



Introduction: Gender and judging in the Middle East and Africa

OÑATI SOCIO-LEGAL SERIES VOLUME 13, ISSUE 3 (2023), 1036–1048: TEORÍAS CRÍTICAS E INJUSTICIA SOCIAL: DERECHOS HUMANOS EN TIEMPOS DE DEMOCRACIAS DÉBILES Y NEOCAPITALISMOS (WITH A SPECIAL SECTION ABOUT GENDER AND JUDGING IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA)

DOI LINK: [HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.35295/OSLS.IISL.1774](https://doi.org/10.35295/OSLS.IISL.1774)

RECEIVED 18 MAY 2023, ACCEPTED 19 MAY 2023, VERSION OF RECORD PUBLISHED 1 JUNE 2023

MONIKA LINDBEKK* 

RANIA MAKTABI* 

Abstract

Since the turn of the millennium, the appointment of women judges has increased markedly in Africa and the Middle East, along with the social and political influence of courts. The expansion of judicial power worldwide raises important questions about who the judges are and what their role should be. The appointment of women to positions of judicial authority has increased, but this increase is only beginning to be reflected in socio-legal studies. The articles collected in this special issue contribute to the burgeoning empirical comparative literature by approaching the subject matter from two analytical angles: (i) Gendered patterns in judicial selection processes that focus mainly on judicial selection processes and subsequent legal careers; and (ii) Gendered aspects of court practices that shed light on whether and how gender plays into judging practices and experiences at court. The authors in this special volume elaborate on the theme of gender and judging predominantly through one of these two analytical entries with case studies on Tunisia, Ghana, Syria, Kuwait, and the other five oil-rich Gulf monarchies.

Key words

Gender; judging, women and the law; Africa and the Middle East; Ghana; Gulf monarchies; Kuwait; Syria; Tunisia

Resumen

Desde el cambio de milenio, el nombramiento de juezas ha aumentado notablemente en África y Oriente Medio, junto con la influencia social y política de los tribunales. La expansión del poder judicial en todo el mundo plantea importantes cuestiones sobre quiénes son los jueces y cuál debe ser su papel. El nombramiento de

* Post-Doctoral Researcher in law at the University of Southern Denmark. Email address: moli@sam.sdu.dk.

* Associate professor in political science at Østfold University College, Norway. Email address: rania.maktabi@hiof.no

mujeres para puestos de autoridad judicial ha aumentado, pero este incremento sólo está empezando a reflejarse en los estudios socio-jurídicos. Los artículos recogidos en este número especial contribuyen a la floreciente literatura empírica comparativa abordando el tema desde dos ángulos analíticos: (i) Patrones de género en los procesos de selección judicial, que se centran principalmente en los procesos de selección judicial y en las carreras jurídicas posteriores; y (ii) Aspectos de género de las prácticas judiciales, que arrojan luz sobre si el género influye en las prácticas judiciales y en las experiencias en los tribunales, y cómo lo hace. Los autores de este volumen especial desarrollan el tema del género y la judicatura predominantemente a través de una de estas dos entradas analíticas con estudios de caso sobre Túnez, Ghana, Siria, Kuwait y las otras cinco monarquías ricas en petróleo del Golfo.

Palabras clave

Género; juicios, mujeres y derecho; África y Oriente Próximo; Ghana; monarquías del Golfo; Kuwait; Siria; Túnez

Table of contents

1. Gender and judging in the Middle East and Africa: Emerging scholarship and debates	1039
2. Gender and judging: Analytical perspectives	1040
3. Selection processes	1041
3.1. Gulf Monarchies.....	1042
3.2. Kuwait	1042
4. Court practices.....	1042
4.1. Tunisia	1043
4.2. Ghana.....	1044
4.3. Syria	1044
5. Conclusion.....	1045
References.....	1045
Appendix 1: Women in the judiciaries in Arab states.....	1047
Appendix 2: Rough overview over main types of courts in Arab states.....	1048

1. Gender and judging in the Middle East and Africa: Emerging scholarship and debates

The social and political influence of courts has increased in recent decades. The expansion of judicial power worldwide raises important questions about who the judges are and what their role should be. Early scholarship on women judges was coloured by essentialist assumptions about the difference women in positions of power should make. Rather than asking whether women judges offer a different voice, more recent scholarship on law and society theorizes the related notions of diversity on the bench, democratic legitimacy, difference, and representativeness through a gender lens (Kenney 2008, Rackley 2013, Escobar-Lemmon *et al.* 2021).

