Jordanians' Expectations from the Current 16th (Lower) House of Parliament

A Survey Study

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The CSOs Coalition for Supporting Positive Participation



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Forward

As much as extraordinary as 2010 has been on the political level in Jordan, this year is even more outstanding in this regard; the entire Middle East region has received this new year with the *Jasmine Revolution* in Tunisia and the January 25^{th} Revolution in Egypt – only to be followed by a gigantic wave of popular protests that have very much in common though in different in many details.

Jordan has not been isolated from what is going on in its pan-Arab surroundings; the Jordanian local scene started to ask for reforms in economic, social and political aspects. Jordan and Jordanians have stood out by endowing such protests and claims with a clearly peaceful framework. Until the date this study has been released, no violent incidents were recorded save for one minor case that was immediately addressed.

In light of such activism, the 16^{th} Parliament (Lower House) has become under scrutiny, particularly after being criticized by many political elites for the unprecedented and strangely huge number of MPs who voted positively in favor of the Former Prime Minster Rifai's government during the vote-of-confidence exercise – the government that was shortly after dismissed following a series of popular protests calling upon it to resign. Thus, an impression was made to the effect that some found a gap or rift to be separating the House and MPs from their constituents.

Although the decision to commission this study came before any popular protests and claims have commenced, the popular activism and large-scale criticisms dealt at the House added but another reason to conduct this study, which has been originally prepared right after the parliamentary elections had been held in November of last year.

As we release this study, I would like to express our thanks and gratitude to all who helped bring it to light – particularly our partners

in the CSO/NGO coalition for positive participation and the Phoenix Center for Economic and Information Studies.

I would also like to express our thanks to the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to Jordan for its kind support of the project on "Enhancing Citizen Participation in Political Life" that comes as the framework for this study.

Last but not least, I cannot fail to recognize the huge efforts of the Identity Center staff to render successful this study as well as the project in general – for that I am ever grateful for them all.

Finally, I really hope that this study will serve the purpose and bridge any gaps between the citizens and decision makers through clarifying citizen expectations from the 16th Lower House of Parliament.

Executive Summary

The study on "Jordanians' Expectations from the 16th Parliament/ the House" has been released by the Identity Center for Human Development (IDCHD) as part of the Project to enhance citizen participation in politics; the project is implemented by the IDCHD in collaboration with the CSO Alliance for Positive Participation and with support from the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to Jordan.

This study aims at identifying the Jordanians' expectations from the current 16th (Lower) House of Parliament (The House), the grounds voters have used to support certain candidates and causes that prompted some to boycott the. The study also seeks to define voter attitude vis-à-vis the applicable Election Law, and aims at measuring the extent to which citizens found the elections to be free and fair. The survey also seeks to tap citizen satisfaction levels with the current composition of the House and the list of priorities the MPs should address from the voters' point of view.

Data was gathered from a sample made of 1200 male and female respondents within the age groups of 18 years or older. The sample population was selected using the random cluster stratified sampling method. The data collection process took place during the period 19-24 February, 2011. With a reliability ratio of 95%, it can be said that the margin of sampling error adopted in this study stands at ± 3 percentile points.

Listed below are the key findings of the study:

Voting grounds:

 Service-based causes and motives ranked first among the grounds upon which voters have used to opt for a certain candidate; 79.9% of respondents highlighted service considerations, 52.9% underlined the tribal affiliations and 47.3% decided to opt for political attitudes as the premise for their respective decisions.

- When it comes to depending on a candidate's political attitude as the grounds for support, voters demonstrated various percentages across the governorates; Karak, Jerash, Tafileh and Ajloun ranked this consideration as the highest with 57.8%, 57.6%, 55.6% and 55% respectively whereas Madaba, Mafraq, Amman and Balqa ranked it the lowest among other considerations with 37.8%, 40%, 43.4% and 44.8% respectively.
- Political considerations were also very much prized among graduate degree holders as the prime consideration (75%) whereas it was ranked the lowest among the illiterate (34%); this is quite natural, for the more education one has, the more politicized his/her considerations become. Such an explanation is evident with the respondents who hold a university degree as 61.2% of them selected political consideration as their number one cause for supporting a certain candidate. By contrast, tribally-prompted considerations ranked the lowest with graduate degree holders (37.5%).

Representation of the Majority of Jordanians in the House:

- About 39.3% of Jordanians believe that the current House does not represent the majority of Jordanians; Zarqa citizens were the most conservative segment with reference to this aspect as only 37.3% of them thought that the House is really representative of Jordanians. By contrast, 80% of the sample population in Ajloun believes that the House actually represents the majority of Jordanians.
- The study findings showed that graduate degree holders are the least category in the population that believes that the

House is actually representative of the majority of Jordanians (33.3%).

Level of Satisfaction with the composition of the House:

- In terms of the level of satisfaction with the composition of the current House, the findings of the survey study indicate that 32.9% of Jordanians are either satisfied or very satisfied with the current composition whereas 36.2% of them said they were relatively satisfied while 31% indicated that they were not satisfied.
- Citizens of Zarqa were the least segment that was satisfied with the composition of the House (only 18.5%) whereas the highest percentage was in Ajloun (44.1%).

