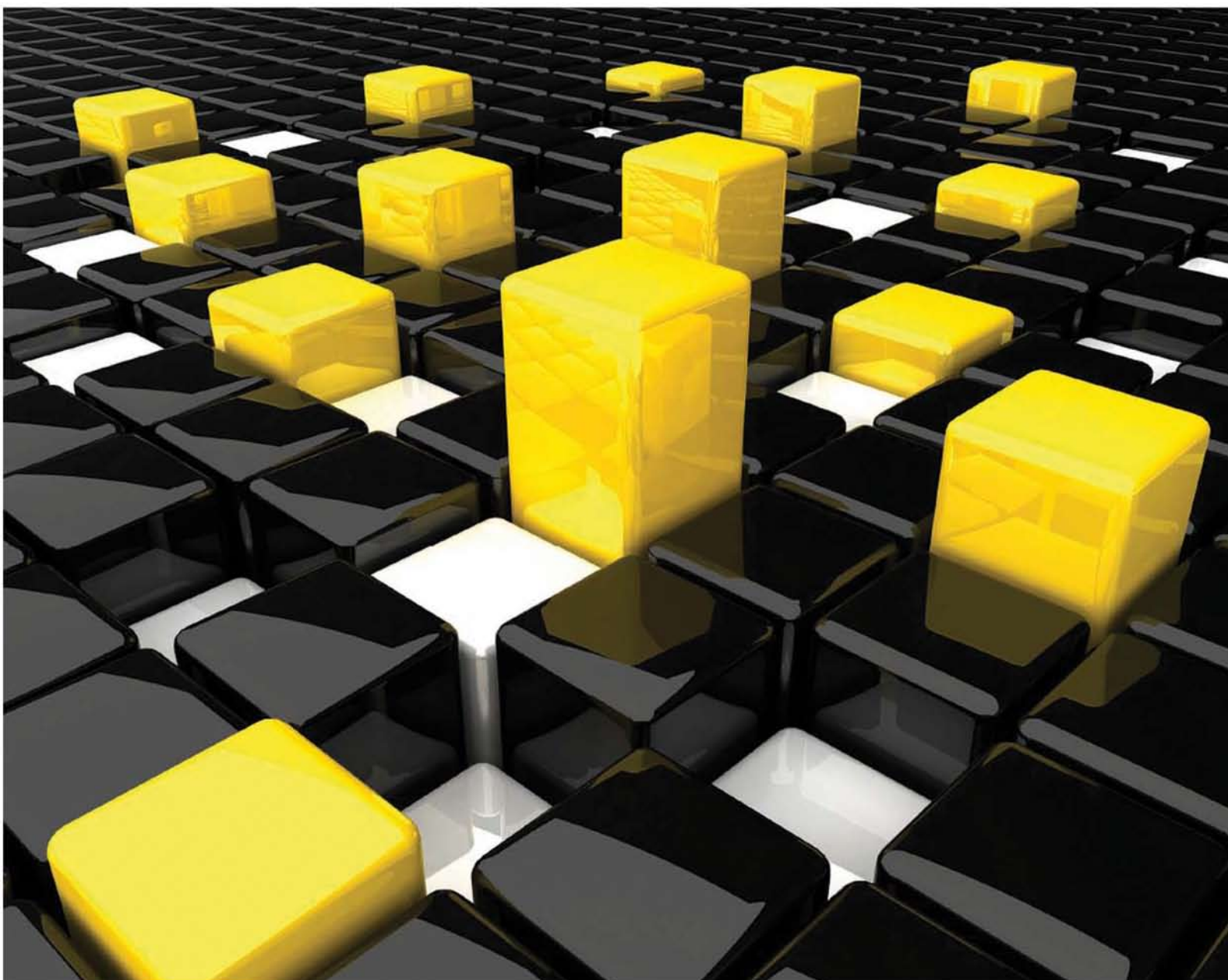


THE SIXTEENTH HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: OPINION POLL 2011



The Sixteenth House of Representatives: Opinion Poll 2011

In a public opinion poll with regard to the performance of the Sixteenth House of Representatives and the stand towards the conclusions of the National Dialogue Committee, more than half of the Jordanians did not know of the National Dialogue Committee. The higher rate in the Central Region (51 percent) support a combined electoral system and think that the current distribution of seat at the electoral constituencies is not fair. A large rate support the approach to have the population as the basic criterion for distribution (71 percent) support the intention to have constitutional amendments. However, Jordanians are divided with regard to request the Parliamentary majority to form governments. The highest objection rate (56 percent) was in the South; they do not trust the current Parliamentary House performance. The highest rate and the majority in the South do not follow up the House performance and do not have an idea about its blocs.

More than half of the Jordanians are not satisfied with the Representatives' performance. They believe that the last elections witnessed incidents of selling/purchasing/collective transfer of votes; they believe that (71 percent) of these Representatives will run for the coming elections.

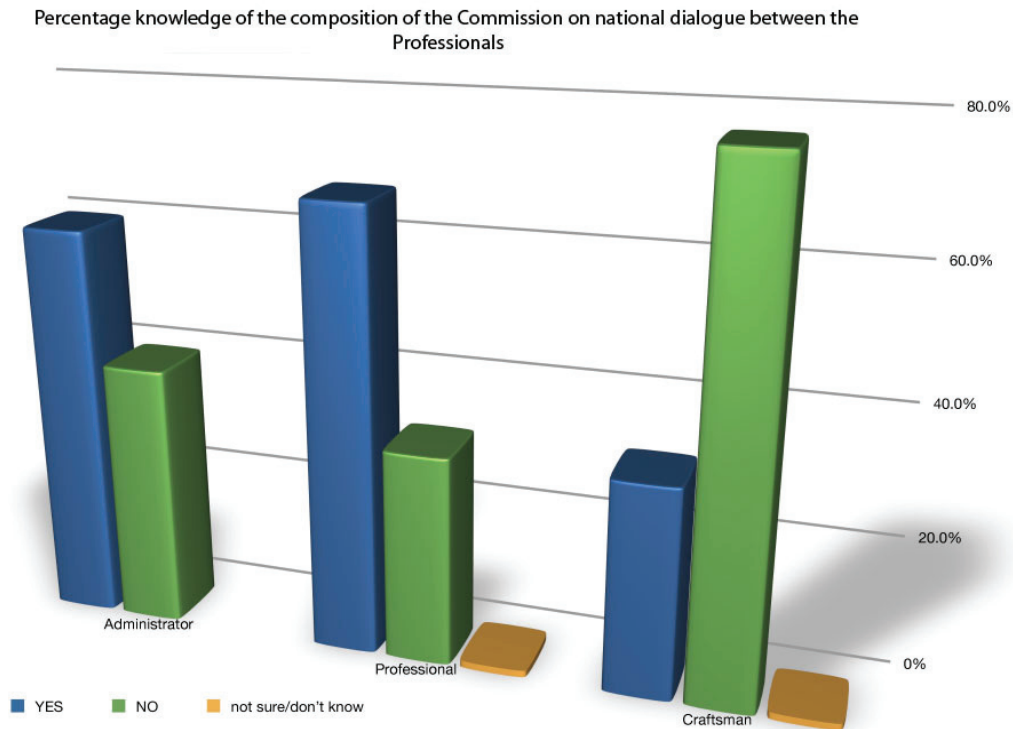
The Jordanian Parliament Monitor at Al-Quds Center for Political Studies conducted a public opinion poll with regard to the performance of the Sixteenth House of Representatives. The poll included also the attitude towards the conclusion reached by the National Dialogue Committee related to the Electoral Law and the Constitutional amendments.

