

# Annexes

## Annex I. Guidelines for interviews

### Case studies

#### *Purpose*

Case studies will be conducted with the nine women parliamentarians who have been elected outside the quota system to provide insights on what worked and to understand the strategies and tools that helped them win.

Name:

Social Status:

Educational Level:

Political Affiliation and Social Engagement previous and current

There are three stages of the election campaign: – 1. The stage of deciding to run, 2. winning the nomination of the party, and, 3. running an election campaign.

Women face complex challenges at each stage. Experience has shown that a number of these challenges can be overcome by implementing strategies. So, what are these strategies?

#### **Describe your own experience (constraints and opportunities) in the following topics:**

- Campaign organisation – committee structure, staffing and accountability
- Research – information on election rules, past voting patterns, issues of concern to voters, your opponents (competitors)
- Money – budget and fundraising (money, time and people: volunteers, family) what were women MPs' experiences in fundraising? What were the major challenges and how were these overcome?
- Profile building – how will you let voters know who you are
- Targeting – Identifying voters who need to be persuaded
- Message – what will you say to win over voters, especially undecided voters
- Delivery of your message – media and direct voter contact strategies
- Votes on Election day- getting out your vote, observing voting and counting and ensuring security for yourself and your votes
- What strategies and lessons can be learned?
- Advice for women campaigners

## Focus group discussions

### *Purpose*

To get a counter-perspective; understand the general public perceptions of candidates and their attitudes towards women in elected office; what the citizens are looking for in a credible candidate. Focus groups will be conducted in five provinces and will include local civil society organizations, community leaders, as well as women's groups in PCs. The discussions of the focus groups will be complemented by meetings with women in parliament and PCs.

- What is the public's view of women candidates?
- What affects the choices of voters, especially with regard to women candidates?
- What image is the citizens looking for in a credible candidate for the council?
- Are there any advantages to being a woman candidate and what are they?
- What are the challenges facing women who run for seats in parliament?
- What mechanisms can women candidates use to combat those challenges? and
- How can men support her?

## Semi-structured interviews with women parliamentarians

### *Purpose*

To understand the challenges they face in their nomination and their candidacy; how they overcame them; what interventions are still needed to enhance women's political participation in life; what works best.

Name:

Social Status:

Educational Level:

Political Affiliation and Social Engagement previous and current

### **1. What obstacles did you face when you ran for Parliament and how to overcome it?**

Rank each problem according to its importance to you.

(1) is the most problematic, (2) medium problematic and (3) least problematic.

Constraints	1	2	3	Justification for rank	How to overcome it
<p>Personal challenges relating to women's skills and capacities, such as formulating policies, developing strategies, networking, connecting with the electorate, and other requirements of candidacy for public office.</p>					
<p>Socio-cultural challenges, such as stereotyping of women, gender bias, conservative traditions and myths about religion, people accepting that women's leadership will never be successful, or that local council membership is already divided among the families and no one can venture to interfere.</p>					
<p>Structural and bureaucratic challenges and low participation of women in institutions: – gender biases are pervasive in Iraq's institutions and judicial and executive authorities in the state and electoral systems. There is also the influence of money in politics and reluctance of ministries to disclose information.</p>					
<p>Election violence and intimidations by the family or society in addition to the threats by competitors/opponents.</p>					
<p>Political legal Iraq's current political landscape is shaped by several conflicts and civil unrest. Women as an essential part of this society that has been marginalized and excluded, have to face these ongoing political obstacles and vulnerabilities for their participation in political and electoral processes and are hence reluctant to participate.</p>					

Personal ideology and psychological from early childhood, Iraqi women have to believe that they are inferior to men. This indoctrination continues even among educated professionals. Accordingly, she refrains from running for the council for fear of damaging her reputation.					
Others					

## 2. Were there any factors supporting you in your candidacy? And what were they?

## 3. Interventions that are still required to promote women's participation in public life and to promote women's political participation.

