

**Substantive Representation in Arab Parliaments:
Female MPs and Policy Agenda Priorities in Jordan and Tunisia**

**A Dissertation
Submitted to the University of Tsukuba
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Social Sciences**

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother, Zubaida Alkubati, my greatest role model and emotional support on earth. I know you were unable to complete your education because of us, thus, I have achieved the highest level of education and I am dedicating it to you. Thank you for standing by me and supporting my dreams regardless of what social norms dictate. You have instilled a tenacity in me to always aim for the sky. I am ever so grateful for your unconditional love and support. You are and have always been an inspiration to me. Thank you for raising me to become a strong and confident woman. I hope that I have made you proud.

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These six years away from my family have been extremely difficult, but I have pushed myself to become a person they can be proud of.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Every human being has the right to contribute to decisions that will affect his/her life. For both women and men, this right remains a fundamental aspect and is core to equal participation in decision-making. However, women remain highly underrepresented in decision-making positions globally. Statistics published by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) show that globally, women only constitute 23.4 % of the gender composition in both the lower and upper houses of national parliaments (IPU, 2018). From a regional comparative perspective, as seen in Table 1.1, the Nordic countries remain at the top, followed by the Americas and Europe (OSCE countries and non-OSCE countries) while Sub-Saharan African countries only have 23.7 %, Asia at 19.5 %, Arab states at 18.5 % and lastly Pacific countries are the lowest with 15.5 % of women parliamentarians in single/lower houses.

Not only in politics but in many aspects of gender equality, the Nordic countries continue to top ranks and indexes of measures globally (for example., the Gender Inequality Index, the Global Gender Gap Index, and United Nations Development Program (UNDP)). Nordic countries aim to achieve gender balance in all parts of society, and this is reflected in gender equality measures and mechanisms implemented throughout the region (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2006).

Table 1.1: Regional Averages of Women in National Parliaments

	Lower House	Upper House	Both Houses
Nordic Countries	41.1%	--	--
Americas	28.6%	28.4%	28.6%
Europe- OSCE (including Nordic)	27.3%	26.2%	27.1%
Europe- OSCE (excluding Nordic)	26.0%	26.2%	26.0%
Sub-Sahara Africa	23.7%	22.8%	23.6%
Asia	19.5%	17.2%	19.3%
Arab States	18.5%	12.6%	17.7%
Pacific	15.5%	37.1%	17.9%

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1st March 2018.

Similarly, many countries are also aiming to achieve equal participation of women in many aspects, including national politics. Increasing the number of women in national politics has been a core agenda of international conventions and treaties as well, such as the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Internationally, regionally, and locally, different mechanisms have been implemented to increase women's numbers in political positions, including gender quotas as the most common mechanism (Miranda, 2005). Today, over 100 countries (democracies and non-democracies) have implemented voluntary and/or compulsory electoral gender quotas as a quick fix to women's under-representation in politics (Krook, 2009).

A key element of decision making and participation in politics is policy and agenda-setting. Policymaking process needs to be evidence-driven, available and accessible to as many people as possible (OECD, 2013). An inclusive policymaking process increases accountability, transparency and participation. Nonetheless, achieving policies that are inclusive strongly depends on whether citizens' views and

perspectives (including men and women) are integrated in the process. Increasing women's numerical representation in politics is important for both gender balance and inclusion of women's perspectives and needs, thereby improving policymaking processes (Philipps, 1995; Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Celis, Childs, Kantola & Krook, 2008; Dahlerup, 2007, 2013; Rosen, 2013). Thus, achieving gender balance in decision-making is essential to ensure that policies that affect all citizens are represented equally (OECD, 2013). Higher representation is also anticipated to have positive effects on both policy agenda and interaction within society (Dahlerup, 2007; Kanter 1977, 2006).

Previous literature has claimed that as women's numerical representation increases in national parliaments, women's interests and areas of most significant concern to women will be represented substantively (Sinkkonen & Haavio-Mannila, 2018; Skjeie, 1991). Similarly, scholars have shown that the descriptive representation of women in politics (DRW) can result in a substantive representation of women (SRW) (Mansbridge, 2005; Skjeie, 1991). DRW focuses on women's demographic representation in politics, while SRW focuses on their contribution after being elected. Studies have also shown that parliamentary speeches and statements are vital instruments for assessing politicians' views, interests, stance and policy priorities (Bäck, Debus & Müller, 2014). Through analysis of MPs' speeches, studies have shown that they have taken an "acting for" approach to substantive representation (see Chapter Two). Most of the past studies have demonstrated that female MPs substantively represent female interests in national parliaments (Thomas, 1994; Carroll, 1994; Wängnerud, 1996, 1998; Sinkkonen & Haavio-Mannila, 2018). These studies have shown that DRW has a positive effect on policy agenda because of the integration of women's diverse experiences and perspectives in the process. Most research examining

the policy agendas of female politicians in national legislatures of the U.S. and Scandinavia have shown that female MPs advocate women's agenda in their speeches and legislative discussions more than men (Thomas, 1994; Saint-Germain, 1989; Sinkkonen & Haavio-Mannila, 2018). However, few studies have extended similar researches beyond advanced industrial democracies. However, some Latin American and African countries have also been studied.

As a result, past studies have limited women into being representatives of their gender without considering other aspects that they contribute to policymaking. More studies on "women" in different national parliaments need to be conducted. This is because most of the past studies have identified "women" as one monolithic group in their findings and as a result, minorities and women from the Global South remain understudied in academia. Non-western regions need to be studied more to demonstrate their contribution to national parliaments (Alexander et al., 2018). Consequently, this thesis examines some related questions. As the number of women increases in national parliaments, what types of policies agenda do they promote, and do they prioritize other policy agendas other than women's issues?

This thesis proposes that findings in existing literature concerning the policy priorities of female MPs can also be generalized to Arab states where support for women in politics remains low, yet the adoption of gender quotas is on the rise. The subsequent section briefly introduces the Arab region, which is also discussed in-depth in Chapter Three.

1.1 **The Arab Region**

I compare two Arab parliaments in the Arab region, the Kingdom of Jordan and Tunisia, a monarchy, and a recently transitioned democracy (with the experiences of

authoritarianism in the past). The Arab region has no democracies except for Tunisia, which recently transitioned into a republic in 2014. Although the political systems in the region are highly authoritarian, they incorporate democratic elements (Nagi, 2008). Therefore, elected national parliaments are common in some Arab countries. Although the MENA region has one of the lowest figures in the IPU's regional averages of women's legislative representation (see Table 1.1), noticeable progress has been achieved in the past decade.

Recent changes in gender reforms introduced by different Arab states have made women's political participation realizable in the region. Many Arab countries have ratified treaties and conventions for women's empowerment and adopted strategies to improve the representation of women in politics (Al-Maaitah, Oweis, Gharaibeh, Olimat & al-Maaitah, 2013). The widespread adoption of gender quotas and other women's empowerment strategies in the Arab region have resulted in substantial progress for women in Arab parliaments, thereby increasing their representation from 8.6 % in 2006 to 19 % today (IPU, 2019). This progress is not uniform across countries in the region; nonetheless, certain states in the Arab region have achieved a high representation of women in national parliaments.

I have selected these two countries for the scope of my research because they have both introduced gender quotas and other empowerment strategies to increase women's political participation. Likewise, Jordan and Tunisia recently began using social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook and Twitter, thereby making parliamentary activities such as speeches and debates publicly available and accessible. Therefore, similar to previous studies, this research looks beyond the numbers to examine substantive representation of elected women representatives in Arab

parliaments through the policy agendas they promote in their speeches and statements. The speeches and statements of female MPs that were posted on the official YouTube channels of both parliaments are examined for this research due to absence of *Hansard* or official transcripts being made publicly available.

1.2 Research Objectives

The objective of this research is to contribute to understanding women's participation in Arab parliaments by identifying the background experiences that female MPs bring to policymaking and the policy agendas they promote.

1.3 Research Questions

Most of the countries with the highest women's parliamentary representation are non-Western except for Scandinavia (IPU, 2019); likewise, most of these countries have adopted gender quotas as a means of empowering women. In the Arab region, women's numerical representation in national parliaments has also been increasing because of gender quotas. However, this research looks beyond numbers, focusing on the women elected to national parliaments. Based on this, the below research questions are developed:

1. What are the background experiences of female MPs in the parliaments of Jordan and Tunisia?
2. How do female MPs reflect their background experience in their speeches and statements?
3. What policy agendas do female MPs invoke in their speeches in national parliaments of Jordan and Tunisia?
 - Which policy areas do they prioritize?

1.4 Significance and Implications

Considering that women's political representation around the world differs, it is vital to cogitate the varying experiences of women in politics. This study contributes to the current understanding of women's political participation in Arab parliaments by:

1. Highlighting the background experience that female MPs bring to policymaking in Arab parliaments. The background experience of female MPs examined in this study include education background, political expertise, professional working experience and CSO participation.
2. Highlighting the diverse policy agenda that female MPs in Arab parliaments promote. Very few studies have focused on the policy agenda that female MPs prioritize other than women's issues.
3. Contributing to the literature on women's participation in the national politics of Arab countries.
4. Contributing to the academic literature on substantive representation through the cases of female MPs in Arab parliaments.
5. Designing a workable coding scheme (partly replicating the coding of policy areas of previous studies) that will be applicable to non-Western countries, specifically, the Arab region. Previous coding schemes have mostly been developed for policy priorities of western cases.

1.5 Theories and Arguments

Theories of representation and intersectionality are used to explain women's policy agenda priorities in Arab parliaments (see Chapter Two for more details on the theoretical framework used). Past studies have argued that an increase in women's descriptive (demographic) representation is important for substantive (acting for)

representation. As female MPs increase in national parliaments, studies have shown that female MPs substantively represent policies concerning traditional areas of women's interests such as health and education (for example, Carroll, 1994; Wängnerud, 1996, 1998, Thomas, 1994). Likewise, many studies have highlighted the importance of women's background experiences in the policymaking process (Carroll, 1994; Dassonneville & McAllister, 2018).

As intersectionality theory has argued (see Chapter Two for more details), women are not a monolithic entity; they share different experiences, and therefore, these differences need to be recognized. When differences are not considered, women from non-dominant social groups are marginalized (Alexander et al., 2019). Since not many studies have looked at differences among women themselves when it comes to policy priorities in national parliaments (most of the previous studies have compared female MPs policy priorities in comparison to men in their support for women's issues), it is important to highlight the policy priorities of women from diverse groups and backgrounds such as age, caste, religion, ethnicity etc.

By applying intersectionality theory to this thesis, I chose to study women from Arab countries to highlight their political participation in Arab parliaments. By doing so, I was able to contribute to the literature on policy agenda and women's political participation in the Arab region. Likewise, I was able to showcase some of the capabilities of female politicians in Arab parliaments through examining their background experience and policy agenda priorities.

Using theories of representation (descriptive representation and substantive representation), I was able to examine Arab countries that have introduced gender quotas (see Chapter Three) as a means to increase women's numerical representation

(descriptive representation) in Arab parliaments. I was also able to expatiate on the theory of substantive representation by examining what female MPs promote in their speeches and statements.

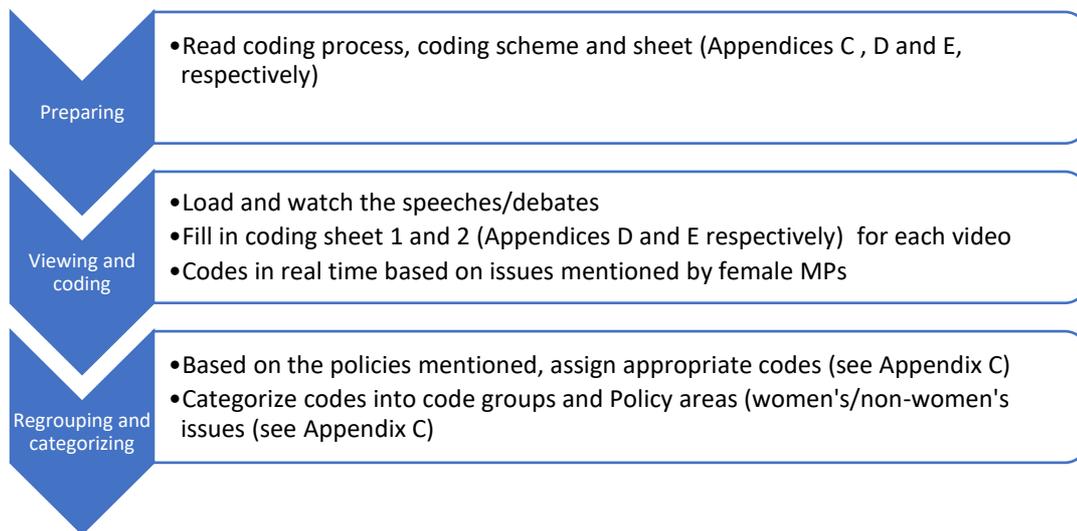
1.6 Methodology and Selection of Cases

The method used throughout this research is qualitative content analysis. I analyzed the background of female MPs and their parliamentary speeches in the Kingdom of Jordan and Tunisia. All speeches were published between 2014 and 2019 on the official websites, YouTube channels, and other official social media platforms. In this study, YouTube videos were used as the main media source for speeches and statements of female MPs (see Chapter Four for more details).

A human-coded content-analysis scheme was developed based on the interpretation of policy agendas in previous studies (see Chapter Two). Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS), specifically Atlas ti (see Chapter Four for more details), was used to systematically organize the data collected and match with pre-defined codes (see Chapter Four).

Information on the background experience of female MPs were collected for analysis. Based on previous studies, education background, political expertise, professional working experience, and CSO participation were used to describe the background experiences of female MPs. The information was collected from the official parliamentary websites of each parliament (see Chapter Four).

Figure 1.1: Coding and Analysis Process



Source: Author

As shown in Figure 1.1, the content analysis of the speeches followed specific steps. First, the coders had to familiarize themselves with the coding scheme, and instrument (coding sheet), then they started the analysis and coding process. During the coding process of the speeches and statements, the coders categorized the contents of the speeches under pre-defined themes called “code groups” used throughout this thesis (see Chapter Four and Appendix C). Then, these code groups were classified as either women’s or non-women’s issues, referred to as “policy areas” in this thesis (see Chapter Four and Appendix C). For the first policy area of “women’s issues” (traditional issues), eight themes (code groups) were identified, namely: women’s rights, youth, education, family, health, environment, elderly, and social issues. For non-women’s issues (non-traditional issues), five themes (code groups) were identified, namely: development, economy, government, immigration, and national security. As for feminist issues, some themes included reproductive rights, LGBTQ rights, equal pay, etc. However, feminist

issues were not relevant to policy priorities of female MPs in Arab parliaments thus, this was not included in the coding scheme (see Chapter Four and Appendix C).

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Since data for this research was collected from the official YouTube channels of each parliament, some limitations existed. First, speeches and statements of MPs in both parliaments were only available for the last election cycle (2014 for Tunisia and 2016 for Jordan). This is because Arab parliaments only recently started using YouTube as a platform for uploading legislative activities. Ease of navigation to access data was also a drawback due to the inconsistency in archiving of parliamentary video records.

Another limitation was that interviews with female MPs were not conducted. This would have given more insight and in-depth understanding of the MPs' perspectives as well as provided more evidence to support findings on policy agenda priorities and factors shaping them. Nonetheless, due to the scope and time limitation of this research, conducting interviews was not feasible. Nevertheless, this study has provided a methodological foundation for identifying policy agenda priorities of female MPs in Arab parliaments that can be expanded further to include other politicians, other national parliaments, and other methods of analysis in future studies.

1.8 Organization of the Dissertation

The chapters of this dissertation explore the different dimensions of women's political representation across the Arab parliaments in depth. Using findings from a content analysis of female MPs in two Arab countries (Jordan and Tunisia), the rest of the dissertation is organized as follows:

Chapter Two gives a review of previous literature and scholarly works on women's political participation and representation, particularly discussing literature on patriarchy, empowerment, and gender and politics. The theoretical framework used in guiding this research is also explained in detail.

Chapter Three gives a background of women in the Arab world. Significant changes have occurred for women's rights and participation in the Arab region over the last 20 years. Thus, this chapter explores the evolution of women's rights, personal status law, women's political participation, and political empowerment mechanisms in the region. This provides an understanding of the background of each country and the social, political, and cultural factors that are affecting women's political representation in the region over the last two decades.

Chapter Four gives a thorough insight into the methodological approaches used throughout this dissertation. It includes the rationale for selecting a qualitative content analysis approach to analyzing the data for this study. It gives a detailed overview of how the content analysis was utilized to analyze the speeches and statements given by selected female MPs within the last election cycle in Jordan and Tunisia.

Chapter Five is the data analysis and findings section, and this chapter analyzes the data to answer the research questions. This chapter provides insights into the findings from the background experiences of female MPs and the speeches and statements given by selected female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia.

Chapter Six includes the overall discussion and conclusion of the dissertation. This chapter presents arguments based on the findings from two Arab parliaments. It discusses the background experience and policy agendas that female MPs support as well as the reflection of background experience in their speeches in each parliament

(Jordan and Tunisia). Avenues for further research streams are also discussed briefly. The appendices include all the essential reference documents used by the researcher throughout this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

This chapter gives an overview of previous literature and scholarly works on patriarchy and empowerment. I review the literature on women's political participation, women's political representation, women's political empowerment and women's policy agenda priorities in national politics. The literature was selected as being the most relevant in understanding political participation in the Arab region. The literature review is followed by the theoretical framework, which uses theories of representation and intersectionality as the main concepts guiding this research.