Since the turn of the millennium, the appointment of women judges has increased markedly in Africa and the Middle East. A major argument used to promote gender balance in the judiciary is grounded in the question of democratic legitimacy. Further, as noted by Sonneveld and Lindbekk (2017, 2) both proponents and opponents of women working as judges argue that women are more empathetic and sensitive than men. While these presumed qualities could be regarded as a strength, they are also used to generate doubt about the suitability of women as judicial authorities and their ability to judge objectively. In Muslim-majority countries of the Middle East, opposition has been reinforced by arguments that the inclusion of women in the judiciary violates Islamic shari'a. A majority of the classical scholars held that women's deficient intellectual and religious capacities made them unfit for a position that involved imposing their decisions on others. Despite domestic opposition, the appointment of women judges in countries with a Muslim majority has been growing over the previous decade and a half. Similarly, several African countries have also witnessed significant strides in terms of women's representation on the bench over the past twenty years.

In the 1990s and 2000s, women in countries as geographically, legally, and politically diverse as Benin, Ghana, Lesotho, Nigeria, and Rwanda have taken on leadership roles as chief justice or president of the constitutional court. Despite domestic opposition, the appointment of women judges in Africa and the Middle East has been growing over the previous decade and a half. Appendix 1 at the end of the introduction shows the presence of women judges in various member states of the Arab League between 2016 – 2018. The overview reveals a wide variation. In some states female judges constitute a significant share of the total number of judges (percentage in brackets), such as in Lebanon (49), Algeria (42), Djibouti (39), Morocco (23), and Jordan (22). In other states, percentages remain low, as is the case in Egypt, Qatar, and Mauritania (1 per cent in each state), Iraq (7) Bahrain (9), and Libya (14).

The upsurge in the number of women judges in some states has only recently been reflected in socio-legal judicial studies. Around 2015, academic publications on women judges in Africa and the Middle East were almost completely lacking before pioneering publications saw light by Dawuni and Kang (2015), Bauer and Dawuni (2016), Dawuni and Kuenyehia (2018) on the judiciary and women judges in Africa, and an edited book by Nadia Sonneveld and Monika Lindbekk (2017) on women judges in the Muslim world. Two field studies carried out by the International Commission of Jurists (2014, 2019) on women in the judiciary in Arab states, have also shed light on an emerging field of study for researchers and practitioners. The corpus body of studies on lawyers, judges,

and the transformation of careers in the legal sphere at the comparative global level have been recently enriched by the collaborative works of Abel *et al.* (2022).

This special section of the *Oñati Socio-Legal Series* is the result of the workshop “Gender and Judging in the Middle East and Africa: Emerging Scholarship and Debates” convened at the premises of the Oñati International Institute for the Sociology of Law in Spain between 4–6 July 2018.¹ The workshop aimed at contributing to the above-mentioned burgeoning literature, and add new aspects to the empirical comparative work by joining forces with Ulrike Schultz, a pioneer in the field of studies on women and law, gender and judging, and women in legal professional careers (Shaw and Schultz 2003, 2013; Schultz *et al.* 2021). The workshop was coordinated by Monika Lindbekk (University of Southern Denmark), Ulrike Schultz (FernUniversität in Hagen, Germany), Josephine Dawuni (Howard University, USA), and Rania Maktabi (Østfold University College, Norway).

By putting together articles about different contexts and jurisdictions in the Middle East and Africa into the conversation, we hope to illuminate the significance of women's participation in judicial decision-making processes at the turn of the millennium through nuanced and empirically saturated analytical approaches.

