can result in the formation of a fragmented government and in some cases can work towards the strengthening and political dominance of the already established popular parties.

The fact that so many political parties did run in the elections made it difficult for a zebra system to be maintained both horizontally and vertically, and meant that only a small number of lists were actually headed by women (See annex 2).

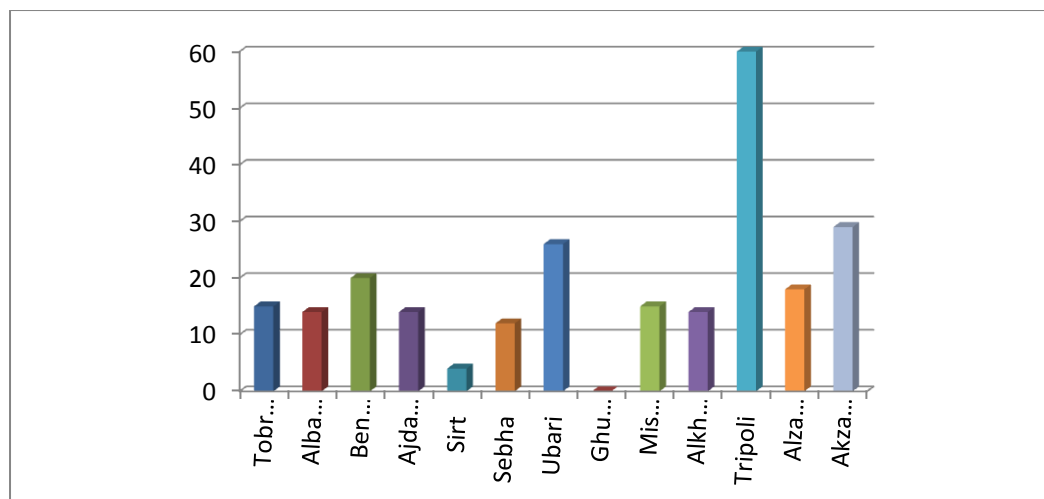


Figure 3: No of political entities represented per electoral district

²² Tunisia registered over 70 political parties following the fall of the regime in early 2011

²³ Afghanistan registered over 100 political parties in the 2010 elections despite adopting the SNTV system which favours individual candidates over a proportional representation system.

A zebra system could only guarantee absolute gender parity if there had been less political entities and if the vertical and horizontal system was applied to an equal number of represented parties across the whole country. As figure 4 illustrates below, over 60 per cent (77 of 130) of the political parties were only registered in a single electoral district. 12 per cent (15 of 130) and 10 per cent (13 of 130) of the political parties were registered in two and three districts respectively. The number of entities which registered candidates in ten or more districts only amounts to nine different entities or less than seven per cent of all entities who ran. Furthermore, the fact that only 26 out of a possible 130 entities had registered in an equal number of districts (as opposed to an odd number of districts), lowered the amount of parties which were obliged to have the same number of women heading their lists as men.

There were in fact, only four political entities which had more female candidates than male:
 - These were Upgrade and Renew – (Ballot number 67); National United Libyan Organization– (Ballot number 19); Democratic Qualified Party – (Ballot number 96) and for Country (Labaek Watani) (Ballot number 79). In the whole of the country, a total of 140 party lists out of a possible 376 (37 per cent) were headed by women. Accordingly, the majority of parties ensured that a man headed their lists.

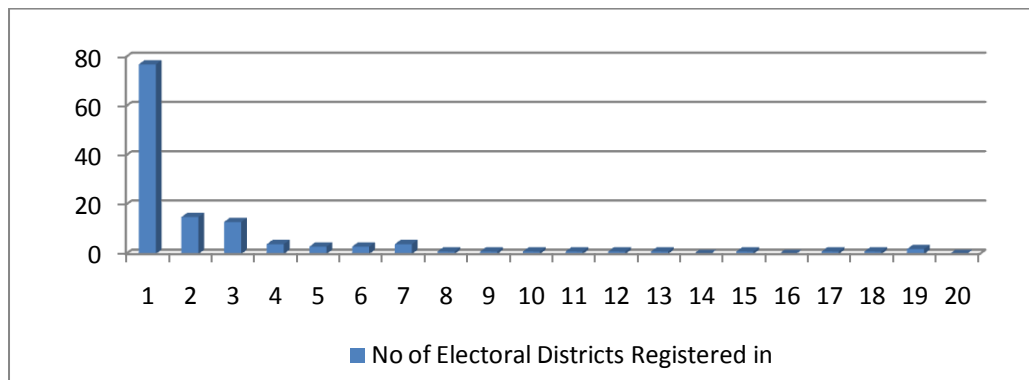


Figure 4: The Number of Electoral Districts each political entity registered in.

The remaining 120 seats did not encourage gender parity at all, and only three per cent of candidates amongst the 2,548 were indeed women. Furthermore, the majority (61 per cent) of these women was based in either Tripoli (28 per cent) or Benghazi (23 per cent), further reducing their chances of guaranteeing a seat outside these areas. The low number of women running for individual (majoritarian) seats demonstrates the obstacles that many of these women faced including the inability to access sufficient funds to campaign and the limitations of running as an individual candidate without the support of a party and society’s negative attitude towards women in decision-making bodies. Out of the six withdrawals amongst women, four of them actually withdrew to run under the proportional seats. Only one individual female candidate actually won a seat.

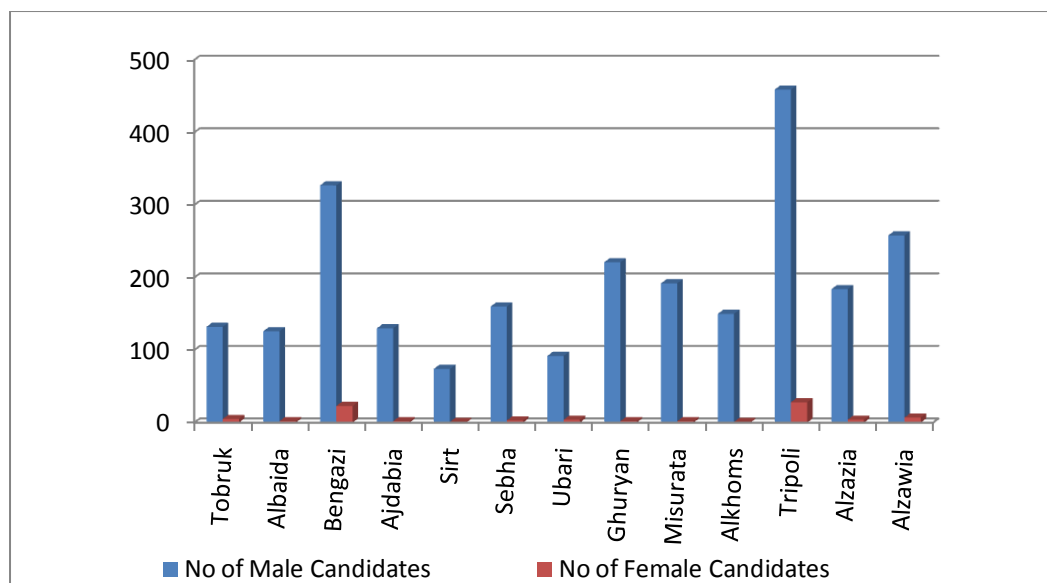


Figure 5: Number of individual male candidates compared to the number of individual female candidates per electoral district.

3.5 Women in the Election Administration

Gender Concerns International was unable to conduct an in-depth review of the gender composition of the High National Elections Commission (HNEC), however it was able to gain an overall snapshot of the situation. GCI was indeed encouraged by the commitment of the High National Elections Commission (HNEC) to employ women especially at the lower levels of its structure. The organisation was further pleased to see that many of the Polling Centre Chairpersons were indeed women. Nevertheless, GCI is disappointed that the two female commissioners which



Nuri al-Abbar, Head of Libya's High National Electoral Commission left in May and June respectively were not replaced. The Board of Commissioners which governs the HNEC and whose original members were appointed by the National Transitional Council on 7 February 2012 is now comprised entirely of men. This is contrary to Article 8 of Law Number 3 of 2012 which states that two women from civil society organizations should be present. The Commission's size was reduced from 17 to 11 commissioners under two amendments to Law Number 3 as the decision making process proved to be cumbersome and led to unwieldy delays. Furthermore 5 members of the commission were replaced in late April.

The Central Administration of HNEC is comprised of 102 persons with approximately 25 per cent of its members being female. However, the majority of these women do not hold decision-making positions. Nevertheless, Gender Concerns International was encouraged to see that over 40 per cent of the data entry clerks during the tallying of votes were women and five out of the nine section heads at the Tally Centre and the head of the database section head were female.

Gender Concerns International was unable to ascertain figures on how many women worked at each Sub Administration Office across the 13 electoral districts, but was however able to gather information on how many women participated as civic educators in five of the electoral districts. As one will note the districts of Alkhoms and Ghuryan did not field any women and in Tripoli the number of female trainers outnumbered that of men.

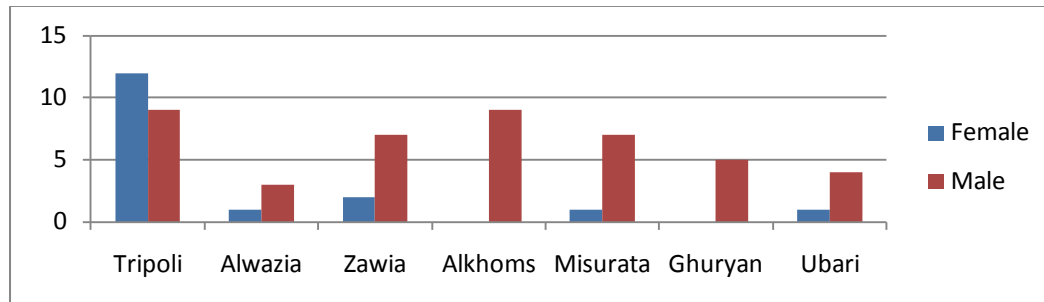


Figure 6: Comparison of the number of female and male trainers in voter education.

3.6 Voter Registration



NTC Law Number 4 outlines the criteria to be eligible to vote. Persons must be of Libyan Nationality and at least 18 years of age who enjoy full legal competence, are registered in the national voter registry, and have not been “convicted of a felony or misdemeanour involving moral turpitude, unless rehabilitated.” Members of official military institutions are not allowed to vote.