The poll touched upon the public opinion stand towards the forthcoming elections and the last ones that took place in November 2010 especially with regard to the integrity of those elections.

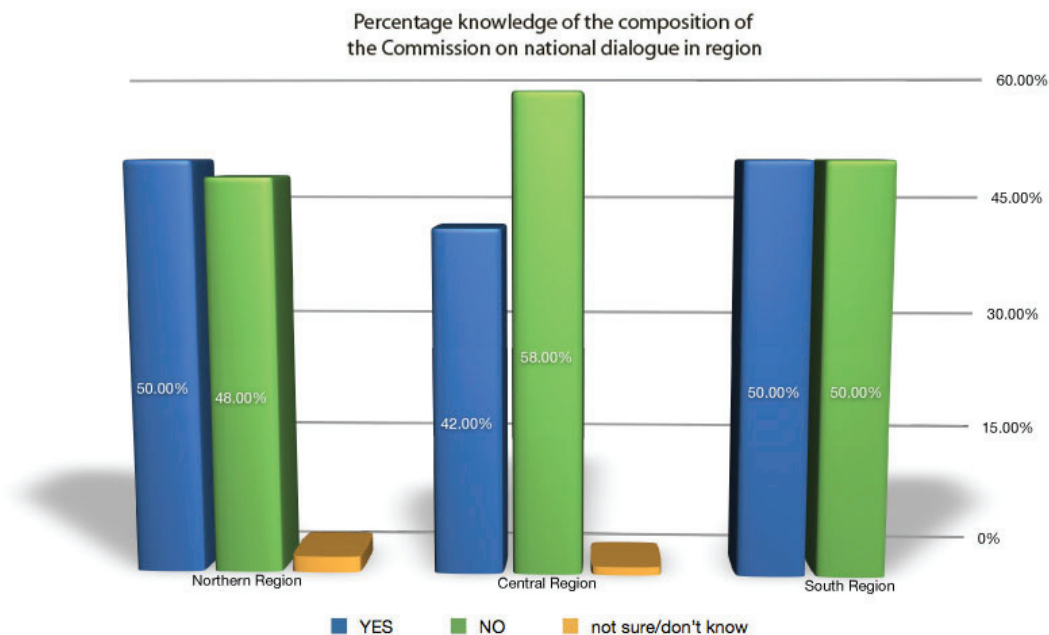
The poll which was conducted in past June included a sample of 1200 people distributed at all governorates of the Kingdom. It was based on the demographic and geographic attributes of the sample members.

The National Dialogue Committee:

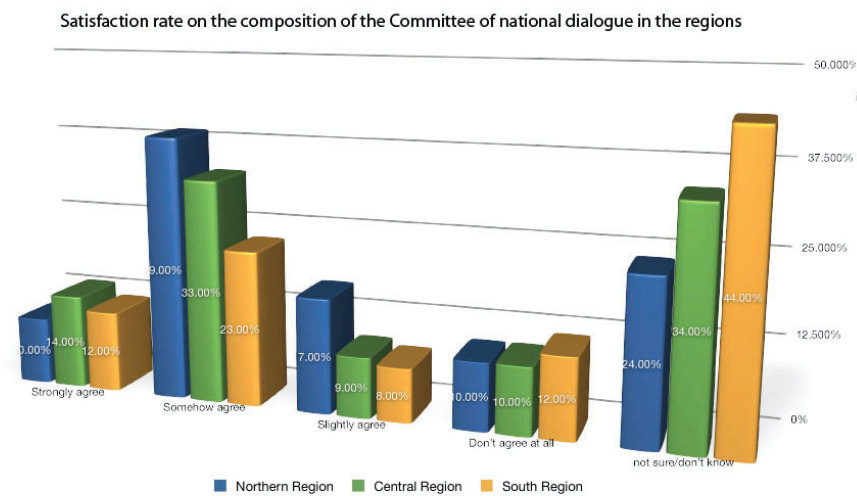
The National Dialogue Committee was created in March with 53 members assigned to reach some ideas and propositions to amend the Laws of Elections and Political Parties. The poll results revealed that (54.5 percent) of the sample respondents did not hear of that Committee against (44.7 percent) said that they heard of it. One third of these (32 percent) mentioned that they did not learn anything about its composition against (46 percent) who said that they knew of its composition to a large and fair extent.



Geographically, the Central Region had the highest rate of those who did not learn of the National Dialogue Committee (57.8 percent). This is an irony as the Central Region embraces major cities such as Amman, Salt, Zerka, and Madaba. It is the region where the political, economic, social and cultural action is highly concentrated. It was followed with the Southern region (49.5 percent) and also of (48.1 percent), the Northern region with a high rate



In the answers according to the personal changes, it is noticed that the highest rate of those who learnt of the National Dialogue Committee was among males (53.6 percent); and the older age group (>50) with a rate of (59.3 percent); the higher level of education (62.2 percent); and the professionals (67.4 percent). However, the highest rate of those who did not learn of the National Dialogue Committee was among the youth group (18-29 years) with a rate of (68.9 percent) and among the craft (trade) specialists (67.6 percent). These results show that the largest rate of the Society have not heard of the National Dialogue Committee despite the efforts made by the Committee to contact the social groups and other political forces across the country from the North to the South. This means that the media used by the Committee to introduce themselves were not sufficient to reach the largest rate of Jordanians. Its activity in this respect was limited to specific groups such as the opinion leaders, and the influential social/economic/tribal leaders all over the Kingdom.



