

The Civil Campaign for Electoral Reform

Booklet of Reforms



Civil Campaign for Electoral Reform

This CCER booklet of reforms introduces the Lebanese public opinion to the reforms that the Campaign deems necessary to achieve a fair and democratic legal framework for both parliamentary and municipal elections.

The reforms presented in this booklet were elaborated in the course of in-depth studies and discussions among the members of the Campaign and electoral experts, hoping to reach fair and transparent elections and developing political work in Lebanon.

CCER welcomes your valuable remarks and opinions and appreciates interactivity and participation in electoral reform.

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Civil Campaign for Electoral Reform (CCER)

The Civil Campaign for Electoral Reform is a Coalition of civil society associations, Municipalities and syndicates. It was founded on June 6, 2006. Today it includes more than 88 active civil society associations covering all of Lebanon, in addition to unions and municipalities. The Campaign aims and calls for reforming electoral systems in general, focusing mainly on the municipal and parliamentary ones.

Since 2006, the Civil Campaign for Electoral Reform has been able to introduce the electoral reform concept into the political life. It was recently capable of influencing the general debate on reforming the municipal and parliamentary election laws. The Campaign lobbied for the adoption of a large number of reforms within the parliamentary election law no. 25/2008. The Civil Campaign for Electoral Reform was seeking lately to amend the elections law. It prepared a comprehensive draft law and submitted it to all ministers and MPs, urging the Parliament to adopt it.

Since its launching, the Campaign has been working on pushing for a number of reforms in line with the international standards for democratic elections, these being:

1. Proportional Representation.
2. The Independent Electoral Commission
3. Participation of Lebanese expatriates in the parliamentary elections.
4. Adoption of the official pre-printed ballot
5. Allowing a minimum one third quota for women in the ballot lists.
6. Lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 and the candidacy age from 25 to 22.
7. Implementing the necessary reforms to facilitate the electoral process for voters with additional needs.
8. Shortening the mandate of municipal councils from 6 to 4 years.
9. Finance campaign regulations.
10. Electoral media and advertising campaign regulations.

CCER's agenda also includes other reforms such as allowing the voters to vote for the municipal councils of their place of residence, providing voting mechanisms for the sick, the detained and the soldiers, in addition to performing the vote counting in the polling centers instead of at polling stations.

The Electoral System

- Adopting proportional representation with closed lists that may be incomplete by thirds of the seats at a minimum.

- Dividing Lebanon into electoral districts based on the following criteria:

1- Electoral districts shall be at least medium-sized (i.e. around 20 seats) for the proportional representation system to be effective and achieve the following:

- Provide the minimum dynamics of change.
- Constitute a transitional phase from small electoral districts (Caza-based-districts) to Lebanon as one electoral district.
- Encourage alliances between political parties and groups, and consequently, limit the fanatical political discourse and individualism in the electoral process.
- Contribute to moving the concept of elections from “voting for people” to “voting for ideas” and political agendas.
- The general principle of proportional representation is that the larger the electoral district, the higher the chances of small groups to enter the Parliament.
- In contrast with small-sized or single-member districts, proportional representation weakens political clientelism and prevents candidates from entering the parliament by offering services to voters in the small districts they are running in or to voters of their own confession.

2- Medium-sized districts shall provide equality among Lebanese voters (value of the vote).

- In this system, seats are allocated to the lists pursuant to the largest remainder formula.

- An electoral threshold determines the required minimum number of votes that a list shall obtain to be represented (to be determined more accurately when the electoral district is decided).

Rationale for establishing an IEC in Lebanon

- To guarantee the impartiality and independence of the elections organizers.
- To build the confidence of voters in the results of the electoral process.
- To contribute to ensuring equal opportunities for all candidates.
- To build a permanent and professional body specializing in electoral management.
- Because elections are not prepared in days and months, but are a continuous and integrated process.
- To establish the practice of neutrality and independence of the electoral process management in Lebanon.
- Because the formation of a neutral government that includes no candidates to the elections and/or the presence of a neutral Minister of Interior during the electoral period is positive, but does not totally guarantee the impartiality of the political authority towards the elections. Therefore, it is necessary to have an independent body (independent commission) to organize, manage, and supervise the elections. This body shall work independently from other authorities, particularly the executive authority. It shall enjoy financial and administrative autonomy (legal personality).

Composition

- CCER suggests that the independent commission be permanent and made up of 9 members serving a four-year-mandate, with some of them re-elected every two years.
- Members shall be nominated by the following bodies:
 - The Supreme Judicial Council nominates three former presiding judges from the Court of Cassation (President of the Commission)
 - The State Council nominates three former presiding judges from the State Council (Vice-president)
 - The Court of Audit nominates three former presiding judges from the Court of Audit (member)
 - The Beirut Bar Association Council nominates three former members of the Bar Council (member)
 - The Tripoli Bar Association Council nominates three former members of the Bar Council (member)
 - The Press Syndicate nominates three of its members (member).
 - Three civil society members with expertise in electoral matters.
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Proposed mechanism for the selection of Commission members:

Option one:

In a first round, the Parliament elects 6 members out of the 9 by secret polling and incomplete lists and by a majority of two thirds of its members. In the following rounds, absolute majority is applied.