Voter Registration was scheduled to take place over two weeks but was extended by one week in order to allow more time for potential voters to register. The registration took place between 1 and 21 May 2012 at 1548 local registration centres across Libya. A record 2.866 million voters were registered, accounting for almost 80 per cent of the estimated eligible voter population.²⁴ Gender Concerns International is heartened by the high registration figures which amounted to 45 per cent (over 1.3 million) of all registered voters being female. In Ubari, the figure reached 51 per cent.

Difficulties such as opening separate centres for men and women in some districts were experienced in the first few days of female voter registration, however these were quickly resolved by HNEC and women were able to register with minimal difficulty. The efforts to encourage women to register was bolstered by the support of civil society during the registration period which intensified their outreach campaign going door to door to inform women about their rights and how to register. These concerted efforts dramatically

²⁴ The total eligible voter population can only be estimated because of the lack of an official up to date population census. The last census was carried out in 2006.

increased the female figures towards the end of the registration period which had started off with low numbers of women actually enlisting to have the opportunity to cast their ballot. The HNEC also provided for six districts where internally displaced persons (IDPs) could register and vote. These included Benghazi, Sirte, Sabha, Ghuryan, Al-Khoms and Tripoli. A total of 14,104 IDPs, 7,087 of whom were women²⁵, registered. It was reported although, that a large number of IDPs who were without any identification were disenfranchised due to the difficulty they faced to prove they were of Libyan Nationality, part of a broader problem regarding proof of nationality amongst certain population groups in Libya.²⁶

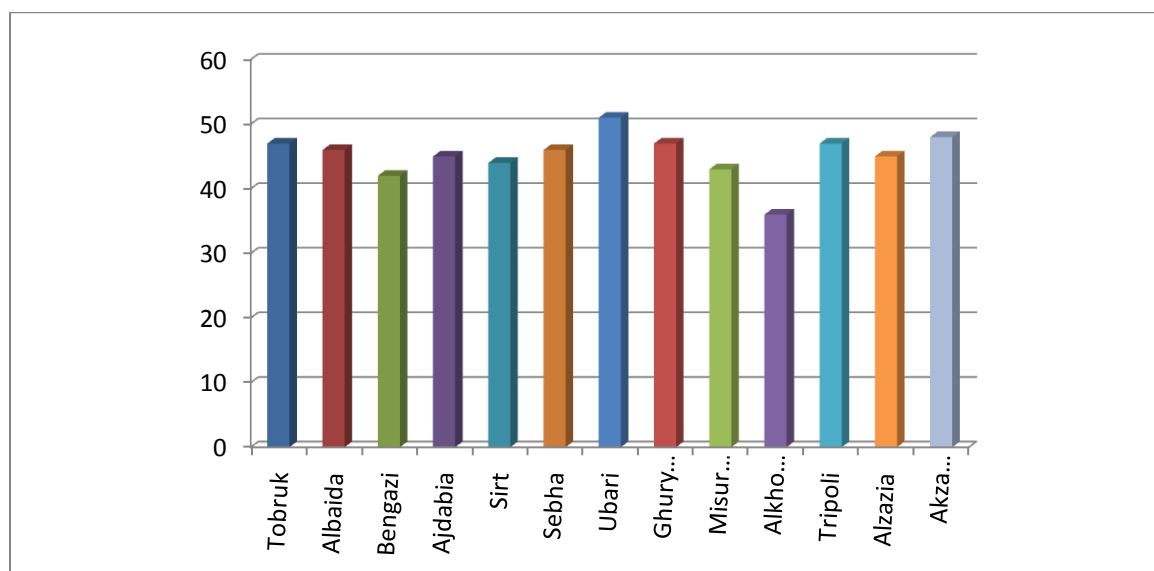


Figure 7: The percentage of women registered to vote per electoral district.

3.7 Voter Education and the role of Civil Society

The growth of civil society organizations has expanded rapidly since the revolution with women demanding to claim their political and civic rights to full and meaningful participation in decision-making processes. Consequently women’s involvement in political affairs is becoming even more prominent. The great interest of women in this process was further strengthened by an important participation in the observation process whereby more than 4,400 Libyan women were accredited to observe the elections, amounting to just below 18 per cent of all election observers.

Civil society organisations, especially women’s organisations led the way in delivering voter education. The time to conduct voter education was particularly compressed due to the short delay of the elections and the tight timelines available to implement the elections. Furthermore, the commencement of voter education was conditioned by the executive decisions by the Libyan Authorities. Voter education commenced in early May gaining significant momentum towards the end of June right up until the elections on 7 July 2012. Despite the compressed timelines, the participation in these elections was enthusiastic and in some instances women came out in their droves. Some of the voter education programmes were specifically targeted at women, and various posters and videos were

²⁵ Source – www.hnec.ly “Voter Statistics”

²⁶ A passport or a family book was needed to prove nationality

produced in order to encourage women’s participation in the elections. Unfortunately the use of these videos and posters was not always widespread due to the short amount of time available to produce them and therefore little time remained to adequately disseminate them.

انتخابات المؤتمر الوطني العام 2012

من يحق له التصويت؟
 يحق لجميع المواطنين المسجلين بالإلام بأصواتهم.
لا تسي أن تعطي صوته لمن يستحقه الناخبون

كيف؟

- 1 الوصول إلى مركز الاقتراع
- 2 التحقق من محطة الاقتراع
- 3 التعرف في الطور إن وجد
- 4 الحصول على بطاقة الاقتراع
- 5 إثبات الهوية بتقديم بطاقة التمثيل
- 6 وبطاقة تعريف رسمية فيها صورة شخصية
- 7 إظهار البصم للتأكد من عدم وجود حبر
- 8 أخذ ورقة اقتراع بعد ختمها (أو واحدة فقط حسب المادة الانتخابية)
- 9 الحصول على الخلوقة
- 10 اختيار المرشح المراد في الورقة الأولى ثم قلمة
- 11 التوقيع الشخصي في الورقة الثانية ووضع علامة في
- 12 وضع بطاقة تعريف اليمنى في قبلة الحبر
- 13 وضع كل ورقة اقتراع في الصندوق المخصص لها
- 14 مغادرة المحطة ثم مركز الاقتراع

متى؟
 يوم الانتخابات
 من الساعة 8 صباحاً إلى الساعة 5 مساءً

أين؟
 التصويت بالمركز المسجل به.

المستندات المطلوبة
 بطاقة تسجيل للتصويت مع بطاقة تعريف رسمية بها صورة شخصية.



Source: HNEC

Voter and civic education are the pillars of any democratic election and contribute to the electorates understanding and knowledge of an electoral process. In Libya, the time available to impart such information simply was not enough. The fact that democratic elections had not taken place in over four decades meant that women and men alike had little background knowledge on elections and their *raison d'être*, and were not adequately informed on how to vote. Efforts were made to disseminate as much information as possible prior to the elections however many women, especially the elderly, did experience difficulties voting and requested assistance. This was particularly evident in the rural areas. In the main, women experienced problems in comprehending the electoral process including how to cast their vote and why in most cases they were given two ballot papers. Many women interviewed were unfamiliar with the type of electoral system and the role of the National Transitional Council subsequent to the elections.

3.8 Registration of Female Candidates

Approximately 1,200 candidates registered to run for the 80 proportional seats. 540 women ran for the proportional race which amounts to almost 43 per cent of the number of candidates. While being encouraged by this figure, one needs to take note that the electoral system is a mixed one, consisting of proportional and majoritarian representation. Therefore, despite the fact that women made up approximately 43 per cent of the number of overall candidates, the hybrid system meant that the majority of the seats (120 seats) are awarded to the majoritarian candidates.

Women all over the world experience difficulty in accessing adequate financial resources in order to run successful political campaigns, and Libya is no exception. This fact coupled with the restricted movement within security affected areas and the general lack of freedom of movement women encounter due to religious and socio-cultural norms resulted in very few women submitting their candidature for an individual seat. Furthermore, many women were touted by political parties who needed to fulfil the quota under the zebra system and therefore crossed over to the Proportional Seats. Out of a total of 2,500 individual candidates, only three per cent were women. 84 women registered to become individual candidates. 25 and 33 per cent of these emanated from Benghazi and Tripoli respectively.



Ikram Bash Imam, former HNEC member, and now the Minister for Tourism at a polling station in Tripoli where she casted her vote. Picture was taken with Sabra Bano and Magda de Meyer during the observation mission.

3.9 The High Commission for the Implementation of the Integrity and Patriotism Standard

The Commission is a government body which was established on 4 April 2012 by NTC Regulation No.26 mandated to vet senior officials and candidates. To the mission's knowledge, at the time of writing this report, the regulations governing the body have not been published. Some human rights organizations criticised the commissions' ability to vet candidates without establishing proper rules of procedures and accused them of contravening the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which establishes that Libya "is obligated to allow its citizens equal opportunity to compete as candidates in an election", without being subject to "unreasonable restrictions."²⁷

According to some sources, the Commission received 4,000 candidate files. The Commission examined these files in a record six days, consulting information gathered from intelligence and secret service headquarters. According to HNEC a total of 150 applications from candidates were rejected and withdrawn from the race. This included 14 female candidates. There were further appeals, and those who were successful were allowed to run for election. Gender Concerns International has been unable to obtain sufficient information as to whether any of these candidates were unfairly dismissed from the elections and the substance of procedures and regulations which were applied to come to a decision as to who should be rejected or not. One other woman withdrew her candidature prior to being taken off the list by the Commission.

3.10 Electoral campaign

The campaign officially started on 18 June and ended on 5 July 2012 at midnight. The short campaign period was quite lacklustre in content and political entities failed to address women's issues in their platforms. The weak campaign was mainly due to inexperience in running campaigns and the short existence of the political entities, most being formed only weeks before. Female candidates in particular lacked the necessary resources, including skills, to campaign and in some cases, feared cultural repercussions for posting photos or drawing too much attention to themselves. Photos of female candidates could also be seen in the city centres showing women clad in veils and a number of posters of women in the Hijab were also noted. Various organisations trained female candidates, but the majority of these were those who were already candidates as opposed to potential candidates. Over 300 women (including approximately 20 individual candidates) were trained by UNDP, however due to time constraints and inaccessibility to some areas, not all female candidates were able to be trained. Training covered various issues including "how to run a campaign". 283 women candidates from all parts of Libya participated in the launch of the National Awareness Campaign for women candidates that took place in Tripoli on 25 June 2012. The campaign with the slogan "My Voice for Her" attracted the attention of Government, Libyan civil society, international community and the Libyan people and provided high visibility to the participation of women in the elections.