Among the respondents, (62 percent) mentioned that the Government will consider the Committee recommendations against (25 percent) saying that the Government would not consider those recommendations. This can be attributed to the fact that the authority forming this Committee was the government. A rate of (64 percent) of the population in the Northern Region believe that the Government will consider the Committee recommendations against (62.5 percent) in the Central Region who believe so; this rate, however, drops in the Southern Region to 54.5 percent.

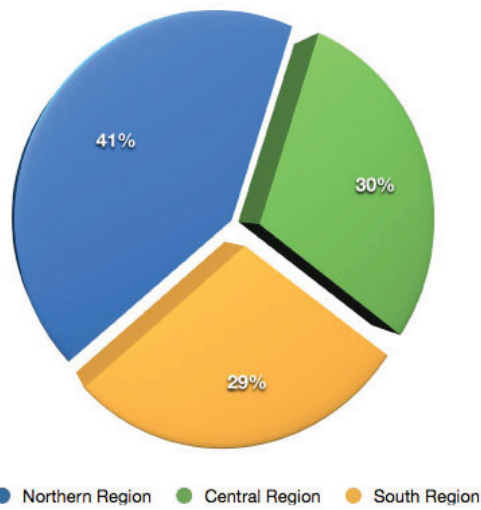
In line with the personal variables, it is noticed that the highest rate of confidence that the Government will respond to these outputs was among females (66.5 percent); the age group (40-49 years) with a rate of (69.1 percent); and the education level lower than the high school with a rate of (67.6 percent). This rate was close among professions although higher among administrative and managerial positions (56.5 percent).

The Electoral System and the Law of Elections:

When asking the respondents to which extent they support a combined electoral system (two votes per voter), the poll results revealed that (51 percent) support the combined system against (47 percent) who opposed it. These rates indicate that the one man: one vote which has governed the elections since 1993 is not accepted.

The highest rate supporting the combined electoral system was in the Northern Region (63.9 percent); the Central Region (46.7 percent) and finally in the Southern Region (44.8 percent).

Geographic Distribution of Rates Supporting a Combined Electoral System



Comparing the answers according to the personal variables, it is noticed that the highest rate to support a combined system was among males (53.6 percent); among the adults (>50) with a rate of (61.1 percent); the higher educational level (B.A+) with a rate of (62.1 percent) and professionals with a rate of (59.3 percent).

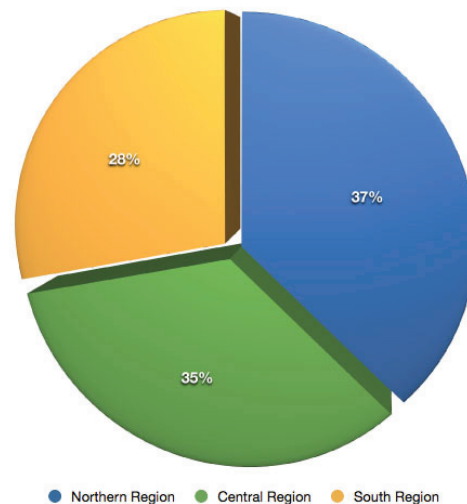
Three quarters of Jordanians (75 percent) support the idea to cancel the virtual constituencies approach used in the current electoral law against (15.5 percent) who objected to that. The highest rate of supporting cancellation was in the Northern Region and reached (80.5 percent); (73.2 percent) in the Southern Region; and (72.8 percent) in the Central Region.

Comparing the answers according to the personal variables, it is noticed that the highest rates supporting cancellation of virtual constituencies were among males (77.2 percent); among adults (>50) with a rate of (77.3 percent); among the secondary and intermediate education with a rate of (79 percent); and among craft (trade) practitioners with a rate of (80.2 percent).

Both polls reveal that more than half the Jordanians (53 percent) believe that the current distribution of the seats of the House of Representatives at the constituencies is unfair against (40 percent) who believe that it is fair.

The Northern Region marked the highest rate of those who believe that the current system of seat distribution is unfair (56 percent); and more than half (52 percent) were in the Southern and Central Regions.

Geographic Rates Supporting the Adoption of the Population Factor as a Basic Criterion for Seats' Distribution



Comparing the results according to the personal variables, it is noticed that the highest rate of dissatisfaction with the seat distribution; i.e. those responding with (NO) was among the males (55 percent); the age group (>50) with a rate of (55.1 percent); among the higher education groups (B.A and above) with a rate of (61.7 percent); and among professionals with a rate of (59.8 percent).

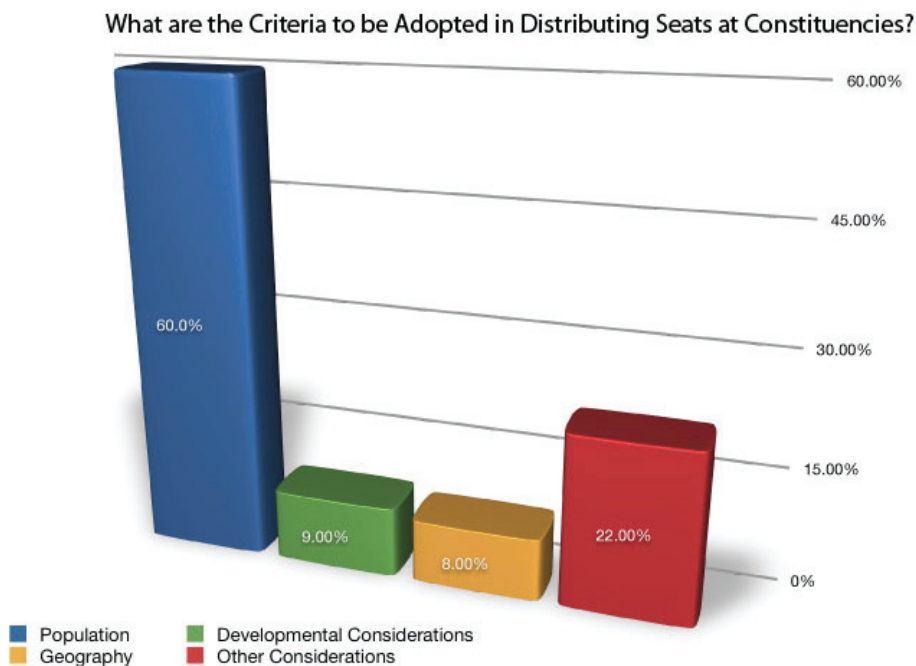
Asked about the criteria to be adopted in distributing seats at constituencies, the results showed that the number of population

was the first criterion with a rate of (60 percent); the population criterion ranked first geographically. In the Northern Region, the rate reached (64.2 percent); in the Central Region, the rate mounted to (60.0 percent); this rate dropped to (48.7 percent) in the Southern Region.