2.1 Patriarchy

This section gives an overview of the literature on patriarchy. Patriarchy is a fundamental concept towards understanding women's participation in the politics of non-western countries, particularly Arab countries. Patriarchy's profoundly enrooted nature today causes discrimination in different aspects of life for women. This causes various forms of disparities in access to education, inheritance, job opportunities, career paths, and salaries. Patriarchy itself has evolved in meaning, from its etymological sense of "male figure" into that of a system. Walby (1990) defines patriarchy as "systems and practices that shape the social structure where men oppress and exploit

women” (Walby, 1990, p.51). She explains how patriarchy provides a system of control and law. Walby acknowledged that patriarchy had become a system that has local or regional variations stemming from a long historical process. Although Walby emphasizes that patriarchy as a system is not based on biological definitions, nevertheless, it cannot be said that the formation of the patriarchal social structure is naturally inevitable.

Rich (1977) defines patriarchy as:

“A familial-social, ideological, political system in which men by force, direct pressure or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs etiquette, education, and the division of labor, determine what part [or role] women shall or shall not play in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male” (Rich, 1977; p.57).

Bari (2005) argues that patriarchy utilizes this ideology to divide the public and private sphere. Women are included within this private arena, particularly in domestic spaces (as wives and mothers), while men control and dominate the public space, including politics. Moreover, although it is not clear-cut between both spheres, the private or internal space is seen as the place for women while the public or external space is for men. Consequently, as in most cultures and societies, women have to keep negotiating if they want to be included in any public space. Nonetheless, this differs from country to country because of the way gender role ideology and social, economic, and political aspects are connected. However, women's absence from politics, especially in culturally conservative societies; can still be explained due to societal perceptions of the private sphere as a woman's actual environment (Bari, 2005).

Kita and Rajaturai's (1998, p.5) definition of patriarchy is the “absolute rule of the father or the eldest male member over his family [women, girls, and children].” Patriarchy, they argue, is a method or way of male control, and this male control can

have a significant impact on women's participation outside the private or internal space. Eisenstein (1984) also discusses patriarchy in a similar light. He argues that it creates a situation for men to be privileged (Eisenstein, 1984). Furthermore, in an essential public space, the political arena, patriarchy is visible. Men in control have the power to decide for women about their bodies and sexuality and many other areas affecting their lives (Mernissi, 1987).

2.1.1 Patriarchal bargain as a negotiation tool

The patriarchal bargain is a critical aspect that has recently been integrated more into gender studies of non-Western societies. One of the definitions of the patriarchal bargain is “the existence of set rules and scripts regulating gender relations, to which both genders [men and women] accommodate and acquiesce” (Kandiyoti, 1988, p.286). This definition has been disputed, redefined, and renegotiated. Alternative terms suggested include contract, deal, or scenario; nevertheless, these fail to fully capture what is inferred by bargain (Kandiyoti, 1988). Gender relations are defined through the lens of “patriarchal bargains” as a way for women to strategize and gain their rights within a set of existing constraints with their society.

Patriarchal bargain helps to examine sub-national and national differences in women's empowerment that will give a deeper understanding of gender inequality across not only gender but also ethnicity, class, and regions. For areas such as the Arab states, for example, it provides a means of identifying the relationship between gender inequality and broader issues such as authoritarianism, conflict, politics, and terrorism, etc. (Kandiyoti, 1988). Unlike modernization and cultural theories, Patriarchal bargains are more fluid. They demonstrate how women can overcome patriarchal

paradigms (forces out of women's control). The process of bargaining can explain the differences in gender inequality outcomes in different countries.

These bargains are not rigid and can change with time, therefore creating new grounds for renegotiating rights for women. This impacts the way in which gender bias is created, and it establishes how gender ideology exists in various settings.

Kandiyoti (1988) examines Africa, South Asia, East Asia, as well as the Middle East, to demonstrate two systems of male control and dominance. One pattern she identifies takes the form of insecurities of polygyny corresponding to autonomy for women and the other taking the form of classic patriarchy through subjection to men.

In sub-Saharan Africa, she highlights women's struggles against hostile working conditions in the house while in South and West Asia, she illustrates women living under classic patriarchy who adhere to subordination (for a long time) to rules that constantly undermine their value and work. Nevertheless, women would hardly protest against such injustice; instead, they would adopt interpersonal and indirect strategies such as controlling the affections of the men of the household (sons and husband) by which they can increase their power and ensure security (Kandiyoti, 1988; Saharso, 2005).

This section reviewed the literature on patriarchy and its impact on women in different aspects of life, the subsequent section discusses political empowerment and the mechanisms used to empower women globally.

2.2 Women's Political Empowerment

Feminist scholars and gender experts have continuously stressed the importance of having more women in national politics. This section discusses women's empowerment as a crucial strategy for increasing political participation.

Empowerment is a concept that entails a scale of power with a linear progression from one point of the scale to the other (Zuhur, 2003). Citizens, among them women, are empowered as part of social welfare policies, but one can debate the reasons for empowerment as a strategy employed by different actors, possibly as a legitimization tool used to provide an impression of empowerment by nation-states, international organizations, or others (Zuhur, 2003). One aspect of empowerment that has been understudied is women's empowerment. It is a complex concept that covers various dimensions, such as "rights, resources, voice, perceptions, relationships, power, agency, and achievements", amongst others (Sundström, Paxton, Wang & Lindberg, 2017, p.321-335).

Empowerment is a process that begins at a specific point or period and continues to another, for example, starting from a point where agency is limited towards a point where there are more significant opportunities and lesser or no limitations (Huis et al., 2017). Similarly, in politics, empowerment has been shown to have a positive impact on society overall (Alexander et al., 2018). Social scientists and scholars have contributed significantly to knowledge on women and political power, questioning the factors behind active political participation of women and the outcomes that result from empowerment of women (Alexander et al., 2018). Nonetheless, women remain widely marginalized when it comes to scholarship on "empowerment." Looking at political empowerment scholarship, only 19 % of a Google Scholar search for similar studies included women's political empowerment (Alexander et al., 2018). Alexander et al. (2016, p.433) define political empowerment of women as "[t]he enhancement of assets, capabilities, and achievements of women to gain equality to men in influencing and exercising political authority worldwide." This is the definition of women's political

empowerment that has been theory-based. Political empowerment is considered part of a process that takes time and is not reached at a specific point in time (Alexander et al. 2018). Women's political empowerment allocates power to both men and women more equally. It also diminishes the patriarchal social structures that exist. Scholarship on women in politics highlights three main areas of political power and authority concerning equality (Alexander et al., 2018, p. 6). These are:

- i) the elite who are in positions of exercising power,
- ii) those who challenge the elite by interacting with them and communicating with the state through their channels,
- (iii) the people (citizens) who engage with the political system through the formal means

Considering the research design utilized throughout this thesis, only the first actor of political influence —elite actors— is relevant and therefore included in this chapter.

Elite Inclusion and Authority

Inclusion of the elite and exercising authority are important to elite studies; the scope needs to be broadened to understand women's engagement and power in its entirety. Previous studies on elite theories focused mostly on the numerical representation of women in national parliaments (Alexander et al., 2018). Nevertheless, research in this field remains limited because it mostly focuses on the national legislature, thus disregarding women in other positions within governments. Further research on women in higher positions of power needs to be conducted (Jalalzai, 2013). Research on the role of political institutions as a gendered mechanism is vital to understanding women's political empowerment because it shapes the abilities and actions of actors involved. It is crucial to understand how systems (formal and informal)

and individual players create positions of power (Jalalzai, 2013). Since the political elite is in charge of exercising political authority; therefore, it is essential to conduct further research and understand the field more (Alexander et al., 2018).

2.2.1 Gender quotas as empowerment mechanisms

Gender quotas as equal opportunity measures have gained popularity globally, defined by Williams (2009, p.33) “as legal or voluntary regulations of public elections that require a certain minimum number or percentage of women (quotas for women) or of both sexes (gender-neutral quotas) on one of the three levels: the level of aspirants, candidates, or electees”.

Today, over 100 countries (democracies and non-democracies) have implemented voluntary and compulsory quotas as a quick-fix to women’s low numerical representation in politics globally (Childs & Krook, 2009; IPU, 2018). In many developing countries such as in Africa and the Arab States, quota adoption has also been a standard gender reform policy. This has been associated with the importance of international organizations and donors (Bush, 2011). These quotas are generally implemented as part of peace processes in post-conflict settings, or it is advocated developing countries (relying on aid donors) to show their commitments to democracy by implementing such reforms (Bush, 2011).

As common as this strategy may be, it is highly controversial. Although the adoption of gender quotas in politics is considered a legitimate equal opportunity measure in many countries, many scholars and policymakers disagree with its implementation. They question the effectiveness of quotas in actually empowering women and claim that it violates the principles of liberal democracy (Mansbridge, 2005,

pp.622-638). Nevertheless, electoral gender quotas remain popular and continue to be adopted.

Most studies have examined the adoption of quotas and its effects on women's numbers in national parliaments (Dahlerup, 2007; Krook, 2009), but recent studies have started to look beyond numerical representation. More studies are examining the relationship between gender, quotas, and substantive representation of women during policymaking (Childs & Krook, 2012; Franceschet & Piscopo, 2008). There are fewer studies on the substantive impact of quotas on MPs' plenary behavior, and in particular, there is a dearth of studies conducted on non-Western countries.

This section reviewed the literature on political empowerment of women and gender quotas a mechanism to increase women's participation in politics, the next section reviews literature on women's representation in national politics.

2.3 Women in National Politics

In recent years, a growing number of researches have attempted to explain the global variations in women's numerical representations in national politics. However, scholars have failed to reach a consensus on the factors causing variations in representation in developing and least developed countries. As for recent trends, the world is witnessing a rapid escalation of percentages of women in single/lower houses in developing countries, with seven out of the ten countries with the highest women's representation in parliaments being African and Latin American countries (IPU, 2018). Scholars have continually tested and agreed on similar variables—structural, social, cultural, political, and economic—that affect women's representation in national parliaments. However, these studies have been based on advanced industrialized societies (Krook, 2010). When it comes to non-Western countries, there is little

agreement on the determinants of variations in women's representation in national parliaments (Krook, 2010; Rosen, 2013). Some factors, such as level of development and socio-economic variables, are insignificant in explaining the cross-national variations of women's political representation. Also, the majority of the countries within the IPU's top ten (2018) of women's representation in national parliaments are considered as developing countries, yet they have higher political representation of women than most countries globally. Since the 1980s, a wide range of studies has compared women's representation in national parliaments/legislatures globally. Until today (almost 40 years later), very similar factors have been identified through quantitative studies to explain the variations in women's percentages in national legislatures. These include:

- Political factors (electoral systems, gender quotas, and political parties),
- Socio-economic factors (educational attainment and working experience);
- Ideological factors (culture, tradition, religion) and;
- Social factors (women's activism/organizations, candidates pool).

The most consistent variables from all factors were proportional representation (PR) (Matland, 1998; Rule, 1987; Rosen, 2013), educational attainment, participation in the workforce, and the divide between dominant religions (Catholicism and Protestantism) (Norris, 1987; Lovenduski & Norris, 2003).

2.3.1 Factors hindering women's political participation

Women's representation and participation in politics have been studied frequently, but mostly in the West (Dahlerup, 2006; Krook, 2009). However, there are

not enough studies examining women's political participation in developing countries (Bush, 2011; Matland, 1998). Some studies have looked at women's participation in non-western contexts; they have identified institutional, economic, and ideological factors as barriers to women's political participation (Bari, 2005). The gendered nature of liberal democracy and development are barriers to women's political participation. Bari (2005) argues that the capitalist model of development needs to provide enabling environments for women's political participation within the development arena. Traditionally, democracy privileged men because it was built upon the separation of the public-private which has resulted in women's marginalization in society, for example, not granting them nationality (Higgins, 1999). Unfortunately, this form of democracy remains the foundation of many countries today and is among the reasons why many democracies are unable to integrate women's concerns as citizens.

Bari (2005) summarizes the barriers to political participation of women as three-fold: First, cultural/ideological barriers where gender-role ideology is utilized as a tool of dichotomy, centering woman within the context of the private (homes) as mothers and wives, while men within the context of the public such as politics; second, as a political barrier, the political culture needs to be changed because men control and dominate politics (political parties included); and third, socio-economic barriers such as low resource allocation and low access to opportunities for women.

In East Asia, some countries have a lower participation rate in politics than men except for voting (Soma, Yamashita, & Chan, 2011). Kabashima and Ishio (1998) demonstrated that women in Japan are not as interested in politics as men; however, they vote more. Other explanations for factors also include extrinsic restrictions and family situations. Extrinsic restrictions refer to the external pressure faced by women

from a society that hinders their participation in politics. Family situations are concerned with the household, such as the unequal division of labor mostly carried on by women, which also hinders women's political participation.

Yoon (2004) conducted a comparative study of 28 national parliaments in sub-Saharan Africa. She identified social, economic, and cultural variables as barriers to women's political participation, such as access to education, labor force participation, economy, and culture. However, the economy of countries in sub-Saharan countries has proven to be insignificant due to the wide-spread poverty. Overall, after reviewing past studies, social, economic, political, and cultural factors have been shown to impede women's political participation globally.

2.3.2 Review of literature on women's political participation in the East

Increasing the visibility of women in politics across developing and least developed countries involves an understanding of different aspects such as what has been achieved thus far, the challenges that lay ahead, and identifying the potential for the future. Most of the literature has been from western perspectives, with fewer non-western cases studied. In many developing countries, including Africa and the Arab States, gender quota adoption has also been a common reform policy for empowerment.

For the Arab region, extensive literature describing women's participation in politics exists. Of these studies, some have focused on cultural aspects such as Islam and the Arab culture, while others have drawn upon modernization theories (Inglehart & Norris 2003; AbuKhalil, 1993), all of which view the Arab region as one monolithic entity drawing on Islam and state of modernization (Obermeyer, 1992; AbuKhalil, 1993) as the reasons why women's rights and participation are low in the region. Other studies

have looked at factors hindering women's progress in the region such as oil (Kang, 2009; Ross, 2008), tribal culture (Nelson, 1974; Benstead, 2016) gender quotas (Dahlerup, 2009; Bush & Gao, 2013) and the gendered nature of institutions (Benstead, 2016).

When looking at the women in Arab politics, most of the previous researches have focused on factors hindering female political participation, e.g., socioeconomic factors, cultural norms, religion, barriers and political institutions (Mehtap, Jayyousi, Gammoh, & Al Haj, 2016; Charrad, 2001; Benstead, 2016). More studies need to be conducted to understand what happens when policy reforms such as gender quotas are introduced in areas such as the Arab region, the extent to which women engage in politics, and the impact they have after being elected. Addressing these critical questions remains critical for future studies. Answering these questions will contribute to understanding the choices and stances that women take in Arab politics.

Some studies have identified the key factors that influence female politicians' choices in developing and least developed countries and the types of policies they promote in different national institutions. Many studies have shown that women's issues are policy priorities of female MPs. Jones (1997), for example, extended his studies beyond advanced western democracies by examining national politics in Argentina. Jones found that female politicians give more importance to women's rights and traditional issues within the private sphere (family and children) than their male counterparts (Jones, 1997).

Some studies conducted on politics in sub-Saharan Africa have shown that female politicians address additional policies in national parliaments such as property rights and HIV (Devlin & Elgie, 2008). In countries with the highest representation of

politics such as Rwanda, studies have shown that female MPs raised traditional issues; this became more evident as women's numerical representation increased in national parliaments. Moreover, findings showed that international feminism was among the other issues that female MPs strongly supported in Rwanda's national parliament (Devlin & Elgie, 2008).

This section reviewed the literature on women's representation in national politics and factors that hinder women's participation and women's participation in the Global South, the subsequent section discusses the important literature on women in national parliaments.

2.4 Women in National Parliaments/Legislatures

Past studies have shown the importance of including women's diverse perspectives and experiences in the policymaking process (Thomas, 1994; Paxton, Kunovich, & Hughes, 2007; Celis, Childs, Kantola & Krook, 2008). When female MPs' different views are taken into account, they are reflected in discussions, speeches, and debates in national parliaments, which can have a positive impact on policy agenda discussions and outcomes (Thomas, 1994; Celis et al., 2008; Patton, 2002). Previous studies have shown that a university education is one of the essential aspects to consider for political participation (Verba, Schlozman, Brady, & Nie 1993). Other elements included political knowledge/experiences, financial resources, and political interests as essential elements in political participation (Mendez, Jeanette & Osborn, 2010; Verba, Burns, & Schlozman 1997; Dassonneville & McAllister 2018). Disparities in unequal human capital distribution between female and male politicians have been shown to impact political knowledge and participation in national parliaments (Mendez, Jeanette & Osborn, 2010; Dassonneville & McAllister 2018).

Political knowledge is vital to participation in discussions about politics; therefore, it can be a crucial indication of differences between women and men. However, past studies have shown that there is a significant difference in the political knowledge level of men and women (Mondak & Anderson, 2004; Mendez & Osborn, 2010; Dassonneville & McAllister 2018). In national parliaments, the parliamentary committees are generally responsible for discussing a wide range of issues, such as proposals and bills in detail (Parliament of Jordan, 2019). Some studies have argued that differences in political discussion lie in the discussant's political knowledge and perception of this knowledge. The discussant's experience is considered part of political expertise and, therefore, plays a fundamental role in political discussions and debates (Huckfeldt, 2001). Politicians are judged based on their knowledge of politics, for example, through their education background (Huckfeldt, 2001). Therefore, politicians' knowledge (based on education and experience) plays a significant role in explaining political participation, particularly between men and women.