²⁷ Source – <http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/04/28/libya-amend-vetting-regulations-candidates-officials>



Libyan Women candidates at the launch event of “My voice for her”
Picture: Samia El Mahgoub

Other entities such as the National Democratic Institute trained approximately 85 candidates and campaign managers by running two training academies, one in Tripoli (including participants from Tripoli, Tajoura, and Surman) and one in Benghazi (including participants from Benghazi, Derna, and Bayda). The training focused on practical campaign skills, including fundraising, voter targeting and outreach, message development, public speaking, and media relations. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance also trained some female candidates but the numbers were very low due to the short campaign period.

Despite low levels of internet usage among candidates, women tended to use social networks such as Facebook to campaign and shied away from traditional public campaigning, mostly due to socio-cultural restrictions and perhaps the belief by some that religion discourages women from taking part in the political processes. However, several women candidates took advantage of their ability to access women in the home for campaigning.



Campaigning in Tripoli (Source: Gender Concerns International).

Despite the mainly positive attitude towards women’s participation in the first elections for over four decades, some posters of female candidates were defaced in many areas of the country, including the capital and in more security prone areas such as Benghazi. It is unclear, as to whether there have been any formal complaints lodged with the HNEC, however many political parties did come out publicly to condemn the behaviour. At the time of writing this report (October 2012) there have been no prosecutions regarding this issue. Furthermore some interlocutors reported that some women were reluctant to use the free TV spots available to them for fear of repercussions. These fears may have resulted from strong traditional and religious discourses which may discourage women from participating in the political process. Anyway, it seems that these free spots have been dropped and nobody got free airtime.



Female candidate posters in Tripoli (Source: Gender Concerns International).

3.11 Election Observation

Election observation plays an important role in promoting a democratic election. A key component of Libya's transition to democracy was to allow international and national monitors to observe the elections. A total of 26,819 national observers, agents and media were accredited in the process. This involved domestic observers (11,697), Media (1,048) and agents (14,074). More than 4,400 women were accredited in this process, amounting to over 16 per cent of female observers. Overall, there was a more ubiquitous presence of candidate/entity agents (52 per cent) compared to observers (44 per cent), however the different regions illustrated a varying picture with Al-Aziziyah being represented by an 87 percentage of agents compared to 12 per cent and one per cent of domestic observers and media respectively. In Benghazi, the number of domestic observers, with over 62 per cent, outnumbered the amount of media and candidate/entity agents. The graph below demonstrates this further.

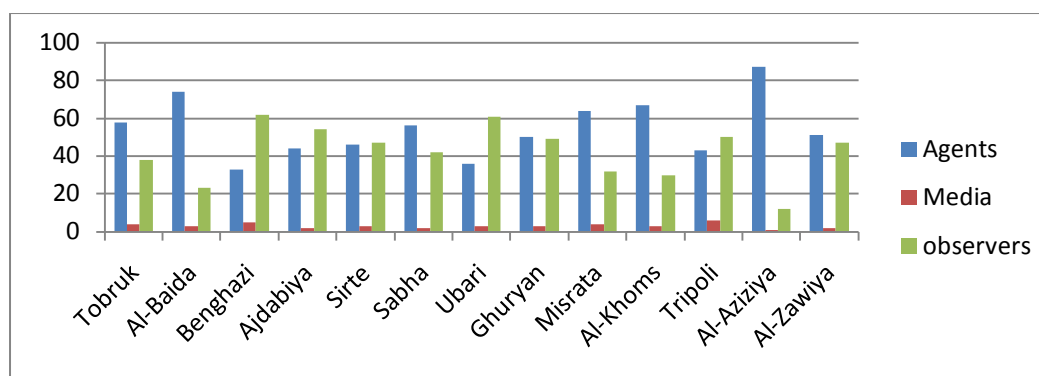


Figure 8 – The Number of female observers compared to male observers.

Although the number of female observers including media and agents amounted to 16 per cent, the picture was quite diverse across the regions.

No	Constituency	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
		Agents		Media		Observers	
1	Tobruk	622	47	38	3	337	103
2	Al-Baida	1248	51	43	1	375	36
3	Benghazi	998	94	125	56	1548	542
4	Ajdabiya	451	53	20	1	497	116
5	Sirte	312	19	49	2	240	102
6	Sabha	813	107	29	2	529	173
7	Ubari	265	63	26	5	426	137
8	Giryan	643	106	38	1	596	160
9	Misrata	1615	124	108	12	627	252
10	Al-Khoms	1151	71	49	3	452	94
11	Tripoli	2172	347	337	37	1979	946
12	Al-Aziziya	1307	34	15	0	144	36
13	Al-Zawiya	1204	157	45	3	937	313

Table 1 – Number of male and female observers per electoral district

It is interesting to note that although the overall number of candidate/entity agents outnumbered the number of observers in eight out of the 13 electoral districts, female observers were more omnipresent in all 13 of the electoral districts than the female candidate/entity agents. Furthermore, in Benghazi although there were a higher number of female candidates than in most of the other districts, comparatively there were less female candidate/entity agents (nine per cent compared to 19 per cent in Ubari and 14 per cent in Giryan and Tripoli). Nevertheless, the number of female media outnumbered both the number of female agents and observers in Benghazi, with a 31 per cent presence of media as compared to nine per cent and 26 per cent for candidate/entity agents and observers respectively.

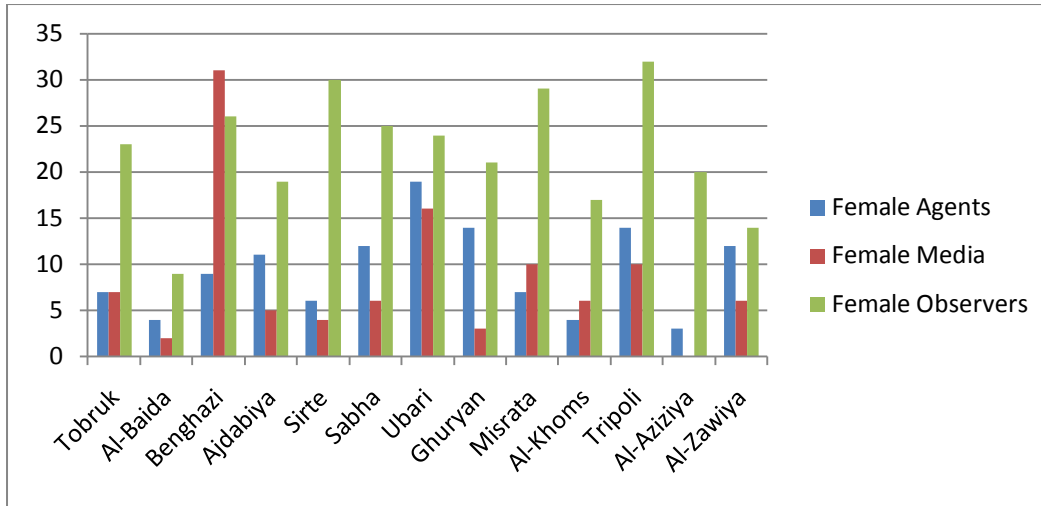


Figure 9 - The percentage of female agents, media and observers present in each electoral district compared to men.

On average the total number of female agents, media and domestic observers nearly reached 17 per cent in the whole of the country, however in general this oscillated between five per cent in Al-Aziziya to 23 per cent in Tripoli. Although the numbers were encouraging, more should be done to attract female agents, media and observers especially in the more conservative areas of the country. It is of course difficult to deploy women outside of urban areas due to socio-cultural norms which in some cases restrict women’s free movement and perhaps those organisations wanting to promote female participation, lacked the adequate resources. Despite having enough accredited observers to cover every polling station in the country, the fact that female stations were separated from those of males and the issuance of regulation number 239 may have inevitably discouraged a rigorous observation process where both male and female stations were observed in equal numbers.

The regulation drew attention to the fact that the selection of agents and observers who are assigned to polling stations should be based on the gender of the polling stations.

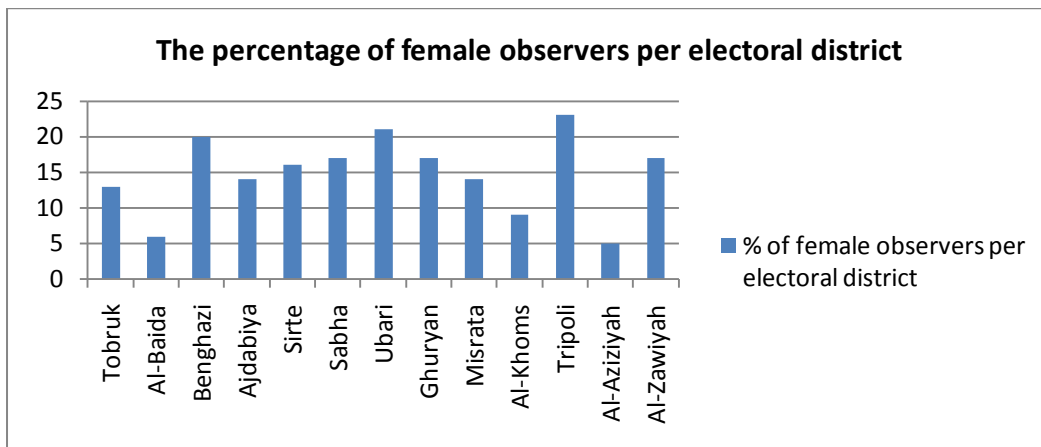


Figure 10 – The percentage of women observers per electoral district



Local and international observers on the day of the elections (Source: Gender Concerns International).

4. Observation on Election Day

4.1 Election Day

Women of all ages turned out to vote, especially young women. Many women celebrated the day by venturing out to vote in groups or in the company of their family. Many women and indeed men were accompanied by children. Gender Concerns International observers visited over 150 polling stations in 8 regions of the country, including regions which were more security stricken. Observers witnessed moving scenes of women crying and kissing the ground, thanking Allah, singing and proudly showing their inked fingers in recognition of a symbol of a new era.





4.2 Security

Prior to the elections, there was a slight concern, with regards to security and how many security agents would be women. The presence of female security agents in an Islamic context is of course important to ensure that women voters feel more comfortable both physically and culturally. It is especially pertinent in security afflicted areas and to ensure that women are able to be clearly identified under full face veils. Furthermore, there are many incidences where women in other electoral processes have been subject to electoral violence and harassment by other male voters and security forces.