Two years after the commission is formed, four new members are elected to replace the four members whose names have been taken out by draw (the name of the Commission President shall not be included in the draw- the draw is performed by the oldest member) using the same method of incomplete list with 3 members out of 4. Two years later, the deputies elect 5 new members to replace the 5 old members who have remained in their seats since the first election, also using the method of incomplete lists with a maximum of 3 members out of 5. This electoral process continues every two years to change the members of the Commission.

Option two:

a- The Parliament elects by secret polling with a two-thirds-majority in the first round and an absolute majority in the subsequent rounds, 5 members out of the number of Commission members to be elected by the Parliament. The voting is repeated until the number of members to be elected by the Parliament is complete. Every deputy shall have the right to a maximum of three votes. If the candidates of each category obtain equal votes, a draw shall determine the winners. The number of Commission members to be elected by the parliament is:

- From the State Council (the Vice-President)
- From the Court of Audit (a member)
- 3 members of the civil society candidates.

b- The two-thirds-majority of the Cabinet members elects the President of the Commission from the candidates suggested by the Higher Judicial Council, in addition to a member from the candidates of each of the Press Syndicate, the Beirut Bar Association, and the Tripoli Bar Association; with the Commission members appointed by the Cabinet being necessarily elected. Two years after the formation of the “Commission”, the Parliament elects 3 new members to the remaining number of members elected by the Parliament. The Cabinet appoints two new members to the remaining number of members it had elected previously. This formula shall be only used for the first time because election/appointment shall later be made by rotation.

- The civil society candidates shall submit their candidacy applications and resumes to the committee composed of the President and two members of the Constitutional Council (the youngest and eldest). The committee proceeds with a screening of the applications pursuant to clear standards, conducts personal interviews with the selected candidates, and sends 9 names to the Parliament.
- The term of office of the Commission president is four years that may not be immediately renewed after the first election, provided that a new president is elected (automatically and not by way of drawing lots) every four years.
- The Commission members shall maintain their functions even after the end of their mandate pending the appointment and oath-taking of new members.
- The term of office of members shall be 4 years, renewable once. A Commission member may not be re-elected for a third mandate, but after the lapse of one mandate between the end of his second term and the new candidacy process.
- Upon their appointment and oath-taking, the Commission members shall elect a secretary and a trustee from among themselves pursuant to the provisions of the bylaws within a month deadline after oath-taking and publishing the bylaws in the official Gazette.
- The Commission shall, by simple majority (5 members), appoint its Executive Director. The Commission shall specify the terms of appointment of the Director and his tasks. The Commission shall also specify terms of the organization and appointment of the administrative body and its tasks in accordance with the by-law. The rights and duties of the Executive Director and members of the administrative body towards the Commission are subject to the Labor Law.
- The Commission shall be considered in a state of permanent convention as soon as it calls for the elections.
- Gender balance shall be taken into account when selecting commission members.

Departments of the commission:

- The main office of the Commission
- The regional electoral sub-offices (based on the electoral districting)
- The voter register department
- The financial supervision department
- The electoral media and advertising supervision department
- The training department
- The voter education department

Proposed tasks of the commission:

- The Commission shall be responsible for organizing and calling for participation in parliamentary and local elections and by-elections in Lebanon.
- Prepare a general perception plan of the electoral process phases, the management mechanism thereof, and the supervision of electoral campaigns; and prepare the necessary plans for implementation.
- Carry out a periodic review of electoral laws and procedures, prepare maps of the electoral districts, and submit recommendations to the Government concerning electoral legislations or the amendment of electoral laws.
- Work on the electoral education of citizens and guarantee the ability of all voters to communicate with the Commission to inquire about any subject relating to the electoral process, or ask for any clarification about the Commission itself.
- Prepare and regularly update the final version of the voter register known as the voters' list.
- Receive and approve or reject candidacy applications.
- Prepare and print the official ballot papers.
- Allocate the polling centers and ensure easy access to all voters including those with special needs.

- Supervise the training of elections staff on all phases of the electoral procedures.
- Appoint the heads of polling stations and their assistants.
- Provide all the supplies needed by polling stations on Elections Day.
- Count and sort the ballots and announce the official results.
- Accredite local and international observers.
- Supervise the electoral media and advertising.
- Monitor the major donations and contributions received by each candidate or list and publish a table thereof, and control the electoral spending of candidates and lists on their electoral campaigns.
- Write periodic reports on the process of elections.
- Receive complaints arising from the electoral process and refer them to the competent judicial authority.
- Establish a joint operations room with the security forces that are responsible for the elections security.
- Publish its reports and the reports it receives from candidates or lists or committees. Submit its reports to the President of the Republic, Prime Minister, Speaker of the Parliament, and the Constitutional Council.
- Self-monitor its work through auditing and evaluation.
- Archive all materials related to the management and organization of elections for future review or research, and attend international seminars and conferences on elections.