Level of satisfaction with the House performance:

- With reference to citizen satisfaction with the House performance, 33% of them were either satisfied or very satisfied while 30% indicated that they were not satisfied with the current performance. At the same time, 35.6% stated they were relatively satisfied.
- Respondents with high school degree ranked the highest in terms of expressing their satisfaction with the House performance (36.1%), followed by the literate group (34.9%), community college graduates (32.7%), illiterate (29.9%), graduate degree holders (27.6%) and graduate degree holders (23.8%).
- The findings revealed that there is a discrepancy in the level of satisfaction across governorates; Ajloun ranked the highest with 45%, followed by Jerash (44.1%), Mafraq (43.1%), Tafileh (40%), Madaba (35.6%), Amman (34.6%) and Irbid (32.7%). Governorates that were the least satisfied with the House performance were as follows: Ma'an (27.6%), Zarqa (23.3%), Aqaba (22.2%) and Karak (22%).

Whether or not the current Election Law is in line with the nature of the Jordanian society:

- The findings indicated that 36.2% of Jordanians do not find the current election law to be in line with the nature of the Jordanian society – compared to 16.3% who found it to be otherwise in line while 37.3% thought it was relatively in line with the nature of society.
- The findings also showed that the graduate degree holders adopted the most negative attitude toward the election law as only 5% of this segment said they found the law to be in line with the nature of the Jordanian society; they were followed by community and university graduates (8.3% and 16.6% respectively) while the other segments ranged between 17.6% and 22.4%.
- Findings also uncovered differences among citizen evaluation of the law across the age cohorts; respondents in the age group of 41-50 years olds demonstrated the most negative attitude in this regard (12.3%), followed by the 31-40 year olds (16.3%), 18-30 year olds (17.9%), 60+ year olds (19.2%) and 51-60 year olds (20.6%).
- Citizen evaluation of the current election law also varied across governorates; Ajloun was the most positive with 30%, followed by Mafraq (23%), Jerash (22%), Ma'an (21.7%), Madaba and Aqaba (15.6% each), Zarqa (15.1%), Amman (14.8%), Karak (13.6%), Irbid (13.5%) and Tafileh and Balqa (13.3% each).

Ability of the House to introduce genuine political reform:

 The findings of the survey showed that 26.8% of the citizens find that the current House is incapable of introducing genuine political reform in Jordan whereas 23.3% indicated that it was otherwise capable of doing so. In addition, 37.8% of Jordanians said that the House is likely capable of introducing genuine political reform.

- Citizens' views also varied when it came to their education levels; only 4.8% of the graduate degree holders thought that the House was capable of introducing genuine political reform while 28.2% of the literate segment thought it was actually capable of doing such a thing; other groups' views ranged between 22% and 24%.
- Such attitudes also varied according to the study findings, in terms of the age cohort; 27.6% of those over 50 years old found the House to be capable of such an endeavor whereas the other age groups' results ranged between 20.8% and 23.9%.
- When broken by governorate, the ratios showed discernable variations as follows: Jerash (pretty much optimistic with 30.5%), Ajloun (30%), Tafileh (28.9%), Aqaba (26.7%), Madaba (26.7%), MAfraq (24.6%), Balqa (23.3%), Ma'an (23.3%), Amman (23.1%), Karak (22%), Irbid (19.8%) and Zarqa (16.8%).

Having political parties in the House (parliament):

- With reference to whether or not it was better to have political parties represented in the House, 27.3% of Jordanians said that it was actually between whereas 26.4% opted for the opposite but 27.9% of the citizens that having parties in the House might be relatively better while 18.4% indicated that they do not know whether it was better or not.
- Ranked exponentially, citizens' views varied vis-à-vis having political parties in the House when it came to their distribution across education levels as 57.1% of the graduate degree holders thought it was actually better to have parties while such views ranked the lowest (11.9%) among the illiterate segment of the sample population.

- Across age groups, the 60+ year olds ranked first among the age groups that thought it was better to have political parties in the House with 35.4% while it ranked the lowest among the 18-30 year olds with 22.1%; the other groups ranged between these two ratios.
- Citizens in Jerash governorate were the most convinced group that having parties in the House is better (35.6%), followed by Tafileh (35.6%), Ma'an (33.3%), Ajloun (30%), Aqaba and Madaba (28.9% each), Amman (27.8%), Mafraq (26.2%), Balqa (24.4%), Zarqa (23.3%), Irbid (23.2%) and Karak (22.4%).

Priority Issues:

With reference to the priority issues the current House should be addressing, the citizens ranked fighting poverty first with 94.6%, followed by unemployment (93.4%), amending the labor law (84.1%), income and sales tax law (74.8%), social security law (74%), freedom of expression and media (73.9%), political reform and democracy (63.5%), strengthening the role of the House (61.3%), amending the election law (55.7%), municipalities law (45.2%), political parties law (38.2%), law on associations and public gathering (37.9%) and lastly passing the decentralization law (35.8%).

Objectives and Methodology of the Study

This study aims at identifying the Jordanians' expectations from the current 16th (Lower) House of Parliament (The House), the grounds voters have used to support certain candidates and causes that prompted some to boycott the. The study also seeks to define voter attitude vis-à-vis the applicable Election Law, and aims at measuring

the extent to which citizens found the elections to be free and fair. The survey also seeks to tap citizen satisfaction levels with the current composition of the House and the list of priorities the MPs should address from the voters' point of view.

Data was gathered from a sample made of 1200 male and female respondents within the age groups of 18 years or older. The sample population was selected using the random cluster stratified sampling method. The data collection process took place during the period 19-24 February, 2011. With a reliability ratio of 95%, it can be said that the margin of sampling error adopted in this study stands at ± 3 percentile points.