Rank the following items according to their importance to you:

1. highly important 2. of medium importance 3. least important

Good practice and strategy	1	2	3
Initiate platforms between UN agencies			
Build women's political capacities by integrating them into political party and strengthen their positions within the upper party structures			
Support the institutionalization of an independent body such as the Human Rights Commission based on Article 108, and with a structure and budget to build women's political capacities			
Promote the establishment of a special NGO for women parliamentarians			
Support an observatory for women's situation at women's institutions			
Promote South experience or Arab-Arab dialogue or international Parliaments			
Create online platform on Facebook			
Provide data base on who does what			
Other			

**Semi-structured interviews with female candidates in PCs**

PC members are asked to identify common challenges that hinder the electability of women in their own right, rather than to fulfil the women’s quota seats and to examine the challenges these women faced in their previous candidacy, new constraints they may face in the next (2020) elections, and the type of skills-strengthening and knowledge or information and support they require to meet their challenges

Name:

Social Status:

Educational Level:

Political affiliation and social engagement previous and current

**What obstacles did you face when you ran for Parliament? And how to overcome them?**

Rank each problem according to its importance to you.

1. the most problematic, 2. medium problematic, and 3. least problematic.

Constraints	1	2	3	Justification for rank	How to overcome it
Personal challenges relating to women’s skills and capacities, such as formulating policies, developing strategies, networking, connecting with the electorate, and other requirements of candidacy for public office.					
Socio-cultural challenges, such as stereotyping of women, gender bias, conservative traditions and myths about religion, people accepting women’s leadership will never be able to succeed. Local council membership is already divided among the families and no one can venture to interfere.					

Structural and bureaucratic challenges and low participation of women in Institutions: – gender biases are pervasive in Iraq’s institutions and judicial and executive authorities in the state and electoral systems. There is also the influence of money in politics and reluctance of ministries to disclose information.					
Election violence and intimidations by the family or society in addition to threats by the opponents/competitors.					
Political/legal: Iraq’s current political landscape is shaped by several conflicts and civil unrest. Women as an essential part of this society that has nevertheless been marginalized and excluded, have to face these ongoing political obstacles and vulnerabilities for their participation in political and electoral processes and are hence reluctant to participate.					
Personal ideology and psychological: From early childhood, Iraqi women have to believe that they are subordinate to men. This indoctrination continues even among educated professionals. Accordingly, she refrains from running for the council for fear of damaging her reputation.					
Others					

#### 4. What do you need to enhance your skills and qualify for election?

The findings of the desk review on literature of Iraqi women parliamentarians and parliamentarians in the region have revealed that there are many needs expressed for future training opportunities and areas where they need to improve and enrich their skill.

Rank the following items according to Importance:

1. Most important 2. medium important 3. least important

### Skills needed with priority

Themes for skills	High	Medium	Low
Negotiation and communication			
Formulation of policies and implementation of practical strategies			
Use of media to facilitate the work of the Council			
Mobilization and Advocacy			
Perseverance, self-confidence, commitment, affirmation, presence and prominence, and exploitation of opportunities			
Building multi leadership skills and self-confidence to assume leadership roles in their families, communities and public life			
Mobilization, alliance-building and strategic planning			
Conflict management and resolution			
Fund-raising and strategic management of campaign resources			
Other			

### Knowledge and information needed with priority

Needs of Knowledge and Information	High	Medium	Low
Iraqi Constitution, internal regulations, parliamentary procedures and constitutional guarantees for women			
Background on pending legislation			
Relationships/communication with voters			
Regional constitutions and international laws on women's issues and human rights			
International Conventions: CEDAW, Security Council Resolution 1325			
Background on Iraq's relationship with neighbouring countries and international treaties			
Activities and roles of committees			
Other			

### Mechanisms needed for encouragement and support with priority

Mechanisms	High	Medium	Low
Continuous training in communication and ongoing practice to gain confidence in public speaking, participating in political parties and meetings, and speaking convincingly in their families.			
Provide a campaign guide to help understand the political environment, (improve the formulation of the personal profile, support women psychologically, increase self-confidence improve time management, target voters, and recruit volunteers).			
Exchange of International information by reaching out to International organizations.			
Discuss prominent issues in the media.			
Other			