Women quota

- Adopt a minimum one third quota for women in the electoral lists.
- Adopt closed electoral lists without preferential voting so that women are not eliminated and deprived of representation.
- A quota mechanism determines the place of women on any list: at least one woman within each group of three male candidates.
- Women quota is a temporary positive measure to activate the political participation of women. Accordingly, the Campaign requests its adoption for four electoral cycles.

Rationale

- Though by a small margin, women make up the greater part of registered voters on the checklists and among actual voters, but their share of parliamentary seats remains small, reaching 3.12% of elected parliamentary seats in 2009.
- Lebanon has signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in 1997, but the Convention has not yet been put into force. The Convention would contribute to activating the political participation of women and accelerating the bridging of gender inequality. The Convention stipulated the principle of affirmative action in Article 4: “Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved”.

- The adoption of a quota for women would contribute to changing the apportionment of the prevailing stereotypical roles and cultural mental structures in society which contribute to changing the prevailing view to women and electoral behavior towards them. This shall strategically lead to the achievement of equality between the sexes, as stated in Article 5 of the above Convention: “States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women”.

The Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 also developed the concept of affirmative action or temporary measures, while its decisions committed States to adopt a quota to activate women’s political participation: “Mobilize women and men equally in decision-making and policies to achieve programs of actions in the following areas: put an end to inequality in leadership and decision-making, and allocate minimum quotas for the participation of women by 30% until the year 2005”.

Voting of Lebanese nationals living abroad

- Implement Chapter 10 of Law No. 25/2008 which proclaimed the right of Lebanese nationals living abroad to vote in their place of residence overseas in the parliamentary elections held after the 2009 elections.
- A distinction must be made between Lebanese nationals living abroad who have the Lebanese nationality and those of Lebanese descent. The latter shall not be entitled to vote unless they obtain the Lebanese identity through the fulfillment of legal requirements.

The voting process

- Polling centers: embassies, consulates, or anywhere else, after obtaining the consent of the host country. Based on international standards, it is not necessary to organize the elections in all countries and in all regions, but uniform standards must be followed for choosing to hold elections in a specific country (Example: The percentage of registered voters, the presence of an embassy or consulate, the consent of the host country...).
- Open voluntary registration abroad where every Lebanese wishing to vote registers his/her name. This way, there will be two checklists: an internal one for residents and an external one for non-residents.
- Completion of the registration period 3 or 4 months before polling date to secure the closing of internal and external checklists. These checklists shall be compared to avoid duplicate name entries. (According to law No. 25/2008, the deadline for the registration of Lebanese nationals living abroad is December 31st of the year preceding the following parliamentary elections).
- Dates of polling and counting: polling shall take place within a week or two before the internal ballot. Vote count shall be carried out immediately after the completion of the ballot, but the announcement of the results shall be in conjunction with the announcement of the internal results.
- Lebanese nationals living abroad shall not elect different deputies, but shall elect the same ones out of the 128 MPs in the Lebanese Parliament (due to the difficulty of defining criteria for the distribution of seats on confessional or geographical basis).
- Candidacy and withdrawal timing shall be the same as in Beirut.

Polling mechanisms:

- Electronic voting is not feasible due to the absence of the paper ballot version, and thus there would be no possibility to check for errors if any occur. In the case of electronic voting with the paper version, the polling cost becomes higher than the cost of voting by regular mail.
- Postal voting will pose a problem in securing secrecy of the ballot and non-manipulation thereof.
- Direct voting is the most secure method. It is possible to use the pre-printed ballot and two envelopes in the case of multiple electoral districts to reduce the number of ballot boxes. After voting, the expatriate voter shall put his/her list in a small envelope on which he/she writes the name of the electoral district. Then he/she shall put this envelope in a bigger envelope in order to ensure the secrecy of the ballot and to facilitate the counting process.

Voting in the place of residence

- Voting in the place of residence is the temporary proposal of the Civil Campaign for Electoral Reform for the upcoming parliamentary elections. This means that the voter shall vote in his/her place of residence for the electoral district of his/her place of record in order to reduce the transfer of the voter from his/her place of residence to his/her place of origin and the impact on his/her choices.
- Determine a specific geographical distance from which to allow voters to vote in their place of residence (Example: voters from Corniche Al Mazraa residing in Ashrafieh are not allowed to vote in their place of residence due to the proximity of the geographical areas).
- The Campaign's proposal for municipal elections is to vote in the place of residence so that voters can vote for candidates at the municipality of this residence. Their names shall be registered in advance after fulfilling the legal requirements (title deed, lease agreement...). The voter chooses the municipality he/she intends to participate in its elections (for people who have more than one place of residence).

Lowering the voting and candidacy ages

- Lower voting age to 18.
- Lower candidacy age to 22.