Despite isolated incidents, problems with security were kept at a minimum and the security forces were well able to control the situation. Observers reports revealed that a high number of female security agents as well as male security agents were present in almost all of the stations. Female security agents were more pertinent in places like Sabha, Benghazi and Murzuq.

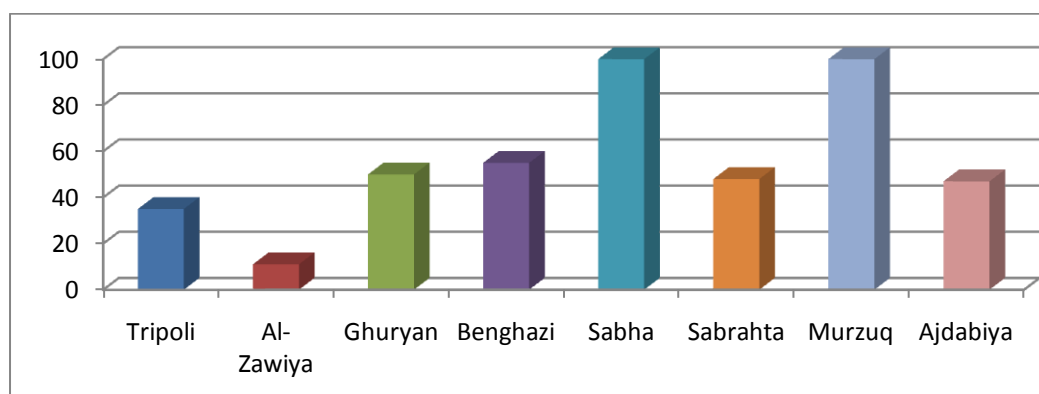


Figure 11: Number of Polling Centres with Female Security present.

4.3 Campaigning and access to polling stations

Campaign materials and campaigning was observed in some isolated stations in Tripoli. In Murzuq, male and female voters were intimidated by police officials and actively encouraged how to vote. Observers witnessed that women were denied access to the polling centre in Tripoli, Al-Zawiyah and Garyan. In most cases it was because they were not registered in that particular centre. In general the stations were run in accordance with the procedures. In Benghazi, an attempt to steal a ballot box was observed, however the culprits were stopped and the ballot box was returned to the Polling Station.

4.4 Polling Centres

In approximately 51 per cent of the polling female polling stations observed, managers were female, with a record 100 per cent in Murzuq, 82 per cent of females in Benghazi and 70 per cent in Al-Zawiya. The figures differed in relation to polling centre managers.

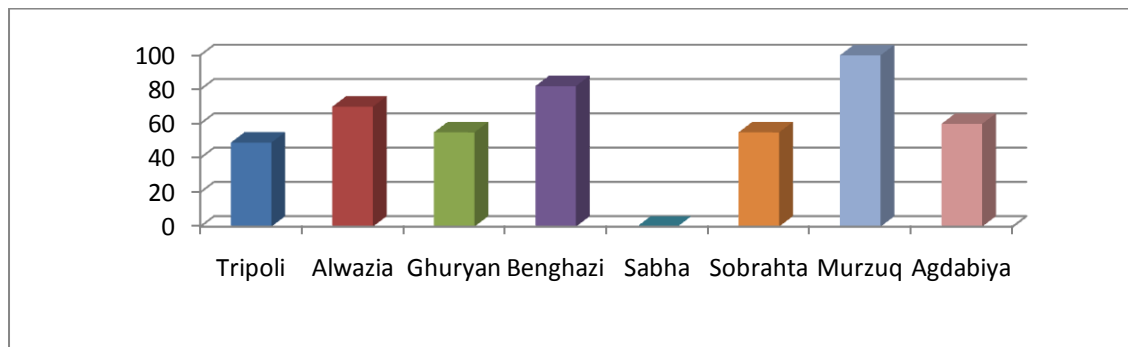


Figure 12: Number of females in charge of polling centres.

Female Polling Stations were mainly run by teachers, engineers and doctors and almost all of them had received training. In some stations in Tripoli and a few outside of the capital, female polling staff was present in male stations.



Female polling station (Source: Gender Concerns International).

The established procedures for opening, polling and closing were adhered to and our observers assessed the organization and adherence to procedures as mainly excellent and good. Observers also made a similar assessment for the male stations which the observers were able to access. Overall the female stations were assessed as slightly better than the male stations.

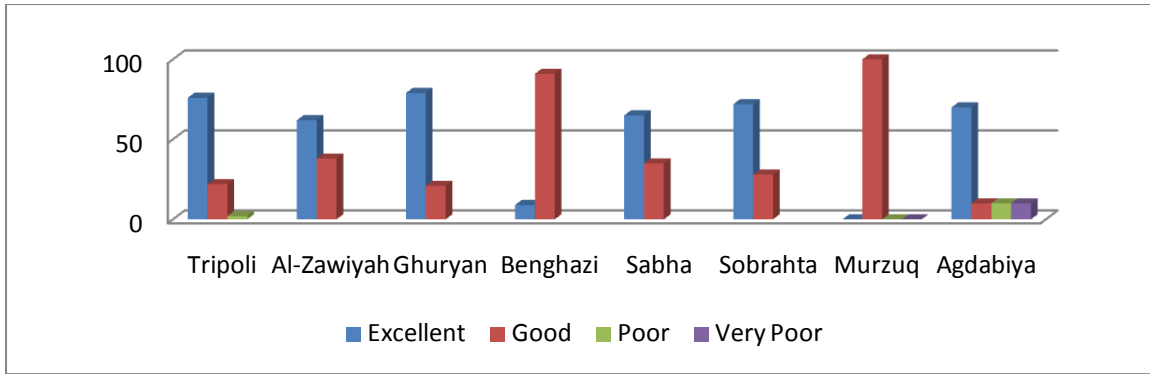


Figure 13: Assessment of the knowledge of Procedures in female polling stations

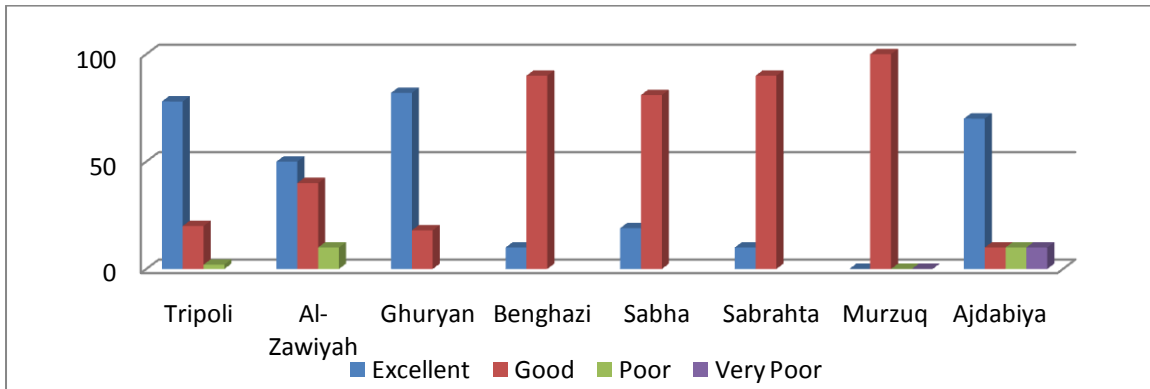


Figure 14: Assessment of the knowledge of procedures in male polling stations

4.5 Internally Displaced Persons Polling Stations

Gender Concerns International observed one Internally Displaced Person polling station in Janzour. The staff was dedicated and observers assessed the organisation of the station as excellent. Nevertheless, polling station staff were unable to vote as they had previously been instructed to not to do so by HNEC. It is assumed that the staff working in this particular station was not registered in the same constituency and therefore was unable to vote in that particular area. Caught up in the celebration of the elections, and the eagerness to vote, some of the staff inked their fingers to mimic as if they had voted as they felt it a matter of national pride to have partaken in the electoral process. In future, for cases such as these, HNEC should ensure that polling staff is able to vote either prior to the elections, or ensure that polling station staff is assigned in the constituency where they are registered.



4.6 Presence of Observers/Media

The presence of the media was relatively strong in Tripoli, but relatively lower in the other regions, except for Benghazi which had over 80 per cent presence of media in the polling stations observed.

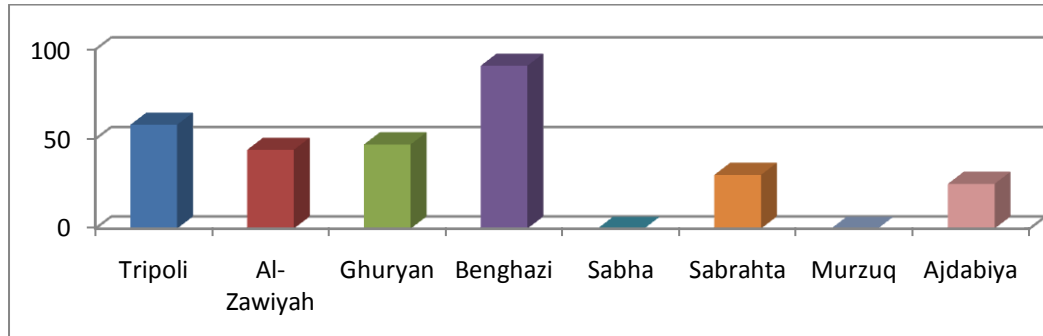


Figure 15: The percentage of media present in the polling stations observed.

In the polling stations where media was observed, it was mainly men who were interviewed, women were only observed as being interviewed in Tripoli, Al-Zawiyah, Ghuryan and Benghazi.

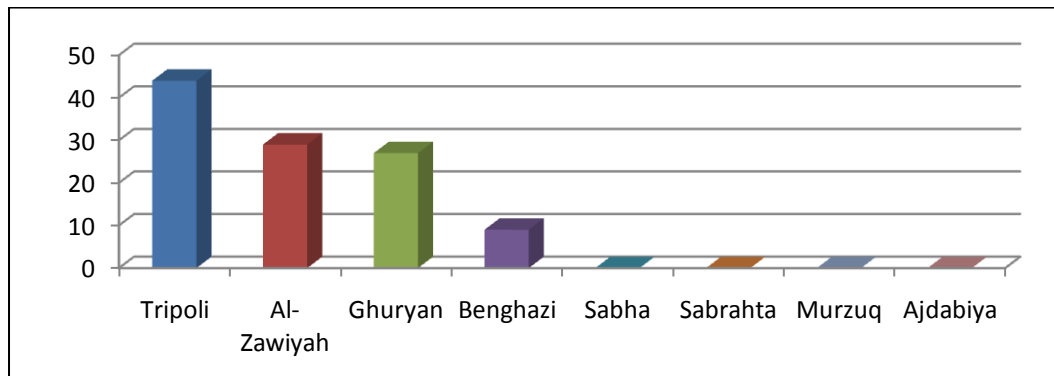


Figure 16: The percentage of women who were interviewed by the media.

