Project Context: While the historic number of female candidates in the May 2018 general elections seemed like a promising development in Lebanese women's political participation, the failure of these candidates to get elected has been linked directly to a lack of institutional encouragement and an absence of structural changes within the government. There is potential for change, however, with results from large-scale surveys ARK carried out in May 2018 to understand voting patterns and motivations, demonstrating that there is support – at least in principle – for female candidates, with 29% of respondents saying they would be more likely to vote for a female candidate (17% of men and 41% of women) while 46% said gender made no difference in their decision making (55% men and 36% women). Only a quarter said they would be less likely to vote for women.

Key Barriers to Women's Participation
Patriarchal Norms: Politics in Lebanon continues to be viewed by many as a man's preserve. Men dominate mainstream political party lists, the primary route for candidates to get elected to parliament or municipal councils. Establishment parties for the most part only paid lip service to the need to increase the number of women candidates on their lists, despite encouragement from local and international bodies. Most women therefore ran as independents in the last election or aligned themselves with new, small-scale groups, with limited support bases.

Absence of female quotas: The Kataeb party has already introduced a bill to Parliament proposing a 1/3 gender quota for parliamentary seats, but it has not been adopted. Again, ARK survey data from May 2018 demonstrated that there is majority support in the country for a gender quota, with 77% of people polled stating that a quota for female candidates would be somewhat or very appropriate. With only 9% of female candidates in the May 2018 election nominated by establishment political parties, a gender quota is likely the most realistic way to increase the number of women in Parliament and compel political parties to nominate more women, particularly given that dismantling Lebanon's patriarchal structure will realistically be a generational change.

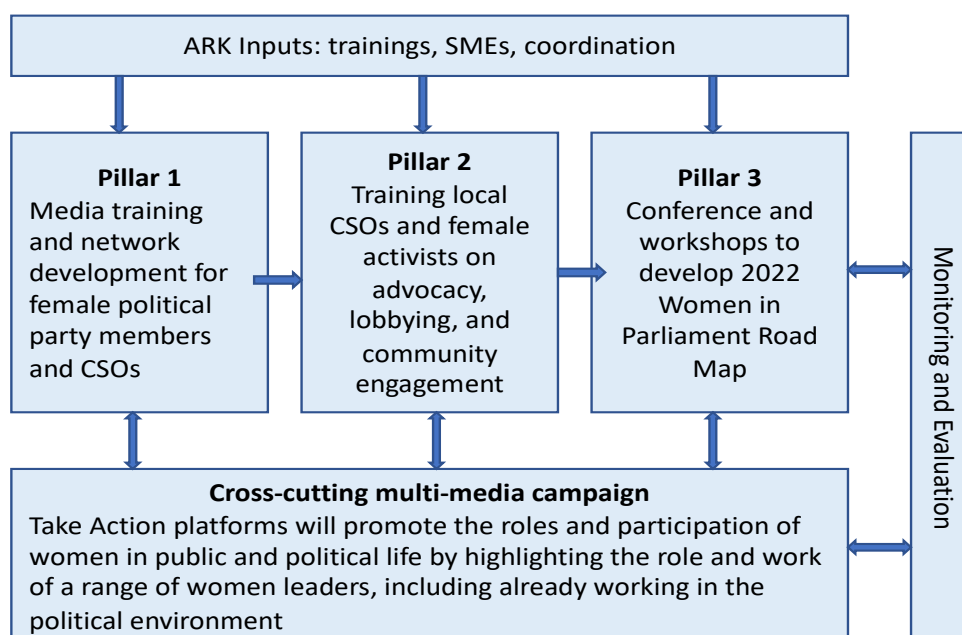**Overall approach and methodology to fulfilling requirements**
To address these issues, HMG is looking for a project to support organisations whose work focuses on gender issues, and enhance their impact in promoting female political leadership and their voices in decision-making. ARK's approach will be to: campaign to change perceptions of political parties and the electorate that politics is a male domain; highlight the prominent decision-making roles women already play in public life to normalise the image of women in politics; and lobby for a gender quota (or other effective reform) for the 2022 elections.