Rationale

- Reconcile the age of legal majority (18 years) and the age of political majority.
- It is a fundamental right of young people without the need for justification.
- Young people are the dynamic force of the electoral machinery.
- Young people did not yet enter the labor market, and that makes their votes more liberal.
- Empowering young people by giving them the right to vote is the portal to seriously approach youth policy.
- The ability of young people to vote, and thus to influence representation, is a major motivation for elected politicians to be interested in youth issues and policies affecting them.
- It helps young people to engage in political life, volunteerism and public affairs issues.
- The youth's participation in the electoral process, not only as observers or poll watchers, but as voters, will contribute to the consolidation of civil and democratic choices among them.
- Motivate young people to be more active in order to contribute to the delivery of their ideas and values to the parliament or the municipal council.
- Lower candidacy age to 22, after a lapse of 4 years (one parliamentary session) following the right to vote, which encourages youth elites to gain access to power.

Ensuring the secrecy of the ballot

- Strictly respect the vicinity of polling centers and stations.

- The polling station head shall strictly request from voters to enter behind the voting booth and not to allow anyone near it, in addition to not allowing any of the poll watchers or the security forces to approach the voting booth for any reason.

- Preparation and printing of official ballots to be used exclusively in the voting process:
 1. The commission in charge of organizing and managing elections shall prepare official ballots and distribute them to the muhafazats before the polling day. Bodies in charge of delivering logistic equipment to polling stations shall deliver the ballots to the polling stations heads. The law shall take into account deadlines that must be given for lists to register and for organizers to produce the ballots.
 2. Lists shall choose the color, name and slogan of the list and register them before the period prescribed by law with the commission in charge of organizing and managing elections. The ballots shall contain sign language to facilitate the voting process for individuals with additional needs.
 3. The size of the ballot shall be determined before determining the size of the ballot box.
 4. Parties and citizens shall have the right to obtain a sample of the ballot not intended to be used in order to carry out educational meetings for their machineries.

- The vote count shall be in the polling center instead of the polling station:
 1. After completion of the voting process, the polling station panel shall carry out the counting of votes only. It shall record on the tally sheet the number of votes in each ballot box and submit it to the polling center officer (The commission in charge of organizing and managing elections shall appoint the polling center officer among the polling station heads or from external parties).

2. Ballot boxes shall be transferred from the polling station to the counting room at the center through the polling station head, his assistant and security escorts, in addition to poll watchers and observers if they so wish.

 3. Ballot boxes shall be assembled in the counting center and the polling station panel shall be made up of a president and the youngest and oldest polling station heads. The counting process shall start in the presence of the poll watchers. After counting the votes, votes obtained by each of the candidates, the number of blank ballots (which are not discarded), the number of discarded ballots with justification and the number of remaining ballots shall be recorded on the tally sheet. The number of contested ballots, if any, shall be pointed out and attached to the tally sheet, and the latter shall be submitted to the higher registration committee which takes the final decision.
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- Sectarian and gender distribution of ballot boxes shall be canceled since Lebanese voters vote according to different data, starting with geographic and sectarian divisions, and then by doctrine and gender (male or female), which contributes to knowing the trends of voters. This cancellation shall be done by using personal status registers (Example: ballot boxes shall be divided from No. 1 to No. 20 in the polling station No. 1...).

 - After determining the vicinity of the centers according to legal provisions, security forces shall prevent any element of the electoral machinery from entering the premises.

Voting mechanisms for voters with additional needs

- Adopt qualified polling stations with specifications set forth in Decree 2214 of 2009, which allow people with disabilities to exercise their right in complete independence.
- Raise awareness among all persons involved with the organization of the electoral process on how to engage and deal with blind people, and provide them with a training course and distribute printed materials that ensure voting of the deaf person.
- Provide all documents that introduce the electoral or election-related process in a manner suitable for blind people: “Braille”, audio, cassette, CD, or large print ballot for people with weak vision.
- Include sign language in images containing common phrases used in the voting process to ensure ease of communication between the deaf and the polling station head and his assistants, and that the process of voting is carried out independently.
- The Commission in charge of managing and organizing elections should officially assign people to accompany blind persons into the polling center in order to complete the voting process, taking into account whether the blind person accepts assistance or not. Allow mentally disabled persons to choose whoever they see fit to assist them in completing the ballot process.
- Adopt pre-prepared uniform candidate lists in all electoral districts to be adapted for blind people.
- Include the candidate’s photo next to his/her name and the bloc / party symbol in the pre-prepared uniform candidate lists.
- The commission in charge of managing and organizing elections shall, in collaboration with the relevant associations, adopt a mobile training polling station before the elections to train people with disabilities on completing the voting process independently, and introduce them to their political rights.
- Reaffirm the right of persons with disabilities to participate in the political process (candidacy, management, and vote).
- Educate the community on the political rights of persons with disabilities and their importance.