The presence of political parties differed according to the region, and female political party representatives were more prominent in Benghazi and Al-Zawiyah (40 per cent) than any other regions.

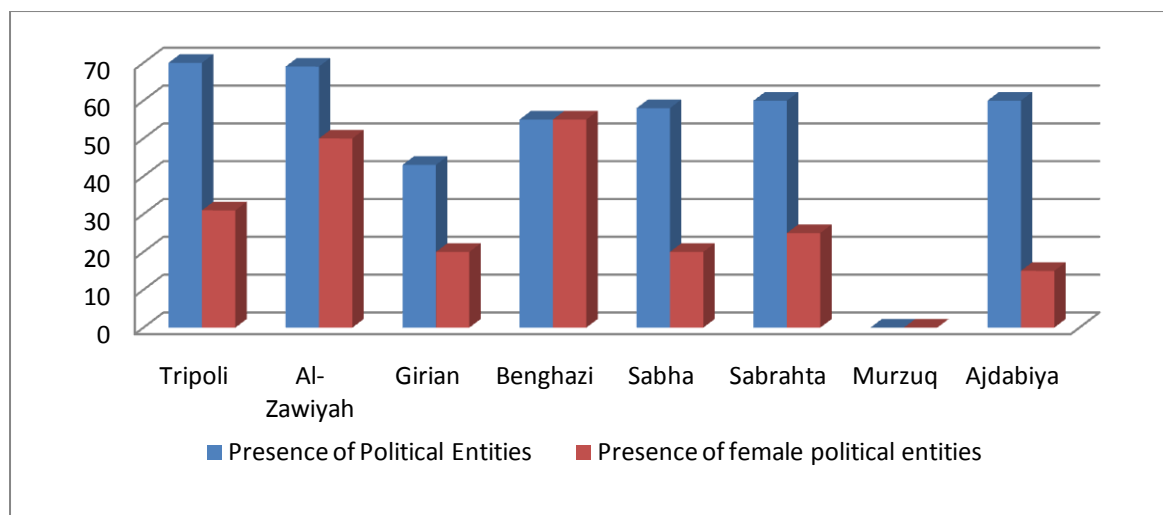


Figure 17: Number of polling stations with presence of political entities and number of polling stations with female agents present.

Domestic observers were present in almost all the stations across the country. In Benghazi they were present in all stations observed. Tripoli had the lowest presence of observers with 81 per cent of polling stations having observers present (mainly emanating from the Shahed NGO Network).

As can be seen by the aforementioned figures, not all the female polling stations enjoyed the presence of domestic observers, candidates or political party agents. Unfortunately, although Gender Concerns Internationals’ observers did visit some male polling stations, a sufficient sample could not be collected in order to ascertain whether male polling stations had a stronger presence of observers than the female stations.

Nevertheless, given the number of female observers as compared to men and the HNEC Regulation 239 which highlighted that the selection of agents and observers should be based on the gender of the Polling Station observed, it is probable that female stations may have had fewer observers as compared to male stations. Given the sheer number of male observers, the regulation may have intermittently prevented some available male party agents to observe female stations, thus leaving many female stations without a political entity/candidate representation at all. Nevertheless, said regulation did not always deter male domestic and international observers from observing in the female polling stations and vice versa as reported by our observers.

4.7 Assistance to vote

In many stations, especially outside of Tripoli, many women required assistance on how to vote. The number of males needing assistance was slightly lower than in the female stations. It is difficult to ascertain if any of these women were actually instructed as to whom they should vote for, however observers had the impression that the majority of women were helped on how to vote and were not instructed as to whom they should vote for.

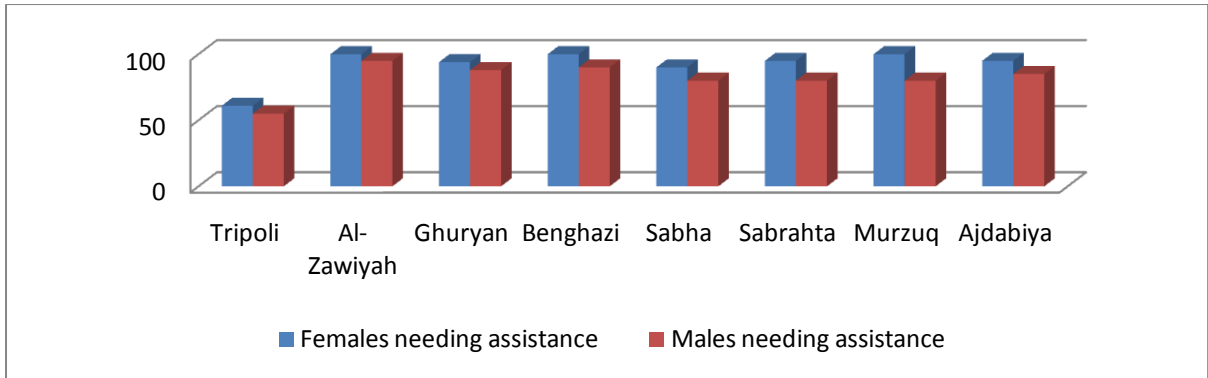


Figure 18: Number of females and males needing assistance on how to vote.

In most stations in Tripoli, it was mainly the elderly who required assistance, although polling staff were observed helping across all age groups. In Murzuq and Al-Zawiyah, once again elderly were the ones helped the most followed by middle aged persons. In Girian, both elderly and adults were helped equally. In male stations the pattern was somewhat similar, although in Murzuq and Benghazi polling station staff tended to assist adults rather than the elderly.

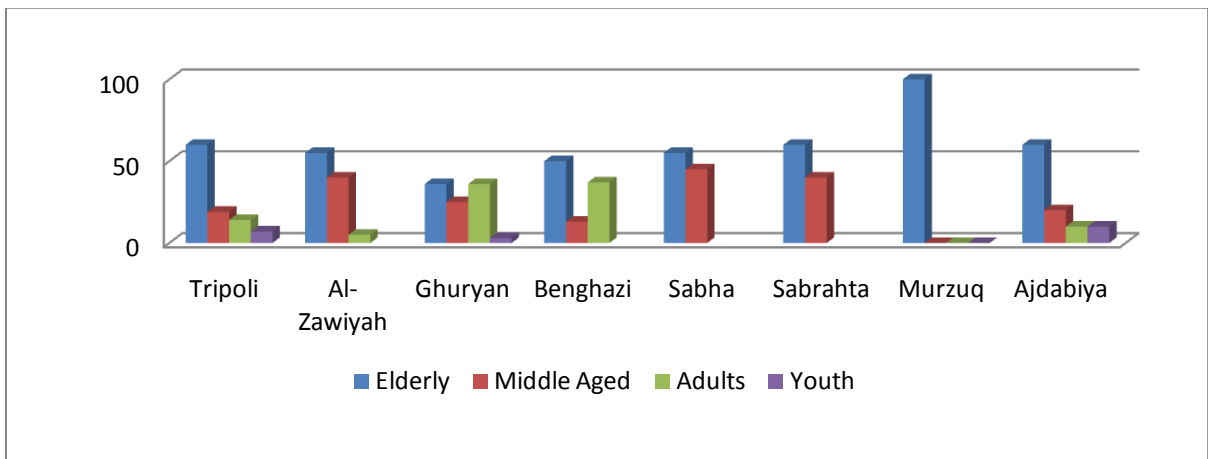


Figure 19: The percentage of age group which required assistance in the female stations

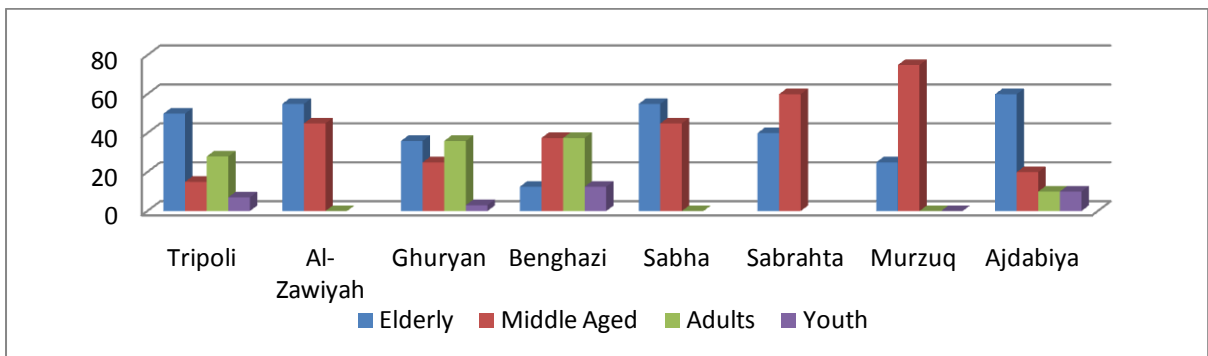


Figure 20: The percentage of age group which required assistance in the male stations

In a small number of polling stations, females left without voting mainly due to not fully understanding how to select a candidate on the ballot paper. This was particularly prominent in Benghazi. In all cases, there were more women who left the polling station than in the male stations.

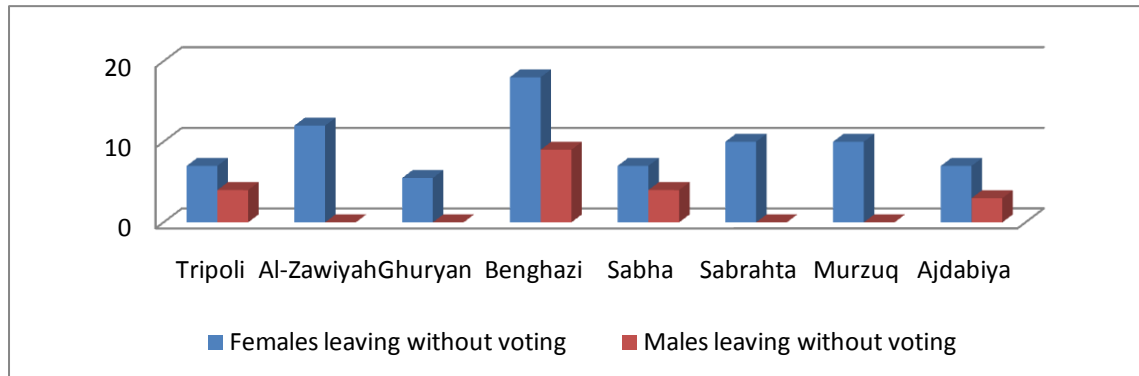


Figure 21: The number of polling stations (female and male) who were not afforded special assistance due to disability, elderly, pregnancy etc.