The importance of increasing women's numbers for the sake of substantial representation is founded upon this (Dahlerup, 2007; Krook, 2008; Thomas, 1994). Descriptive representation has been used to describe the physical characteristic of being a woman, while substantive representation is used to describe women's ability to make a difference after being elected through acting for something or someone (Thomas, 1994; Kanter 1977; Dahlerup 1988, 2013). Past studies have used substantive representation to describe female politicians' participation in activities such as speeches, debates, proposals, and voting in national parliaments. Women's substantive representation has commonly been used to describe how often female politicians represent specific issues in comparison to male politicians in the national parliament;

thus, how women make a difference (Carroll 1994; Thomas 1994; Palmieri, 2018; IPU, 2018). Studies have shown that as the number of women representatives increases (descriptive representation), they act as role models, encouraging women to join politics (Dassonneville & McAllister 2018).

Nonetheless, most of the studies on the substantive representation of women (SRW) have demonstrated women's process of "acting for" through the policy agenda priorities they invoke. Many studies have compared female MPs' support for women's issues with their male MPs. Below, I give an overview of some of these studies.

Pitkin (1967) shows that women can make a difference through DRW (interpretation) and SRW (meaning). DRW focuses on women's numerical representation in politics, while SRW focuses on their contribution after being elected. Following the DRW concept, a female MP represents descriptively by being in politics; therefore, embodying her gender. On the other hand, substantive representation focuses on the contribution that women bring by "acting for." Based on the activities and actions taken by the representatives, an MP is considered representative. SRW is defined as:

"[MPs] actions, or [MPs] opinions or both must correspond to or be in accord with the wishes, or needs, or interests, of those for whom [an MP] acts, that [MPs] must put [themselves] in their place, take their part, act as they would act" (Pitkin, 1967, p.114).

Based on the SRW approach, female MPs represent women by "acting for" their issues and concerns (Pitkin, 1967; Thomas, 1994). Through an analysis of the female MPs' activities and policy priorities in the U.S., Thomas (1994) found that female MPs do 'act for' women's interests. Thomas (1994) identified three crucial stages of the parliamentary behavior of female MPs. The first stage was from a comparative

perspective. She identified differences between men and women politicians based on their educational and professional backgrounds. The second stage was based on the attitudes that female politicians had of themselves, their views on women's impact on politics and issues (social and political) that exists.

For the third stage, Thomas analyzed the differences between male and female politicians, as shown in the literature. Based on legislatures in the U.S, Thomas argues that increased numerical representation of women has shown an increase in support for both feminist issues as well as traditional issues (concerning the private sphere). Tremblay (1998) also argues that female politicians in the Canadian parliament promote women's issues (traditional issues such as women's concern, education, family, etc.) more than men. Based on an examination of the national parliament in Norway, Skard and Haavio-Mannila (1985) find that as women's numbers increased, so did legislation that addressed women's rights and issues. Jones (1997) explored advanced industrial democracies by studying the case of Argentina. Similar to findings in the U.S. and Scandinavian research, Jones found that female deputies give more importance to women's rights and issues—that are concerned with the private sphere such as children, family, and home—than male deputies (Jones, 1997). Similar to past studies, the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP)¹ has also utilized a similar approach to identifying policy agendas in national parliaments of different countries. They have determined the policy agenda priorities by country (not

¹ CAP organizes and codes information on the policy processes of governments globally (currently 25 countries) it explores trends in policymaking between countries and across time. It classifies policy activities into a universal and consistent coding scheme. For more on CAP, see <http://www.comparativeagendas.info>.

by gender). Nonetheless, only 25 countries have been included in their study, and their policy agendas were not categorized by gender.

Overall, previous studies have shown that women bring their background experiences to policymaking, therefore, contributing to the decision-making process. Previous studies have also demonstrated that female politicians substantively represent women's issues and interests more than male politicians do. Therefore, the subsequent section reviews the definitions of women's and men's issues as well.

2.4.1 Policy priorities: Women's issues and other issues

Based on a review of relevant literature, this subsection discusses the most common definitions that have been used to describe women's issues as policy priorities of female MPs. I also discuss some policy areas identified by literature as men's areas of policy interest. Carroll (1994) identifies women's issues as a policy area that can have a more significant impact on women than men. She categorizes women's issues based on 1) women's rights and 2) women's traditional areas of interests such as elderly, family and education, etc. Saint-Germain (1989) defines "women's issues" as traditional and feminist interests. Feminist interests include activism—related topics, such as equal pay, reproduction rights, etc., while traditional areas include issues such as family, welfare, women's rights, and education, etc.

Wängnerud (1996, 1998) identifies policy areas of men and women in national parliaments. He categorizes the policy areas as "hard" and "soft" issues, thus associating women with "soft" topics and men with "hard" topics. Hard policies include energy, banking, science and technology, communications, etc., while the "soft" policy areas including environment, health, family, employment and immigration, and education, etc.

As illustrated in this section, previous studies have shown that female politicians' policy interests have mainly been women's issues in comparison to men. These definitions are used as a guide to developing policy agenda priorities for Arab parliaments in this thesis. The following section reviews literature on social media as a political communication tool.

2.4.2 Political communication and social media

Today, politics and the internet are interdependent fields of study. The internet provides an opportunity for the exchange of information between politicians and the public (Emruli & Baca, 2011). There has been an increase in social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube that politicians have been utilizing to engage with voters create more supporters and impact on the public agenda (Schulz, 2008). These political communication platforms provide politicians with different strategic choices (Chaffee, 1975).

Political communication consists of verbal or written (signs, messages, etc.) statements as well as a visual presence through their way of dressing, make-up, etc. that portrays the identity of the politician to the public (McNair, 2017). Some other definitions exist, but a single, unified definition does not exist because the term is open to many different interpretations (McNair, 2017).

There have been numerous academic researches on social media campaigning recently (Boulianne, 2016), but not many studies on speeches and statements in national parliaments posted online can be found. Metadata has been analyzed by many social media studies focusing on likes (e.g., Facebook and Twitter), retweets (twitter), @-mentions (Facebook and Twitter), or hashtags (Facebook and Twitter) (McNair, 2017).

In the Arab region, research on political communication is slowly increasing and transforming. There is a need for more research on political communication methods in the Arab region (Leihns, & Roeder-Tzellos, 2015). Therefore, broader definitions of political communication that would help understand the Arab context is needed. Some studies have shown that political communication methods of politicians, as well as informal political processes, need to be studied further in the Arab region. In the Arab region, three of the most commonly used social media platforms are Facebook, WhatsApp, and YouTube, respectively (see Chapter Three for more details). The popularity of social media tools has been gaining popularity in the region, especially after 2011 (social media was used as a platform to facilitate the Arab Spring revolution process). Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube have considerably increased their number of users since 2011 (Arab Media Outlook, 2014).

Social media platforms have been used for several reasons, including sharing political knowledge and sharing opinions after reviewing content. YouTube, established in 2005, has become an increasingly popular communication tool (especially for campaigning) globally. YouTube hosts a wide range of video content created for users to upload and share videos, and also provides space for discussions and networking around the materials (video) uploaded (Emruli & Baca, 2011). YouTube has become an essential platform for candidates and politicians to share their political agenda with the public (Schulz, 2008). U.S. presidential candidates, for example, have also been known to use YouTube as a medium for sharing important political messages (e.g., John Edwards, Hillary Clinton, and Barack Obama) (Emruli & Baca, 2011).

2.5 Theoretical Framework

Upon reviewing the literature, it was revealed that there is a need for further research to be conducted that will help the current understanding of women's political participation in national parliaments of non-Western countries (Dahlerup, 2007; Krook, 2008, 2010; Carroll, 1994; Thomas, 1994; Bush, 2011; Matland, 1998). This section demonstrates the framework designed to guide this study.

Although theories of representation are commonly used in any study of women's political participation, these theories were somewhat inadequate in explaining women's political participation in the Arab region. Intersectionality theory is integrated to the framework of this research to provide a more diverse and broader understanding of women's impact through policy agenda priorities in national parliaments of the Arab region.

2.5.1 Intersectionality Theory

Women's political empowerment around the world differs, and it is vital to consider the varying experiences of women in politics (Alexander et al., 2018). After all, women's progress is gauged differently across countries and even within the same country itself. Most of the previous studies have examined female politicians in national parliaments and the differences in the policy agenda they prioritize. However, not many studies have looked at differences among women themselves as means of explaining differences in policy priorities; in essence, comparing female politicians from diverse groups such as race, sexual orientation, religion, background experiences, etc. Intersectionality is a concept that scholars use to understand the differences among women; nonetheless, the idea is contested among scholars. Although initially used to describe the experiences of black women based on their gender and origin in the U.S.,

feminists and scholars have used this concept to express ways that marginalized women faced different forms of oppression, particularly women from the Global South (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013). Intersectionality is now commonly used in feminist scholarship and applied in many countries across many disciplines and intersecting gender, race, class, ethnicity, and age, etc. Paxton and Hughes (2010) demonstrate an essential component of Intersectionality that helps understand women's political empowerment: Intersectionality that recognizes differences among women. Women are not a monolithic group; they share different experiences, and thus, should these experiences need to be considered; else women from Global North (as the dominant group) become the main subject of the study (Alexander et al., 2018; Smith, 1992). In intersectionality, it is important to highlight 'which women' are being researched. Likewise, more studies need to be conducted on the Global South to highlight women's experiences and contributions (Alexander et al., 2018; Smith, 1992).

Gender and social systems are intertwined, and one cannot be separated from the other. Gender cannot define an identity; it is "mutually constructed" with other components of social systems (Alexander et al., 2018). Using an intersectional approach, women are not equally placed in the same position within social structures. Intersectional research looks at different patterns that are conditional across the context of study and time. Intersectionality approaches questions and answers with a detailed lens. For example, when studying women, intersectionality examines women beyond the lens of a single group sharing a common outcome. It highlights women's experiences to show the differences among them. Thus, when asking questions regarding women's political empowerment rather than asking "to what degree are women politically empowered and why" another way is to ask, "which women are

empowered and why”. When considering women from marginalized groups, questions need to be more specific, for example, “to what extent are immigrant women, working-class women, black women, and lesbians empowered in politics?” (Alexander et al., 2018).

The following section examines the relevant theories of representation to help understand why more women are needed in politics.

2.5.2 Theories of representation

This section discusses theories of DRW and SRW, including critical mass and critical acts. These theories are relevant to understanding why increasing women’s representation in politics is important (Dahlerup, 2006, 2009; Krook, 2009; Norris & Lovenduski, 1994; Carroll, 1994; Thomas, 1994).

The critical mass theory focuses on minorities, and in this study, women as minorities are the main subject of the research. The critical mass theory explains that as women’s numerical representation increases, the more opportunities there are for women to work together and strategize towards supporting women’s issues (Childs and Krook, 2009; Dahlerup, 1988). Dahlerup (1988) argues that although there are many areas whereby an increase in the percentage of women in politics can influence policy outcomes, not all scholars agree that there is a direct relationship between the increase in the number of women and visible changes in the arena. Critical acts, as mentioned by Dahlerup, include introducing electoral gender quotas, mechanisms for empowering women, and improving the gendered nature of institutions.

A key element to the success of critical acts is “minorities” willingness and ability to mobilize the resources of the institution or organization to improve the situation for themselves” (Dahlerup, 1988, p.296; Childs & Krook, 2009). Previous

studies have shown that female politicians prioritize women's issues as a policy agenda in comparison to men. Women's issues prioritized by female politicians have been categorized as women's traditional and feminist interests (Saint-Germain, 1989). Traditional interests have been identified as women's typical areas of interest such as family, children, elderly, health, and the environment (Carroll, 1994).

When it comes to political representation literature, there is widespread acknowledgment among both feminists and politics experts that there is a dearth of studies linking DRW and SRW. Some studies have also shown that women's descriptive (numerical) and substantive (acting for) representation can have broader effects on democratization, reducing gender inequality, corruption, and increasing transparency and accountability (Alexander et al., 2016; Rule & Zimmerman, 1994). Nonetheless, studies conducted on Western parliaments have shown that women substantively represent through descriptive and substantive representation (Carroll, 1994; Pitkin, 1967; Saint-Germain, 1989; Thomas, 1994).

In past studies, women's knowledge and experiences have not been precisely defined. Previous studies have considered education background, political knowledge, working experiences, interest groups, etc. as a measure of MPs' political knowledge and experiences (Matland, 1998; Lovenduski & Norris, 1993; Thomas, 1994). Education is said to be important for women's political participation, studies have shown that education level is critical in encouraging women to speak out and express their opinions (Matland, 1998; Rule & Zimmerman, 1994; Thomas, 1994). Previous studies have shown that female MPs' education and working experience allowed them to express their opinions on different policy areas, demonstrating their knowledge in political discussions.

Political parties, civil society organization (CSO) participation, type, political experience etc. have been identified to be important to politicians and political participation (Childs, Webb & Marthaler, 2010; Norris, 1996). Many international instruments have stressed the need for political parties to increase women's representations. However, many political parties are yet to take action based on human rights obligations alone. Different approaches to convincing and motivating political parties to increase women's political participation have been discussed in the literature. Findings have shown that party leaders are more willing to increase the number of women in their political parties if there is evidence that women promote the party's interests, for example, through promoting policy issues, therefore, acquiring more extensive support from the electorate (Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Childs, Lovenduski & Campbell, 2005). Norris (1996) found that female politicians tended to give a higher priority to their constituency.

Upon reviewing the relevant theories used to guide this thesis, based on the examination of Arab parliaments, the findings will contribute to the current literature on women's substantive representation in the politics of non-Western regions.

2.6 Summary

Politicians and the policymaking process have been studied vastly. Likewise, the role of gender in determining the decision-making process, e.g., through promoting policy agenda, has been the focus of many kinds of research, particularly in the West. Some of these scholars have shown that female politicians represent women's issues and traditional areas of concern better than men (Thomas; 1994; Pitkin, 1967). Likewise, policy priorities in areas such as family, health, and education were found to increase as female MPs numbers increased; therefore, linking DRW to SRW. Nevertheless,

these studies have been limiting because they have mostly demonstrated substantive representation through their support for women's issues alone. By integrating the intersectionality theory, this study contributes to the current literature by examining the background of female MPs in Arab parliaments and the policy agenda they promote. Likewise, most of the recent studies focus on single cases, for example, one parliament of one single country, and therefore, this study looks at two Arab parliaments for more evidence and support.

Although theories of representation are commonly used in any study on women's political participation, I found these theories somewhat inadequate in explaining women's political participation and impact in the Arab region, therefore intersectionality theory was integrated to provide a more diverse and broader understanding of women's substantive representation through the policy agenda they promote in national parliaments of the Arab region.

CHAPTER 3

Background of Arab States

This chapter gives the background information of the Arab region, providing a detailed overview of women's rights, political participation, social media penetration, and political systems. The background was selected as being the most relevant to understanding women and politics in the Arab region.

A common characteristic that binds the Arab region together, resulting in many scholars categorizing it as a homogenous entity, is its shared religious and cultural aspects. This region, unlike others, is unique for its integration of religion and governance. As shown in Figure 3.1, 22 countries in the Arab region are part of the Arab League of States. Countries in this region share cultural and traditional values, identity, religion (Islam), and language (Arabic), which demonstrates the uniqueness of the area. Previous studies have mostly dealt with the entire region as one entity with little consideration of their differences (Elsafty, 2005). Since most of the Arab countries are authoritarian and culturally conservative, this affects politics, economy, and gender equality in the region (Moghadam, 2005). The Arab region has no democracies, except for Tunisia, which recently transitioned in 2014. However, elected national parliaments are frequent in many Arab countries, many of which are elected reasonably and fairly. Although the political systems in the region are highly authoritarian, they do incorporate major democratic elements (Herb, 2004).

There exists a common perception that women's political opportunities are limited in the Arab region; nonetheless, considerable variation exists. An example of this is that women's right to suffrage was only granted in 2015 in Saudi Arabia, yet women's parliamentary representation was already at 20%. On the other hand, in Yemen, women's suffrage was granted over 40 years ago, but women's representation in parliament is still at 0% percent. In Tunisia and Algeria, women's suffrage was also granted more than 40 decades ago, but their representation in the national parliaments is at 30% and 25%, respectively.

Despite the national efforts and reforms to empower women in the Arab region, the existence of cultural discrimination and attitudes against women remains an impediment towards their full participation. The patriarchal and conservative nature of the Arab culture (driven by traditional and tribal customs) remains reluctant and unwelcoming to the engagement of women in politics (Al-Maaitah et al., 2013). The dichotomy of spaces continues to be prevalent in Arab culture. The private sphere is personal and usually connected with women, household, and the family. Politics in the Arab region is considered within the public sphere, therefore dominated by men. Decision-making positions in all levels of power (legislative, executive institutions, and the judiciary) are still in the control of men (Al-Maaitah et al., 2013).

Many Arab women continue to struggle with social, cultural, and political challenges that restrict their full participation in politics regardless of gender reforms (Langohr, 2016; Shalaby, 2016). These include: social, economic, and cultural variables such as gender role ideology, private-public dichotomy, lack of financial resources, lack of political experience, women's low labor force participation, etc.

Figure 3.1: Map of the League of Arab States



Source: “Detailed Map of League of Arab States.” 123rf.com: maps of the world, https://www.123rf.com/photo_94515683_stock-vector-map-of-arab-league-vector-.html. Accessed February 2nd, 2018.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the 22 countries that are part of the region. The following section discusses women’s rights in the MENA region.