The developmental considerations ranked second with a rate of (9 percent); (13.8 percent) in the Southern Region; (6.7 percent) in the Northern Region; and (8.9 percent) in the Central Region. The Geographic considerations yielded a rate of (8 percent) with a rate of (11 percent) in the Southern Region; (8.6 percent) in the Central Region; and (6.6 percent) in the Northern Region.

Comparing these responses according to the personal variables, it is noticed that those supporting the idea of having the population factor mounted to the highest rates; males with a rate of (65.5 percent); the adult age group (>50) with a rate of (46.9 percent); and the higher education level with a rate of (60.8 percent); and among craft (trade) practitioners with a rate of (69.4 percent).

What are the Criteria to be Adopted in Distributing Seats at Constituencies?	
1. Population	60%
2. Developmental Considerations	9%
3. Geography	8%
4. Other Considerations	22%



The poll revealed that there is a significant support for the idea of having a local observance of the elections (88 per cent) against (36 percent supported an Arab observance and (18 percent) only supported an international observance of the elections. It is thought that the elections observance is highly relevant to the concept of sovereignty on the minds of Jordanians; which dictates some second thoughts when it comes to involving non-Jordanian agencies in observing and monitoring a merely "local affair".

In response to a question on increasing the women quota with more than (10 percent) as is the case now, (51 percent) of respondents supported it against (48 percent) opposing it. These results reflect a continuous divide in the society with regard to the political role of women. The rate of those supporting the demand to increase women representation rate at the Parliament and the rate of those opposing it seemed to be very close. In the meantime, three quarters (73 percent) expressed conviction that the quota system has backed up the women role in public life against (25 percent) saying the opposite. Other (36 percent) described women performance as excellent and very good against (44 percent) who mentioned that this performance ranged good to fair. Only (17 percent) believe that it was a poor performance.

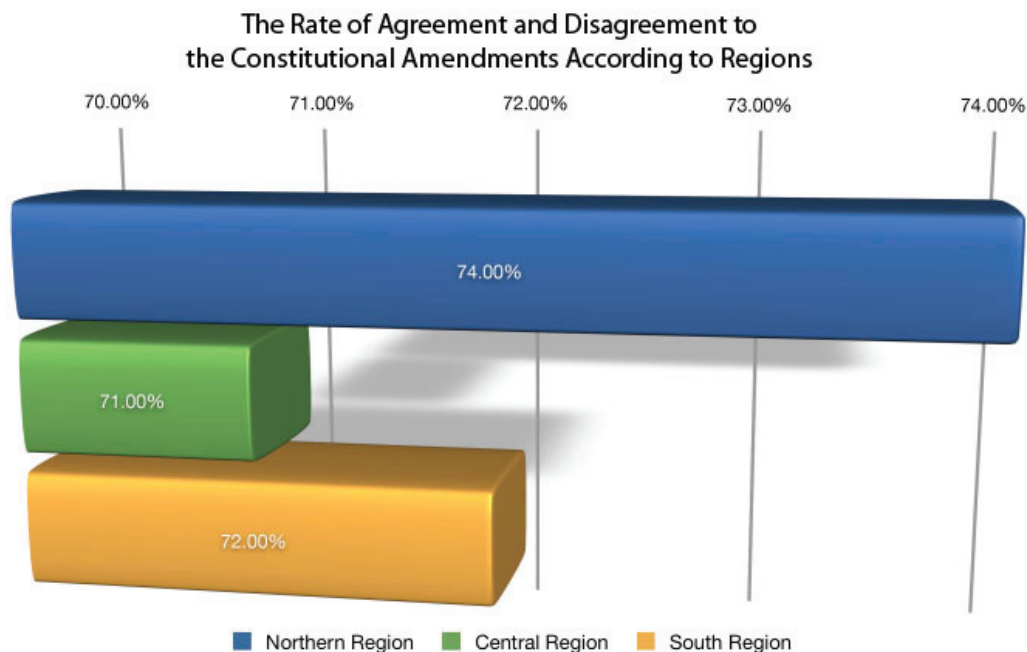
In terms of adding the Badia quota to the seats of governorates there and cancel the closed electoral constituencies, more than half the respondents (52.7percent) answered that they strongly and somehow agree to that, and (27.7 percent) opposed it. In the Southern Region, those supporting the idea mounted to (30.8 percent) with (31.5 percent) opposing it. In the Northern Region, (53.5 percent) supported the idea whilst (32.0 percent) opposed it.

A majority of respondents supported the demand to include a requirement for running for the elections of the House of Representatives to identify the minimum level of education accepted for the candidate (89.9 percent) against (9.9 percent) who refused that. Other (66.1 percent) supported the idea of having the first university degree (B.A.) as the minimum level required.

The Constitutional Amendments

The majority of respondents supported the demand to introduce amendments to the Constitution so that it would be in harmony with the amended Law of Elections with (71.4 percent) saying that they strongly and somehow agree to that against (13 percent) absolutely opposing it and (11 percent) slightly agreeing to it.

Geographically, the rates of those agreeing to the Constitutional amendments were very close with (73.5 percent) of the Northern Region population strongly and somehow agreeing; followed with the Southern Region with a rate of (72.2 percent) strongly and somehow agreeing; and the Central Region with (70.5 percent) strongly and somehow agreeing.