ARK will take a three-pronged approach to implementation of this project:

Pillar 1: Provide social media and media engagement capacity building to CSOs, women in political parties, municipalities, and former candidates, supporting the development of a networked media campaign.

Pillar 2: Provide advocacy and outreach training to local CSOs to enable them to advocate on behalf of women's issues at municipality level.

Pillar 3: Host a conference and workshops to develop a coalition of traditional and non-traditional political actors to develop a Road Map for Women in Parliament 2022, that provides concrete steps to open the Lebanese polity to effective women's participation and representation.

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│           ARK Inputs: trainings, SMEs, coordination                   │
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Pillar 1 Media training and network development for female political party members and CSOs	Pillar 2 Training local CSOs and female activists on advocacy, lobbying, and community engagement	Pillar 3 Conference and workshops to develop 2022 Women in Parliament Road Map	Monitoring and Evaluation

Cross-cutting multi-media campaign
Take Action platforms will promote the roles and participation of women in public and political life by highlighting the role and work of a range of women leaders, including already working in the political environment

The three pillars of activity will be accompanied by a supporting multi-media campaign that will increase awareness of all activities.

Beneficiary groups you have selected to work with and why:
Primary beneficiary groups that ARK has selected to work with are gender and politically-focused CSOs (full details are in 3.1 Relationship Management) to increase their impact in promoting female political leadership and their voices in decision-making. Given that a lack of coherence and coordination in campaigning for female candidates and advocating for female lists and quotas in the May 2018 elections have been highlighted by a number of groups and stakeholders ARK consulted with while developing this proposal, ARK and its partners will use an intensive period of communications and advocacy training and capacity building to establish networks between these CSOs, which will then be formalised through the development of a Road Map and the establishment of a Coalition (see Pillar 3 below for detail). These will include the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections (LADE), the Lebanese Democratic Gathering Organisation (RDFL), Lebanese Transparency Organisation, the Social Media Exchange, VVIP Women in Power, ABAAD (Dimensions)-Resource Center For Gender Equality, Women to Women Success, Way Women, Elias Moukheiber Institute for Lebanon, Youth Network for Civic Activism, Nasawiya, the AKKAR Network for Development and the Women's Association of Deir Al Ahmar.

Given the limited timeframe for the implementation of the majority of this project, ARK and its partners will also work with female members of political parties, municipalities and former candidates to increase their public profile as part of this project's work to normalise women's engagement in politics. For this pilot project, we have initially selected to work with three parties which present a cross section of the Lebanese political scene, both in terms of confessional representation as well as their stated commitment and approach to women's participation. Our team has existing relationships with all of the parties and proposed beneficiaries listed here.

Future Movement (Sunni): While the Future Movement managed to get two women MPs from their list elected, they have not provided support for a women's quota to date. The party does however

have an active political bureau with seven women in it, and ARK's proposed Project Manager has existing relations with them.

Progress Party (Druze): While this party would be expected to provide vocal support to women given its ideology, there was no mention of this in elections. The party's women members have stated that they are committed to improving its stance on this.

Kataeb (Christian): Kataeb is one of the more progressive parties on the subject of women's participation, having submitted the bill for a women's quota as well as putting a number of women candidates on its list. It also has a number of competent women's activists within the party who ARK will look to work with, particularly Lara Saadeh.

Additionally, ARK will provide social media and outreach training to a number of independent female candidates who ran in the May 2018 elections, including those from the AKKAR women's candidate list, Kulluna Watani, Libadi among others.

> If this project is extended, ARK would look to work with the Amal party (Shia), which made no reference to gender in its election campaign but has previously succeeded in getting women elected three times and currently has a female MP, as well as the Lebanese Forces (Christian), which is currently seen as one of the only parties that does not put barriers in the way for women's participation within the party, enabling women to be selected from inside the party for candidate lists.