2. Gender and judging: Analytical perspectives

We look at the subject matter of gender and judging in Africa and the Middle East by distinguishing thematically between two analytical approaches: (i) “Gendered patterns in judicial selection processes” which focus mainly on judicial selection processes and subsequent legal careers; and (ii) “Gendered aspects of court practices” which shed light on whether and how gender plays into judging practices and experiences at court.

Authors in this special volume elaborate on the theme of gender and judging predominantly through one of these two analytical entries. The distinction between selection processes on the one hand, and court practices on the other underscores the time difference in women's entry into the judiciary, as well as on-the-ground experiences in cases adjudicated by women. Importantly, the two entities –selection processes, and court practices– are analytical categories that at times overlap: tensions that arise before women are selected to judicial positions, and the mode in which professional women “make it” to leadership positions in the judiciary, are recognisable and reflected in gendered court practices as well.

Distinguishing between gendered selection patterns and gendered court practices is also fruitful because of the wide variation in timing when women enter the judiciary. Ghana was, for instance, the first African state to appoint a woman judge – Annie Ruth Jiagge– in 1953, while the first woman judge in an independent Arab state was Iraqi Zakia Haqqi who was appointed in 1959.² Since then, women judges have been appointed to the bench in almost all states in Africa and member states of the Arab League. In the following, researchers who participated at the workshop in 2018 and their topic of

¹ For more information on the 2018 workshop, see <https://www.ijsj.net/en/about-ijsj/news/workshop-gender-and-judging-middle-east-and-africa-emerging-scholarship-and-debates>.

² On Iraqi Zakia Haqqi, see International Commission of Jurists 2019. On Ghana, see Asuah-Kwasi (2020).

research are briefly presented before each of the five contributions to this special issue are positioned within the framework of questions and discussed at the workshop.

3. Selection processes

Notwithstanding differences across different geographical and political settings, considerations related to legitimacy and equitable representation through gender justice perspective permeate studies on women's entry into judgeship. When Ulrike Schultz opened the workshop at Oñati in July 2018, she offered an overview on past and present European and international scholarly debates on the topic of gender and judging which were recognisable in the scholarly works by other presenters who covered country cases from Africa and the Middle East, including Mirjam Künkler (University of Bonn, Germany) on Indonesia; Rebecca Badejogbin (University of Cape Town) who joined the discussion via Skype offering an insight on the situation of women in African judiciaries; Tabeth Lynn Masengu (Human Rights Center, Ghent University and University of Cape Town) on Zambian women judges who highlighted the problem of persisting perceptions of illegitimacy towards female judges despite the high number of women sitting in Zambian Courts; Rachel Ellet (Beloit College, USA) who focused on the political debates that surround Zambian and Malawi judicial selection and promotion of female judges; Nijmi Edres (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Germany) on Israel where the first female shari'a judge was appointed in May 2017; Rania Maktabi (Østfold University, Norway) on the entry of women judges in the Gulf monarchies; and Fatima Alhewail (Kuwait University) who explored the case of the appointment of female judges in Kuwait.

Contributions in this volume on Tunisia, Ghana, the Gulf monarchies, and Syria address the role of democratic and non-democratic regimes regarding women's access to the judiciary. Rulers in both democratic and autocratic states recruit women to positions of power for reasons such as a shortage of professionals in administering rulings and securing legitimate social contracts with targeted segments of the population (Maktabi 2018). In Tunisia, Bourghiba's authoritarian regime instigated the promotion of women into the judicial institutions in 1965. This trend has been amplified even more poignantly in the case of Syria. There, the authoritarian Asad government instigated the promotion of women into the judicial institutions under despotic dictatorship during and in the aftermath of the devastating civil war (2011–2016). In the wake of crises, such as in Kuwait following the global Covid pandemic in 2020, women judges and prosecutors have been appointed as adjudicators at higher rates.