In the majority of the stations observed, special physical assistance was given to the elderly, disabled and pregnant women when needed, however in Tripoli the number of women who required but were not afforded special assistance occurred in 25 per cent of the stations. This trend was also repeated in the male stations in Tripoli with nearly 45 per cent of the stations not affording the appropriate assistance to those in need. This was also aggravated by the fact that voters experienced difficulties in accessing Polling Stations that were located on the second floor.



Assistance for an elderly woman in a polling station in Tripoli (Source: Gender Concerns International).

5. Results

5.1 Analysis of the Results

The complete preliminary results were announced on 17 July 2012, with a total of 33 seats being awarded to women. Only one female individual candidate won and the remaining 32 were candidates from political parties running for a proportional seat. The actual number of women who won proportional seats was 32 out of a possible 80. This is equivalent to 40 per cent of women being represented under proportional seats. In comparison to neighbouring countries and indeed other modern democracies which have adopted the Zebra system, the figure of 40 per cent is quite high (There are only ten countries in the world which have over 40 per cent female representation in their parliament:- these include the Netherlands with 40.7 per cent; Senegal with 42,7 per cent; Sweden with 44.7% and the only parliament with a majority of women is Rwanda with 56.30 per cent).²⁸

As was aforementioned, women's organisations advocated strongly for an introduction of a quota system. The introduction of a quota system to promote female representation in emerging democracies has gained momentum over the last decade. Temporary special measures such as quota systems are useful and effective tools to combat the weakness and gaps in a political system which has traditionally favoured men.

The quota system encourages a level playing field between male and female candidates and actively promotes and introduces the concept of female political participation in societies which traditionally discriminate against women and who are unable to access their political voice. This in turn allows women, who are indeed half the electorate, to be able to influence policy which inevitably affects the lives and opportunities of women.

The Arab Spring has allowed women's rights which have often been marginalised, to come to the forefront of political change and allow women, who actively participated in the popular uprisings in their countries, to represent the harbingers of political activism and a new found voice in Arab politics. Traditionally, women's active political participation is at the bottom of the world scale, however some Arab countries, as well as many emerging democracies have now introduced quota systems and other temporary especial measures to allow women to overcome the gender barriers which discourage them from entering politics. The number of women in the NTC amounts to 16.5 per cent.

Although this figure is well below Afghanistan (27.7 per cent), Tunisia (26.6 per cent)²⁹ and Iraq (25.5 per cent), United Arab Emirates (17.5 per cent and Oman (18.1 per cent (in the upper house)) it currently surpasses the figures of the majority of the Middle East and North African States including Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Oman and Kuwait – all of which have held elections in the last two years. Nonetheless, It should be noted that some of these countries have suffered a slight reduction in the numbers of women in the parliament (see Annex 3) while others have increased the number of women in recent years due to the implementation of a quota system. The participation of women in the first elections for over four decades is most certainly an important and positive step towards the realisation of the importance of women's political participation in new Libya. Nonetheless it is essential to note that equality does not just emanate from the numbers of women in a parliament but how they use their voice effectively to influence policy and decision making.

²⁸ Source – <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

²⁹ Source – www.ipu.org

Country	Lower House				Upper House				IPU Rank
	Election Year	Total No of Seats	No of Women	% Women	Last Elections	Total	No of Women	% Women	
Afghanistan	9 2010	249	69	27.7%	1 2011	102	28	27.5	37
Algeria	5 2012	462	146	31.6%	12 2009	136	7	5.1%	27
Egypt	11 2011	508	10	2%	1 2012	180	5	2.8%	140
Iran	5 2012	290	9	3.1%	...	....	....	....	137
Iraq	3 2010	325	82	25.2%	...	....	....	....	43
Jordan	11 2010	120	13	10.8%	10 2011	60	7	11.7%	110
Kuwait	6 2012	63	4	6.3%	...	....	....	...	131
Lebanon	6 2009	128	4	3.1%	....	....	....	....	137
Libya	7 2012	200	33	16.5%	...	...	...	...	83
Morocco	11 2011	395	67	17.0%	10 2009	270	6	2.2%	79
Oman	10 2011	84	1	1.2%	10 2011	83	15	18.1%	142
Qatar	7 2010	35	0	0%	....	....	....	....	144
Saudi Arabia	2 2009	150	0	0%	....	....	...	...	144
Syria	5 2012	250	30	12.0%	....	....	....	...	104
Tunisia	10 2011	217	58	26.7%	....	....	...	...	39
United Arab Emirates	9 2011	40	7	17.5%	....	....	...	....	76
Yemen	4 2003	301	1	0.3%	4 2001	111	2	1.8%	143

Table 2: Comparison of the number of women candidates elected in parliaments in the region

Due to the operation of the Zebra System, women were represented as candidates in every electoral district that ran proportional races. However, their representation over the span of elected political parties is very limited. A total of 20 political parties were able to secure a seat out of the original 130 political entities which ran in the elections. This means that nearly 85 per cent of the political parties who had fielded a candidate did not win a seat. As can also be seen in Table 3, the maximum number of parties per one electoral district ranges from two to four, with two being the average. The number of women per electoral district varies from 22 per cent in Sabha and 25 per cent in Sirte to a maximum of 44 per cent in Tripoli (see Figure 21).

Number	Name	No of Seats	No of Political Parties Standing in the Constituency	Political Parties sharing seats	Females who won seats
1	Tobruk/El Guba/Derna	5	15	2	2
2	Shahat/Bayda/Marj/Qasr Libya	5	14	3	2
3	Benghazi/Tokra/Al-Abiar/Salloug and Gemenis	11	20	4	4
4	Ajdabiya/Brega/Jalu/Ojala/Ejkherra / Tazerbo and Kurfa	3	14	3	1
5	Sidra/Sirte and Jufra	4	8	4	1
6	Sabha	5	21	4	2
6	Wadi Eshatti	4	13	4	0
7	Ubari	4	12	3	2
7	Murzuq	3	11	3	1
9	Misrata	4	11	4	2
9	Zliten	3	9	2	1
10	Tarhouna, Emeslata, Khoms, Sahel, Khoms Medina and Qasr Al-Akhair	3	14	2	1
11	Garbulli, Tajoura, Suq Al-Juma	3	26	2	1
11	Central Tripoli	3	39	2	1
11	Hay Al-Andalus	3	33	3	2
11	Abu Sleem, Ain Zara	4	32	2	3
11	Janjour	3	24	2	2
12	Al Maya, Annasiriyah, Al-Aziziya, Suwani Ben Adam, Qasr Ben Gashir and Emsehel, Essayeh, Esbea	3	18	2	1
13	Al-Zawiya	4	22	3	1
13	Sorman, Sabrahta, Ajilat, Zuara, Al-Jmail, Rigdaleen, Zliten	3	20	2	2

Table 3: The number of women per electoral district who won a proportional seat

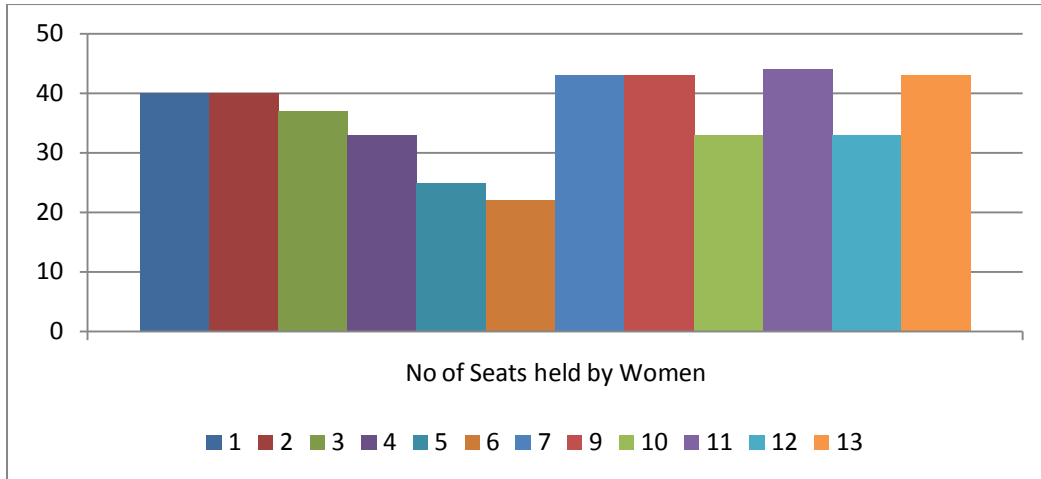


Figure 23: No of seats held by women per electoral district

5.2 Share of the power

The results revealed that two parties hold nearly 60 per cent of the congress and the remaining 19 parties have between one and three seats apiece. The parties which obviously registered in a larger amount of electoral districts ultimately gained more seats. The National Forces Alliance swept the board winning over half the seats. Because of the fact that it had registered in almost all districts, an equal number of districts and won seats in every district it was contending, the party has an equal number of women and men selected. The Justice and Construction Party will be made up of 41 per cent of women. Five other parties will each have one female candidate, while the remaining 13 parties will have one male candidate to represent them. Gender Concerns International received reports that many political entities which were only registered in one or a few electoral districts, placed women at the top of the list in areas where they did not believe their party would win. It is difficult to ascertain whether this is true, but it would seem likely given the number of women who won amongst the smaller parties.