### Actions needed to expand Communication and learn from others

Themes	High	Medium	Low
Increase contact with the grass roots and ensure communication with civil society and NGOs			
Form alliances and build relationships with government officials			
Inclusion of men and women in working groups to train them in implementation of financially successful campaigns			
Encourage women to share their experiences and advice including with voters to keep them informed about the contribution they can make to politics			
Work with parties on their internal reform and encourage forming partnerships between parties, parliaments, blocs or women's organizations			
Document models of successful female parliamentarians to help other candidates build confidence			
Develop a regional electronic network			
Other			



## Annex II. Case studies: In their own words

### A. First case study of a successful female parliamentarian: the case from Nenawa Governorate

Mahasin Hamdoun Hamed

Social status: Married

Educational Status: Bachelor's in management and economy

Age: 62

Elected to two terms of parliament and twice won without quota

Political Affiliation: independent/Iraqi Forces Alliance Bloc

- There are three stages of the election campaign: – 1. the stage of deciding to run, 2. winning the nomination of my party, 3. and running an election campaign. Women face complex challenges at each stage. Experience has shown that a number of these challenges can be overcome by implementing strategies. So, what are these strategies?

I was enrolled in three sessions already. The first two were in the PC and the third one the Parliament. Thus, the decision was not difficult as I have enough funding and I get support through my relationships. I also did not face many challenges. The biggest challenge, however, was to choose the largest, most influential and most honest Bloc, who also respect women's rights and thank God in all my choices I was right. During the election time I worked very hard, consulting some media advisors to make the election campaign the most effective in order to reach social media sites, as well as marginalized groups and women. The support contracts and permanent job, for which I had earlier invested a lot of effort, were one of my assets as they had left a great impact and helped created opportunities for many successes in Mosul society.

#### **Describe your own experience (constraints and opportunities) in the following topics:**

- **Campaign organisation – committee structure, staffing and accountability**

I opened a special office in Nenawa province, appointed a director for the office and media and administration director and with them I started the election campaign with a well-thought-out strategy. I developed a special plan for each day and started with the team to promote the election campaign. Because I had acquired a good reputation from previous service in elected office, I was welcomed by voters.

- **Research –information on election rules, past voting patterns, issues of concern to voters, your opposition**

Through my team and my wide relationship networks, I knew all the rules of the election. I put in every polling station someone to watch the number of votes so that my votes don't get stolen, and I've been studying the needs of every district and area, and knew the most important need and worked to provide it. If there was a need for a service, I facilitated it through a service agency. If it was a financial need, then I linked them to civil society organizations and coordinated the work between them. I did not face many opponents because of my good reputation and in case of any opposition I did not oppose him but rather let them see my work so as to be convinced.

**• Money – budget and fundraising (money, time and people volunteers, family) what were women MPs' experiences in fundraising? What were the major challenges and how were these overcome?**

In terms of money, I was financially empowered through my two previous sessions as a member of the Nenawa PC, and also from the first session in parliament. I was able to raise a large sum for the nomination again, as my first priority was always for political work. All this demanded great effort and also much time on my side, as I was devoting the majority of my time to this. This has also affected my wellbeing and that of my family. For two months I did not rest at all and I was not alone as my husband was with me because he was my office manager. Of course, I was working with great confidence because my family, meaning my husband and immediate family were always supportive of me. Because of my history and my political work and the support for the job contracts in 2008, people had great confidence and backed me because I had left a mark through my humanitarian and political work. I used to work day and night to serve people, the needy and the sick, and I have adopted many families in order to help them financially as much as possible. People approve of me because I never gave false promises but worked transparently.

**• Profile building – how will you let voters know who you are?**

I am a middle-class woman from a well-known family, a real native of Musil, working to serve Iraq in general, and Nenawa in particular, I love my countrymen and I love to serve, I work for a better tomorrow, I left a big footprint in Nenawa province and I help the needy. I do not give promises to anyone, especially promises that I cannot fulfil.