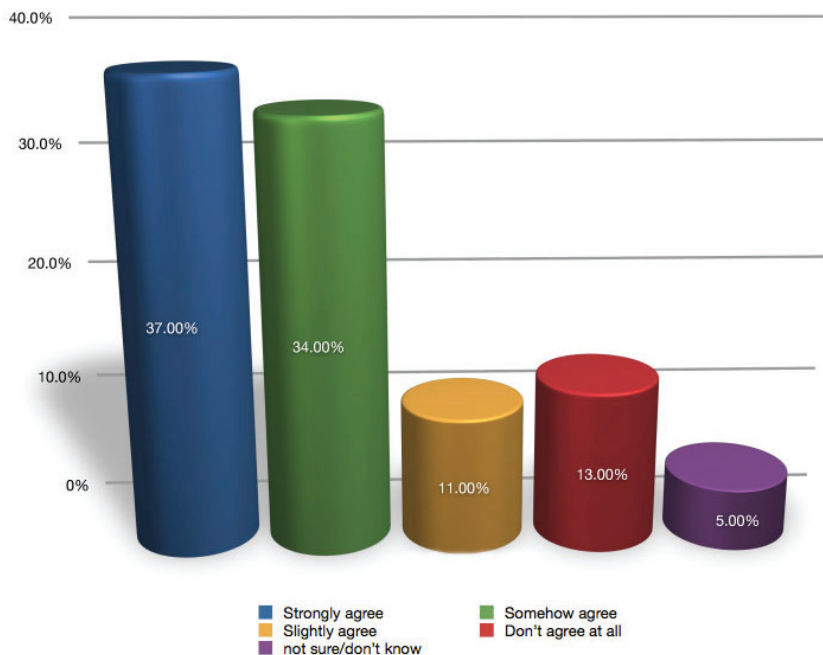
Rate of agreement to have the government formed by the bloc, trend, or party that yields the majority of seats at the Parliament? Do you strongly, somehow, slightly agree; or you don't agree at all? *

1. Strongly agree	37 %
2. Somehow agree	34 %
3. Slightly agree	11 %
4. Don't agree at all	13 %
7. not sure/don't know	5 %

Comparing the responses according to the personal variables, it is noticed that the highest rate agreeing was among males with a rate of (39.3 percent) among the age group (40-49 years) with a rate of (40.4 percent); among the Secondary and Intermediate College with a rate of (42.6 percent); and among professionals with a rate of (44 percent).

The highest rate of opposition was in the Southern Region with a rate of (15.5 percent); among the group with lower educational level with a rate of (15.4 percent); and among the population in rural areas with a rate of (15.3 percent).

Some amendments to the Law of Election required Constitutional amendment; to which degree do you agree with that? Do you strongly, somehow, slightly agree or you do not agree at all?



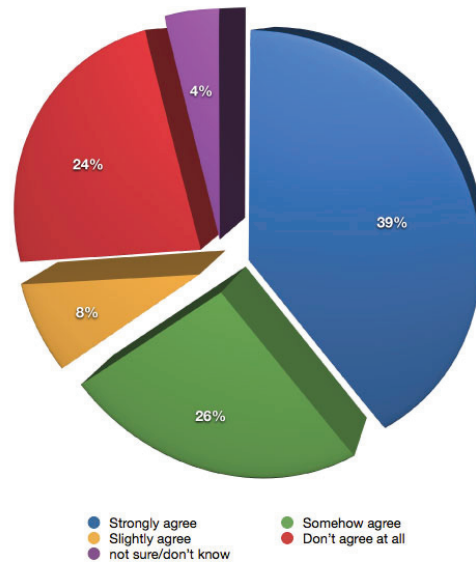
In terms of the supervisory body of the elections, the poll revealed that a rate of (64 percent) of Jordanians strongly and somehow agree to creating a higher autonomous body to supervise the elections instead of the Ministry of Interior against (32 percent) who do not agree to having such a commission or slightly agree to it. The highest rate of agreement was in the Northern Region with a rate of (41.3 percent) followed with the Central Region with a rate of (37.8 percent); and the Southern Region with a rate of (34.7 percent).

Comparing the responses according to the personal variables, it is noticed that the highest rate of agreement to this proposition was among the males (44.3 percent); the adults (>50 years) with a rate of (42.3 percent); the higher educational level (B.A and above) with a rate of (49.4 percent); and the professionals with a rate of (50.6 percent).

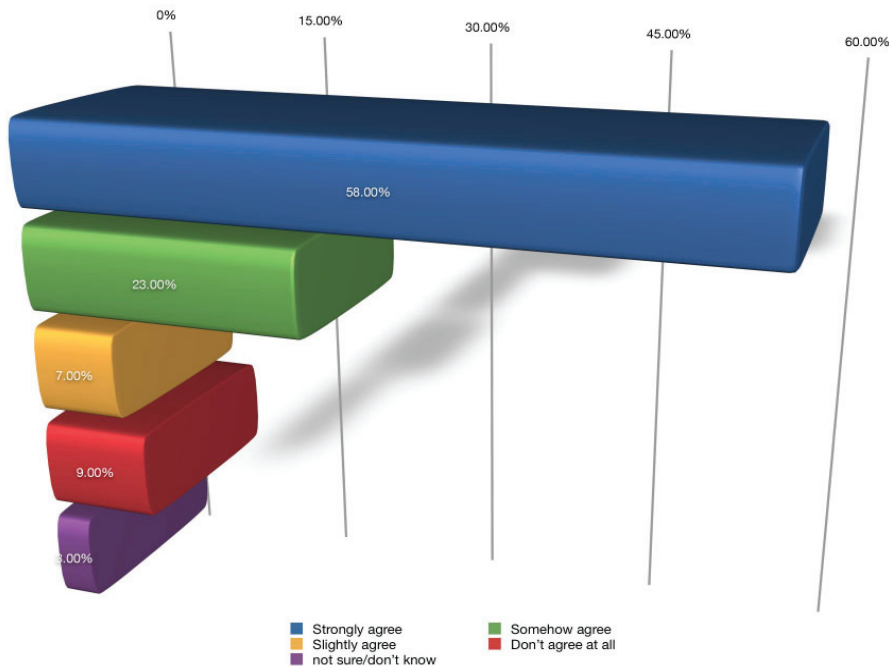
	Some amendments to the Law of Election required Constitutional amendment; to which degree do you agree with that? Do you strongly, somehow, slightly agree or you do not agree at all?
1. Strongly	37%
2. Somehow	34%
3. Slightly	11%
4. Don't agree at all	13%
7. Not sure/don't know	5%

Rate of Agreement To Create a Higher Autonomous Commission to Supervise the Elections Instead the Ministry of Interior

The absolute majority of Jordanian (81 percent) strongly and somehow agreed to have the judiciary decide on the electoral contestations instead of the Parliament; those absolutely opposing or slightly agreeing to this idea counted for (16 percent). The highest rate accepting it was in the Northern Region and counted for (63.6 percent) followed with the Central Region with a rate of (56.7 percent); and finally the Southern Region with a rate of (52.8 percent). As a whole there are high rates that agree to having the judiciary decide on the electoral contestation.