The type of legal system (civil versus religious), and level of court (lower versus appellate) may also influence women's appointments to high courts. In civil law systems, entrance into the judicial profession is often through examination, a process that may be less biased against women. In contrast, in common law systems, one needs previous experience and the right connections to become a judge, a process that tends to favour men (Schultz and Shaw 2003, 2013; Bauer and Dawuni 2016). The five contributors to this special issue discuss the appointment of women judges in different types of courts, such as family courts, supreme courts, and special courts, such as

commercial and military courts.³ The 2019 report by the International Commission of Jurists concludes that female judges are predominantly appointed in civil rather than criminal or military courts, and they adjudicate in urban rather than rural areas. Only rarely do female judges sit in religious courts (International Commission of Jurists 2019). These trends are reflected in Kuwait and the other Gulf monarchies, while the Syrian war has seen the inclusion of women in military and counterterrorism courts at a scale not envisioned in the pre-war period.

3.1. Gulf Monarchies

Two contributions in this special issue look at selection processes through empirical studies on the inclusion of women in the judiciary through promotion and appointment of female professionals in the field of law.

Rania Maktabi's article highlights the appointment of women in the Gulf monarchies between 2005–2020. She explores the increase in the number of female lawyers after the turn of the millennium. Maktabi elaborates on how the combination of access to free-of-charge public education in wealthy, albeit conservative societies where Islam is the majority faith has resulted in rising numbers of women in the legal professions. In contemporary Gulf monarchies, women graduates in the field of law have asserted themselves in many ways, ranging from legal mobilization in 2009 to entering positions as public prosecutors and judges in Kuwait and initiating social media campaigns in Saudi Arabia to obtain working licenses as lawyers in 2011. She argues that a combination of factors shed light on why Gulf women have succeeded in obtaining positions as prosecutors and judges in courts: strategic long-term policies of nationalization of the workforce, and femonationalist policies to enlarge their support basis among female citizens (Farris 2017).

3.2. Kuwait

Fatima Alhewail's article on Kuwait explores three questions: (i) how and why have Kuwaiti women been appointed as judges in 2020, more than five decades after women entered the field of law studies in 1967?; (ii) what forms of opposition were voiced in public through the Kuwaiti media against appointing women as judges?; and (iii) which civil society groups supported women's entry into judgeship, and what arguments did they use to counter the arguments of the opposition? The author anticipates that it is a matter of time before still existing obstacles to women judges wane, and Kuwaiti women judges are able to adjudicate family law in family courts which Kuwait established in 2015.

4. Court practices

The second day of the Oñati workshop in 2018 addressed gendered aspects of judging. Discussants addressed the constraints and challenges on the path towards female appointments to judgeship from an historical perspective, the political and theoretical debates that surrounded such appointments, and the impact that they have on local societies in the various contexts under analysis. African case studies were presented by

³ A rough overview over main types of courts in Arab states is rendered in appendix 2 at the end of the article.

Anakech Getnet Ayele (Tilburg University, Netherlands) and Enibokun Uzebu (University of Benin, Nigeria) who discussed gender aspects of judging in Ethiopia and Nigeria; Maaïke Voorhoeve (University of Amsterdam) on Tunisia; Monika Lindbekk (University of Southern Denmark) on Egypt; and Susanne Dahlgren (University of Tampere, Finland) on Yemen; Nahda Shehada (International Institute of Social Studies, The Netherlands) presented a comparative analysis on the sociology of judging in shari'a courts in Gaza and Damascus; and Monique Cardinal (Université Laval, Canada) who outlined the dynamics of empowerment and disempowerment of women judges and prosecutors in Syria since March 2011.

Three empirical studies in this special issue discuss gendered aspects of judging through court practices in Tunisia, Ghana, and Syria. The three states differ on the dimension of political order and stability: Ghana is among the most politically stable states in Africa in terms of absence of violence and conflict since the mid-1990s. In addition to being the first African state that appointed a woman judge, Ghana is also a state where the number of women in judicial leadership position has increased markedly over the past decade. Female judges have taken on leadership roles as chief justice or president of the constitutional court (Dawuni and Kang 2015, Asuah-Kwasi 2020). In Tunisia, women have been appointed to the bench since 1968, and by 2016 women judges constituted around 40 per cent of the judiciary. Tunisia was an authoritarian state between 1956 and 2011 and has been in a modus of political transition since the Arab revolts broke out there in December 2010. Syria has been labelled a failed state after the devastating civil war (2011–2016), and its aftermath which lingers on.⁴