**• Targeting – identifying voters who need to be persuaded**

From my modest point of view, I need to convince everyone, all segments of society, because I believe in all abilities, and support them in the future. I targeted youth groups because they are the backbone of the country, as well as the marginalized classes that need help.

**• Message – what will you say to win over voters, especially undecided voters?**

My message is honesty and transparency in working with others and I work in partnership with people to fix defects in state agencies and legislate laws for the benefit of the public. I don't target the hesitant people, and I don't try to convince them at all, I leave the person all the freedom to choose the right candidate, but I let my work convince them to believe in me.

**• Delivery of your message – media and direct voter contact strategies**

I delivered my messages through my office manager who was organizing all the meetings with voters in villages through a well-thought-out plan before moving on. I also knew the target group and how to meet their needs. I was keen to publish all the meetings through my website because I believe that 22 per cent of the communication service is important in promoting and marketing my campaign.

**• Votes on Election day – getting out the vote, observing voting and counting and ensuring security of yourself and your votes**

In the first session, I was in direct contact with the Commission (IHEC) to know how many votes I got. But in the current session, although according to the scores, I was the first one who got votes in the list, as I was also in contact with the Commission. They however were not cooperative with me and this is what happened with the majority of female candidates because they are the weakest members of the political process.

**• What strategies and lessons can be learned?**

To be more careful in dealing with politicians as they are the first target of defamation and bullying and hence I have to deal with great wisdom and deliberate plans; to leave aside material gain and instead focus on serving the community, as it will have a very big impact on society and be of benefit to all.

- **Advice for women campaigners**

Prepare a well-thought-out strategic plan to start the campaign and stay away from random and haphazard work. Select a bloc that respects women's rights and will give them the opportunity to hold an effective position and work with integrity. When you win, work on legislation that serves women.

## **B. Second case study of successful female parliamentarians: the case from Baghdad Governorate**

Educational Status: – Ph.D. Business management and accounting

Age: 60

Political affiliation and community activity: Independent (Sadrist Movement- Al-Ahrar-Sa'iroun)

Previous work: University Professor at Mustansiriyah University – Head of Business Administration Department

She was also Head of the Quality and Performance department at the University. Member of the Supreme Council for Quality in the Ministry of Higher Education and is one of the founders of Quality Assurance in the Ministry of Higher Education.

- There are three stages of the election campaign: – 1. the stage of deciding to run, 2. winning the nomination of my party, 3. and running an election campaign. Women face complex challenges at each stage. Experience has shown that a number of these challenges can be overcome by implementing strategies. So, what are these strategies?

First of all, I must clarify who suggested nomination to me: – One of the employees who was with me at the university suggested that I nominate myself and he was a resident of Sadr City, where the majority are members of the Sadr movement. The employee informed me that Mr. Muqtada al-Sadr prefers independent academic figures and holders of higher degrees, and indeed I was nominated and won. I was the only one that Mr. Muqtada allowed to run, unlike all those who participated in the previous elections, because of my integrity, and my good knowledge of my work and my role within parliament, and I have no accusations of corruption, and not only that, but I headed the list in Baghdad. I was able to get 55,251 votes without anyone's help. At the beginning of my candidacy, the voters were from the university community, and after being known for my courage and professionalism, I was able to win the confidence of the Iraqi street to get a number of votes comparable to large numbers of men, especially as I am a candidate from Baghdad, and the voters are in Baghdad.

### **Describe your own experience (constraints and opportunities) in the following topics:**

- **Campaign organisation – committee structure, staffing and accountability**

In relation to the election campaign I had previous experience because this was not the first session; I contacted the head of the campaign and placed in each region someone who represents me. In addition to doing two to three seminars a week, sometimes I went to their homes and explained to them my electoral program and chose simple language that is in line with the awareness and understanding of the voters. My initial audience was intellectuals and academics but then I began to cover other groups, including less educated ones. I had to take this issue into consideration and simplify my speech, and they called me the lady of numbers.