3.1 Women’s rights in the Arab region

Gender inequality is an issue around the world. Whether in South America, Europe, Africa, MENA, or other regions, women face discrimination in different aspects of their lives. However, the Arab region has one of the highest gender gaps, and high gender inequality scores globally (UNDP, 2015). Lack of freedom, constitutional law, and norms that grant men power over women are some of the most significant drawbacks for women in the region. The freedom House report “Women’s Rights and

Freedom in the Middle East and North Africa” reviews women’s rights and highlights systemic gender-based discrimination due to constitutional and customary laws. Women’s freedom of movement is highly restricted (although the extent is different from country to country) in most of the Arab countries. Women are confined under the guardianship law (grants power to a father, husband, or any male guardian), the law gives male guardians the ability to restrict women’s engagement in almost any activity. Laws in most Arab countries specify the husband as the head of the household granting him control over his wife and children (Kelly, 2010). It gives men power and control over their wives’ freedom of movement, and sometimes the law in the country requires the wife to obey her husband (Kelly, 2010). Deeply enrooted societal/cultural norms, paired with how *Shariaa* (Islamic law) is interpreted, puts women’s status below that of men’s in the region (Kelly, 2010; Moghadam, 2005). The most important constitutional law in the Arab region is the personal status law (see Appendices A and B).

After independence, many MENA countries undertook legal reforms that would improve gender inequalities. Still, many of these constitutional reforms were met with strong opposition from Muslim clerics and conservative religious groups who found these reforms to be against Islamic laws. Consequently, governments had to negotiate the rights of women, and attempts to enhance women’s status in society was therefore compromised. Under the leadership of some nationalist leaders such as Habib Bourguiba (president of Tunisia in the 1950s), under the Shah of Iran in the 1960s, in South Yemen (1970s), women were also granted more rights. In some Arab countries, governments were assisted by liberal Muslim scholars who proposed new interpretations of the Islamic law that would help accommodate changes in our modern-

day society. Some of the reforms enacted were aimed at improving women's rights, for example through raising the legal age of marriage, granting women's right to accept/decline marriage, restricting polygamy, restrictions obligations of a wife to her husband, granting women's divorce rights, and some laws related to inheritance (Mayer, 1984). It seemed like a positive direction with promising progress for women's rights in the region. However, this direction changed in the 1970s, threatened by the resurgence of Islam. With the increase of influential positions held by Islamic fundamentalists, interpretations suggested by liberal leaders to help empower women lost over interpretations were favored. Some Islamic fundamentalists were even suggesting rigid sexual segregation and wanted to restrict women's roles to solely that of wives and mothers (Mayer, 1984).

To women in the Middle East, equality with men and personal freedom did not seem desirable due to its association with Westernization. The aspects of Western women who had to juggle full-time jobs with being full-time wives or mothers seemed less appealing to them. Many Muslim women saw women's liberation as a Western plot to disregard native culture and enable a Western political and economic agenda to penetrate their society (Mayer, 1984). On the contrary, Islamic law and conservative interpretations seemed to offer stability, security, and conserved cultural identity and integrity.

Women's activism for gender equality in the Arab world started in the 20th century; however, women's suffrage was attained differently in the region.

Table 3.1: Women's Suffrage in Arab Countries

No	Country	Right to vote	Right to Stand for Election	Comments
1	Djibouti	1946	1986	
2	Syria	1949	1949	
3	Lebanon	1952	1952	
4	Comoros	1956	1956	
5	Egypt	1956	1956	
6	Somalia	1956	1956	
7	Tunisia	1959	1959	
8	Mauritania	1961	1961	
9	Algeria	1962	1962	
10	Morocco	1963	1963	
11	Libya	1963	1963	
12	Sudan	1964	1964	
13	South Yemen	1967	1967	Became the Republic of Yemen in 1990
14	North Yemen	1970	1970	Became the Republic of Yemen in 1990
15	Jordan	1974*	1974*	Exercised their right to vote and stand in an election in 1989
17	Palestine	1996	1996	
18	Qatar	1999	1999	
19	Bahrain	2002	2002	
20	Oman	2003	2003	
21	Kuwait	2005	2005	
22	UAE	2006	2006	
23	Saudi Arabia	2015	2015	

Source: Author. Adopted from women's suffrage website http://womensuffrage.org/?page_id=103 and Offenbauer & Buchalter, 2005². Access date: 2nd July 2018

Table 3.1 gives information on the period that women's suffrage was granted in different Arab countries. With the exception of the Republic of Yemen, all Gulf countries granted voting rights to women starting in the early 2000s.

² There are 23 countries in Table 3.1 because Yemen used to be two separate countries (North and South Yemen).

3.2 Women's political participation

Representation of women in national parliaments of many Arab countries is low; however, the opposite is true for women's numerical representation in the cabinets of some Arab countries. This is argued to be a result of the 2004 Arab League³ summit in Tunisia, where participating bureaucrats pledged to increase percentages of women in politics and the economy as part of regional political reforms (Benstead, 2016). This is said to be a deliberate action by Arab leaders in these countries to exhibit their progress and commitment in empowering women as per the Arab League Summit. Some of these cabinets have appointed women into many ministerial positions, although many have been positions considered as an extension of the private sphere, including education, health, or human rights positions (Benstead, 2016). However, recent changes have been observed with women being appointed to posts that were typically male-dominated. Some of the latest achievements for Arab women in political positions include in Lebanon as Finance Minister in 2009, the UAE appointed a female Minister of the Economy in 2004; Jordan and Kuwait also appointed female Ministers of Planning and Urbanization Minister; and a female Minister of Labor was appointed in Sudan in 2004 (Benstead, 2016). This illustrates a slow but progressive change towards women's increasing presence in positions once traditionally viewed as male oriented. Nonetheless, in their effort to increase women's representation in national parliaments, many Arab states have introduced gender quotas as policy reforms such as gender quotas⁴ or other empowerment mechanisms.

³ This was the first ever summit that focused on women's political empowerment in the Arab region held from 22nd-24th May 2004.

⁴ Dahlerup identifies three types of quotas. Gender quotas can be in the form of reserved seats only for women, legislative candidate quotas, and party quotas. Party quotas require a specific number of women candidates to be included on the candidate lists if it is needed legally then it is called a legislative candidate quota.

Table 3.2: Gender Quotas in the Arab Region

	Country	Type of gender quota	Percentage of women in the national parliament
1	Algeria	Reserved Seats	25.76%
2	Bahrain	None	12.20%%
3	Comoros	None	6.06%
4	Djibouti	Reserved Seats	26.15%
5	Egypt	None	14.93%
6	Iraq	Reserved Seats	25.23%
7	Jordan	Reserved Seats	15.38%
8	Kuwait	None	4.62%
9	Lebanon	None	4.69%
10	Libya	Legislated Candidate Quota	15.96%
11	Mauritania	Legislated Candidate Quota	20.26%
12	Morocco	Reserved Seats	20.51%
13	Oman	None	1.18%
14	Qatar	None	9.76%
15	Saudi Arabia	Reserved Seats	19.87%
16	Somalia	Reserved Seats	24.36%
17	State of Palestine	Legislated Candidate Quota	13.00%
18	Sudan	Reserved seats	27.65%
19	The Syrian Arab Republic	None	13.20%
20	Tunisia	Legislated Candidate Quota	35.94%
21	United Arab Emirates	None	22.50%
22	Yemen	None	0.33%

Source: IDEA and IPU, 2019, <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/suffrage.htm>
Access date: 15th January 2019.

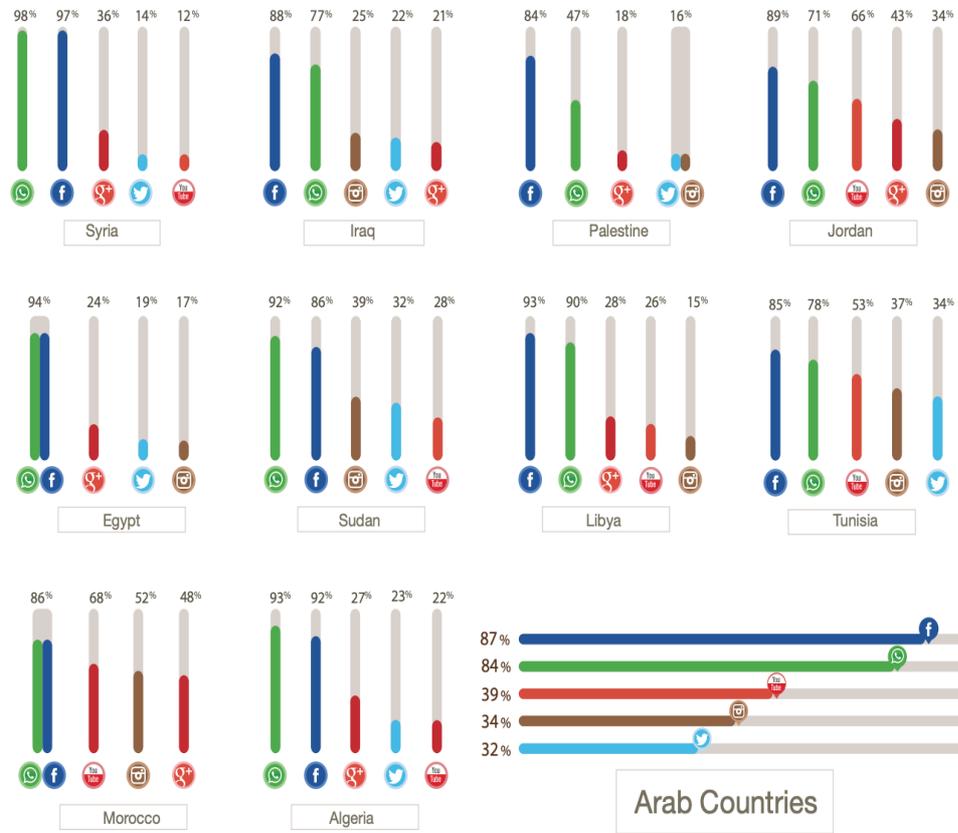
As shown in Table 3.2, eleven of the twenty countries in the region have gender quotas implemented. In the Arab region, many countries prefer reserved seats, followed by legislative candidate quotas. All of the countries that have implemented gender quotas have achieved at least 15% of women's representation in national parliaments in comparison to countries that are yet implement similar mechanisms. It can be said

that in the Arab region, a mechanism that has been used to increase the percentage of women in national politics is gender quotas.

3.2.1 **Political communication through social media in the Arab Region**

Social media platforms have become highly popular in the Arab region. At the same time, politicians are utilizing social media platforms to promote their agenda and to gain more popularity among citizens. The most popular social media platform used in the region is Facebook, as shown in Figure 3.2. With over 150 million users in 2017, its penetration rate is very high. Although multiple languages are used with Facebook, Arabic remains the most dominant language used by users in the region. The second most commonly used platform is WhatsApp, followed by YouTube.

Figure 3.2: Social Media Penetration in the Arab Region



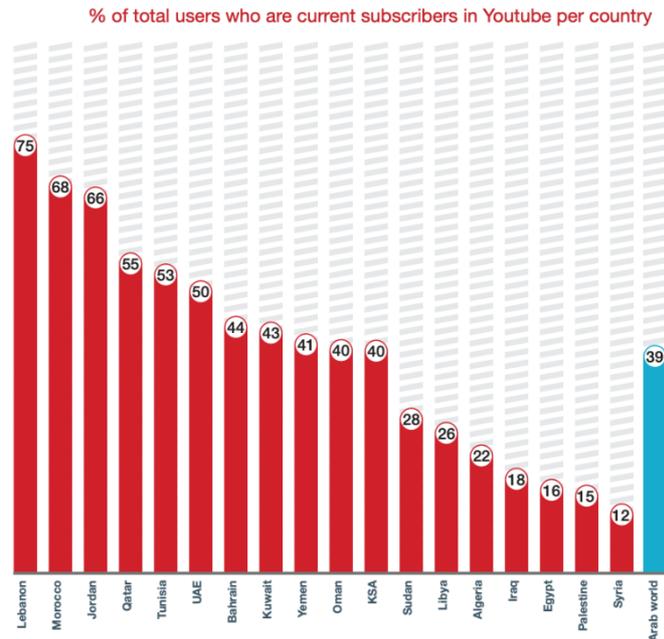
Source: Arab Media Outlook Report and Global Digital Report (2019) <https://wearesocial.com/global-digital-report-2019>. Access date: 13th June 2019

As shown in Figure 3.2, the percentage of YouTube subscribers in the Arab region is higher in some countries than it is in others.

Figure 3.3: YouTube Subscribers in the Arab Region

Current Subscription to YouTube

Around **2 in 5** users of social media users in Arab world are current subscribers in YouTube. Lebanon and Morocco had the highest current subscription rates (**75%** and **68%**, respectively). On the other hand the least rates were in Syria and Palestine (**12%** and **15%**, respectively)



Source: Arab Social Media Report and Global Digital Report (2019) <https://wearesocial.com/global-digital-report-2019>

In this thesis, speeches of female MPs posted on YouTube were analyzed; therefore, it is relevant to know about the penetration of social media in the region to help understand why social media platforms have become popular in the politics of some countries more than in others.

3.3 Selection of Case Studies

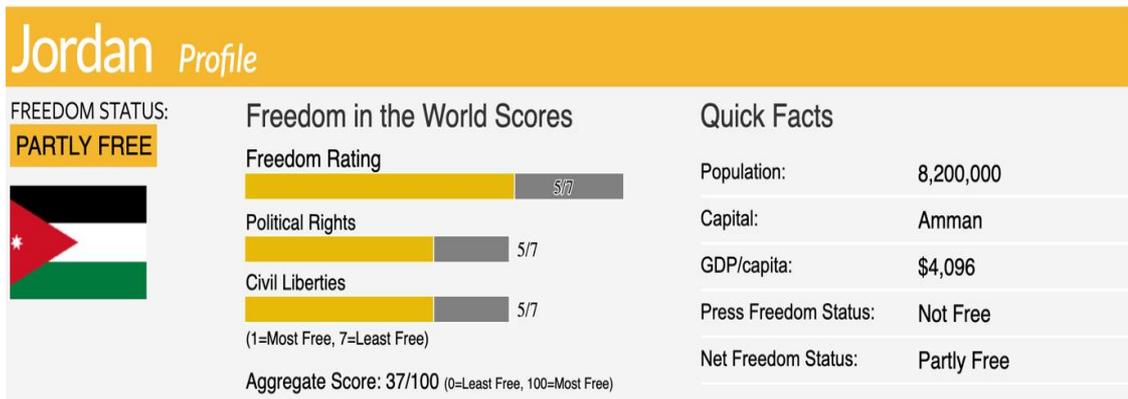
Although many Arab states have implemented gender quotas, I will only be selecting two countries for the scope of my research, namely; the Kingdom of Jordan and Tunisia. The two countries selected are part of the Deauville Partnership established in May 2011, as an initiative of the former G8 to support Arab countries with a framework to support and strengthen governance for transparency, accountability, and inclusivity (OECD, 2018). One of the regional projects under the

Deauville Partnership is “Promoting Women’s Participation in Parliaments and Policymaking” in the region. The countries supported through this partnership are Egypt, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Yemen. Due to the scope of this study as well as the availability of data, only two countries from the six mentioned were selected for this study. Likewise, by only examining women MPs in this study, I can focus on women as the main subject of the research to ensure that women’s political participation is highlighted.

3.4 Kingdom of Jordan

Eight countries in the Arab region are monarchies, and the Kingdom of Jordan is one of them. The King not only reigns but also rules, thereby playing a dominant role in the politics of the country. Nonetheless, the political system in Jordan is founded on the separation of power among three authorities, namely the legislature, executive, and judiciary (Freedom House, 2019). As per the Jordanian constitution, each body has the right to exercise its mandate free from intervention by other authorities (The Parliament of Jordan, 2019), therefore, creating a balanced, participatory, and complementary relationship between them (The Parliament of Jordan, 2019). Jordan has an Upper House and Lower House, referred to as the House of Senate (*Majlis al-A’yan*) and the House of Representatives (HOR) (*Majlis al-Nuwwab*), respectively. The King chooses the Upper House representatives while citizens elect the representatives of the Lower House (The Parliament of Jordan, 2019).

Figure 3.4: Freedom House Report- Jordan



Source: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/countries-world-freedom-2019> Access date: September 20th, 2019

As seen in Figure 3.4, Freedom House’s Freedom in World Scores (2019) ratings (based on measures of civil and political rights) ranks Jordan as “Partially Free” Jordan, although a monarchy, has incorporated democratic elements into its political system. It follows the bylaws and respects the rights of its citizens, and, to some degree, allows freedom of media. Within the last few years, especially in the wake of the Arab Spring Revolution, the King dismissed the government and introduced different political reforms (Fanack, 2019). Acknowledging that, the next section discusses women’s rights and freedom in Jordan.

3.4.1 Women’s rights in Jordan

In Jordan, women’s rights are restricted, similar to most Arab countries. The Personal Status Law (PSL) in Jordan is based on the Islamic Sharia Law; it includes aspects of social and economic rights for women and girls. In 1974, Jordanian women were allowed the right to vote. Still, because the parliament was not functioning for almost 30 years, women were only able to vote in 1989 when the first parliamentary elections

were held⁵. In all levels of the public and private sector, women's leadership is scant, with no women as heads of trade associations, labor unions, or business councils (USAID, 2016). On international measures such as the comparison of regional averages of women in parliaments globally, Jordan ranks 132nd out of 193 countries (IPU, 2019). Many amendments continue to be made to improve women's rights in the country such as increasing access to divorce rights and child custody, and the abolishing of Article 308 (1960's penal code) which had previously allowed perpetrators of sexual assault to escape punishment as long as they marry the victim (Human Rights Watch, 2018). Nonetheless, there still exist many laws in the personal status code that treats women unequal to men in areas such as marriage (marriage between a Jordanian woman [Muslim] and a non-Muslim man is still unrecognized while the opposite is accepted).

3.4.2 Electoral system and gender quotas

The electoral system of the Kingdom of Jordan, as per the IDEA's Quota Project (2018), is a mixed-member proportional (MMP). The electoral law (Article 11) was modified to include a quota system in the 2003 elections. The quota provision reserved six seats out of 110 seats in the *Majlis Al-Nawaab* or HOR only for women. These seats are given to women with the highest votes (from their constituencies) except for women who have been elected through direct elections⁶.