Findings of the Study:

Below is a presentation of the findings of the study:

I. Characteristics of the Sample Population:

Table 1 below demonstrates the sample population distribution as per the random sampling statistical method applied and presented in the methodology section.

| Governorate | Number | Percentage% |
|-------------|--------|-------------|
| Amman | 387 | 32.3 |
| Zarqa | 121 | 10.1 |
| Jerash | 60 | 5.0 |
| Ajloun | 60 | 5.0 |
| Irbid | 162 | 13.5 |
| Karak | 59 | 4.9 |
| Aqaba | 48 | 4.0 |
| Balqa | 90 | 7.5 |
| Tafileh | 45 | 3.8 |
| Mafraq | 60 | 5.0 |
| Ma'an | 62 | 5.2 |
| Madaba | 46 | 3.8 |
| Total | 1200 | 100 |

 Table 1: Sample distribution by governorate

Table 2 shows the demographic characteristics of the sample population broken by gender, education level and age group/ cohort.

| | variable | Number | Percentage |
|-----------|---------------|--------|------------|
| Je | Male | 598 | 49.9 |
| gender | Female | 602 | 50.1 |
| 86 | total | 1200 | 100.0 |
| | Illiterate | 68 | 5.7 |
| | literate | 228 | 19.0 |
| O | High school | 538 | 44.7 |
| education | Community | 146 | 12.2 |
| nce | college | | |
| eq | undergraduate | 199 | 16.6 |
| | Graduate | 21 | 1.8 |
| | Total | 1200 | 100.0 |
| | 18-30 years | 340 | 28.4 |
| | 31-40 years | 328 | 27.3 |
| age | 41-50 years | 320 | 26.6 |
| ag | 51-60 years | 132 | 11.0 |
| | 60+ | 80 | 6.7 |
| | Total | 1200 | 100.0 |

Table 2: sample population characteristics by gender,education and age

II. Grounds voters have used to opt for certain candidates:

Table 3 shows the grounds upon which voters have depended in order to vote for certain candidates. These grounds varied among a candidate's political attitude, service platform and tribal affiliations. Respondents were given the possibility of choosing one or more answer; service-based considerations were ranked first by 79.9% of

the sample population whereas 52.9% of them said that tribal affiliations were instrumental in making up their mind – political attitudes ranked third with 47.3%.

No significant differences were discerned among the male and female responses when it came to classifying these grounds – the slight differences are demonstrated in table 4. Thus, it can be inferred that the grounds for supporting a candidate are common among a household members, for they (males and females) often agree on voting for one specific candidate. More often than not, the male head of household is the one who makes the decision to go in favor of a certain candidate – other household members, especially women, would then follow suit. With reference to variations in terms of the education level of the sample population, 75% of the respondents holding graduate degrees said that their decision was based on a candidate's political attitude whereas the same cause ranked last (34%) among illiterate respondents. This is quite natural since political considerations weigh more for educated respondents: undergraduate degree holders ranked this consideration first by By contrast, graduate degree holders ranked the tribal 61.2%. affiliations last as only 37.5% said they considered to be the most important factor. As for service-based considerations, responses came without any particularly indicative trend as illustrated in Table 5.

With reference to the influence of age cohorts on candidate selection, there were no significant differences or ones that point in a certain direction since most households usually agree amongst themselves on voting for a certain candidate regardless of gender and age considerations as shown in Table 6.

When broken by the geographical distribution of the respondents, opting for the political attitude as the basis to vote for a candidate ranked highest in Karak, Jerash, Tafileh and Ajloun – 57.8%, 57.6%, 55.6% and 55% respectively whereas Madaba, Mafraq, Amman and Balqa ranked it the lowest with 37.8%, 40%, 43.4% and 44.8%

respectively. Percentages from other governorates fell between the two aforementioned extremes.

Karak ranked first among governorates to consider service platforms as the utmost important factor to vote for a candidate (93.3%) whereas Mafraq, Ajloun and Madaba ranked last with only 73.3% -- the other government fell in between the two ends.

Tribal considerations were ranked first among the selection criteria among respondents from Tafileh and Karak (68.9% and 68.2% respectively) whereas their counterparts from Balqa and Amman ranked last in terms of the significance such factors (34.5% and 45.7% respectively).

| Grounds for the | voting decision | No. | Percentage% |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----|-------------|
| Political | Yes | 307 | 47.3 |
| attitude | No | 341 | 52.7 |
| | Did not vote | 552 | |
| | Total | 648 | 100.0 |
| Candidate | Yes | 518 | 79.9 |
| service | No | 130 | 20.1 |
| platform | Did not vote | 552 | |
| | Total | 648 | 100.0 |
| Tribal | Yes | 343 | 52.9 |
| affiliation | No | 305 | 47.1 |
| | Did not vote | 552 | |
| | Total | 648 | 100.0 |

Table 3: grounds for making a voting decision

| Grounds for voting for a specific candidate | Male | Female |
|---|------|--------|
| Candidate's political attitude | 48.8 | 45.7 |
| Candidate's service platform | 78.9 | 81.3 |
| Tribal affiliation | 51.9 | 53.8 |

Table 4: grounds for voting by gender %

Table 5: grounds for voting by education level %

| Grounds | Illitera | Litera | High | Commun | undergradu | Gradua |
|-------------|----------|--------|------|---------|------------|--------|
| for voting | te | te | scho | ity | ate | te |
| for a | | | ol | college | | |
| specific | | | | | | |
| candidate | | | | | | |
| Candidat | 34.0 | 42.8 | 46.4 | 44.3 | 61.2 | 75.0 |
| e's | | | | | | |
| political | | | | | | |
| attitude | | | | | | |
| Candidat | 74.5 | 83.4 | 81.0 | 73.4 | 79.3 | 87.5 |
| e's | | | | | | |
| service | | | | | | |
| platform | | | | | | |
| Tribal | 51.1 | 54.5 | 51.2 | 51.9 | 57.9 | 37.5 |
| affiliation | | | | | | |

| Grounds for | 18-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 60 + | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|--|
| voting | | | | | | |
| Candidate's | 50.6 | 43.1 | 52.4 | 42.1 | 40.4 | |
| political attitude | | | | | | |
| Candidate's | 78.9 | 80.2 | 83.5 | 77.9 | 73.1 | |
| service platform | | | | | | |
| Tribal affiliation | 58.9 | 52.4 | 52.1 | 44.2 | 51.9 | |