- **Research – information on election rules, past voting patterns, issues of concern to voters, your opposition**

I'm going to start with issues that are of interest to the voters because I think this is one of the keys to winning the election. As I mentioned earlier, we have to take care of the issues that the citizen needs, and I was focusing on my speciality only in the things that I have knowledge about. I also had people in the regions who provided me with information on the needs of each region and in numbers. I had some people representing me in the polling stations.

- **Money – budget and fundraising (money, time and people volunteers, family) – what were women MPs' experiences in fundraising? What were the major challenges and how were these overcome?**

At the beginning I suffered a lot from the issue of financing, and it was entirely out of my own money, unfortunately there are no companies or sectors supporting the candidates, as they do outside Iraq. And no matter how much money I have, it will not match the money that the parties have. For example they were renting the roofs of the buildings (for their advertising) while I was looking for a small place to put my picture, and although I am the head of my list, I can't compare myself to the other heads of the lists who were competing with me in Baghdad. They were former prime ministers and they had great financial resources. That's why I distributed my photos only in areas where I thought I could win. As for the party, they supported me with only 80 small pictures, and after the election I knew that there are companies and businessmen supporting candidates, but they expect those candidates to support them after they win the election, which is not acceptable.

- **Profile building – how will you let voters know who you are**

I made a short film about me and put it on my own Facebook page, because I wanted to address all segments of society including illiterate people as they look at Facebook and watch the videos, in addition to a printed profile that is also distributed to other groups.

- **Targeting – identifying voters who need to be persuaded**

I hope to reach everyone in society and convince them. My audience began to change. After it was entirely academics and intellectuals, it started to include other classes, but unfortunately, I feel that the majority of women still do not give their vote to women, because women have become an enemy of women. I find my encouragement in the youth category, and they have confidence in me as a candidate.

- **Message – what will you say to win over voters, especially undecided voters**

My message to voters is that I am one of them. My message is honesty in my words with them; I do not promise them anything that I cannot do or is not part of my work as a deputy. In the last election I had completed a number of housing projects in the neighbourhood of El Rahma, and then through legislation I helped poor people own homes. It is through that act that I managed to win large numbers of votes.

- **Delivery of your message – media and direct voter contact strategies**

I was appearing in the media whenever necessary, and I was talking about things that are within my specialty and my work and I always advise the candidates to talk about what they know, also I think that media appearances should be thoughtful; distraction and appearing a lot is sometimes a double-edged weapon. There were pre-election TV shows hosting candidates but not all of them are good or serve the candidate as they sometimes do not give candidates the same opportunity and time to talk about themselves. I think if the candidate is nominated for the first time, they should make a film about themselves in order to avoid confusion, shyness and hesitation sometimes.

- **Votes on Election day – getting out your vote, observing voting and counting and ensuring security of yourself and your votes**

This is a very important period. For example, we used to provide 50 people to be observers and distribute them to the polling stations, but unfortunately these people lacked training. Going to the polling stations is also problematic because some voters have no financial capacity to go or sometimes they suffer from disability. This is also money that we spend, to ensure that our voters get to the polling stations easily. I have my team that monitors and counts the votes, and the Bloc also has its own team.

- **What strategies and lessons can be learned?**

Nobody should venture into the election game without having capabilities and patience, and they must also have a program that is clear and can be implemented, and the candidate must be confident that her party agrees to this program. A study needs to be undertaken to assess the priorities of the voters. We live in a changing world what is needed now is not the same as what was needed yesterday; every candidate must be aware of this.

- **Advice for women campaigners**

The candidate must know that when she goes through this experience and enters this arena, she will face a big challenge, which is her family and their custody, as her work will have a big impact on her personal life. She has to be conscious and ready for it. She must develop her capabilities, speak in line with her specialty and not distract herself. Honesty and again honesty with the voter, no promises that can't be fulfilled. A lot of people ran for the election and got large numbers of votes, but then their support dwindled in later elections.

**Other**

I hope that there will be female candidates for parliament who develop their capabilities before they win and become a deputy. The candidate, later deputy, must review the constitution, national laws, and international conventions, and know the history of her country. I also hope that the way the images are displayed for the female candidates are not as the ones existing now, and I hope that we will see the experiences of other countries and have alternatives.