Finance campaign regulations

- Identify a varying ceiling for promoting equality in spending among candidates, i.e., determine the value of the ceiling depending on the size of electoral districts and the number of seats, without adopting a single fixed value for all electoral districts.
- Duration of different periodic social benefits shall not be limited to three years, but shall be extended to five years at least to reduce the phenomenon of establishing service associations in the period between successive parliamentary elections.
- Work on separating parliament and government memberships to ensure the integrity of the work of ministries during election campaigns and ensure the non-use of public facilities and departments for personal interests. In case this is not possible, there shall be a careful monitoring of the activities of ministries and ministers within and outside the campaign period.
- When calculating candidates and parties' spending, take into account the amounts allocated for transactions relating to the issuance of identity cards and passports to voters, as well as fees for the transfer of voters, whether inside or outside Lebanon.
- Adopt uniform prices in calculating advertising expenditures without adhering to the prices set by the companies that deal with the candidates.
- Publish financial reports for all candidates and lists making them accessible to Lebanese citizens, pursuant to the principle of the right of access to information.
- Require candidates to submit their statements of account during the period specified by the organizing commission and penalize violators.
- Require candidates to appoint accountants along with the auditor in order to ensure accuracy and professionalism in the process of calculating expenses during the preparation of financial reports on expenditures.

- Impose fines on municipalities and candidates in case they did not abide by the clause on the allocation of specific places for ad posting, taking into account the “equal space” principle.
- Strictly control news introductions and comedy shows that include electoral promotions or propaganda, include them in advertising expenditures, and penalize different violating media.
- Prevent the use of allocations for deputies (asphalt and other...) during the campaign period.
- Reduce the value of checks issued by candidates to the highest Lebanese currency category which is 100,000 L.L.
- Candidates shall provide weekly expenditure reports to the commission organizing or supervising the elections.
- Control volunteering through the adoption of a legal basis for voluntary work signed by volunteers.
- Link the deadline for the appeals period to the financial reporting period to be able to resort to the financial reports if a candidate wishes to appeal.
- Initiate candidatures at least six months before the election date and start to calculate election campaign expenses from the date of initiating candidatures.
- Identify legitimate and illegitimate expenditures.
- Lift banking secrecy on all accounts of candidates, as well as their ascendants and descendants.

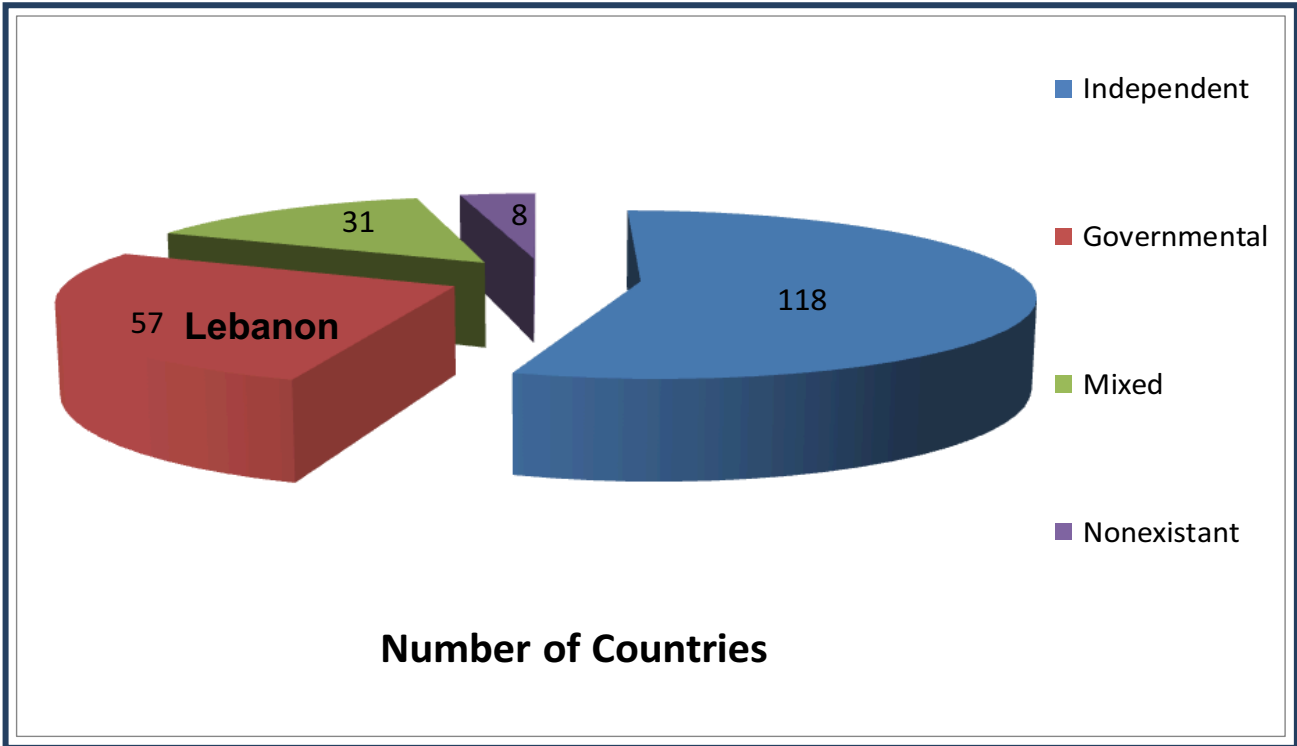
Electoral media and advertising campaign regulations