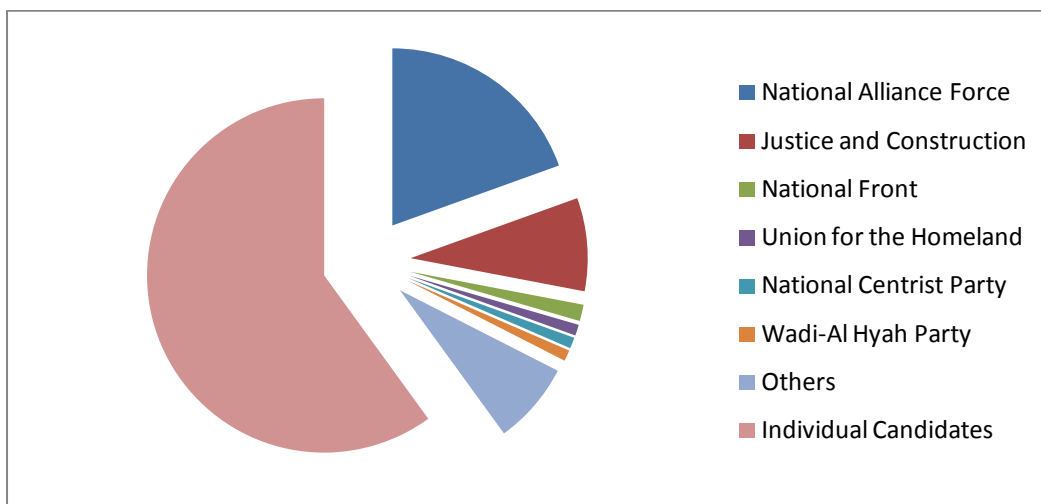


Figure 24: Share of the seats

Parties	Votes	%	Seats
National Alliances Force	714,769	48.14%	39
Justice and Construction	152,441	10.27%	17
National Front	60,592	4.08%	3
Union for the Homeland	66,772	4.50%	2
National Centrist Party	59,417	4.00%	2
Wadi-al-Hayah Party	6,947	0.47%	2
Moderate Ummah Assembly	21,825	1.47%	1
Authenticity and Renewal	18,745	1.26%	1
National Party For Development and Welfare	17,158	1.16%	1
Al-Hekma (Wisdom) Party	17,129	1.15%	1
Authenticity and Progress	13,679	0.92%	1
Libyan National Democratic Party	13,092	0.88%	1
National Parties Alliance	12,735	0.86%	1
Ar-Resalah (The Message)	7,860	0.53%	1
Centrist Youth Party	7,319	0.49%	1
Libya Al-'Amal (Libya – The Hope)	6,093	0.41%	1
Labaika National Party	3,472	0.23%	1
Libyan Party for Liberty and Development	2,691	0.18%	1
Arrakeeza (The Foundation)	1,525	0.10%	1
Nation and Prosperity	1,400	0.09%	1
National Party of Wadi ash-Shati	1,355	0.09%	1
Individuals	226,415	15.25%	120
Valid Votes	1,484,723	84.13%	–
Invalidated/Spoiled/Blank Votes ³⁰	280,117	4.2% ³¹	–
Total (Turnout 61.5 per cent)	1,764,840	100%	200
Registered Voters	2,865,937		

Table 4 – Share of the power – Source Libyan Herald

³⁰Other percentages have been mentioned before but they could not be confirmed. The sample of the GEM Mission team comes close to the number of HNEC which states 4.2%. Therefore we will use the number of HNEC as future reference.

³¹Source: HNEC.

	Name of Party	Number of Seats Won	Number of seats occupied by women
1	National Forces Alliance	40	20
2	Justice and Construction Party	17	7
3	National Central Party	2	1
4	National Front Party	3	0
5	Arresalah	1	0
6	Al Hekma Party	1	0
7	Al Watan for Development	2	0
8	Central Youth Party	1	1
9	National Labaika Party	1	1
10	Libyan National Party	1	0
11	Arrakeeza	1	0
12	National Party of Wadi Eshatti	1	0
13	Wadi Al Hayeh Party for Democracy and Development	1	1
14	Libya Party for Liberty and Development	1	0
15	National Parties Alliance	1	1
16	Al Ummah Al Wasat Party	1	0
17	Union for Homeland	2	0
18	Al Asala and Renovation Party	1	0
19	Al Asala and Development Party	1	0
20	Libya Al Amal	1	0

Table 5: Number of women who won per political entity

5.3 Majoritarian seats

As was stated above, only three per cent of women were amongst the 2,500 individual candidates running for the 120 majoritarian seats. Given the social climate, poor access to resources and the infancy of women being able to access their rights in Libya, it is of no surprise that only one out of the 84 candidates won a seat. The total number of women who were elected has resulted in a total of 16.5 per cent of women in the National Congress, although over 40 per cent of the proportional seats are held by women.

6. Conclusion and Recommendations

The holding of the first elections in almost five decades can be heralded as a milestone for Libya's young democracy and has proved to both Libya and the region that Libyan women are empowered to partake in political life. This is a huge achievement in itself. Nonetheless, with all emerging democracies, we must not be complacent and think that the battle has already been won. There is much work to be done, and although women have now surpassed the first hurdle by being represented in the congress, women must continue to be supported and their capacity built in order to ensure that women do become the harbingers of change and are able to have an effective and significant effect on the decision making process of the country. To this end, Gender Concerns International hereby outlines some key recommendations in order to galvanize the work already done and harness further support in order to ensure that level of women's empowerment achieved to date is seen as a benchmark to beat and not a threshold to be maintained. Please refer to the table following for the full list of the recommendations and action points.

6.1 Recommendations for Voter Education

- A. Conduct focus groups to gauge different ideas on how best to reach women and engage men so that they are receptive to and accept the participation of women in all aspects of the process.
- B. Map the CSO's which could impart civic and voter education.
- C. Hold a series of training sessions with women CSO's to help improve their skills and knowledge on the importance of women in the electoral process.
- D. Seek closer collaboration with community and religious leaders to promote women's participation in the process.
- E. Hold a series of workshops with community and religious leaders to sensitise them on the important role of women in the development of society and the democratic process.

6.2 Recommendations for Civic Education

- A. Train different organisations and especially women as civic educators on civic education and the importance of taking part in the democratic process.
- B. Ensure civil education reaches rural areas across Libya and effectively involves religious and community leaders.
- C. Train more female civic educators

6.3 Recommendations for Voter Registration

- A. Conduct campaigns to ensure that women register, with particular emphasis on remote and security affected areas and more conservative areas of the country are included in this process.

6.4 Recommendations for Electoral Legal Framework

- A. Review all draft laws to identify provisions which pose barriers to the full participation of women.
- B. Ensure that a transparent process and publicly available regulations and procedures govern the rejection of candidates from registration in upcoming elections.

6.5 Recommendations for Election Administration

- A. Ensure that there is a balance of women and men at all levels of decision making including in the Electoral Commission itself.
- B. Build capacity of women in HNEC and appoint gender officers within HNEC to address and improve women's participation.
- C. Provide training on gender mainstreaming in the workplace and run a series of workshops on gender and the importance of women in all areas of the electoral process.

6.6 Recommendations for the Electoral System

- A. Should the current electoral system be maintained, continue the zebra system for political parties and introduce a 30 per cent quota for individual candidates.

6.7 Recommendations for Political Parties

- A. Conduct training for political parties on the importance of selecting female candidates prior to the elections. Have a number of focus groups involving political parties well ahead of the electoral process to sensitize around the importance of the role of women in the electoral process.
- B. Hold workshops country-wide with men and women on the importance of female participation to the effective functioning of democracy.
- C. Establish workshops around the country for women to undergo training on what it means to represent the population and methods to participate both within political parties and as individual candidates.

6.8 Recommendations for Media

- A. Provide media training on gender and democracy prior to and during elections.
- B. Ensure monitoring of media coverage to identify any gender discrimination.
- C. Allocate airspace using public broadcast and print media for female candidates.

6.9 Recommendations for Observation

- A. Attract and train more female observers

6.10 Recommendations for Polling

- A. Ensure that training is conducted throughout the country and that all election workers are able to vote, especially in the case of those workers stationed in the Internally Displaced Persons polling stations and those workers assigned to stations outside of their registered area.
- B. Establish means for special needs voting such as voting for persons in hospital and those who are unable to vote on Election Day.
- C. Establish out of country voting in the region, especially in nearby Egypt and Tunisia.
- D. Ensure that voting takes place in easily accessible areas and polling stations.

6.11 Recommendations for Complaints and Appeals

- A. Provide training to the judiciary and other actors involved in the complaints and appeals process.
- B. Establish a hotline for women candidates in order to access information and to make informal complaints and to receive advice.
- C. Provide more clarity around what constitutes an electoral complaint and clear advice on the specific procedures in order to file a complaint.
- D. Give more training to political parties, candidates, election observers and the media on how to complain, especially with regards to the defacing of posters and campaigning.
- E. Assure the public that sanctions will be applied for violations of electoral laws.

Annex 1 – Full Recommendations and Action Points

Recommendation	Responsible Parties	Timeline	Performance Targets	Output	Outcome
6.1 Voter Education					
A. Conduct focus groups to gauge best ideas on how to reach women and also to engage men in the process so that they accept the participation of women in all aspects of the process	CSOs with HNEC	6-9 months prior to the election	Identify innovative ways of reaching men and women on these issues	Holding of various focus group meetings to ascertain the best way forward	A more nuanced and targeted campaign and more acceptance by all of the active participation of women
B. Mapping of the CSOs who could impart civic and voter education	HNEC with CSOs	9 months to 1 year prior to elections	Establishment of the available CSOs to work on the issues of voter education and civic education	Mapping of the whole country	A more coordinated approach towards voter education and the ability to identify the gaps where more work needs to be done
C. Hold a series of training sessions with women CSOs to help improve their skills and knowledge on the importance of women in the democratic process	Female CSOs	6-9 months prior to the election	To conduct workshops all across the country	Holding of workshops to capacity build women's CSOs in the area of women and democracy	Women's CSOs will be better equipped to disseminate information and hold information sessions and advocate for female political participation
D. Seek closer collaboration with community and religious leaders to promote women's participation in the process	CSOs with community and religious leaders	6-9 months prior to the elections	Better and more effective collaboration with said leaders	Holding of meetings and workshops with said leaders	Community and religious leaders will be more accepting of women's participation in the process
E. Hold a series of workshops with community and religious leaders to sensitize them on the important role of women in the development of society and the democratic process			Holding of workshops across the country to sensitise them on the important role of women in the elections	Holding of workshops to train them on these aspects	A better sensitised and knowledgeable leaders on the issues of women's participation
6.2 Civic Education					
A. Train different organisations on civic education and the importance of taking part in the democratic process	HNEC/UN/CSOs/religious and community leaders/Schools and universities	On-going	Different organisations capacity build on civic education	Training sessions involving specific CSOs	Civic education is imparted only and more CSOs and ultimately the public are aware of the importance of the elections and that of the participation of women
B. Ensure that civic education is also conducted in the rural areas	CSOs	On-going	More areas of the country are covered	Training is conducted	More people are aware of the process and are more eager to vote
c. Train more female civic educators	HNEC/CSOs other international organisations	9 months – 1 year	Female civic educators are chosen and trained from all areas around the country	Training of female civic educators	More women can be reached