4.1. Tunisia

Vis-à-vis practice, Maaïke Voorhoeve's article "Gender and judging in Tunisia and the Intersections of Penalty and Privilege" questions the assumption that increasing the number of female judges makes the bench representative of society. When thinking in terms of a judiciary containing women judges as being "representative", the question arises as to which women we are referring to. Using the intersectionality grid of "penalty and privilege" proposed by Patricia Hill Collins (2000), she argues that women judges are not just women, making them part of a socially oppressed group; they are also judges, privileged by their social position, their level of education, and their income. At the same time, different women judges may suffer or benefit from different structures of penalty and privilege related to their social background (e.g., level of education and income of their parents), their personal circumstances (e.g., married, children, health, age), and their political affiliations or sympathies.

Focusing on female judges functioning under the Tunisian authoritarian regime of Ben Ali (1987–2011), Voorhoeve's study provides a thick description of how different women bring different experiences to the bench. This study is based on material collected during field research which she carried out from July 2008 to September 2009. During this period, she had access to a family court where she spent her days with two female family

⁴ Of a population that counted around 23 million before 2011, more than 470,000 people are dead, 6.5 million are internally displaced, and 5.6 million are registered as refugees in neighbouring Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan. Syria is decimated, fragmented, and in shatters while Bashar al-Asad's Ba'athist regime has survived (Specia 2018).

judges. Apart from observing their practice in the presence of litigants, she spent much time face to face, where they had small talk or where she asked for clarifications of certain laws, practices, or particular cases. One of her conclusions is that these female judges did not represent women as a homogeneous group; they represented the various social backgrounds, private situations (family, health) and opinions that exist amidst Tunisian women.

4.2. *Ghana*

The impact of women judges in addressing gender-based issues, particularly in Africa, is under-researched, both at the regional and country-specific levels. Lydia A. Nkansah and Maame Efua Addadzi-Koom's article entitled "Women at the Bench: Does it make a difference? Assessing the Impact of Women Judges in Addressing Gender-Based Issues in Ghana". The focus of the study is on spousal property rights of women to jointly acquired property when a marriage ends as a result of divorce or death of a spouse. Ghana's legal system is a common law system. Ghana's judiciary structure has two levels: superior courts and lower courts. According to the authors, the semi-legislative function performed by different courts acquires considerable importance with regard to defining the scope and nature of spousal property.

The study seeks to answer the primary question: Have women at the bench made a difference in addressing spousal property rights in Ghana? In answering this question, a doctrinal analysis of purposively selected cases was conducted, which led to a finding that women judges did not make a difference in developing the law on spousal property rights. Like their male counterparts, women judges could go the extra mile by being more gender-sensitive and gender-responsive. The fact that a judge is female does not automatically render her gender sensitive and responsive, nor does the fact that a judge is male automatically make him insensitive and unresponsive to gender issues. Similar to Voorhoeve, the authors note that a person of the female sex may be detached from the realities of gender dynamics of society because of the environment she grew up in, which may have been more supportive rather than unaccommodating. Nkansah and Addadzi-Koom's study suggests that gender sensitivity and responsiveness on the part of both male and female judges on the bench in Ghana serve to provide women with a more equal and equitable share in the spousal property.

4.3. *Syria*

What could be perceived as the "razzledazzle" around the appointment of women judges in Gulf monarchies after 2011 is, in this volume, counterbalanced by the devastating civil war in Syria following the revolution of 2011, and the observable appointment of women prosecutors and judges during wartime.

Monique Cardinal's article on Syria is a state-of-the-art methodological approach on how a researcher may be able to conduct high-quality research on a sensitive subject under extreme conditions. She unravels how unprecedented number of prosecutions and convictions during and in the aftermath of the Syrian civil war (2011–2016) strained resources of the Ministry of Justice. New courts had to be opened and new personnel appointed to administer them which led to a doubling of the number of public prosecutors in certain courthouses. Before 2011, the number of prosecutors at the main

Damascus courthouse was around 25. By October 2012, their number had increased to 42 prosecutors of 16 were women amounting to almost 40 per cent of prosecutors in the capital.