- Complete the law with a code of conduct to which both media and media professionals commit. This shall also be a solution for media institutions to reduce extremist discourse through the mechanisms of coverage and news editing, without compromising the objectivity and integrity of the news.
- Review laws governing the media and determining their ownership.
- The need for the production of electoral education programs by the commission organizing the electoral process (the solution lies in the possibility of using part of the flat candidature fee, in addition to requiring bloc participation through deducting another amount from their election campaign).
- Include a requirement for the adoption by law of the candidate programs as a basis for talk shows.
- Define the powers given to the commission overseeing the elections and the extent of its operational capacity in order to exercise its role and functions.
- Strengthen the role of the official media and abolish its affiliation to the Minister of Information.
- The possibility of requiring satellite channels as well as local stations in Lebanon to adhere to the electoral media law.
- It should be made clear to the media that it is not possible to transmit political speech when it includes incitement and treason, for such an act is punishable by law. Therefore, the mechanism for accountability which is present in the current law must be activated, which allows media stations to be referred to the judiciary in case they violate the provisions of the law.
- Specify media and advertisement quota in advance in the law and adopt a specific space for the complete and incomplete lists and the individual candidate to ensure equal media exposure. The commission in charge of managing and organizing elections shall be responsible for organizing this quota.

- Set regulations in the law on electoral statistics and websites of parties, candidates or lists, or other websites that broadcast political news. The 24-hour news ticker should be included among the issues to be monitored by the commission organizing and managing the elections.
- The competent court could impose sanctions other than fines and publish the material containing the offense committed by the newspaper, on its front page on a clear space, and also for visual media through the news ticker showing at the bottom of the screen.
- The need for the commission in charge of organizing and managing elections to issue weekly reports monitoring all media, showing whether they respected or violated the law.

Remarks:

Independent Electoral Commission – The World

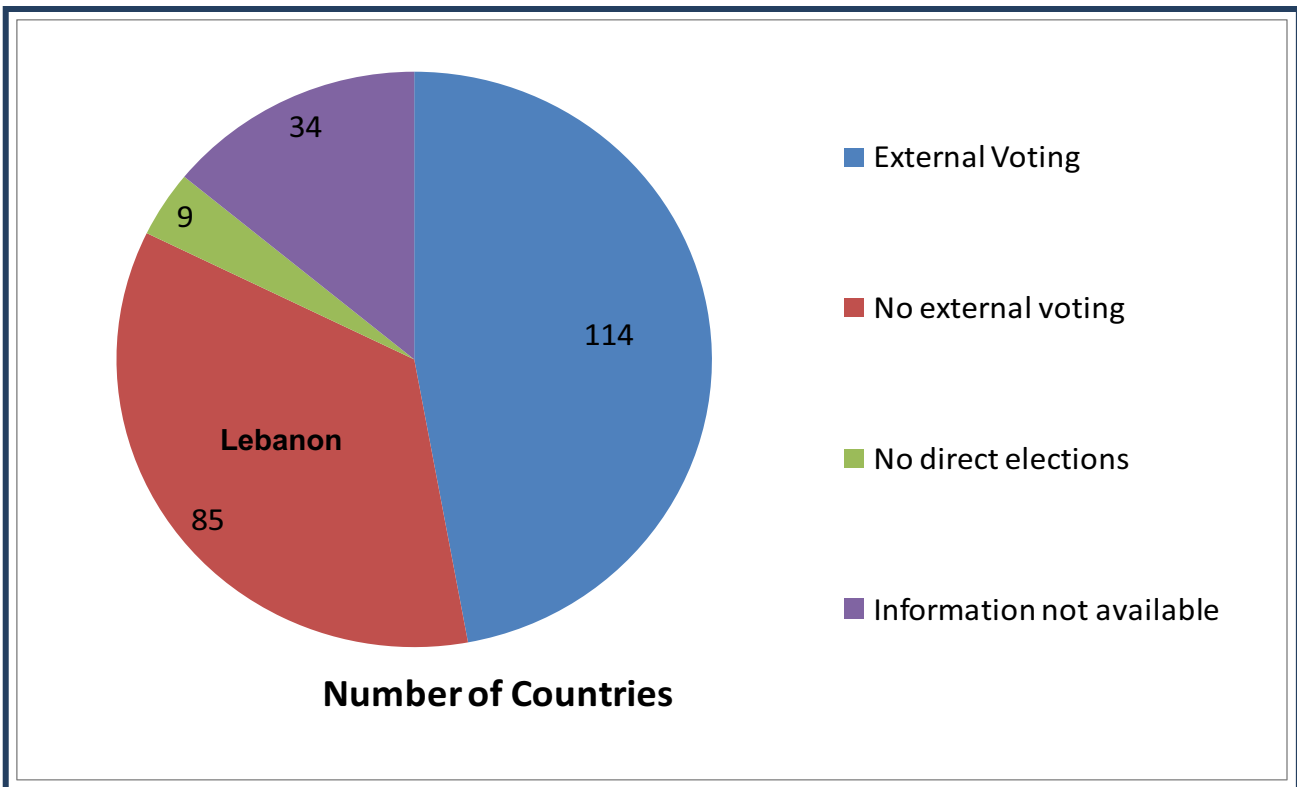


Type	# of Countries	Countries (Examples)
Independent	118	Australia, Canada, India, Mexico, Turkey
Governmental	57	Italy, Lebanon, Syria, United States of America
Mixed	31	Argentina, Japan, Chad, France
Nonexistent	8	China, Saudi Arabia, Qatar