In 2009, King Abdullah II dissolved the HOR in May 2010, and a new electoral law was adopted, whereby one seat was reserved for each governate and the reserved seats for women were raised from 6 to 12 (IDEA, 2018). This resulted in 13 women

⁵ 1968 to 1984 was the period that the parliament stopped working.

⁶ In 2007, through direct elections, a woman was elected (only one).

elected (12 through reserved seats and one through direct election) in the National Assembly in November 2010 (IDEA, 2018). The quota was increased once more to 15 in 2012 (as part of election reforms). The HOR seats were also increased to 150, but it was decreased to 130 under the new electoral system in 2016 (IDEA, 2018).

Eighteen women were elected to the HOR in 2013, 15 through reserved seats and three others were elected through their constituencies (through proportional representation (PR) and majoritarian system) (IDEA, 2018). The 15 reserved seats are allocated based on the votes received by the female candidates who did not make it in the district elections. From the 15 women selected by the election committee, only one reserved seat can be obtained per woman per governorate⁷. The latest election was held in 2016⁸, with 1,252 candidates from which 1,000 were men and 252 were women. Over twenty percent of the candidates elected were women⁹. While some people claim the quota is necessary to increase women's participation and representation in the politics of Jordan, some activists disagree. Three female PMs representing the Islamic Action Front party (IAF) were elected to the Lower House, leaving activists feeling uneasy; they claim that Islamist women do not support women's rights. They believe that Islamist candidates tend to vote against laws in favor of women as historically proven (Husseini, 2016). Activists in Jordan view the quota negatively because it facilitates the election of women who will work against women's causes.

Other than gender quotas, Jordan has implemented other gender empowerment mechanisms to increase women's numerical representation in politics, including

⁷ This can be found in the Election Law 25 Art. 51.

⁸ The last elections for the lower house were held in 2016, the next will be held in September 2020.

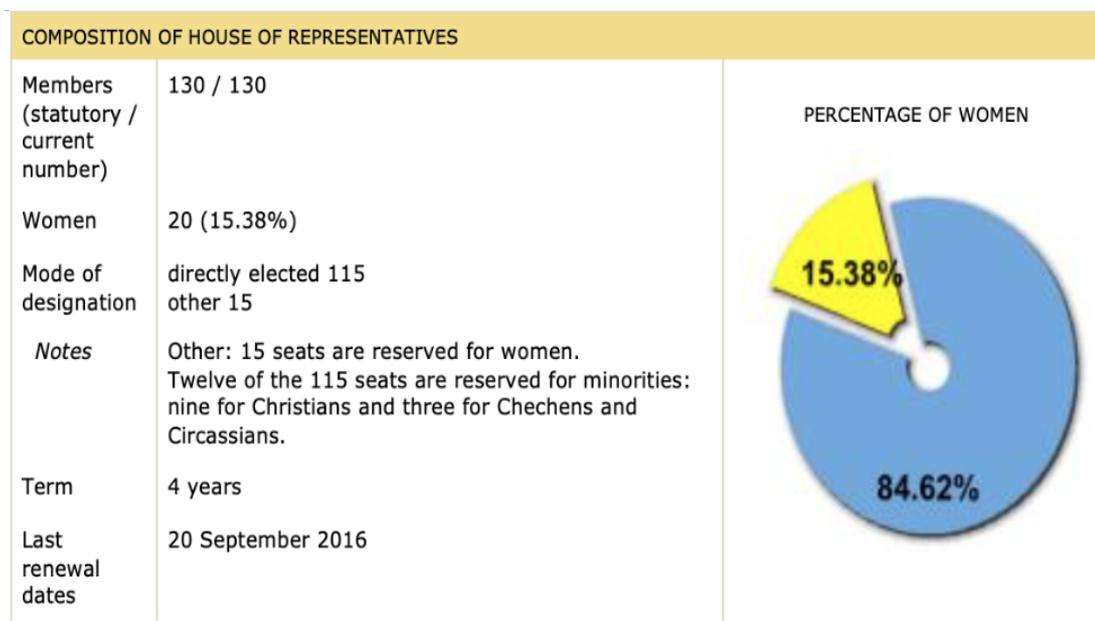
⁹ From among the Muslims candidates: 920 were men and 245 were women. There were Christian candidates as well, 58 were men and 5 were women (IPU, 2018).

educational programs training and workshops for women. The Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) is a semi-governmental organization that provides educational programs for women, including leadership and vocational training, empowerment, and political education, as well as awareness programs in economic, social, political, environmental and educational fields. The programs also aim at strengthening the capacity of women candidates and advocates for women to be elected in municipal councils. Ninety-one women from the 300 JNWC trained were candidates for political positions.

3.4.1 Structure of the Jordanian National Parliament

The lawmaking process takes place in the national parliament. Both the lower and upper house engage in debates and vote on legislation. There are three stages in the parliamentary process of Jordan's Lower House, namely drafting, deliberation, and passing bills. The lower house or HOR's power is limited to approving, rejecting, or modifying bills (Parliament of Jordan, 2019). The legislative process is overseen using different methods and tools. These include voting, investigation, debates, expressions, receiving petitions, query and interrogations, and impeachments (Parliament of Jordan, 2019).

Figure 3.5: Composition of the House of Representatives (Majlis Al-Nuwaab) in Jordan



Source: IPU, 2018
Access date: 17th January 2019

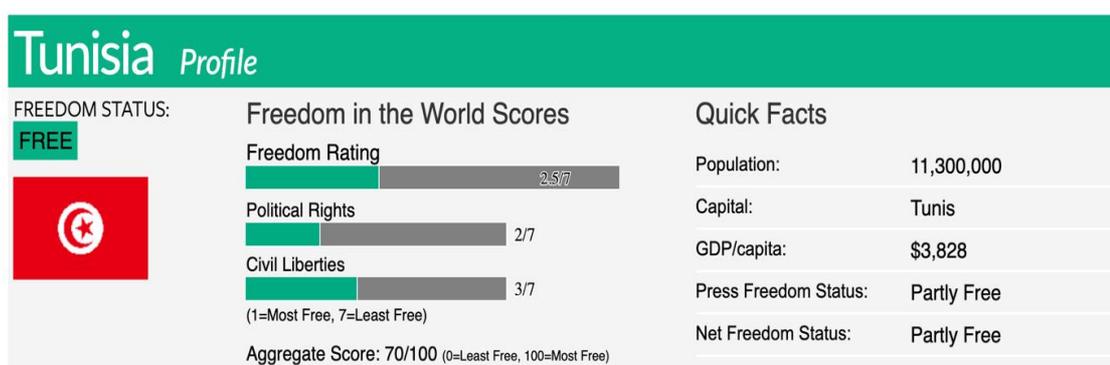
The HOR of Jordan has 130 seats, out of which 20 seats are occupied by women as of January 2019. Since elections take place every four years (election cycle), the next election is set to take place at the end of 2019 or beginning of 2020. There are also 21 parliamentary committees in the Lower House (Majlis Al-Nuwaab, 2019). Since Jordan is a monarchy, the HOR is the only legislative institution within the political system where citizens can vote for its members (The Parliament of Jordan, 2019).

3.5 Tunisia

In 2011, after months of protest in what was called “the Arab Spring Revolution”, Tunisia ousted the longtime ruler who had been in power for over 30 years. Since then, Tunisia has been in transitioning into a democracy. National elections were held in 2014 and, as per the 2014 constitution, Tunisia has a semi-presidential system

and a unicameral system. The president is the head of state elected by the people, while the political party with the majority of seats in the unicameral legislature (Assembly of the Representatives of the People (ARP)) chooses the head of government. Under the new constitution, all political parties (regardless of political and ideological approaches) had the right to run.

Figure 3.6: Freedom House Report - Tunisia



Source: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/countries-world-freedom-2019> Access date: September 20th, 2019

As seen in Figure 3.6, Freedom House’s Freedom in World Scores (2019) ratings (based on measures of civil and political rights) ranks Tunisia as “Free”. Tunisian citizens have the freedom and political liberties that are unmatched anywhere in the Arab region. Acknowledging that, the next section discusses women’s rights and freedom in Tunisia.

3.5.1 Women’s rights in Tunisia

Tunisian women have always enjoyed more freedom and rights than most of the Arab countries. Since Tunisia’s independence in 1956, the first president, Habib Bourguiba, provided Tunisian women with reformist and pro-gender policies unlike any other in the region. This period is the first phase of women’s rights in Tunisia. Bourguiba was a pro-feminist, and he introduced policies and reforms that would

empower women as part of his strategy of transforming Tunisia into a modern and liberal state. Bourguiba introduced the Personal Status Code (PSC) in 1956, which significantly changed family laws on marriage, custody, and divorce, thereby bestowing pioneering rights that are unheard of in the Arab world even as of today. The gender reforms were made as a top-down reform by the central government who established these laws out of primary concern for national discourse rather than a feminist discourse.

Because of different interpretations of Islamic laws, the Personal Status Code (PSC) was set to give women many progressive rights, some of which included abolishing of polygamy, equal divorce rights, the minimum age for marriage set, women's right to vote, the legalization of child adoption, alongside many other rights that were granted. Other rights that followed after the independence included wage equality, mandatory education for both genders, and legalization of abortion by the 1970s (Charrad, 2007).

Contrary to the first wave, the second wave focused on feminist discourse, and the gender legislation in this wave included women activists, women's organizations, and women movements, all demanding changes in the drafting of the laws and their need to participate in the process. Their efforts resulted in the revision of the Tunisian Code of Nationality and the Citizenship Law, allowing women to give their children the Tunisian nationality regardless of the nationality of the father (Charrad, 2007). The succeeding president, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, maintained President Bourguiba's legacy and throughout his regime continued to promote women's rights. He was in power from 1987 until he was forced to step down in 2011 (Arab Spring Revolution). President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's actions for women empowerment were mostly driven by

self-interest and to drive international attention away from other significant problems in the country. In his State of Nation speech, President Ben Ali addressed the citizens of Tunisia on his plan to make changes that would enhance the position of women in political positions (Goulding, 2009). In 1992, he also established a ministry, especially for handling women-related affairs (Ministry of Women and Family Affairs). Goulding (2009) noted that President Ben Ali made major efforts to ensure an increase in female participation at economic levels and higher levels of government. He called upon political parties in Tunisia to raise the number of female candidates running in local and national elections. He belonged to the Constitutional Democratic Rally (RCD), the party had the feminist agenda of giving women more rights as part of their broader political agenda. The ruling RCD had increased its list of candidates to about 30 % from 22.8 % in the preceding years.

However, according to ODI (2014), President Ben Ali's empowerment approach was mostly driven by self-interest and the intention of deviating international attention from other significant problems in the country such as severe restrictions on political freedom, and human rights abuse (ODI, 2014). Nonetheless, these reforms created a path for women's engagement on equal grounds to men during the Arab Spring Revolution. Women protested and participated during the revolution as equals to men; likewise, during the transitional process, they contributed beyond only protesting by participating as legislators (Charrad, 2007).

In 1999, there were only 21 (11.5%) women in the Lower House, but due to policy reforms, this number had nearly doubled to 43 female members out of an overall 189 members in 2004 (Goulding, 2009). Likewise, during Ben Ali's government, many women secured very high political positions. As of 2007, two ministers elected were

female, five women secretaries of state, one woman as governor, a one-woman adviser to the president, and many other essential roles were held by women in the Ministry of Women Affairs (Goulding, 2009). Krook (2008) and Moghadam (2005), outlined the factors that contributed to Tunisian women's high political participation as their active economic participation, the high number of women's organizations as well as the government's (although authoritarian) strong advocacy for empowering women. Tunisia was under an authoritarian regime for extensive periods; thus, its policymaking process had always been a closed and top-down process controlled mainly by the central government up until the revolution that started in 2010. Policy suggestions would generally come from senior civil servants, special interest groups, or international donor institutions; the public or civil society had no say and no control over policy formulations (Rijkers, Freund, & Nucifora, 2014). State policies were formulated to serve the interests of individuals with close ties to the president, creating a lack of transparency on how processes are developed in Tunisia (Rijkers, Freund & Nucifora 2014).

3.5.2 The political context in Tunisia

Before going further to discuss the current political context and gender policies in Tunisia, I have to point out that Tunisia is a recently transitioned democracy resulting from the Arab Spring Revolution in 2010. However, it still undergoes political struggles between secular, Islamic, and old regime forces occasionally (Farrell, 2012). Likewise, the role of Islam in the public life of Tunisian citizens, particularly its role in the rights of women, is inevitable. This section will discuss and tackle some of the most important aspects relating to gender equality in Tunisia. I discuss the gender laws in the new constitution, how they were generated, identification of what provoked problems,

and how the laws and regulations came to be, in addition to women's involvement in the national parliament.

Today, Tunisia's high female political participation is higher than most Arab countries and many advanced democracies. This achievement is due to many reasons, including unequivocal policies and actions placed by political institutions and endorsed by the head of states, all of which established processes that favor women's participation.

The Arab Spring Revolution, which started in Tunisia, paved the path for women to voice their opinions leading to their increased participation not only in Tunisia but in all the Arab countries that followed. Women stood beside men and protested for their rights and their need for a stable democracy that is fair to all. Tunisia has always been quite advanced in women's rights compared to other the Arab states, with its progressive gender proactive policies that are unlike any in the region (Charrad, 2007). Nonetheless, the extent of achieving women's rights still lags in many aspects, and women remain restricted in many facets of their rights and freedoms.

Although Arab Spring opened doors for many Tunisian women to participate on equal grounds with their male counterparts, nonetheless, old patriarchal structures remain in existence in the Tunisian society. This restricted women's inclusion in critical decisions regarding the country's future.

3.5.3 Post-Arab Spring Revolution and women's rights

From the period when Ben Ali's regime was overthrown by the wave of protests (Arab Spring Revolution) in the country, several interim governments were appointed to maintain order in the country. In October 2011, an election was held for a

constituent Assembly (Assemblée Constituante); the assembly also known as the National Constituent Assembly (NCA), was given the responsibility of drafting another constitution and setting the election guidelines. One of the most significant issues that arose for women organizations, feminists, and activists was the fear of a backlash during the election or drafting of the constitution (Arieff, 2012). They feared possible regressive changes that might be made to the pro-gender equal laws that existed since Tunisia's independence. There now existed many issues that could hinder the progress women had achieved in Tunisia and these include drafting of the new constitution and which rules would be followed during the election, etc.

Therefore, the NCA was assigned and given the task to draft the rules for this specific election. This appointed committee proposed a PR system (with up to ten seats per constituency). This quota system, known as the “zipper system”, was adopted based on equality (Dahlerup 2007). It states that “[c]andidacy lists [of political parties] shall be on the basis of parity to alternate between men and women” (Sadiqi, 2016). In other words, 50% of the candidates running for any party should be female candidates, while the other 50% should be male candidates, and the candidate lists must be alternated. If the candidate list is unable to fulfill these conditions, it will be disqualified from participating in the elections. An analogous type of gender quota system has been applied in Europe and around the world, although many see it as a radical system, specifically in PR systems (European Commission, 2011). As a result of this innovative parity provision, 5000 women candidates ran for elections, but the shortcoming was that very few women were elected. Because parties and independent candidates did not designate women at the head of their lists, a condition that was not specified in the provision, this affected the outcomes of the election for women. This resulted in only

67 out of 217 seats filled by women (31%), 42 of which came from the Islamist Party (Ennahdha). Nonetheless, women occupied one-third of the parliamentary seats, a very high percentage in comparison to even the advanced democracies. Furthermore, having one-third of the candidates elected as women gave them an advantage and having enough power to make a difference by influencing the drafting of the new constitution (Sadiqi, 2016).

The Islamist party in 2011 considered reformulating Article 28 (a clause that ensured women's rights) of the former constitution to agree with that of the interpretation of the holy book of Islam (*the Koran*). Still, a mass of protests by Tunisian women ended it. The Islamic party suggested that the clause should consider men and women as complementary, not as equals (Daniele, 2014).

3.5.4 Electoral system

The electoral system that has existed in Tunisia respects the general suffrage. All Tunisian citizens are granted a wide range of civil and political rights and liberties. The 2014 electoral law is not very different from the 2011 law, and it maintained several of the provisions and features to the former law. For parliamentary elections, a closed-list proportional representation (CLPR) system was implemented.

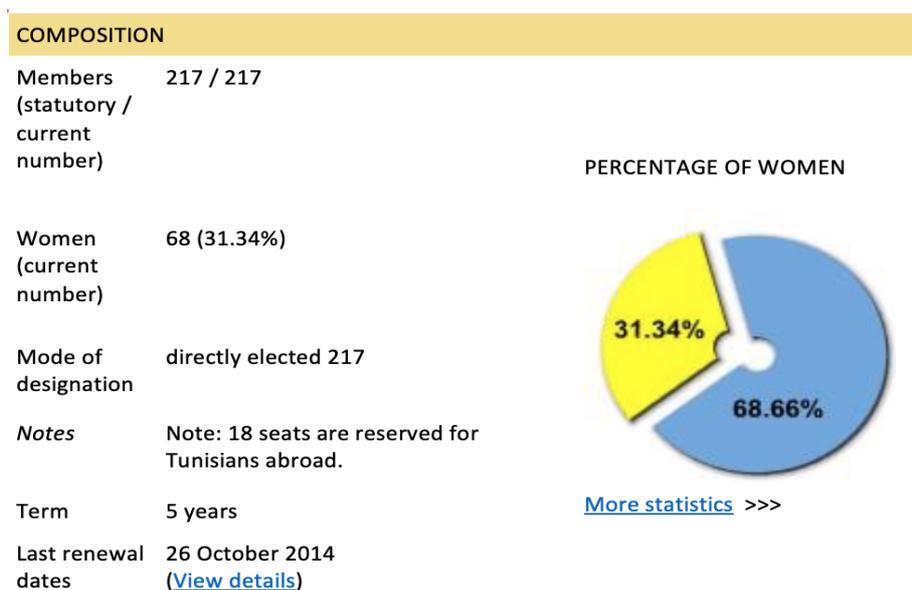
As per the constitution, all parliamentary assembly representatives are elected on a 5-year term (Assembly of the Representatives of the People, 2019). This resides well with international commitments and is a practical interval following international obligations. The new electoral system has some progressive provisions to it, such as the absence of any threshold to winning a seat. This gives smaller parties more chances to run. The way this works is that the electoral formula that estimates the allocation of seats increases chances of having a multi-party representation in the parliament; the

absence of a threshold improves their opportunities to win seats (Assembly of the Representatives of the People, 2019).