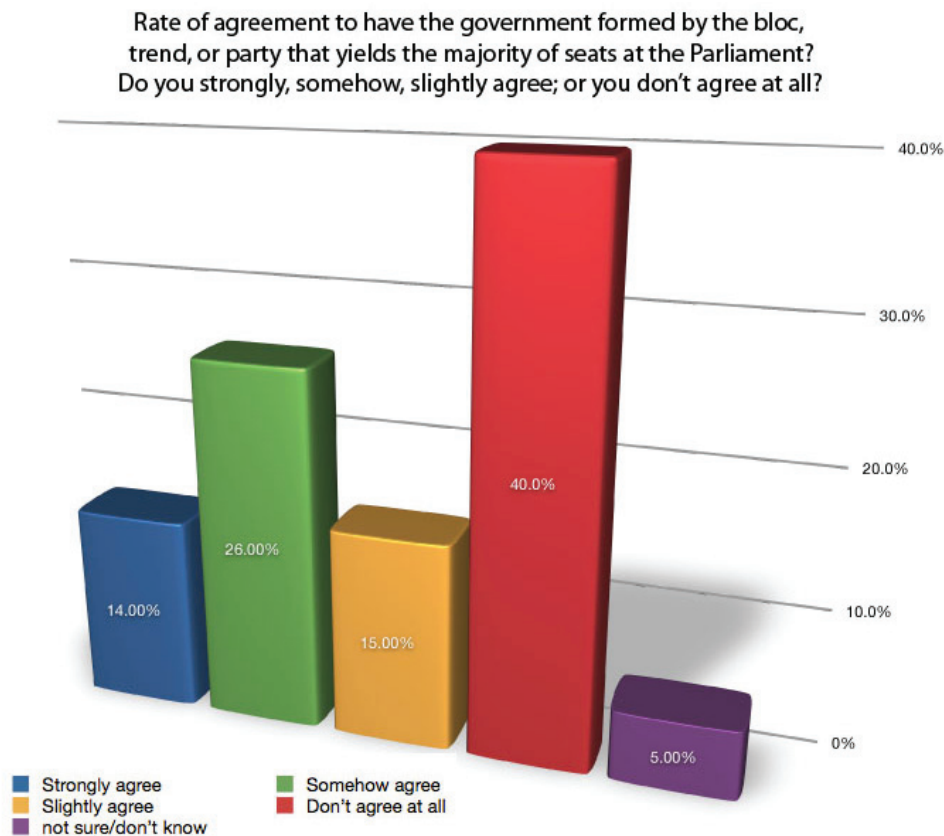
The percentage of support for the judiciary to take responsibility for deciding on appeals



Comparing responses to the question in light of the personal variables, it is noticed that the highest rate was among males (59.2 percent); among the adults (>50 years) with a rate of (69.1 percent); among the group with a higher education level (B.A.+) with a rate of (69.8 percent) and among professionals with a rate of (75.3 percent).

Rate of agreement to have the government formed by the bloc, trend, or party that yields the majority of seats at the Parliament? Do you strongly, somehow, slightly agree; or you don't agree at all? *	
1. Strongly agree	14 %
2. Somehow agree	26 %
3. Slightly agree	15 %
4. Don't agree at all	40 %
7. not sure/don't know	5 %

In terms of constitutional amendments to result in governments formed by the party with a Parliamentary majority, (40 percent) absolutely opposed the idea against (39 percent) strongly and somehow agreeing to it; and (15 percent) slightly agreeing to it.



The highest rate opposing the idea was in the Southern Region (45.2 percent) followed with the Northern Region with a rate of (41.1 percent); and finally the Central Region (39.4 percent). In fact, differences here are so slight and do not hold any significance.

The Public Opinion Stand Towards the Sixteenth House of Representatives:

In the section to evaluate the public opinion towards the Sixteenth House of Representatives performance, results of both polls showed that half the Jordanians (56 percent) do not trust the House performance or slightly trust it against (42 percent) saying that they strongly and somehow trust that performance. This result is but another indicator to the stereotyped negative image that has emerged among the Jordanians towards the recent Parliamentary Houses and their weak trust in them.

Geographically, the highest rate of absolute distrust in the Parliamentary House performance was in the Southern Region (39.2 percent) against (10.4 percent) who strongly trust it followed with the Central Region with a rate of (34 percent) against (9.3 percent) who strongly trust it; and finally in the Northern Region with a rate of (33 percent) against (5.8 percent) who strongly trust the House performance.

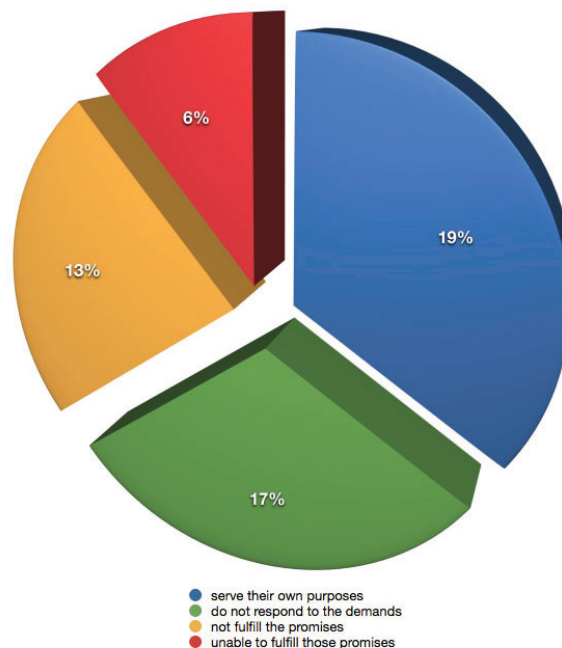
Based on the personal variables, the rate of distrust among males counted for (37.6 percent); the age group (40-50 years) with a rate of (40 percent); among the educational level B.A+ group with a rate of (38.7 percent); and among the professionals group (51.1 percent). It is noticed here that most of these groups are those of a lower income and educational level.