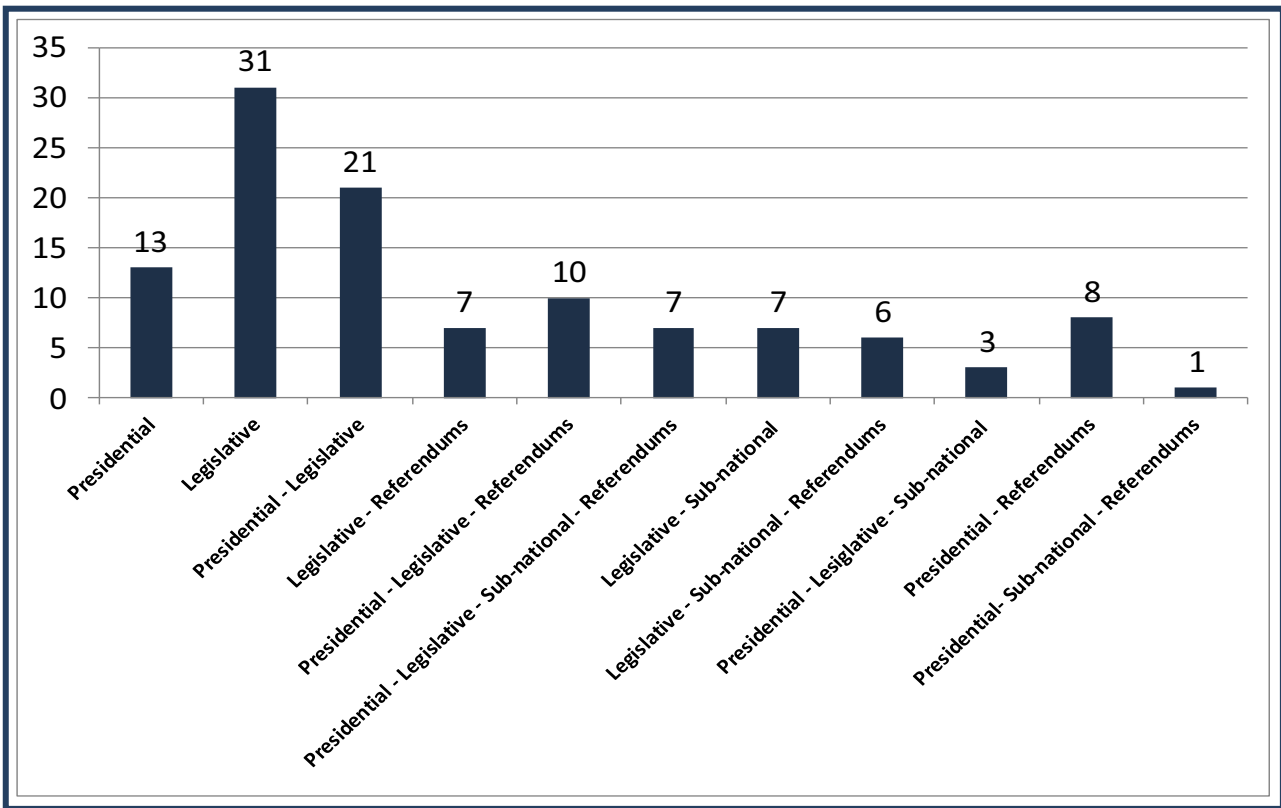
Independent Electoral Commission – Arab Countries

Type	# of Countries	Countries (Examples)
Independent	5	Tunisia, Iraq, Palestine, Sudan, Yemen
Governmental	10	Lebanon, Syria, Kuwait
Nonexistent	4	Libya, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Qatar