Key Partners

ARK will work with the following organisations as key partners on this project:

FE-MALE – founded in 2012, the group focuses on empowering women through traditional and social media, combating stereotypes and promoting women's rights. In 2016, it created a national network to change the image of women in media and advertising, which included the National Media Council, Research and Training for Development Action, Loyak Association, KAFA Association, Lebanese Women's Club and the Lebanese Council of Women. This project will build on FE-MALE existing networking and the group will provide technical expertise, consulting services and capacity building to other CSOs and individuals.

PCDD Partnership Center for Development and Democracy (PCDD) - a pioneering group in organising and implementing campaigns in the fields of advocacy and elections for individuals and organisations in Lebanon and the MENA region. ARK will use its technical expertise, consulting services and capacity building to work with local level CSOs.

The Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World (IWSAW) - a leading institution in research to promote the advancement of women and gender equality in the Arab world, IWSAW will provide research, capacity building, conference organising and convening support.

Planned approach and proposed activities to meet programme objectives:
Pillar 1: Social media training and networking for CSOs, female political party and municipality members.
Campaign development: As part of its objective to change perceptions that politics is a male domain and to normalise women's participation in politics, ARK will work with and through its partner FE-MALE to provide social media training to CSOs to enable them to message more effectively around women's participation, running workshops to brainstorm ideas for nationwide campaigns that can be jointly implemented by a range of CSOs, activists and influencers using a shared brand, emphasising that a collective, coordinated approach is key.

Branding: ARK and FE-MALE will also provide female political party, municipality members and former candidates with a variety of social media trainings and ongoing support to start and/or manage personal social media pages aimed at developing and promoting their personal 'brands' as credible political interlocutors.

Public Speaking and Media Engagement: The team will also provide both groups with public speaking and media engagement training, with the aim of identifying and promoting additional credible women's voices in political discussions. ARK's well-connected communications team will ensure that the most promising beneficiaries are connected to local media stations and well-known television presenters and hosts to enable them use and hone their presentation and debating skills, and establish themselves as credible talking heads in political debates. Currently, a very limited number of women are invited to discuss politics in the Lebanese media, and one key outcome of this project will be to increase this number, normalising women's participation in these activities and emphasising the project's key messages.

Networking with Key Influencers: The team will also identify female and male social media influencers who have demonstrated an interest in women's rights or related political issues and bring them together with CSOs and individual beneficiaries to establish a network that can promote positive discussion around female participation and women's rights. By working with existing influencers, this will bring the debate into the mainstream, moving the discussion beyond those who are already convinced of the need for greater women's participation and increasing visibility of the positive rationale for greater women's inclusion in politics. Bringing CSO and individual beneficiaries together, and linking them to individuals already operating effectively in the social and traditional media space, will provide support and leverage for activities and messaging.

Pillar 2: Training local CSOs and female activists on advocacy and lobbying
ARK and PCDD will focus on training women's focused-CSOs and female activists on advocacy and lobbying with the specific aim of influencing local municipal governments on gender-related issues – for example, the need to provide better street lighting in certain areas to increase women's safety and security at night, thereby increasing their ability to attend evening meetings (given that the majority of politically-related meetings take place in the evening). By taking a highly-localised approach, rather than trying to solve national-level issues through this pilot project, this will enable a realistic understanding of the tactical barriers to female participation in political life (including the lack of childcare available to attend meetings, the scheduling of meetings at anti-social hours, etc.) and the ability to determine ways to address these at the local level which can then be replicated both in other municipalities, and at the national level. As one specific example, ARK proposes working with a municipality in Akkar, given that this is where the only women-only list during the parliamentary elections ran. For this, ARK will partner with the Akkar Network for Development, as well as with additional women-focused CSO partners.