Cardinal's article outlines the demographics of the judicial corps after ten years of conflict in Syria which reflects an increase in the number of women in the judiciary and their promotion to positions of power. She probes into how women judges and prosecutors have used the authority granted to them and shows how some women use these powers as a means for self-promotion to the advantage of the regime, while others seek to defend the rights of all by obtaining positions of judicial authority.

5. Conclusion

More in-depth comparative qualitative work is needed in democratic and non-democratic states to identify the formal and informal norms that shape how qualifications are defined, who makes it to shortlists, and who is ultimately appointed when it comes to a more equitable representation of men and women in the judiciary. The short-term influence of women judges in Africa and the Middle East and the long-term impact of their inclusion continue to be in the making.

Whilst the workshop aimed to publish a book, the global Covid pandemic hampered our initial ambitions. We are grateful for the excellent editing process of this special volume, patiently and generously administered by Leire Kortabarria at the Oñati International Institute for the Sociology of Law. Monika Lindbekk is currently finalising her work on the adjudication of Muslim family law by Egyptian courts, and she will also share her experiences on women judges in Egypt shortly. Rania Maktabi is finalising a book on female citizenship and reforms in patriarchal state laws, which compares reforms in family law, criminal law, and nationality law between 1995–2020 in two monarchies – Morocco and Kuwait – and two republics – Syria and Lebanon.

As two colleagues who share a passion for the intersection of law, women, courts and politics over the past fifteen years, our next objective is to repeat the wonderful experience at Oñati in July 2018 with a new attempt at convening again there in the not so far future.

References

- Asuah-Kwasi, A., 2020. *On the Steady Path to Gender Balance: The Recent Appointment of Women in Ghana's Supreme Court*. Institute for African Women in Law. Available from: <https://www.africanwomeninlaw.com/post/on-the-steady-path-to-gender-balance-the-recent-appointment-of-women-in-ghana-s-supreme-court>
- Bauer, G., and Dawuni, J., eds., 2016. *Gender and the Judiciary in Africa: From Obscurity to Parity?* Vol. 5. New York: Routledge.
- Collins, P., 2000. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
- Dawuni, J., and Kang, A., 2015. Her Ladyship Chief Justice: The Rise of Female Leaders in the Judiciary in Africa. *Africa Today Magazine*, 62(2), 45.

- Dawuni, J., and Kuenyehia, A., eds., 2018. *International Courts and the African Woman Judge: Unveiled Narratives*. New York: Routledge.
- Escobar-Lemmon, M., et al., 2021. Breaking the Judicial Glass Ceiling: The Appointment of Women to High Courts Worldwide. *The Journal of Politics* [online], 83(2), 662-674. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1086/710017>
- Farris, S., 2017. *In the Name of Women's Rights: The Rise of Femonationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- International Commission of Jurists, 2014. Women and the Judiciary. *Geneva Forum Series* no 1, 1-78.
- International Commission of Jurists, 2019. *Women in the Judiciary in the Arab States: Removing Barriers, Increasing Numbers*. Beirut: United Nations Economic and Social Committee for Western Asia (ESCWA), 1–89.
- Kenney, S., 2008. Thinking about gender and judging. *International Journal of the Legal Profession* [online], 15(1–2), pp. 87–110. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09695950802461837>
- Maktabi, R., 2018. Female Citizenship under Authoritarian Rule in the Middle East: Ba‘thist Syria and Beyond. Review of *Creating Consent in Ba‘thist Syria: Women and Welfare in a Totalitarian State*, Esther Meininghaus. *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*, 9(2), 157-75.
- Rackley, E., 2013. *Women, Judging and the Judiciary: From Difference to Diversity*. New York: Routledge.
- Schultz, U., and Shaw, G., eds., 2003. *Women in the World's Legal Professions*. Oxford: Hart.
- Schultz, U., and Shaw, G., eds., 2013. *Gender and Judging*. Oxford: Hart.
- Schultz, U., et al., eds., 2021. *Gender and Careers in the Legal Academy*. Oxford: Hart.
- Sonneveld, N., and Lindbekk, M., 2017. Introduction. In: N. Sonneveld and M. Lindbekk, eds., *Women Judges in the Muslim World: A Comparative Study of Discourse and Practice*. Leiden: Brill
- Sonneveld, N., and Lindbekk, M., eds., 2017. *Women Judges in the Muslim World: A Comparative Study of Discourse and Practice Vol. 15, Women and Gender*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
- Specia, M., 2018. How Syria's Death Toll Is Lost in the Fog of War. *The New York Times*, 13 April.