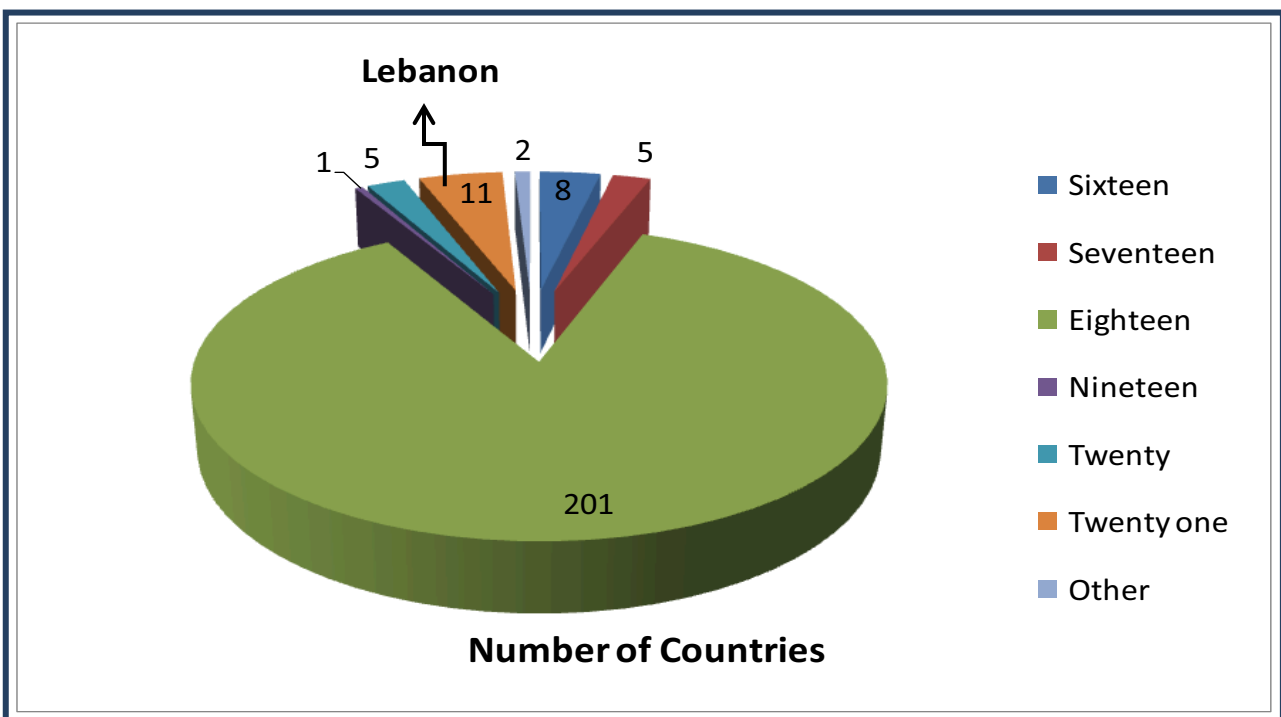
Out-of-Country Voting - The World



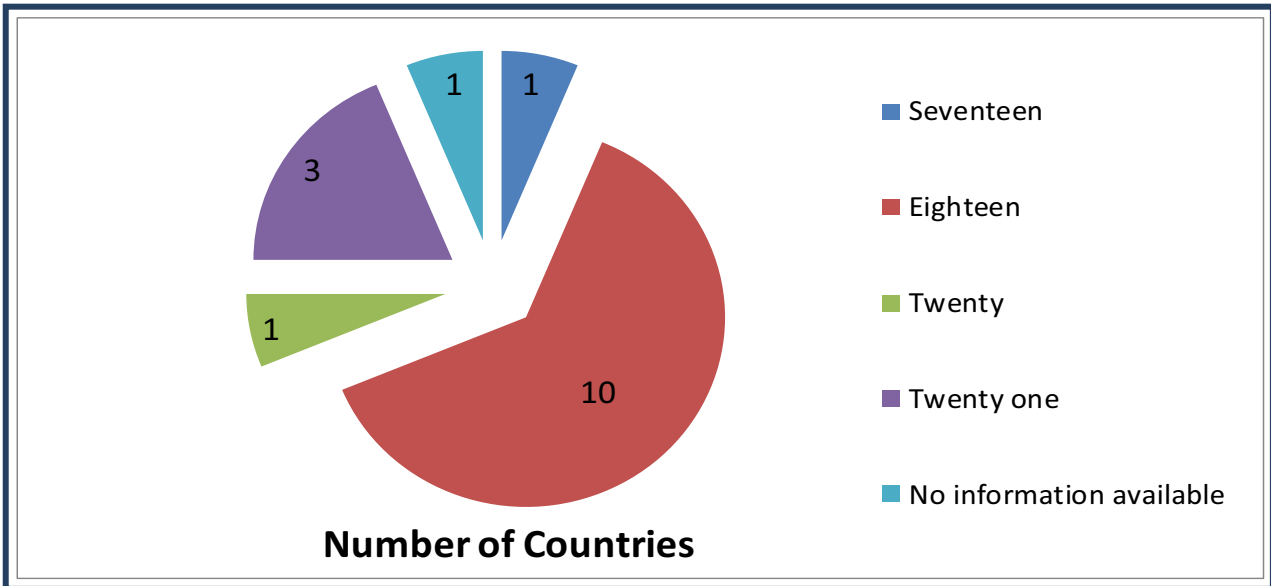
Distribution of Percentages According to Type of Elections



Voting Age – The World



Voting Age – The Arab World



Seventeen	Eighteen	Twenty	Twenty one	No information available
Sudan	Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Qatar, Syria, Tunisia.	Bahrain	Kuwait, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia	United Arab Emirates

Quota for Women (Parliament)