As for the negative attitude of the Jordanian citizen towards the House of Representatives, the poll revealed that more than half the Jordanians (58.6 percent) believe that the ability of the House to solve problems that Jordan is faced with is very poor; those who trust the House ability in a good and very good rating count for (17.1 percent) only out of the total respondents.

In the Southern Region, the rate of those who trust the ability of the House to solve problems with a very good, good, and fair rating counted for (41.9 percent) with a rate of (55.2 percent) saying that the House ability is very poor. In the North, those who believe

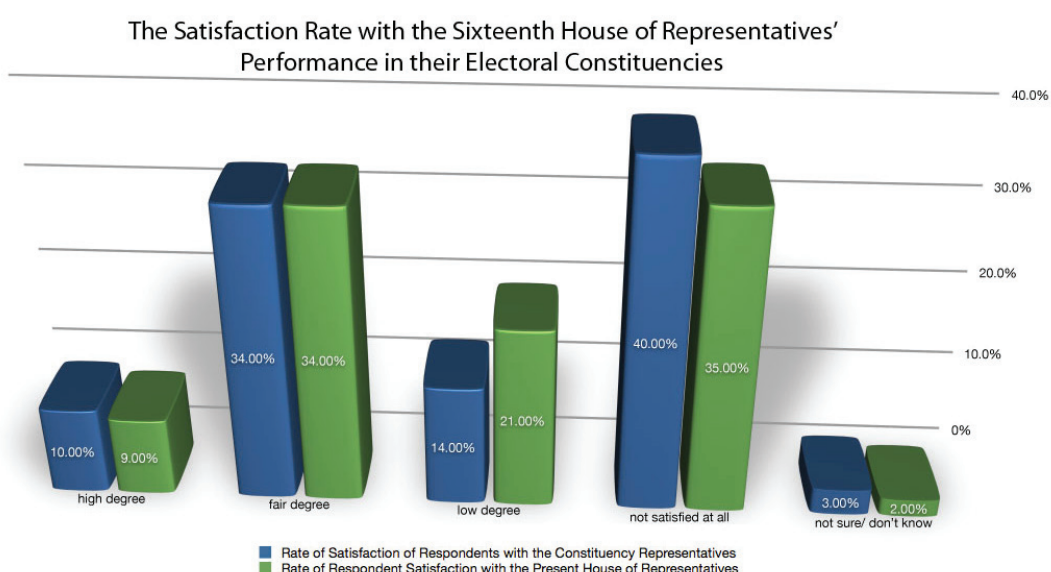
in the House ability to solve problems of the Jordanian Community counted for (35.5 percent) with a good, very good, and fair rating. Other (61.8 percent) do not believe in the ability of the House to solve the problems that the Society suffers from. In the Central Region, a rate of (38.3 percent) believe in a very good, good and fair ratings in the ability of the Parliamentary House to solve the problems that the Society suffers from against (57.6 percent) who do not trust the House to do so. These results reveal that the lack of trust is the major characteristic of the Jordanian's evaluation of the Parliamentary House.

The reasons of the Jordanian citizen distrust in the Parliamentary houses



"The Satisfaction Rate with the Sixteenth House of Representatives' Performance in their Electoral Constituencies"		
	Rate of Satisfaction of Respondents with the Constituency Representatives	Rate of Respondent Satisfaction with the Present House of Representatives
1. high degree	10%	9%
2. fair degree	34%	34%
3. low degree	14%	21%
4. not satisfied at all	40%	35%
5. not sure/ don't know	3%	2%

When comparing these responses in light of the personal variables, it is noticed that the rate of dissatisfaction is the prevailing characteristic among most of the respondents as (62.7 percent) of males mentioned that that the Representatives' performance in treating the Society problems is very poor. The rate of those who mentioned the very poor performance increased among the age groups in correlation with the older age group; it was higher among those of >50 years old- (65.8 percent); among those of the higher education level, the agreement was very poor- (63 percent) among those holding a university degree and above; and among the administrative/managerial staff with a rate of (69.5 percent).



Results reveal that more than half the sample subjects (54 percent) are slightly or not satisfied at all with the performance of their constituencies' Representatives against (35 percent) who said that they are satisfied to a high and a fair degree. There are no significant differences to mention in terms of the attitude of the several regions to this role.

The poll also reveals that one third of Jordanians (33 percent) only follow up the operations of the House of Representatives to a high and fair degree; (28 percent) follow those operations to a low degree; and (39 percent) affirmed that they do not follow up them at all. The reasons for this can be attributed to two factors- first, carelessness (44 percent); dissatisfaction with the performance of the Representatives (42 percent); and the lack of time and family engagements (14 percent).

Another indicator to the ignorance of the public opinion of the existing House of Representatives is that a rate of (69 percent) do not know that there are Parliamentary blocs in the House against (26 percent) who said that they knew of such blocs. When asked about the names of blocs, it was found out that a large rate of them (36 percent) do not realize the names and directives of these blocs. They “believe” or “claim” that they know about the Parliamentary blocs of the House. These results can be attributed to the stereotyped image among Jordanians with regard to the Parliamentary performance which is characterized with individualism which has been further consecrated with the one man: one vote principle. This is clear with more than half the sample (54 percent) opposing the idea of having large blocs at the House of Representatives against (38 percent) only who support that.

The poll results reveal the poor communication of Representatives with their constituents as (45 percent) of the sample subjects mentioned that the degree of communicating with the citizens is very low. This rate is a high one that reflects the ignorance of Representatives to their constituents. Results show that a rate of (10 percent) of the sample subjects rate the communication of Representatives with their constituents as excellent and very good. Moreover, the poll results show a poor communication between the constituents and their Representatives in their constituencies- (84 percent) said that they do not communicate with their Representatives against (16 percent) who said that they communicate.

The poll results show that (44 percent) of citizens believe that the Government respond to a high and fair degree to the Representatives’ demands; other (48 percent) of respondents mentioned that the Government response is of a low degree or it never respond to the Parliamentary demands. This result reflects a general sense of the poor performance of the House and a public perception of the Executive Branch dominance over the Legislative one.