3.5.5 Structure of the Tunisian Legislature

Tunisia has a unicameral system replacing the former bicameral system. The “Assembly of the Representatives of the People” is the current national parliament of Tunisia (IDEA, 2014). It consists of 217 seats, replacing the pre-revolution Chamber of Advisors (Upper House), and the Chamber of Deputies (Lower House). The Lower House and the Upper House were merged to become the Assembly of the Representatives of the People in Tunisia as of 2014.

Figure 3.7: Composition of the Assembly of the Representatives of the People in Tunisia



Source: IPU, 2019
Access date 17th January 2019

The composition of the national parliament of Tunisia is shown in Figure 3.7. In the new national parliament, women have maintained their high percentage of

representation, with 68 of the chamber's members being women (National Democratic Institute, 2014).

3.5.6 Quotas for women in Tunisia

Gender quotas (voluntary) were first implemented in 1999 to empower women politically. The political parties in Tunisia implemented voluntary quotas to increase the female candidates on their party lists. After the collapse of Ben Ali's regime in 2011, the "Ennahda" Islamist political party won the first free election in Tunisian history. The NCA adopted the new electoral code introducing the principle of vertical parity to enhance female participation. All political parties were required to maintain parity in their candidate lists to be qualified for election as per Article 16, Decree 35 (Quota Project, 2014). This new legislation for parity in candidate lists resulted in over 5000 women who participated in the elections in 2011.

Moreover, although it had positive impacts on promoting gender equality, it did not ensure that women equally participated in the National Constituent Assembly. This was because a party list was unable to get more than one district seat. Likewise, 93% of the top-ranked candidates on the lists were men. The October 2014 elections, however, resulted in 31% (68) women elected to the national legislature. This was a higher percentage than many advanced democracies, including the U.K., the United States, and France. These advances in gender equality despite the political situation of the country makes it a critical case study for examining obstacles and prospects for achieving women's rights in non-Western societies (Charrad & Zarrugh, 2013).

Ultimately, women's civic and political empowerment has had two phases in Tunisia, one prior to the revolution under the authoritarian regime and the other under a newly transitioned democracy post-revolution period. In comparison to other Arab

states, Tunisia's progress in empowering women, and increasing their rights and political representation cannot be overlooked. Tunisian women have achieved more civil and political rights than they had under the previous authoritarian regime.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter, the background of Arab countries, specifically, Jordan and Tunisia, is explained. Although they share similar patriarchal systems, gender rights in each Arab country has developed differently and followed different trajectories. I went on to examine the political systems of Jordan and Tunisia (the two countries in this research), the implementation of gender quotas, and the women's political participation. This research goes one step further, by looking beyond numbers, to identify women's substantive representation in Jordan and Tunisia through their contributions in national parliaments. This chapter established the foundation for understanding both countries; the following chapters will discuss the methodology used to analyze the national parliaments of both countries as well as the findings from the analysis conducted.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology

This chapter explains the methodological approaches implemented throughout this research. By utilizing an innovative qualitative content analysis approach, this thesis analyzes the policy agenda in speeches given by female parliamentarians uploaded on social media platforms. This method is unique because it follows a similar approach to traditional methods of media content analysis (television and newspapers) but instead analyzes media contents on modern-day platforms such as YouTube in an innovative and contemporary way.

A qualitative content analysis method was utilized to examine the speeches of female MPs in Arab parliaments posted on YouTube (official parliamentary channel). This method was used to extract contextual meaning through examining language. I examined the background experiences of female MPs, how these experiences are reflected in speeches and the policy agendas are prioritized. The sub-sections of this chapter provide an in-depth description of content analysis as the primary approach used in this thesis. I identified the who, what, how and when questions needed to understand the entire analytical process.

4.1 Background of Content Analysis

One of the many definitions of content analysis is that it is a means of collecting and examining the content of texts (Creswell, 1998; Creswell & Poth, 2016). Contents can be of any communicated form such as words, signs, symbols, or others, while text can be defined as anything graphic, written, visualized, or expressed that acts as a

channel for understanding contents (Neuman, 2011, p.49). Examples of text sources include books, newspapers, magazines, speeches, official documents, films, music lyrics, photographs, websites, works of art, etc. Content analysis allows researchers to probe and discover content differently from the traditional way of reading a book or watching a program. It also enables researchers to document whether feelings based on unsystematic reviews are accurate in objective, quantitative terms. Some of the questions that can be examined using content analysis include i) questions regarding large volumes of text ii) content that is difficult to see or document with casual observation, and iii) content that may be scattered or at a distance. Content analysis is used frequently for descriptive purposes: for example, counting how often certain words or themes appear in documents (Babbie, 2012). Content analysis data is, therefore, recorded and regularly analyzed using graphs and charts (Imai, 2018). Neuendorf defines it as “the primary message-centered methodology” (Neuendorf, 2002, p.9). One cannot discuss “message-centered” content without mentioning mass media. Scholars have stated that content analysis is a common technique in the field of mass communication research (Yale & Gilly, 1988; Neuendorf, 2002).

Media content analysis was used in the 1920s and 1930s to examine propaganda techniques (Lasswell, 1927). The advent of TV in the 1950s caused an increase in media content analysis as a research methodology in social sciences. As the primary research method for studying depictions of racism, violence, and women in films and television programs, it is essential for gender researchers. No area has had more content analyzed across all media than that of gender involving the roles of men and women (Neuendorf, 2011). This method provides a set of useful tools that can be used in comparing messages constructed by males and females. Therefore, it can also help examine

messages that have gender and sex roles (Argamon, Koppel, Fine, & Shimoni, 2003). Male and female behaviors have been continuously analyzed and studied in both domestic and international media content such as TV, films, speeches, books, magazines, etc. (Neuendorf, 2011). Therefore, the content analysis method is useful for examining different types of content.

Content analysis is usually categorized as a quantitative method of research, but qualitative or interpretive forms of content analysis also exist. Qualitative content analysis is used with textual data and focuses on theoretical perspectives; however, similar to quantitative content analysis, it can also be an objective counting and recording process for the numerical depiction of the context within a text. Berelson (1952, p.18) defines content analysis as “a research technique [or method] for the objective, systematic and quantitative description [and depiction] of the manifest content of communication.” This definition is contested because Berelson emphasizes basic quantitative elements and the fundamental assumption of content analysis’s social impact. Therefore, scholars such as Berger and Luckman (1967) criticized such definitions arguing that in social science, regardless of the systematic approach used, findings that are absolutely unbiased are not possible. This is because contents are liable to diverse interpretations by the researcher. Content analysis has been defined by Neuendorf (2002, p.10), who states that “[c]ontent analysis is a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method ... and [content analysis] is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented.”

Neundorff examines different qualitative analysis methods such as rhetorical analysis, narrative analysis, discourse analysis, interpretative analysis, etc., that are useful for analyzing media contents and texts.

Despite the debate that exists, this thesis takes on content analysis from a qualitative approach because it is the most suitable method and approach for analyzing speeches of female MPs posted on YouTube channels by Arab parliaments.

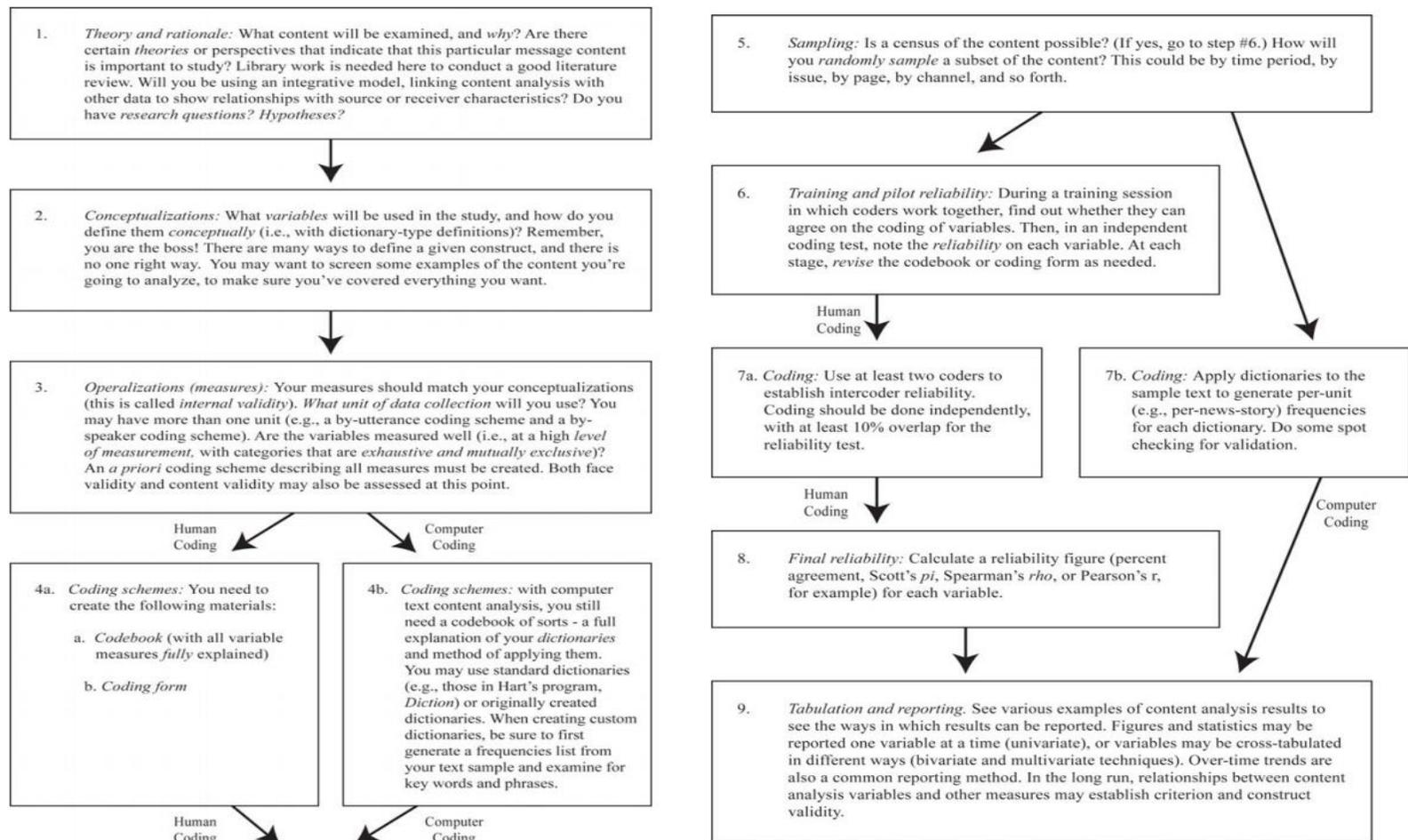


Figure 4.1: Flow of Content Analysis Process

Source: Neuendorf, 2002, pp. 50-51

As seen in figure 4.1, the flow of any content analysis process is explained in detail. The process begins with identifying the theory, followed by the concepts (variables), and then the researcher chooses a human coding or computer-assisted coding approach. For both qualitative and quantitative approaches, a coding scheme and other forms of documentation are required for the coding process to begin. A similar process is implemented throughout the coding process of this research.

4.2 Qualitative Content Analysis

For this research, qualitative content analysis is employed as the most suitable method to answer the research questions. Qualitative content analysis is unique in comparison to other methods (thematic analysis, grounded theory, and phenomenology) because it focuses on the content being examined to extract description or identify patterns and categories through analysis of language (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen & Snelgrove, 2016). Text data comes in different forms, such as print or electronic form through interviews, questionnaires, speeches, magazines, newspapers, etc. (Kondracki & Wellman, 2002).

Qualitative content analysis is used as a means of categorizing codes under themes systematically, for the interpretation of the content being analyzed. After data is analyzed using qualitative content analysis, the ending result is the identification of themes and sub-themes (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen & Snelgrove, 2016). Qualitative content analysis has three forms, namely, conventional, directed, and summative (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). For this research, a directed qualitative content analysis approach is utilized.

Directed content analysis is the approach selected for this research. This approach is utilized for cases where prior theories about a phenomenon have been established and research in the field has been conducted, but the existing theories are incomplete or require more research and further description to be done. The purpose of this approach is to test or improve a framework or existing concept (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). By using previously established theories to guide the research, researchers can identify the variables most appropriate for further research or the relationships among variables. These aspects guide the researcher in designing an initial coding scheme and identifying the relationships between codes. A directed approach utilizes a more systematized method when compared with a conventional approach because it utilizes existing theory and research which help in identifying concepts or variables that are important in the primary stage of coding and classification (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Mayring, 2004)

Likewise, the operational definitions of the categories are determined using the theory in existence. Two different strategies can be used by the researcher when using this method, depending on the research question and the goal (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). For example, if a research is being conducted on a particular phenomenon such as emotional reactions within a document, if the researcher aims to identify and categorize all occurrences of emotions, then the ideal approach would be to examine the transcript and document any text that may represent an emotional reaction. Following that, the researcher then codes all the highlighted aspects of the text using the predetermined codes and creates new codes for any part of the text that could not be classified under a theme. Another strategy used in directed content analysis is to commence the coding process with predefined codes directly (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Any text that cannot

be coded is left to be categorized later on either as a new category or to be subcategorized under an existing code (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). For example, in the case of studying the examining emotional reactions whereby the researcher aims to capture all occurrences of emotions, identifying the text and not assigning a code to it increases reliability. However, this is not a problem if the researcher is positive that the primary coding level is bias free, in that case then the researcher may proceed to start coding directly. Based on the type and range of classifications, identifying subcategories with subsequent analysis might be required (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

One of the strengths of the directed content analysis approach is that newly identified categories can provide contradictory views of the phenomenon or might broaden the current understanding of the theory or enhancing it. Nonetheless, using this method has some limitations since the researcher approaches the data with an informed view through previous theories; therefore, bias may exist. Consequently, there is a strong possibility that researchers will find supportive evidence of the theory rather than contradictory evidence. As a means of avoiding this situation (bias free or impartial outcomes), an intercoder reliability process can be used by the researcher.

4.3 Human Coding and Computer-Assisted Coding in Content Analysis

Content analysis can be conducted using human coding or computer-assisted coding methods. Human coding is a process whereby people become the coders, using a standard coding scheme as their guide to read, view, identify, and or code aspects of the content being analyzed. The coders record their impartial and vigilant observations based on pre-identified variables (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Computer-assisted coding, on the other hand, involves a systematic tabulation of variables organized for the computer to use (Neuendorf, 2019). Computer-assisted coding generally involves using

software to analyze a specific text, calculating the number of words, or other aspects (Neuendorf, 2019). This is referred to as CATA or “computer-aided text analysis”. Some of the advantages of using CATA are reliability, while for human coders there is a need for intense training and carefully designed coding scheme in order to fulfill intercoder reliability. A disadvantage of CATA is that there is lack of direct human contact in the analysis process which leads us to question the reliability of automatically applied methods. In any coding process, the set of words, phrases or other indicators used as a basis for a search of text must be identified. In a computer-assisted coding process, this is usually conducted using predetermined dictionaries. There are two types; namely, custom or internal dictionaries (Neuendorf, 2019). Another essential aspect of human content analysis is keeping a detailed explanation of the entire coding process in a document called the coding scheme (coding instrument) and coding form or coding sheet (Neuendorf, 2019). All instructions followed by the researcher should be written carefully and in detail in these documents. It is up to the researcher how (s)he chooses to distribute the measurement details between the coding scheme and the coding sheet (Neuendorf, 2019). The most common way employed by researchers is to include all the details of the process in the coding scheme, while the coding sheet only contains numeric information similar to a spreadsheet (Neuendorf, 2019).

In this research, human coding was predominantly used; nonetheless a computer software was used to assist coders during the process. Also, since a human coding process was used, a dictionary was not necessary. Nonetheless, I found that identifying a set of words, phrases or other indicators as a basis for coding the text is still important. Therefore, a simple dictionary of terms was designed as part of the coding scheme that can also be useful in the future for CATA-based analysis. I identified and constructed

this custom dictionary based on past researches (see Chapter Two and Section 4.8 of this Chapter). This coding scheme (see Appendix C) can also be used for future analysis of legislative speeches of MPs in other Arab parliaments. For this thesis, the coding scheme and sheet are explained in more detail in the subsequent sections.

4.3.1 Computer-assisted coding software

As explained in the previous section, computer-assisted coding was not used for the analysis, but CATA software was used by the author as a means of simplifying the rigorous process of human coding. Atlas ti was used to assist in coding and organizing the data. It is a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) program utilized in social science disciplines (MacMillan & Koenig 2004). This software allows the integration of all media files and other documents, and it assists in documenting the content of the materials (documents, media files, images, etc.) used by the researcher to match specific text/media in the content with user-specified codes. An essential part of this software is that users can conduct different analysis such as examining the frequency distribution of words used in the documents or contents examined and also allows for transparency and documentation in coding. Many authors have written on the similar functions of Atlas ti (Friese, 2019). Nonetheless, few studies have utilized concrete cases to demonstrate the usage of Atlas ti. So, this dissertation will also help to fill the gap by integrating real cases (theoretical academic research) using this software.