Recommendation	Responsible Parties	Timeline	Performance Targets	Output	Outcome
6.3 Voter Registration					
A. Conduct campaigns to ensure that women register, also ensure that security affected and more conservative areas are targeted	CSOs and HNEC with the support of international community	2-3 months prior to registration	An increase of 5% of women registered	Campaigns are carried out	More women register especially in the security bound and difficult to get to areas
6.4 Legal Framework					
A. Review the sections of the law which provide barriers against the full participation of women	Law makers	As soon as possible	Laws which reduce barriers to the full participation of women	The review of the law and its amendments	Women are less stigmatised and are better able to access their equal rights
B. Issuance of clear rules and criteria surrounding rejection of candidates by the Commission of Integrity	Commission of Integrity	As soon as possible	Publishing of regulations	Review and publish of regulations to disqualify candidates	More transparency surrounding the process
6.5 Election Administration					
A. Ensure that more women are included in the Electoral Commission	Law makers and HNEC	As soon as possible	At least 30% quota of women within the electoral commission	Review of the members of the commission and amendments to their composition to better reflect both male and female	Women are better represented at decision making level and setting an example for other organisations
B. Build capacity of women in the HNEC and have national gender advisors within the HNEC	HNEC	As soon as possible	A selection of women in and outside of the HNEC are trained to take on specific tasks within the electoral commission. Train one or two persons to become national gender advisors	Training sessions for women to build their skill sets. Training and building capacity of gender advisor	Women are better equipped to lead sections within the HNEC, Mainstreaming of the HNEC and the ability to ensure that women's viewpoints and issues are considered throughout the EMB
C. Provide training on gender mainstreaming and run a series of workshops	HNEC	As soon as possible	HNEC is gender-mainstreamed	Training on mainstreaming is carried out	HNEC is sensitised on gender policies and allows women to participate in the decision making process of HNEC
6.6 Electoral System					
A. Establish a quota of reserved seats for individual candidates	Law Makers	In time for next elections	Establish a 30% quota for female reserved seats under the majoritarian elections	Establishment of a quota	More women will be represented in the congress

Recommendation	Responsible Parties	Timeline	Performance Targets	Output	Outcome
6.7 Political Parties					
A. Conduct training and sensitisation of political parties on the importance of selecting female candidate	CSOs and international community	3-6 months prior to candidate nomination	Sensitisation of political parties towards the participation of women in the electoral process	Conducting a number of focus groups and workshops on this area	Political parties are more receptive to selecting women for representation
B. Establish workshops around the country on the importance of female participation for women	CSOs and international community	6 months prior to candidate nomination	Women selected to take part in the workshops	Conducting of workshops and training sessions	Women receive more capacity on the importance of their role and are better able to approach political parties
C. Holding of a series of workshops to promote female leadership in political parties	CSOs and political parties	On-going	Core women selected and trained	Conducting of workshops to promote female leadership	More political parties are led by women and women are better equipped to take part in the decision making process
6.8 Media					
A. Media training on gender and democracy	CSOs and international community	6 months prior to elections	Media groups identified and training conducted	Training on importance of women and democracy	Media is more sensitised on women's role in democracy and the electoral process and as a result the general public is too
6.9 Observation					
A. Attract and train more female observers	CSOs and domestic observer organizations	6 months prior to the election	Observer groups attract more female observers	Conducting of a campaign to attract women and training thereof	Women are better able to monitor the process and women's capacity built

Annex 2 – The number of Female Headed Lists

<i>Name of Party</i>	<i>Number on ballot paper</i>	<i>Number of Electoral Districts Registered in</i>	<i>No of Lists headed by Females</i>
	1	7	3
	2	18	9
	3	2	1
	4	1	0
	5	1	0
	6	1	0
	7	19	9
	8	6	3
	9	2	1
	10	19	9
	11	3	1
	12	12	6
	13	1	0
	14	1	0
	15	10	5
	16	3	1
	17	3	1
	18	3	1
	19	1	1
	20	4	2
	21	9	4
	22	8	4
	23	4	2
	24	3	1
	25	1	
	26	3	1

<i>Name of Party</i>	<i>Number on ballot paper</i>	<i>Number of Electoral Districts Registered in</i>	<i>No of Lists headed by Females</i>
	27	5	2
	28	5	2
	29	1	0
	30	3	1
	31	1	0
	32	7	3
	33	3	1
	34	11	5
	35	3	1
	36	3	1
	37	1	0
	38	2	1
	39	5	2
	40	13	6
	41	3	1
	42	6	3
	43	3	1
	44	1	0
	45	1	0
	46	2	1
	47	1	0
	48	1	0
	49	1	0
	50	1	0
	51	2	1
	52	1	0
	53	2	1
	54	1	0

Name of Party	Number on ballot paper	Number of Electoral Districts Registered in	No of Lists headed by Females
	55	1	0
	56	2	1
	57	1	0
	58	2	1
	59	1	0
	60	1	0
	61	1	0
	62	1	0
	63	2	1
	64	15	7
	65	1	0
	66	1	0
	67	1	1
	68	1	0
	69	1	0
	70	3	1
	71	1	0
	72	1	0
	73	1	0
	74	1	1
	75	1	0
	76	1	0
	77	17	8
	78	1	0
	79	1	0
	80	1	0
	81	1	0
	82	7	3

<i>Name of Party</i>	<i>Number on ballot paper</i>	<i>Number of Electoral Districts Registered in</i>	<i>No of Lists headed by Females</i>
	83	1	0
	84	1	0
	85	1	0
	86	1	0
	87	1	0
	88	1	0
	89	6	3
	90	1	0
	91	2	1
	92	1	0
	93	4	2
	94	1	0
	95	1	0
	96	1	1
	97	1	0
	98	1	0
	99	1	0
	100	1	0
	101	1	0
	102	1	0
	103	1	0
	104	1	0
	105	1	0
	106	1	0
	107	1	0
	108	2	1
	109	1	0
	110	1	0

<i>Name of Party</i>	<i>Number on ballot paper</i>	<i>Number of Electoral Districts Registered in</i>	<i>No of Lists headed by Females</i>
	111	1	0
	112	1	0
	113	1	0
	114	4	2
	115	1	0
	116	1	0
	117	2	1
	118	1	0
	119	2	1
	120	1	0
	121	1	0
	122	1	0
	123	1	0
	124	1	0
	125	1	0
	126	1	0
	127	7	3
	128	2	1
	129	2	1
	130	1	0

Annex 3 – Comparative table of female representation in the region

Country	Lower House				Upper House				IPU Rank
	Election Year	No of Seats	No of Women	% Women	Elections Year	Total	No of Women	% Women	
Afghanistan	9 2010	249	69	27.7%	1 2011	102	28	27.5%	37
	9 2005	242	67	27.7%	9 2005	102	21	21-6%	28
Algeria	5 2012	462	146	31.6%	12 2009	136	7	5.1%	27
	5 2007	389	30	7.7%	12 2006	136	4	2.9%	113
Egypt	11 2011	508	10	2%	1 2012	180	5	2.8%	140
	11 2005	442	8	1.8%	6 2007	264	18	68	132
Iran	5 2012	290	9	3.1%	...	....	....	....	137
	3 2008	286	8	2.8%	....	....	....	....	130
Iraq	3 2010	325	82	25.2%	...	....	....	....	43
	12 2005	275	70	25.5%	....	....	....	....	35
Jordan	11 2010	120	13	10.8%	10 2011	60	7	11.7%	110
	11 2007	110	7	6.4%	11 2007	55	7	12.7%	118
Kuwait	6 2012	63	4	6.3%	...	....	....	...	131
	5 2008	63	2	3.1%	....	....	....	....	128
Lebanon	6 2009	128	4	3.1%	....	....	....	....	137
	5 2005	128	6	4.7%	.....	....	....	....	123
Libya	7 2012	200	33	16.5%	...	...	...	...	83
	3 2006	468	36	7.7%	....	....	....	....	113
Morocco	11 2011	395	67	17.0%	10 2009	270	6	2.2%	79
	9 2007	325	34	10.5%	9 2006	270	3	1.1%	100
Oman	10 2011	84	1	1.2%	10 2011	83	15	18.1%	142
	10 2007	84	0	0.0%	12 2007	70	14	20%	135
Qatar	7 2010	35	0	0%	....	....	....	....	144
	7 2008	35	0	0%	...	...	...	...	135
Saudi Arabia	2 2009	150	0	0%	....	....	...	...	144
	4 2005	150	0	0%	...	....	...	...	135
Syria	5 2012	250	30	12.0%	....	....	....	...	104
	4 2007	250	31	12.4%	....	....	.....	....	90
Tunisia	10 2011	217	58	26.7%	....	....	...	...	39
	10 2004	189	43	22.8%	8 2008	112	17	15.2%	44
U.A.E	9 2011	40	7	17.5%	....	....	...	....	76
	12 2006	40	9	22.5%	...	...	...	....	45

Gender Concerns International is an international gender and development organisation based in The Netherlands. The organisation was founded in 2004 by a group of experts with extensive professional experience in the field of gender and development.

In order to accomplish a gender-balanced society, Gender Concerns International works to increase the political participation and empowerment of women, to promote security and development, and to influence policy.

Within this framework, the organisation mainly focuses on the status and rights of women. Gender Concerns International operates via a network of public authorities, organisations and individuals on regional, national and international levels.

The main objective of the **Libyan Forum for Civil Society** is to support Libyan women and youth in participating, as main civil society actors, to the construction of a free and democratic Libya. The Forum also aims to fight against any form of exclusion and discrimination harming the full exercise of citizens' rights especially for women.

The **Libyan Women's Union** is very much engaged in train female candidates on how to lead an electoral campaign and how to engage with media in their request for a seat in the National Congress. In June 2012, the organisation launched the campaign "My voice for her" to raise public awareness on the support of women's candidates throughout Libya. The campaign attracted the attention of the Libyan National Transitional Government, of civil society organisations, of the international community and of Libyan people.

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