Table 6: grounds for voting by age group %

III. Has the candidate you have voted for won the elections?

With reference to whether the candidates whom respondents voted for have actually won the elections or not, 59.1% of the respondents (who voted) said that their candidates won the elections. But 40.9% of the respondents said their candidates did not make it as illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7: Did your candidate win?

| Did your candidate win? | No. | Percentage |
|-------------------------|-----|------------|
| Yes | 383 | 59.1 |
| No | 265 | 40.9 |
| Did not vote | 552 | |
| Total | 648 | 100.0 |

IV. Did the electoral process go smoothly?

As illustrated in Table 8, 78.8% of the citizens indicated that the elections went smoothly, 21.2% indicated that it otherwise was not that smooth and 4.9% said that they did not know. No significant differences surfaced gender-wise when it came to the smoothness of the process. The findings showed that 66.7% of the university degree holders, 80.5% of respondents with low qualification and

76.5% of illiterate respondents thought the process went on smoothly. There were no significant variations when it came to breaking the sample population by age cohort.

The findings indicated that variations were present among respondents by governorate when it came to evaluating the smoothness of the electoral process; 98.3% of voters in Jerash found that the elections went on smoothly while only 61.6% thought the same in Zarqa. The table below lists the voter evaluation of the process broken by governorate.

 Table 8: Did the electoral process go smoothly?

| Did the electoral process go smoothly? | No. | Percentage |
|---|------|------------|
| Yes | 946 | 78.8 |
| No | 254 | 21.2 |
| Total | 1200 | 100.0 |

Table 9: Smoothness of the process (by education level)

| | Illiterate | Literate | High | Community | Under | Graduate |
|---------------|------------|----------|--------|-----------|----------|----------|
| | | | school | College | graduate | |
| The process | 76.5 | 80.5 | 79.9 | 78.0 | 75.8 | 66.7 |
| was completed | | | | | | |
| smoothly | | | | | | |

Table 9: smoothness of the process (by age cohort)

| | 18-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 60+ |
|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| | years | | | | |
| The process was | 79.7 | 76.7 | 77.4 | 82.2 | 83.1 |
| completed | | | | | |
| smoothly | | | | | |

| Did the process go smoothly? | Percentage |
|------------------------------|------------|
| Jerash | 98.3 |
| Ajloun | 94.5 |
| Tafileh | 88.9 |
| Madaba | 86.7 |
| Mafraq | 86.0 |
| Irbid | 82.6 |
| Karak | 80.7 |
| Amman | 77.7 |
| Balqa | 72.9 |
| Aqaba | 68.4 |
| Ma'an | 65.6 |
| Zarqa | 61.6 |
| Total | 78.8 |

 Table 10: smoothness of the process (by governorate)

V. Do you believe that the current election law has actually produced a House that represents the majority of Jordanians?

Table 11 shows that 57.4% of Jordanians found that the current Election Law actually helped produce a parliament that represented the majority of Jordanians – 39.3% indicated that the law did not actually help create such a lower house of parliament whereas 3.3% of Jordanians said that they did not know. So significantly gender variations were discerned in the responses given (57.1% and 57.7% among males and females respectively). As for the age cohort, Jordanians showed various opinions; 65.4% of the respondents who are over 60 years of age (60+) supported the law compared to 55.8% among the (51-60) age group. Only 33.3% of the university degree holders thought that the law actually helped produce a parliament that represents the majority of Jordanians – unlike their counterparts with high school degree (60%).

As for the impact geographical distribution had on respondents, views varied tangibly as Zarqa ranked last among the regions (37.3%) while Ajloun and Jerash ranked first with 80% and 79.7% respectively.

Table 11: Do you believe that the current Election Law helpedproduce a Lower House (of Parliament) that really representsthe majority of Jordanians?

| Do you believe that the current Election Law helped produce a Lower House (of Parliament) that really represents the majority of Jordanians | No. | Percentage |
|---|------|------------|
| Yes | 689 | 57.4 |
| No | 472 | 39.3 |
| Don't know | 31 | 3.3 |
| Total | 1200 | 100.0 |

Table 12: The current Election Law has actually produced a House that is representative of the majority of Jordanians (by age group)

| | 18-30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | 51-60 | 60+ |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| | years | | | | |
| Current law has | 59.4 | 57.5 | 61.0 | 55.8 | 65.4 |
| produced a House | | | | | |
| that represents | | | | | |
| the majority of | | | | | |
| Jordanians | | | | | |

Table 13: The current Election Law has actually produced a House that is representative of the majority of Jordanians (by education level)

| | Illiterate | Literate | High school | Community college | Undergraduate | Graduate |
|---------------|--------------|----------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|----------|
| Current law | 64.2% | 61.5% | 62.4% | 52.2% | 54.7% | 33.3% |
| has produced | | | | | | |
| a House that | | | | | | |
| represents | | | | | | |
| the majority | | | | | | |
| of Jordanians | | | | | | |

Table 14: The current Election Law has actually produced a House that is representative of the majority of Jordanians (by governorate)

| Does the House represent the Jordanian community? | Percentage |
|--|------------|
| Ajloun | 80.0 |
| Jerash | 79.7 |
| Madaba | 75.6 |
| Mafraq | 70.6 |
| Tafileh | 68.9 |
| Irbid | 62.7 |
| Karak | 59.3 |
| Amman | 58.2 |
| Ma'an | 57.4 |
| Aqaba | 51.1 |
| Balqa | 46.6 |
| Zarqa | 37.3 |
| Total | 57.4 |

VI. Satisfaction with the current composition of the House:

The findings of the survey revealed that 32.9% of the Jordanians are either satisfied or very much satisfied with the current composition of the House, 36.2% said they were relatively satisfied while 31% indicated that they were not satisfied as shown in Table 14. The findings also showed that the female respondents had more confident than males in the current composition of the House (36.2% of females were satisfied and very satisfied with the House compared to 29.6% of the male respondents.