Atlas ti has been used with the Delphi technique¹⁰ to demonstrate the potential of social network analysis (James, 2010). For projects that used similar techniques, the

¹⁰ Delphi technique: inviting a group of experts to review the study and reach an agreement on the interpretations to use. By doing this, it increases reliability and ensures objectivity.

researchers utilized questionnaires distributed online, and then comments were collected from both the survey and accompanying discussion topics. By using an open-coding method coding, such researches identified the themes and potential areas of study. For the coding scheme, graphs were created in the network view of the software as well as generation of code counts (James, 2010). Another study used a comparative case study to triangulate the quantitative analysis conducted (Olson, McAllister, Grinnell, Gehrke, & Appunn, 2016). In that particular research, a hybrid coding strategy was utilized. The coding scheme was created by the main researcher and s(he) coded the text as the expert on the subject. Computer-assisted software such as Atlas ti allow the researcher to develop a coding system¹¹ that can be used to interpret the contents of any communication material in a systematic manner.

4.4 Area of Study: Female MPs in Arab Parliaments

I have selected two countries for the scope of my research: namely, the Kingdom of Jordan and Tunisia. Both countries have introduced gender quotas and other empowerment strategies to increase women's political participation. Both countries use social media platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter, to show parliamentary activities including speeches and debates. I selected Jordan and Tunisia owing to i) the scope limitation for this thesis ii) the availability of speeches online and consistency in archiving methods, and iii) implementation of gender quotas.

¹¹ A set of rules used in content analysis to explain how a researcher systematically converted the symbolic content from text form into quantitative or statistical data. The coding system in this dissertation will be explained in the next sub-sections.

4.5 Sampling Method of Female MPs

As for the sampling process, firstly, a sample was selected using a stratified sampling method, which is a type of probability sampling. This method ensures that different groups are represented appropriately and that the right number of cases are pulled out of the homogenous subsets of that population (Neuendorf, 2002, p.87). Statistically, this method reduces the sampling error for the stratifying variable to zero. (Neuendorf, 2002, p.87). Using SPSS software, I inputted all the female MPs' names for each parliament and used the software's randomizer function to ensure appropriate representation is achieved for both countries; and for an in-depth analysis on the selected female MPs to be achieved, 40% of the population (all-female MPs in both parliaments) was calculated. Therefore, 35 women were randomly selected (with the randomizer) from a total of 88 female MPs in both parliaments. Tunisia has 31.34% (68) women in the house of representatives (IPU, 2019). Jordan has 15.38% (20) women (IPU, 2019).

Table 4.1: Number of Female MPs Selected

Country	No. of seats (N)	No. of women (N)	Women selected (N)
Jordan	130	20	10
Tunisia	217	68	25

Source: Author, adopted from IPU, 2019. Access date: 5th January 2019

Table 4.1 shows the total number of seats in the parliaments of both countries, the number of seats occupied by women, and the sample of women selected for this study. Upon selecting these women, an ID was assigned to each country and female MP for ease of referral and to systematically organize the data. The assigned IDs follow a

specific format for ease of reference (see Appendix C). Each of the selected female MPs was assigned an ID to ease with identification during the coding process; it included the first letter of country and a double-digit number (e.g. J01 → Jordan, Maryam). For more details, please see Appendix C.

Table 4.2: Names and IDs of Selected Female MPs- Jordan

SP_ID	Name of female MP	Name in Arabic
J01	Anasaf Ahmed Salama Al Khawaldeh	انصاف احمد سلامة الخوالدة
J02	Fadhiya Abdullah Faleh Abu Kadoura	فضية عبد الله فالحة ابو قدورة الديات
J03	Hayat Hussein Ali Masimi	حياة حسين علي مسيمي
J04	Haya Hussein Ali Shibli	هيا حسين علي مفلح الشبلي العبادي
J05	Huda Hussein Mohammed Al - Atom	هدى حسين محمد العتوم
J06	Intisar Badi Mustafa Hijazi	انتصار بادي مصطفى حجازي
J07	Reem Aqla Nawash Abu Delboh	ريم عقلة نواش ابو دلبح
J08	Safaa Abdullah Mohammed Al Momani	صفاء عبد الله محمد المومني
J09	Wafaa Saeed Yacoub Bani Mustafa	وفاء سعيد يعقوب بني مصطفى
J10	Zainab Hamoud Salem Al Zubaid	زينب حمود سالم الزبيد

Source: Author

From the 20 women in Jordan's Lower House, ten female MPs were selected from this study. Table 4.2 shows the ID and names of the female MPs selected.

Table 4.3: Names and IDs of Selected Female MPs- Tunisia

SP_ID	Name of female MP	Name in Arabic
T01	Farida Obaidi	فريدة العبيدي
T02	Amal Sweid	امل سويد
T03	Jameela Dabsh	جميلة دبش حرم كسيكسي
T04	Hajar Bouzmi	هاجر بوزمي ه
T05	Hayat Omri	حياة العمري
T06	Laila Al Waslati	ليلي الوسلاتي بوصلاح
T07	Yemina Zaghلامي	يمينة الزغلامي
T08	Hala Al – Hami	هالة الحامي
T09	Radhia Toumi	راضية التومي
T10	Lateefa Alhibshi	لطيفة حباشي
T11	Fatima Al Massadi	فاطمة المسدي
T12	Lamia Malih	لمياء المليح
T13	Samah Bouhwal	سماح بوحوال
T14	Nasreen Al Ammari	نسرين العماري
T15	Nadia Zangar	نادية زنقر
T16	Reem Mahjoub	ريم محجوب
T17	Samia Abbou	سامية عبو
T19	Mahrezia Al-ubaidi	محرزية العبيدي
T20	Hajer Alaroosi	هاجر العروسي
T21	Wafa Makhlof	وفاء مخلوف
T22	Lamia Algharbi	لمياء الغربي
T23	Lili Awlad bin Ali	ليلي اولاد علي
T24	Zahra Idris	الزهرة ادريس
T25	Ibtisam Aljabali	ابتسام الجابلي

Source: Author

From the 68 women in the national parliament of Tunisia, 25 female MPs were selected for this study. Table 4.3 shows the IDs and names of the selected female MPs.

4.6 The Medium of Accessing Female MPs Speeches

The most popular social media platform used in the MENA region is Facebook, followed by WhatsApp and YouTube. YouTube was used to access the speeches of female MPs because both parliaments only had online videos of MPs speeches and statements in national parliaments. In other words, *Hansard* or transcripts of speeches were not publicly available. All the videos of speeches and statement were posted officially on the parliamentary pages and channels of both national parliaments. Links to all pages such as YouTube channels, Facebook pages, and official websites were well documented and can be found in this section as well as in Appendices H, I, J and K, respectively. All data gathered were officially published by the national parliaments of selected countries and were accessed between 2nd January 2019 and 30th July 2019 during the data collection period. Only official channels were selected for more consistency, reliability and accessibility. The analysis was conducted only for female MPs who were in the parliament in the last election cycle of both countries in this study¹² (Tunisia in 2014 and Jordan in 2016).

This research, therefore, took advantage of a recent trend of uploading parliamentary activities on social media platforms in the Arab region, where all contents of speeches in national parliaments are being made publicly available.

¹² This also included female MPs who have been re-elected for at least the second time.

Sources of legislative speeches:

Official parliament websites

Jordan: <http://www.jordanpolitics.org/ar/lower-house/5>

Tunisia: <https://majles.marsad.tn/2014/assemblee>

Official YouTube channels

Jordan: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg>

Tunisia: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg>

Official Facebook pages

Jordan: <https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100009778902367>

Tunisia: <https://www.facebook.com/Tunisie.arp/>

and through Google Search.

4.7 Time Frame of Speeches

All the female MPs in this study were elected during the last election cycle of each national parliament. Jordan's last election was in 2016 and lasts for a four-year term. Tunisia's last election was in 2014 and lasts for a five-year term. The reasons this time frame was selected are because i) usage of platforms such as YouTube, Facebook and other online sources to post parliamentary activities is very recent; and ii) major political changes in the region have occurred after the Arab Spring Revolution in 2010 including women's active political participation (see Chapter Three for more details).

4.8 Policy Agenda Concepts

Scholars have agreed that female MPs support women's issues in national parliaments (see Chapter Two). Literature also suggests that women's experiences, interests, and expertise need to be included in policymaking in order to bring diverse

perspectives into parliamentary discussions and debates, thereby having positive effects on policy debates and outcomes (Thomas, 1994; Childs et. al., 2010; Dassonneville & McAllister 2018; Scarrow & Gezgor, 2010). Many scholars have agreed that gender shapes the policy issues that MPs invoke in debates (Esaiasson & Holmberg 1996; Lovenduski & Norris 2003; Norris & Lovenduski 2004). Although past studies have mostly highlighted factors that influence women's substantive representation, these arguments apply to other policy aspects¹³ such as policy agenda priorities.

Previous studies have highlighted the importance of women's diverse perspectives in policymaking which come from their background experiences; therefore, similar concepts are used for this study.

- a. **Education background:** for the analysis of Arab parliaments, the educational level of female MPs and the field of study are be used to describe the background knowledge that female MPs bring to policymaking. The education background of female MPs has been claimed to shape female politicians' political participation (Matland, 1998; Rule 1987, Norris, 1985, 1987, 1996; Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Thomas, 1994).
- b. **Political expertise:** for the analysis of Arab parliaments, votes received, incumbency, type of seat, political activities, parliamentary committee, and political party affiliation are used to describe the political expertise that female MPs bring to policymaking.
 - **Political background:** it can be assumed that the political background of female MPs shapes their policy priorities. I

¹³ A similar application was done by Karam & Lovenduski, (2005) in the book *Women in Parliament: beyond numbers*.

looked at votes, incumbency, type of seat, and political activities (Matland, 1998; Rule 1987; Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Thomas, 1994).

- Parliamentary committee: It can be assumed that political party affiliation can shape female MPs' policy priorities pertaining to women's issues (Matland, 1998; Rule 1987; Norris, 1985, 1987; Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Thomas, 1994).
- Party affiliation: It can be assumed that political party affiliation shapes female MPs' policy priorities pertaining to women's issues (Matland, 1998; Rule 1987, 1994; Lovenduski & Norris, 1993; Thomas, 1994).

c. **Skills**: for the analysis of Arab parliaments, professional work experiences of female MPs are used to describe the skills that female MPs bring to policymaking.

- Professional/work experience: previous studies have shown that working experience can influence female MPs' policy priorities (Matland, 1998; Rule 1987; Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Thomas, 1994).

d. **CSO participation**: for the analysis of Arab parliaments, their participation in activities such as participation/affiliation with non-governmental groups and organizations is used to describe their CSO participation. Civil society participation is said to shape the policy interests of female MPs (Matland, 1998; Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Thomas, 1994).

Upon thorough review of literature for this thesis, the policy areas discussed in national parliaments are categorized into three sets (see Chapter Two):

- **Women’s issues: traditional issues:** Issues considered by previous studies and also by society to be of women’s interest. They are generally associated with women, family, children, and elderly affairs.
- **Women’s issues: feminist’s issues:** Issues linked to activism, such as demanding equal pay, reproduction rights, and LGBTQI rights, etc.
- **Non-women’s issues: non-traditional issues:** Issues that are not generally associated with the private sphere or women’s interests. Conventionally, these issues have been associated with men’s interests such as energy, economy, the military, etc.

Although three policy areas were identified, after analyzing the speeches only two policy areas were applicable to Arab parliaments. Women’s issues and non-women’s issues are further divided into themes to identify the types of policy agenda that female MPs prioritize in their speeches. These concepts were selected based on their applicability to the Arab context; therefore, the policy area, “feminist’s issues”¹⁴ was not included.

- Women’s issues:

¹⁴ These issues were not mentioned by female MPs in Arab parliaments, which could be because these issues conflict with religious and cultural contexts of the region. Therefore, this policy area should be created based on the context of activism in the Arab region.

Eight variables (concepts) are created for women's issues namely, education, elderly, environment, family, health, social issues, women, and youth.

- Non-women's issues:

Five variables (concepts) are created for non-women's issues namely, development, economy, government, immigration, and national security.

These two policy areas are used to design the coding scheme for examining policy agenda priorities in the subsequent sections.

4.8.1 The coding scheme for policy agenda

Upon reviewing the policy agendas in the previous section and Chapter Two, I was able to replicate part of the coding methods used in previous studies to be applied on speeches and statements in Arab parliaments (Bäck, Debus & Müller, 2014; Carroll, 1994; Jones, 1997; Saint-Germain, 1989; Wängnerud, 1996, 1998). Past studies coded different policy agendas into themes; this same method was used for this analysis.

A challenge in this research has been to design variables and values that are functional for the policy priorities of female MPs across Arab parliaments. Categories and variables were derived from previous studies conducted on policy priorities of MPs in parliaments in Western and non-Western countries (Bäck, Debus & Müller, 2014; Carroll, 1994; Nelson, Chowdhury & Caudhuri, 1994; Jones, 1997; Saint-Germain, 1989; Thomas, 1994; Wängnerud, 1996, 1998).

A human-coded content-analytic coding scheme was developed for the Arab region based on the interpretation of policy agendas used in prior studies. To the best of the authors' knowledge, this thesis is the first to examine the content of female MPs in Arab parliaments across parliamentary speeches and statements over a specific timeframe.

For the purpose of the analysis and designing the coding scheme, I identify the key terms used throughout this thesis. Three main terms are relevant to the coding process of speeches: namely, policy areas, code groups, and codes. The policies discussed by female MPs fall under two main areas: “women’s issues” and “non-women’s issues”, which are referred to as policy areas in this study. These policy areas were sub-categorized into themes referred to as code groups in this thesis. Lastly, these code groups (themes) were further sub-categorized into topics referred to as codes for the purpose of the analysis in this study.

For women’s issues, eight categories of code groups (themes) were created: women’s rights, youth, education, family, health, environment, elderly and social issues. For non-women’s issues, five categories of code groups (themes) were created: development, economy, government, immigration, and national security. I also sub-categorized these code groups (themes) into specific codes (topics) (see next section), which were specific to interests of women in Arab parliaments. These code groups and codes were used as part of the coding scheme for coding the contents of parliamentary speeches and statements of female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia. Most of the coding schemes and codebooks in previous studies have been for policy priorities in Western countries; this study contributes to existing literature by designing a coding system that can be applicable to the Arab region.

4.8.2 Code groups (dictionary of terms) for policy agenda and priorities in Arab Parliaments

As mentioned in the previous section, women’s and non-women’s issues are broad policy areas; therefore code groups (themes) were created to identify the issues discussed under each policy area.

Table 4.4: Code Groups and Definitions of Women’s Issues

Women’s issues: traditional issues	Definition
Education	Any policy or issue addressing education
Elderly	Any policy or issue addressing the elderly
Environment	Any policy or issue addressing environment
Family	Any policy or issue addressing family
Health	Any policy or issue addressing health
Social Issues	Any policy or issue addressing social issues that affect the society and the citizens
Women	Any policy or issue addressing women’s rights or concerns
Youth	Any policy or issue addressing youth

Source: Author

Table 4.4 gives the list and definitions of code groups (themes) under women’s issues that female MPs prioritize during their speeches.

Table 4.5: Code Groups and Definitions of Non-Women’s Issues

Non-women’s issues: non-traditional issues	Definition
Development	Any policy or issue addressing other forms of development (non-social) such as infrastructure
Economy	Any policy or issue addressing the economy
Government	Any policy or issue addressing government such as corruption, transparency, and accountability
Immigration	Any policy or issue addressing immigration such as refugees
National Security	Any policy or issue addressing national security such as military and weapon

Source: Author

Table 4.5 gives the definitions of code groups (themes) under non-women’s issues that female MPs prioritize during their speech.

4.8.3 Codes list (dictionary of terms) of policy agenda and priorities in Arab Parliaments

After defining and categorizing the code groups (themes) in the preceding section, a comprehensive list of possible codes (topics) for each code group was developed to provide an in-depth understanding of the policies and issues that female MPs invoke in their speeches. The list (dictionary of terms) was created and briefly defined as a guide for coding the speeches.

Policy Area: Women’s issues (traditional issues):

Table 4.6 gives the definitions of codes (topics) under each code group (theme) for women’s issues as a policy area.

Table 4.6: Codes for Women’s Issues

Code Groups	Codes	Definition
Education, elderly, environment, family, health, social issues, women, youth	Economy	an economic issue such as unemployment
	Education	topics related to education
	Empowerment	topics related to empowerment in society, politics, and economy
	Environment	environmental issues or concerns
	Health	topics related to health, medical services, etc.
	Politics	any politics related issue
	Rights	topics related to rights and increasing of rights
	Social aspects	welfare and social issues

Source: Author

- **Non-Women’s issues: non-traditional issues:**

Table 4.7 gives the definitions of codes (topics) under each code group (theme) for non-women’s issues as a policy area.

Table 4.7: Codes for Non-Women’s Issues

Code Groups	Codes	Definition
Development, economy, government, immigration, and national security	Alternative energy	issues and topics related to finding alternative energy sources.
	Agriculture	related to the development of agricultural practices and technologies
	Corruption	relating to corruption within the government.
	Citizens	any topic related to or affecting the citizens politically and economically.
	Infrastructure/economic development	development of the country (non-social) such as infrastructure.
	Economy related issues	Issues such as economic crisis affecting the country
	Government accountability	related to accountability issues
	Government transparency	issues and topics related to transparency
	Government funding	issues and topics related to government funding
	International relations	the relations of a country with other countries
	International Organizations	related to international organizations
	Laws/Constituency	relating to laws needed to be implemented or changed concerning politics
	Military	related to national security such as military and weapons
	National debt	issues and topics related to national debt
	Poverty	issues and topics related to governments action on poverty
	National debt	issues and topics related to national debt
	Refugees	related to immigration and refugees’ topics and issues
	Religion	issues and topics related to religion and politics
	Salaries	issues and topics related to salaries of citizens
	Services for citizens	issues and topics related to services provided by government
Tax	issues and topics related to taxes	

Source: Author

This section provided the definitions of key themes and topics used throughout this research. The following section discusses how these policy agenda and background

experience are identified in the speeches and statements of female MPs in both parliaments.