Appendix 1: Women in the judiciaries in Arab states

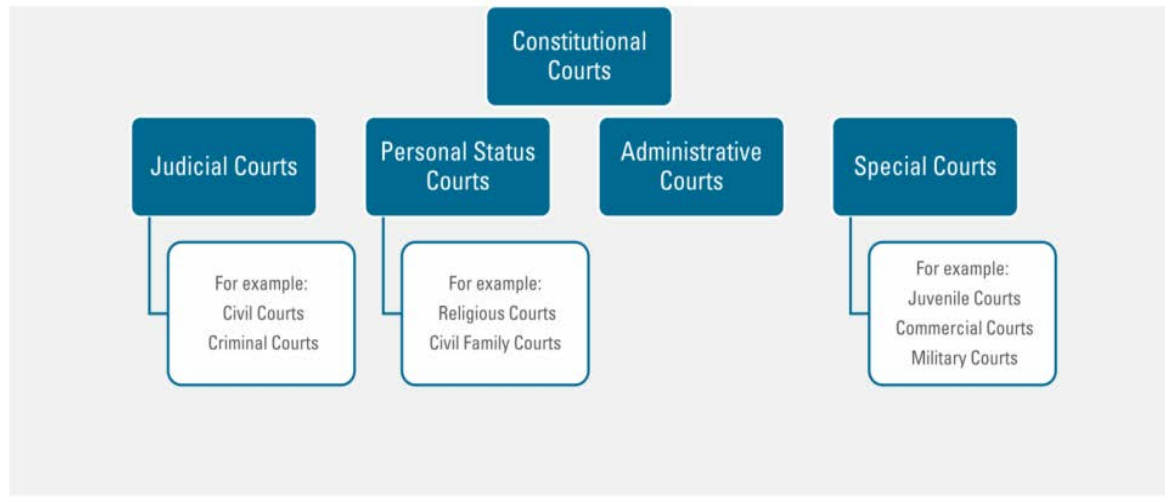
Table 2. Women in the judiciaries of Arab States

Country	Percentage of female judges	Year of data	Note
Algeria	42	2017	
Bahrain	9	2016	7 out of 49 (14.2 per cent) of public prosecutors are female.
The Comoros	8	2005	
Djibouti	38.6	2009	
Egypt	<1	2018	
Iraq	7	2018	
Jordan	22	2018	Women account for 2.7 per cent of public prosecutors.
Kuwait	-	2017	No female judges but there are 22 female deputy prosecutors. Women are also serving in the commercial arbitration structure, but it is not considered within the judiciary.
Lebanon	49.3	2018	Women represent 30 per cent of public prosecutors.
Libya	14	Unknown	The figure excludes the Litigation Authority and Public Defence department, which fall under the umbrella of the judiciary but do not comprise judgeship positions. Women are well represented in both institutions, amounting to 61 per cent and 68 per cent of staff, respectively.
Mauritania	1	2018	
Morocco	23.5	2018	Women account for 16 per cent of public prosecutors.
Oman	-	2017	No female judges, but women account for 20 per cent of public prosecutors.
Qatar	1	2011	

Reference: International Commission of Jurists, *Women in the Judiciary in the Arab States: Removing Barriers, Increasing Numbers*, 2019 p. 26.

Appendix 2: Rough overview over main types of courts in Arab states

Figure 1. Examples of types of courts in the Arab States



Source: The diagram was developed during the Expert Group Meeting on Women in the Judiciary, Beirut, 28-29 November 2018.

Reference: International Commission of Jurists, *Women in the Judiciary in the Arab States: Removing Barriers, Increasing Numbers*, 2019 p. 14