The findings also indicated that age cohorts did not play significantly in influencing the level of satisfaction with the current composition of the House; table 15 shows that most age group had similar views about this issue. However, the findings signaled variations among the respondents across the level of education; as shown in table 16, 38.1% of the graduate degree holders said they were either satisfied or very satisfied with the current House composition while only 26.6% of the undergraduates said they were satisfied/very satisfied.

When broken by governorate, levels of satisfaction were ranked as follows: Ajloun (44.1%), Mafraq (42.6%), Jerash (42.6%), Irbid (40.2%), Amman (35.2%), Madaba (33.3%) and Tafileh (31.1%); low satisfaction levels were discerened in Balqa (26.7%), Ma'an (25%), Karak (24.1%), Aqaba (20%) and Zarqa (18.5%).

| Level of satisfaction | No. | Percentage |
|-----------------------|------|------------|
| Very satisfied | 50 | 4.2 |
| Satisfied | 342 | 28.7 |
| Relatively satisfied | 431 | 36.2 |
| Not satisfied | 369 | 31.0 |
| No answer | 8 | |
| Total | 1192 | 100.0 |

Table 15: satisfaction with the composition of the House %

| | | Very satisfied | Satisfied | Relatively satisfied | Not satisfied |
|--------------|-------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------|
| | 18-30 | 3.8 | 28.3 | 36.3 | 31.6 |
| | years | | | | |
| | 31-40 | 4.6 | 28.8 | 38.7 | 27.9 |
| Satisfaction | years | | | | |
| with the | 41-50 | 4.7 | 28.7 | 36.6 | 30.0 |
| House | years | | | | |
| composition | 51-60 | 3.8 | 29.2 | 30.8 | 36.2 |
| _ | years | | | | |
| | 60 + | 2.5 | 29.1 | 31.6 | 36.7 |
| | years | | | | |

Table 16: satisfaction level (by age group) %

Table 17: satisfaction level (by education level)

| | | Very satisfied | Satisfied | Relatively satisfied | Not satisfied |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------|
| | Illitanata | | 24.2 | | |
| | Illiterate | 1.5 | 31.3 | 34.3 | 32.8 |
| Satisfaction | Literate | 4.9 | 29.2 | 34.1 | 31.9 |
| with the | High school | 4.1 | 28.3 | 39.9 | 27.7 |
| composition | Community | 4.9 | 29.9 | 34.7 | 30.6 |
| of the | college | | | | |
| House | Undergraduate | 4.5 | 26.6 | 33.2 | 35.7 |
| | Graduate | 0.0 | 38.1 | 4.8 | 57.1 |

VII. Level of satisfaction with the House performance so far:

The findings of this survey showed that 33% of the citizens are either satisfied or very much satisfied with the performance of the current House, 30% indicated that they are not satisfied and 35.6% said they were relatively satisfied as explained in Table 17. The findings also showed that satisfaction levels in this respect are higher among the female respondents than their male counterparts (35.8% and 31% respectively).

Highest satisfaction levels were signaled by high school degree holders (36.1%), followed by the literate respondents (34.9%), community college graduates (32.7%), illiterates (29.9%) and undergraduate degree holders (27.6%). The lowest level of satisfaction was recorded with the graduate degree holders (23.8%0 as illustrated in table 18. The age group (41-50 years) ranked first among the other groups in terms of showing their confidence in the performance of the House (36%) – results of the other age groups came in as follows: 18-30 year olds (34.6%), 60+ years (32.9%), 51-60 year olds (31.8%) while the 31-40 year olds ranked last with the lowest level of confidence at 30.6% as shown in table 19.

When broken by governorate, satisfaction levels were found to be as follows: Ajloun (45%), Jerash (44.1%), Mafraq (43.1%), Tafileh (40%), Madaba (35.6%), Amman (34.6%), Irbid (32.7%), Ma'an (27.6%), Zarqa (23.3%), Aqaba (22.2%) and finally Karak (22%).

Table 18: satisfaction with the current House performanceso far %

| Satisfaction with the House performance | No. | Percentage |
|---|------|------------|
| Very satisfied | 32 | 2.7 |
| Satisfied | 363 | 30.3 |
| Relatively satisfied | 427 | 35.6 |
| Not satisfied | 360 | 30.0 |
| Don't know | 18 | 1.5 |
| Total | 1200 | 100.0 |

| | | Very satisfied | Satisfied | Relatively satisfied | Not satisfied |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------|
| Satisfaction | Illiterate | 1.5 | 28.4 | 35.8 | 34.3 |
| with the | Literate | 3.6 | 31.3 | 33.5 | 31.7 |
| house | High school | 2.3 | 33.8 | 35.5 | 28.4 |
| performance so far | Community college | 4.2 | 28.5 | 36.1 | 31.3 |
| | Undergraduate | 2.6 | 25.0 | 41.8 | 30.6 |
| | Graduate | 0.0 | 23.8 | 23.8 | 52.4 |