Pillar 3: Conference and workshops to develop 2022 Women in Parliament Road Map
ARK will work with PCDD, FE-MALE and ISWAW throughout October and November to organise a larges-cale conference in mid-December that will bring together all project participants and beneficiaries, male party representatives, additional stakeholders and international delegates who have worked successfully on increasing women's participation in other locations. ARK proposes a three-day event which will consist of one-day of speakers identifying the challenges to participation and providing best practice and lessons learnt from other countries which will help to overcome these in the Lebanese context. Presentations will be delivered in a TED Talk style, filmed and placed online (on the Take Action site initially (see below) and then shared across all social media sites related to the project to maximise their reach). This will be followed by a one-and-a-half-day workshop, splitting attendees into smaller groups to develop a top-level Road Map for gender inclusion in the 2022 elections. The final afternoon would see the presentation of the draft Road Map to attendees. The project team will use the workshop event to develop the existing network (established in Pillar 1) into a broader, formalised coalition through which participants will be able continue to refine and implement the steps included in the Road Map, The project team will use the final three months of the project to establish the Coalition, develop coordination mechanisms, carry out consultations on

the Road Map and provide a Recommendations and Next Steps document relating to its ongoing implementation.

Cross-Cutting Awareness Raising Multi-Media Campaign
Combined with these activities, ARK will reactivate the Take Action brand (developed on behalf of CSSF to explain changes in the electoral law and encourage first time voters in the May 2018 elections) and use this to run a multi-media on and offline awareness raising and advocacy campaign promoting the project's goal. This campaign will promote the participation of women in public and political life by highlighting the roles they already play and the work of a range of women leaders. It will build on the existing audience developed during the electoral campaign and will build widespread support for existing female leaders in politics, with this transitioning into support and positive social pressure – from both women and men - for an increase in women's participation in political debate and for female political leaders. The Take Action brand may also be supporting other, complementary UK and US-funded public accountability work. Using the brand as an umbrella for multiple interventions provides value for money for all projects, expanding audiences and growing reach locally and nationally.

The dedicated campaign for this project will include a range of multi-media activities including weekly voxpops, where people in different locations respond to the same question (all of which will relate in some way to women's engagement in political life) which will be published on the Take Action page and shared with other aligned sites (including influencers and the personal pages created as part of Pillar 1). It will also include short viral videos documenting success stories of Lebanese women in parliament and key government roles through history, as well as profiles about women leaders in the field of business, education, and NGOs. As ever, ARK's campaign approach will include an emphasis on the use of humour in outputs, enabling challenging issues to be raised in a non-threatening manner and encouraging extensive engagement with posts as well as re-sharing of content. The campaign will also include a song[1] with accompanying high-end video clip composed and performed by up and coming pro-feminist Lebanese artists, as well as a range of products (bags, t-shirts, etc) that will carry the Take Action brand combined with the project hashtag, capitalising on Lebanese designers becoming increasingly politically engaged.

Inclusion of all segments of the community, including the needs to consider how males will be affected by the implementation of such a project and how to include persons with special needs.
As with all its programming, ARK will take a gender mainstreaming approach to implementing this project, ensuring that both women and men's needs and opinions in relation to this project are considered and factored into programming. This is critical in this case, given that women are looking to engage and challenge a highly patriarchal system which will need men to adjust their preconceptions and acceptance of the status quo just as much, if not more, than women. Male views and participation are seen as critical and will be factored into all aspects of this project. Incorporating male partners and influencers will help to measure the social dynamics around women's political participation from a male perspective, and understand the challenges and arguments that are used to support or oppose this. Male partners and influencers will also be able to help in reaching out to groups and platforms that would not otherwise be involved in this type of project. ARK will also work with the Lebanese Union for People with Physical Disabilities as one of the beneficiary CSOs on this project to ensure that people with disabilities and special needs are adequately included on this project. The project's advocacy SME, Lina Alameddine, is also an advocate for marginalised groups and inclusive democracy, and successfully influenced the Jordanian electoral process in 2010 to include citizens with disabilities, previously excluded from voting.

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[1] Similar to the popular "3al Jamal bi wasat Beirut" which saw two young women ride camels through central Beirut.