Among the sample subjects, (49 percent) mentioned that the personal interests of the Representative are the basic element to control the relationship of the Representative with the Government; one third (34 percent) mentioned the higher national interest as the basic element in this respect. The other responses went to several varied choices.

Comparing the answers of those mentioning the personal interest of the Representative as the detriment factor of the relationship of the Representative with the Government according to the personal variables, it is noticed that the males marked the higher rate (50.9 percent); the age group (30-39 years) with a rate of (53 percent); the higher education level (B.A+) with a rate of (58.9 percent); craft (trade) practitioners with a rate of (56.9 percent); and the Southern Region with a rate of (53 percent).

In terms of the Islamists’ exclusion from the present House of Representatives due to their boycotting the past elections, results revealed that (46 percent) of respondents believe that this exclusion has not affected the House performance against (30 percent) mentioning that it has had a negative impact; and (8 percent) mentioned that the Islamists’ boycott was of a positive impact.

The Forthcoming Elections and Integrity of the Last Elections:

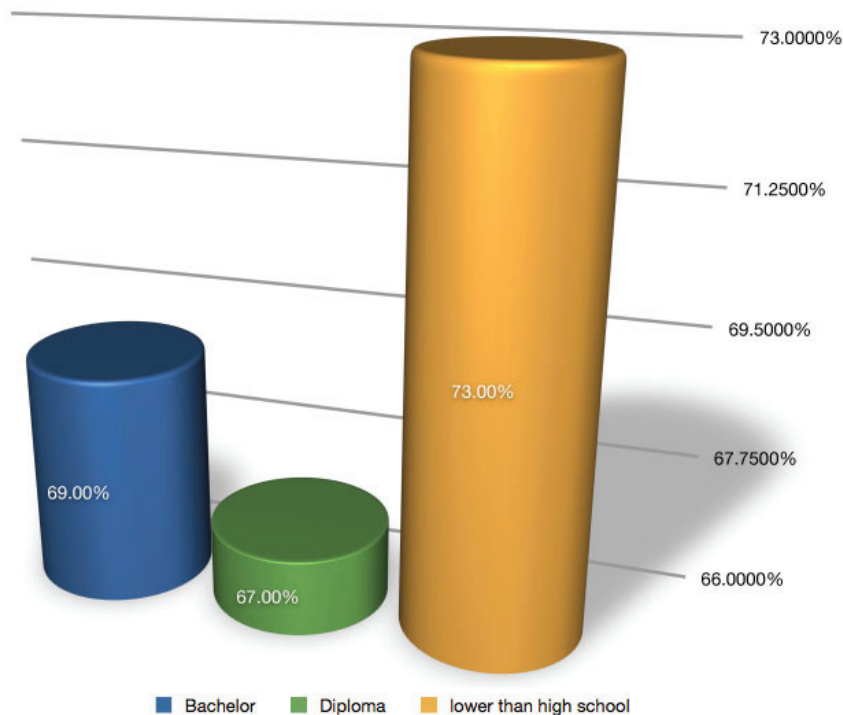
Asking the respondent about their willingness to participate in the forthcoming elections, (70.6 percent) mentioned that they have the intention to participate against (21.4 percent) mentioned that they will not. Those responding with (not sure) counted for (8 percent) which is a low rate. This means that there is a high rate of those willing to participate; it is higher than the actual participation rate in the elections of the present House.

The poll results reveal that the Northern Region population are the most willing to

participate in the forthcoming elections with a rate of (79.8 percent); followed with the Southern Region population with a rate of (68.6 percent) and finally the Central Region population with a rate of (67.5 percent).

Comparing these attitudes in light of the personal variables of respondents, it is noticed that the males and females tend to participate in a rate of (72.8 percent) for males against (68.4 percent). For age groups, the percentages were close for those expressing willingness to participate across all age groups. For the educational level, the highest rate was for the low education level (lower than high school) with a rate of (73.4 percent); followed with the B.A with a rate of (69.1 percent) and the intermediate level (Diploma), which yielded a rate of (67.2 percent).

Attitudes to Participate in the Forthcoming Elections According to the Education Variable



The poll reveals that a rate of (57 percent) of respondents voted in the elections of November, 2010. The official voting rate mounted to (53 percent) against (40 percent) saying that they did not vote. About (39 percent) of those not voting attributed that to their dissatisfaction with the elections in general and the candidates in particular. The results reveal that those participating voted for candidates according to competence and integrity (47 percent); another similar rate voted on the basis of being a relative, or a family/tribal fellow.

Comparing the reasons for voting to candidates according to the identity profile of the respondents, it was found out that the males rated competence and integrity in the first rank (51 percent); followed with the family and tribal relation with a rate of (43.1 percent). The other choices yielded low rates.

Females, however, rated the family and tribal fellowship in the first rank (51.4 percent) followed with competence and integrity with a rate of (43.4 percent). The other choices yielded low rates. These rates indicate that these two factors ranked first and second among males and females with close rates for the first alternative. This is a normal thing in a conventional community where women are more affiliated to family and less capable of independence and abandonment of family and tribal values.

Kinsman relations rated the most among the young (61.4 percent) followed with the second age group of (30-39) with a rate of (53.1 percent). This rate drops to (35.4 percent and 37.2 percent) in other age groups. Competence and integrity ranked first among the older age groups (59.7 percent) among the age group 40-49 years and (56.1 percent) among the age group (>50). This reason is less considered among the younger age groups. It reaches (36.3 percent) among the age group (18-29 years) and (38.9 percent) among the age group (30-39 years). When it comes to the educational level, the rates are close and there are no indicators to the impact of the educational level on choices introduced as reasons for voting.

An obvious majority of Jordanians (51 percent) believe that the 2010 elections marked selling/purchasing incidents of votes to a high and fair degree. Those saying the opposite (no selling/purchasing incidents of votes) rated for (26 percent). Half of Jordanians (47 percent) believe that the past elections witnessed a collective transfer of votes to a high and fair degree against (27 percent) saying that there was not such transfer. Other (14 percent) mentioned that this transfer took place to a low degree.

Accordingly, one can say that the public opinion is suspicious in terms of the integrity of the last elections despite the continuous and recurrent assurances by the Government in respect of the integrity and transparency of those elections.



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OF REPRESENTATIVES:
**OPINION POLL
2011**

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