Table 19: satisfaction with House performance (byeducation level) %

Table 20: satisfaction with House performance (by age group) %

| | | Very satisfied | Satisfied | Relatively satisfied | Not satisfied |
|-----------------------|-------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------|
| Satisfaction | 18-30 | 1.8 | 32.8 | 34.6 | 30.8 |
| with the | years | | | | |
| current House | 31-40 | 3.4 | 27.2 | 41.4 | 28.1 |
| performance so far | years | | | | |
| 50 Idi | 41-50 | 3.2 | 32.8 | 33.1 | 30.9 |
| 51- ye | years | | | | |
| | 51-60 | 2.4 | 29.4 | 33.3 | 34.9 |
| | years | | | | |
| | 60+ | 2.6 | 30.3 | 36.8 | 30.3 |
| | years | | | | |

VIII. The extent to which the current Election Law is found to be in line with the nature of the Jordanian community

The findings indicated that 36.2% of the Jordanians do *not* find the current Election Law to be in line with the nature of the Jordanian society; 16.3% found to be in line while 37.3% thought it to be

relatively in line with the nature of the Jordanian society as shown in table 20.

As demonstrated in table 21, women's attitude toward the Election Law was more positive that the men's (18.7% and 14% respectively).

Graduate degree holders were also more negative toward the Election Law; only 5% of them indicated that the law is in line with the nature of the Jordanian community, followed by 8.3% of the community college graduates and 16.6% of the undergraduate degree holders while high school graduates ranged between 17.6% and 22.4 as shown in table 22.

The findings revealed some discrepancy among citizens' attitude toward the Election Law when broken by age group. Respondents in the (41-50 years) age group adopted the most negative attitude (12.3%), followed by the 31-40 year olds (16.3%), 18-30 year olds and 60+ year olds (19.2%) and finally the 51-60 year olds (20.6%) as indicated in table 23.

At governorate level, citizen evaluation of the law also varied: Ajloun was more positive again (30%), Mafraq (23%), Jerash (22%), Ma'an (21.7%), Madaba and Aqaba (15.6% each), Zarqa (15.1%), Amman (14.8%), Karak (13.6%), Irbid (13.5%) and finally Tafileh and Balqa (13.3% each).

Table 21: The extent to which the current Election Law is found to be in line with the nature of the Jordanian society %

| The current law is in line with the Jordanian community | No. | Percentage |
|--|------|------------|
| Very much in line | 195 | 16.3 |
| Relatively in line | 447 | 37.3 |
| Not in line | 434 | 36.2 |
| Don't know | 117 | 9.8 |
| No answer | 7 | 0.4 |
| Total | 1200 | 100.0 |

| Law is in line with the community | In line | Relatively in line | Not in line | Don't know |
|-----------------------------------|---------|--------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Male | 14.0 | 33.6 | 44.1 | 8.3 |
| Female | 18.7 | 41.2 | 28.8 | 11.3 |

Table 22: the law is in line with the Jordanian community (bygender) %

Table 23: the law is in line with the Jordanian community (byeducation level) %

| | | In | Relatively | Not | Don't |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------|------------|------|-------|
| | | line | in line | in | know |
| | | | | line | |
| Do you think that | Illiterate | 22.4 | 35.8 | 20.9 | 20.9 |
| the current | Literate | 17.6 | 37.9 | 33.5 | 11.0 |
| Election Law is | High school | 17.6 | 37.6 | 36.6 | 8.2 |
| in line with the | Community | 8.3 | 37.5 | 45.1 | 9.0 |
| nature of the | college | | | | |
| Jordanian | Undergraduate | 16.6 | 38.2 | 35.2 | 10.1 |
| community? | Graduate | 5.0 | 25.0 | 65.0 | 5.0 |

Table 24: the law is in line with the nature of the Jordanian community (by age group) %

| | | In line | Relatively in line | Not in line | Don't know |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|-------------|---------------|
| Do you think that the | | 17.9 | 34.7 | 35.9 | 11.5 |
| current Election Law | - | 16.3 | 39.3 | 35.3 | 9.2 |
| is in line with the | 41-50 years | 12.3 | 41.3 | 36.9 | 9.5 |
| nature of the | 51-60 years | 20.6 | 33.6 | 40.5 | 5.3 |
| Jordanian | 60+ years | 19.2 | 32.1 | 34.6 | 14.1 |
| community? | | | | | |

IX. Comparing the current House performance with that of its predecessor's

As indicated in table 24, (35.3%) of Jordanians said that performance of the current House was at the same level as that of its predecessor's whereas 32.3% said that it was better – compared to 19.6% who said that the current House performance was worse.

The percentage of female respondents who thought that the current House performance was the same stood at 40.1% compared to 31% among their male counterparts. But it is also shown in table 25 that 34.3% of the males said the performance was better – compared to 30.9% of females who believed the same in this regard.

The findings showed that the high school graduates were more positive vis-à-vis the performance of the current House as 35.5% said that it was better than its predecessor; community college graduates came in second with (34%), followed by undergraduate degree holders (30.8%), literate (30.2%), illiterate (24.2%) and graduate degree holders (19%). As shown in table 26, this discrepancy is not significantly indicative of a certain context or trend.

According to the findings of the study as well, the 41-50 year olds were more positive as 36.4% of them found the performance of the current House to be better than its predecessor; results of the other age cohorts were as follows: 60+ year olds (33.8%), 31-40 year olds (33.6%), 18-30 year olds (29.5%) and 51-60 year olds (28.9%) as shown in table 27.

The findings indicate that the citizens in Madaba adopted a more positive attitude toward the current House in terms of performance; 48.9% of them believed that its performance was better, followed by Jerash (44.1%), Irbid (42.3%), Mafraq and Ajloun (39% each), Amman (30.4%), Tafileh and Aqaba (28.9% each), Ma'an (26.7%), Zarqa (22.7%) and Karak (22%).

Table 25: current House performance compared to the previous one %

| Current House performance | No. | Percentage |
|----------------------------------|------|------------|
| compared to the previous one | | |
| Same level of performance | 423 | 35.3 |
| Better | 387 | 32.3 |
| Worse | 235 | 19.6 |
| Don't know | 155 | 12.9 |
| Total | 1200 | 100.0 |

Table 26: how is the current House's performance differentfrom that of its predecessor (by gender)? %

| How is it different from the former House? | Same | Better | Worse | Don't know |
|--|------|--------|-------|---------------|
| Male | 31.0 | 34.3 | 23.9 | 10.8 |
| Female | 40.1 | 30.9 | 15.8 | 13.3 |

Table 27: difference in performance (by education level)

| | | Same | Better | Worse | Don't |
|---------------------|---------------|-------------|--------|-------|-------|
| | | | | | know |
| | Illiterate | 36.4 | 24.2 | 21.2 | 18.2 |
| How is the current | Literate | 34.2 | 30.2 | 21.3 | 14.2 |
| House's | High school | 34.3 | 35.5 | 18.4 | 11.8 |
| performance | Community | 39.6 | 34.0 | 19.4 | 6.9 |
| different from that | college | | | | |
| of its predecessor? | Undergraduate | 37.4 | 30.8 | 19.2 | 12.6 |
| | Graduate | 33.3 | 19.0 | 42.9 | 4.8 |

| | | Same | Better | Worse | Don't |
|---|-------------|------|--------|-------------|-------|
| | | | | | know |
| How is the current | 18-30 years | 38.6 | 29.5 | 21.8 | 10.0 |
| House's performance different from that of its predecessor? | 31-40 years | 31.8 | 33.6 | 19.9 | 14.7 |
| | 41-50 years | 36.7 | 36.4 | 18.7 | 8.2 |
| | 51-60 years | 38.3 | 28.1 | 16.4 | 17.2 |
| | 60+ years | 28.6 | 33.8 | 20.8 | 16.9 |

Table 28: difference in performance (by age group) %

X. Ability of the current House to Introduce genuine political reform in Jordan

The findings of the survey showed that 26.8% of Jordanians think that the current House is incapable of introducing genuine political reform in Jordan while 23.3% believed that it was otherwise capable of doing so. As it is also shown in table 28, 37.8% of Jordanians thought that the House is likely to introduce political reform in Jordan.

Optimism of such capability was higher among females than males (26.8% and 19.9% respectively) as shown in table 29.

As per the findings, citizen views also varied in terms of education levels; only 4.8% of graduate degree holders found the House to be capable of introducing political reforms, compared to 28.2% of the literate. Other categories ranged between 22% and 24% as illustrated in table 30.

Jordanians' views also varied across age groups; 27.6% of the 50+ year olds thought the House capable of introducing reforms while other age groups ranged between 20.8% and 23.9% as shown in table 31.

When broken by governorate, responses showed the following variations: Jerash (30.5%), Ajloun (30%), Tafileh (28.9%), Aqaba (27.6%), Madaba (26.7%), Mafraq (24.6%), Balqa (23.3%), Ma'an (23.3%), Amman (23.1%), Karak (22%), Irbid (19.8%) and finally Zarqa (16.8%).

Table 29: Ability of the current House to introducepolitical reform %

| The House is capable of introducing political reform | No. | Percentage |
|--|------|------------|
| Yes | 279 | 23.3 |
| No | 321 | 26.8 |
| Likely | 453 | 37.8 |
| Don't know | 147 | 12.3 |
| Total | 1200 | 100.0 |

Table 30: ability to introduce reform (by gender) %

| | | Yes | No | Likely | Don't know |
|---|--------|------|------|--------|---------------|
| The current House is capable | | 19.9 | 27.2 | 43.2 | 9.8 |
| of having a tangible role in introducing genuine political reform in Jordan | Female | 26.8 | 26.6 | 32.6 | 14.0 |

Table 31: ability to introduce political reform (by
education level) %

| | | Yes | No | Likely | Don't |
|--|-------------------|------|------|--------|-------|
| | | | | | know |
| Do you think that the | Illiterate | 23.9 | 17.9 | 29.9 | 28.4 |
| current House is capable | Literate | 28.2 | 19.8 | 37.9 | 14.1 |
| of having a tangible role in introducing genuine political reform in | High school | 22.1 | 27.2 | 40.1 | 10.7 |
| | Community college | 24.0 | 30.8 | 32.2 | 13.0 |
| | Undergraduate | 22.6 | 31.2 | 40.2 | 6.0 |
| Jordan? | Graduate | 4.8 | 57.1 | 23.8 | 14.3 |

| | | Yes | No | Likely | Don't know |
|-------------------|-------------|------|------|--------|---------------|
| Do you think | 18-30 years | 22.7 | 26.5 | 41.6 | 9.1 |
| that the current | 31-40 years | 23.9 | 29.7 | 34.3 | 12.2 |
| House is capable | 41-50 years | 20.8 | 26.4 | 41.2 | 11.6 |
| of having a | 51-60 years | 27.5 | 24.4 | 32.8 | 15.3 |
| tangible role in | 60+ years | 27.8 | 22.8 | 31.6 | 17.7 |
| introducing | | | | | |
| genuine political | | | | | |
| reform in | | | | | |
| Jordan? | | | | | |

Table 32: ability to introduce political reform (by age group) %

XI. Having political parties represented in the parliament

Table 32 shows that 27.3% of Jordanians think that it is better for the parliament to have political parties represented therein. 26.4% of them said, however, that it is better not to while 18.4% indicated that they do not know whether it was better or not to have political parties in the parliament.

Findings also indicate that male Jordanians were more positive than females when it came to having parties in the parliament (33.1% and 21.7% respectively) as illustrated in table 33.

When it came to the education level of respondents, the percentage were ranked exponentially as academic qualifications increased: 57.1% of graduate degree holders thought it to be better for the parliament to have political parties – compared to only 11.9% among the illiterates. (See table 34).

Relatively speaking, the situation revealed almost the same variation across the age groups. Unlike their younger counterparts, older people thought it was better to have political parties in the parliament; the highest percentage was 35.4% (among the 60+ year olds) while it was lowest among the youngest (22.1%) – other age cohorts ranged in between these two ends of the spectrum as shown in table 35.

Citizens of Jerash were more convinced of the need to have political parties in the parliament (35.6%), followed by Tafileh (35.6%), Ma'an (33.3%), Ajloun (30%), Aqaba and Madaba (28.9% each), Amman (27.8%), Mafraq (26.2%), Balqa 24.4%), Zarqa (23.3%), Irbid (23.2%) and Karak (22.4%).

Table 33: Is it better to have political parties representedin the Parliament?%

| Is it better to have political parties in the parliament? | No. | Percentage |
|--|------|------------|
| Yes | 327 | 27.3 |
| No | 317 | 26.4 |
| Maybe | 335 | 27.9 |
| Don't know | 221 | 18.4 |
| Total | 1200 | 100.0 |

Table 34: having political parties in the parliament (by gender) %

| | | Yes | No | Maybe | Don't |
|---|--------|------|------|-------|-------|
| | | | | | know |
| Having political parties in the parliament is better? | Male | 33.1 | 21.7 | 30.9 | 14.3 |
| | Female | 21.7 | 31.3 | 25.2 | 21.8 |

| | | Yes | No | Maybe | Don't know |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|------|------|-------|---------------|
| Do you think it is | Illiterate | 11.9 | 22.4 | 22.4 | 43.3 |
| better to have | Literate | 22.9 | 27.3 | 25.6 | 24.2 |
| political parties in the parliament? | High school | 26.0 | 27.5 | 30.7 | 15.9 |
| | Community college | 33.6 | 22.6 | 28.8 | 15.1 |
| | Undergraduate | 33.7 | 27.6 | 27.6 | 11.1 |
| | Graduate | 57.1 | 23.8 | 4.8 | 14.3 |

Table 35: Having political parties in the parliament isbetter %

Table 36: Having political parties in the parliament isbetter (by age group) %

| | | Yes | No | Maybe | Don't |
|--|-------------|------|------|-------|-------|
| | | | | | know |
| Do you think it is better to have political parties in | 18-30 years | 22.1 | 34.1 | 27.4 | 16.5 |
| | 31-40 years | 29.8 | 24.2 | 26.4 | 19.6 |
| | 41-50 years | 27.6 | 23.8 | 33.2 | 15.4 |
| the parliament? | 51-60 years | 29.8 | 24.4 | 23.7 | 22.1 |
| | 60+ years | 35.4 | 17.7 | 24.1 | 22.8 |

XII. Priority issues the House should be addressing:

With reference to priority issues that Jordanians think the House should be tackling, fighting poverty ranked first as an utmost priority with 94.6%. the rest of issues followed in the following order: unemployment (93.4%), amending the labor law (94.6%), amending the income and sales tax law (74.8%), social security law (74%), freedom of expression and media (73.9%), political reform and democracy (63.5%), strengthening the role of the House (61.3%), amending the election law (55.7%), municipalities law (45.2%),

political parties law (38.2%), association and gatherings law (37.9%) and lastly passing the decentralization law (35.8%).

| Rank | Priority issues | Utmost priority | Medium priority | Can be postponed | Don't know |
|------|---|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 1 | Fighting poverty | 94.6 | 4.3 | 0.8 | 0.3 |
| 2 | Fighting unemployment | 93.4 | 5.2 | 1.0 | 0.4 |
| 3 | Amending the labor law | 84.1 | 11.3 | 1.4 | 3.2 |
| 4 | Amending the income and sales tax law | 74.8 | 19.8 | 2.6 | 2.8 |
| 5 | Amending the social security law | 74.0 | 18.8 | 3.7 | 3.5 |
| 6 | Freedom of expression and the media | 73.9 | 18.9 | 3.1 | 4.2 |
| 7 | Political reform and democracy | 63.5 | 26.1 | 4.8 | 5.4 |
| 8 | Enhancing the role of the House | 61.3 | 25.7 | 6.9 | 6.1 |
| 9 | Amending the Election law | 55.7 | 23.2 | 10.1 | 11.0 |
| 10 | Amending the municipalities law | 54.2 | 23.7 | 9.4 | 12.7 |
| 11 | Amending the political parties law | 38.2 | 27.1 | 15.5 | 19.1 |
| 12 | Amending the associations law | 37.9 | 29.5 | 15.0 | 17.6 |
| 13 | amending the law on public gatherings | 37.9 | 29.7 | 13.2 | 19.1 |
| 14 | Passing the decentralization law | 35.8 | 29.1 | 13.7 | 21.3 |

Table 37: citizen list of priority issues the upcomingHouse should be addressing