4.9 Applying Policy Agenda Concepts and Variables to Parliamentary Speeches

To analyze the contents of female MPs speeches in Arab parliaments, I first collected all parliamentary speeches available online of the selected female MPs¹⁵ and then categorized the contents of their speeches based on the areas, themes, and topics they mentioned or supported. The analysis was conducted only for selected female MPs in the last election cycle of the national parliaments of the countries in the study¹⁶ (2014 and 2016). A comparison of female MPs speeches in two Arab parliaments was conducted to identify the background experiences of female MPs, how these experiences are reflected in their speeches and their policy agenda priorities.

In summary, the steps taken for this study were examining past studies on policy agenda priorities and the perspectives of female MPs. Then, a similar approach was followed to collect information in this study. A coding scheme was also developed to identify the policies of female MPs and how background experiences are reflected in speeches and statements of female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia.

4.10 Coders and Training Process

To ensure reliability, other coders were asked to code using the coding scheme and coding sheet. Two coders were asked to analyze the speeches. Both coders are university graduates. Coder 1 has a degree in Information Technology, and Coder 2 has a degree in Political Science. I implemented a blind coding process whereby the coders

¹⁵ Names of all female MPs were searched in both English and Arabic in both parliaments. This was cross-checked with a Google search as well to ensure that all videos were attained.

¹⁶ This also included female MPs who were re-elected for a second term or more terms.

were aware of the general topic of my thesis and the language of the speeches (official language used in both parliaments is Arabic), but they were unaware of my research questions. I chose to have two coders (other than myself) to increase the intercoder reliability of my research.

For the coders' training, two documents were shared with the coders. The first document was the coding scheme (see Appendix C), which contains a detailed explanation of the coding process as well as all the definitions to use as a reference. The second document was a set of coding sheets (see Appendices D and E) for the coders to fill while analyzing the speeches. Coding Sheet 1 (see Appendix D) captured the features of the videos (parliament sessions) being analyzed. The details of the parliament sessions were extracted, i.e., the length/duration of the session, the source of the session, the speakers in the session, published date, country, and time segment that the policy was mentioned. Coding Sheet 2 (see Appendix E) captures characteristics of the female MP as well as the policy priorities they invoked. Examples of the characteristics analyzed during the speech are 'loud voice, low voice, screaming, calm, nervous/tense, aggressive, prayer/preaching, etc. However, these characteristics were used minimally in this thesis as their analysis was not the main objective of the study. The coders were allowed to share their opinions as they observed the speeches. The coders had to identify the policy area mentioned in the speeches, whether it was women's issues or non-women's issues: then, under each area, the themes (code group) were identified; and lastly, the coders were asked to identify the topics (codes) mentioned. The entire process was recorded in the coding sheets following the description in the coding scheme. An exhaustive document with the entire coding scheme and two coding sheets can be found in Appendices C, D, and E respectively.

The official language used in both parliaments is Arabic; nonetheless, the coding process was all conducted in English. All coders were capable of simultaneous translations from Arabic to English while coding¹⁷. Since all the coders (including myself) are of Arab origin, we were able to reflect the sub-cultural features of the contents in our interpretation.

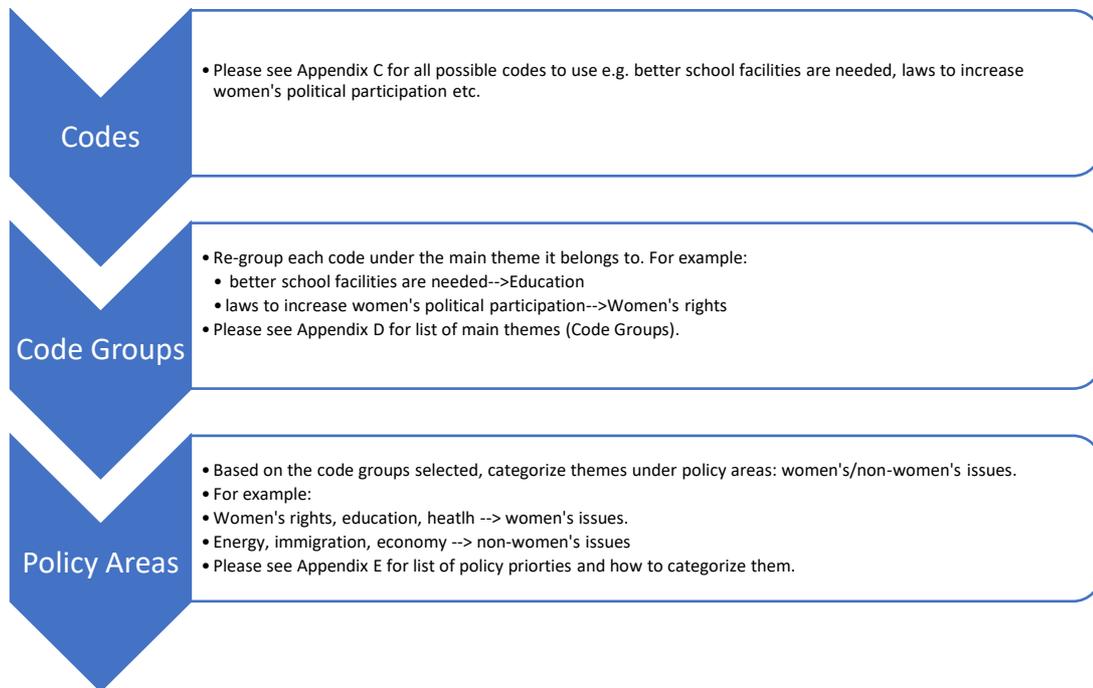
The coding scheme was created as a guide for the entire coding process. The coders referred to the definitions and instructions of the author and coded each unit (part of the video). The subsequent section introduces the coding processes followed by coders during the coding process (see Appendix C for the complete coding scheme).

4.11 Coding Process

The coding process was constructed using an open coding method. Firstly, all speeches and debates were viewed, and all the possible categories for policy priorities were identified and collected in a spreadsheet. After that, the values were grouped and coded based on previously defined women's issues in the coding scheme. During the analysis of the speeches and statements, the first step was to code the topics/issues (codes) invoked by female MPs. Second, all codes were grouped under a specific theme (code group). For women's issues, eight code groups were created: Women's rights, youth, education, family, health, environment, elderly and social issues. For non-women's issues, five code groups were created: Development, economy, government, immigration, and national security. The third step was dividing all codes and code groups into two main policy areas: women's issues and non-women's issues.

¹⁷ The author is a native Arabic speaker and a near-native English speaker ,thereby making the translation possible. All coders are native Arabic speakers and have high levels of English language proficiency.

Figure 4.2: Coding Scheme Application Process



Source: Author

Figure 4.2 gives a simple overview of the coding process followed throughout this research.

4.12 Issues of reliability and validity

This research utilized qualitative content analysis as the primary methodological approach. One of the weaknesses of content analysis is researcher bias however, this was avoided by utilizing intercoder reliability. By having other coders involved in the process, this reduces bias and misinterpretation during the analysis of speeches and statements. The coders interpreted the contents according to their understanding and categorized the codes into themes based on the coding scheme and sheets. As the main researcher, I then checked the level of agreement between the categories and codes that I had created to that of the coders. The overall intercoder reliability was 95.5 %. The other strategy I used to enhance the outcome of the analysis

and uphold bias-free research was by using reflexivity. Reflexivity implies that I actively engaged in self-reflection throughout the process to ensure that I was aware and careful of any possible bias. I read, viewed and listened to the contents and materials multiple times before interpreting and coding.

4.13 Summary

Qualitative content analysis was employed in this research. This study examined the background experiences of female MPs, as well as their speeches and statements in Arab parliaments, to identify the reflection of these experiences as well as the policy agendas and priorities. The videos were accessed through the official websites and YouTube channels of the national parliaments of Jordan and Tunisia. The reason these channels were selected was because of the reliability, accessibility and consistency in publishing videos. I created a unique content analysis dataset of 35 female MPs from the last parliamentary election cycle in Jordan and Tunisia. I collected and analyzed information provided online for all female MPs; I then identified the policy agenda and priorities that female MPs in Arab parliaments invoked. While analyzing the speeches, I drew out possible reflections of background experiences of female MPs in their speeches and statements (based on previously identified factors in Chapter Two). This study is relatively unique in its approach of using qualitative content analysis of speeches posted on YouTube by Arab parliaments in order to identify policy agenda and priorities. Most of the past studies on policy agenda used transcripts of speeches or *Hansard* for content analysis. This was not possible for Arab parliaments because neither *Hansard* nor transcripts were publicly available. This study is unique because it analyzed speeches similar to traditional methods of analyzing

speeches on TV or other media but used contemporary media platforms such as YouTube and Facebook.

In terms of analysis, very few studies have examined the speeches of MPs on YouTube videos; previous studies have mostly analyzed text-based speeches. There are also no studies that have analyzed speeches given by MPs in Arab parliaments in any form. Also, most of previously designed coding schemes for policy agenda were developed for Western countries and were not entirely applicable to the Arab region, therefore, a human-coded content-analytic coding scheme was developed for the Arab region based on both the interpretation of women's issues by the author and the definition of women's issues used in prior studies. Although human coding was the primary approach employed, Atlas ti was also utilized in the analysis process, therefore, making it a combined approach that is unique in comparison to previously conducted content analysis approaches on policy agenda.

CHAPTER 5

Data Analysis and Findings

This chapter presents the analysis and findings of the study. The findings help in answering the research questions guiding this thesis. The findings are divided into three parts, according to the research questions. The first sub-section examines the background experiences of the elected female MPs in Arab parliaments. The second sub-section draws out probable reflections of background experiences in speeches and statements of female MPs. The third sub-section examines the speeches and statements further by identifying the policy agendas that female MPs promote. All outcomes are illustrated using visual graphics (tables and charts) to ease the understanding of the analysis. Overall, the findings provide an understanding of women's substantive representation in parliaments of Jordan and Tunisia.

5.1 Background Experiences of Female MPs in Arab parliaments

In this section, the background experiences of 35 female MPs are examined to provide an understanding of female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia through examining the diverse experiences they bring to Arab parliaments (see Chapter Two).

Eight variables were selected based on previous studies to examine the background experiences of female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia. For educational attainment, educational level and field of study of female MPs are examined. For political background and expertise, votes received, incumbency/political activities, type of quota seat, parliamentary committee, and political party affiliation are examined. As

for skills, the professional working experience of female MPs is examined, and for identifying interests of female MPs, CSO participation is examined.

Upon gathering all the data of the 35 female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia, I systematically analyzed them. I used Atlas ti (CATA) to organize and code the data, while Microsoft Excel was used to create visual and statistical representation of the findings. The subsequent section examines the background experiences of female MPs in Jordan.

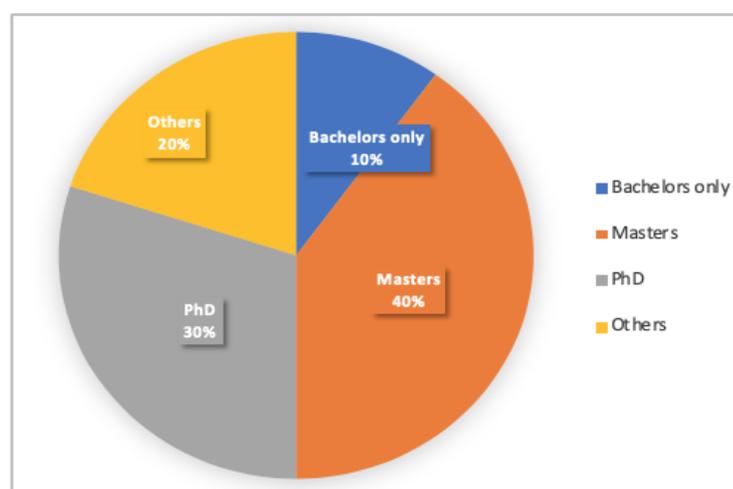
5.1.1 Jordan

In this section, the background experience of ten female MPs in Jordan are examined. Findings from the eight variables are presented below:

a) **Education Background:**

The average percentage of Jordanian women with a bachelor's degree is 13.9%, and this percentage is relatively lower for those with a master's or doctorate (Statistics Bureau of Jordan, 2016). For female MPs in Jordan, information on the education level and field of study are illustrated in Figure 5.1 and Table 5.1 respectively.

Figure 5.1: Highest Degree Obtained by Female MPs Jordan (N=10)



Source: Author

Table 5.1: Highest Degree Obtained by Female MPs - Jordan

SP_ID	Highest degree and major
J01	Bachelor's degree in Psychology
J03	Ph.D. in Pharmacy
J05	Master's degree in Public Administration
J06	Ph.D. in Educational Administration
J07	Ph.D. in Civil Law
J08	Master's degree in Chemistry
J09	Master's degree in Law
J10	Master's degree in Linguistics

Source: Author adapted from the website of the Jordanian parliament.
See <http://www.jordanpolitics.org/en/lower-house/5/lower-house-18>

From the ten female MPs, education background information was only available for eight of the selected MPs (see Table 5.1). The field of study of J02 and J04 was not

included on the parliamentary website. One female MP had a bachelor's degree only, four MPs had bachelor's and master's degrees, and three had bachelor's, master's, and doctorate degrees. Likewise, female MPs specialized in diverse fields in both social and natural sciences such as psychology, education, law, chemistry, linguistics, etc. Based on these statistics, it can be said that majority of the female MPs in Jordanian national parliament are highly educated, having at least a bachelor's degree and majoring in diverse fields of study.

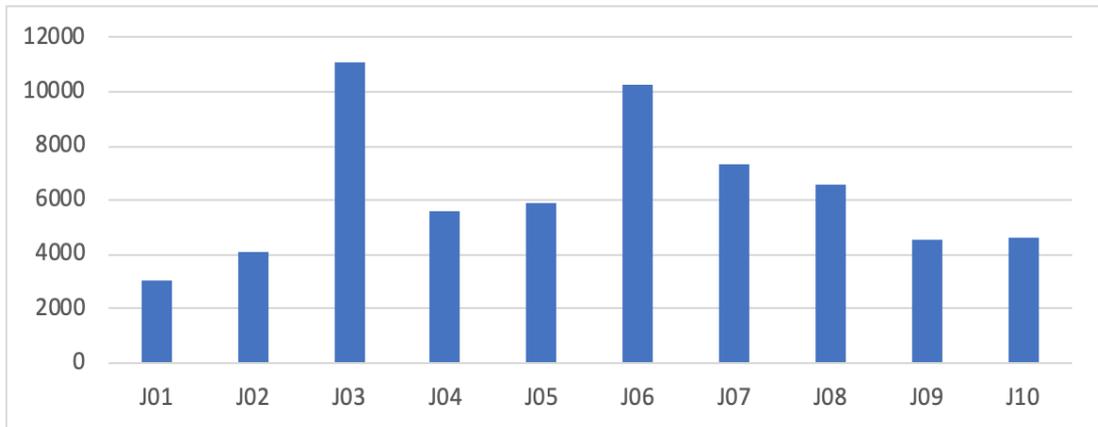
b) Political expertise:

Female MPs' political expertise in Jordan were examined to have a better understanding of their political background. I looked at the number of votes they received, the parliamentary seats won, incumbency, assignment to parliamentary committees, and political party affiliation.

i) Number of votes

The female MPs with the highest votes were J03, J06, and J07. J03 is a member of the Islamic front party, while J06 and J07 are not affiliated with any political party.

Figure 5.2: Number of Votes (Jordan) (N= 10)



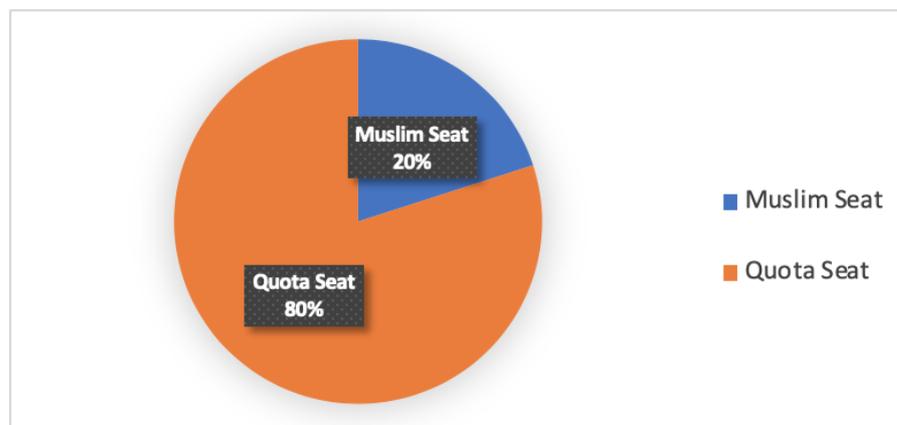
Source: Author

Figure 5.2 illustrates the number of votes received by the selected female MPs in Jordan.

ii) **Type of quota seat**

As explained in Chapter Three, Jordan has introduced reserved seats gender quotas in the national parliament. Eight of the female MPs were elected through gender quotas while the other two won the Muslim quota seats. The female MPs that received the highest votes were all elected on quota seats.

Figure 5.3: Type of Parliament Seats (Jordan) (N = 10)



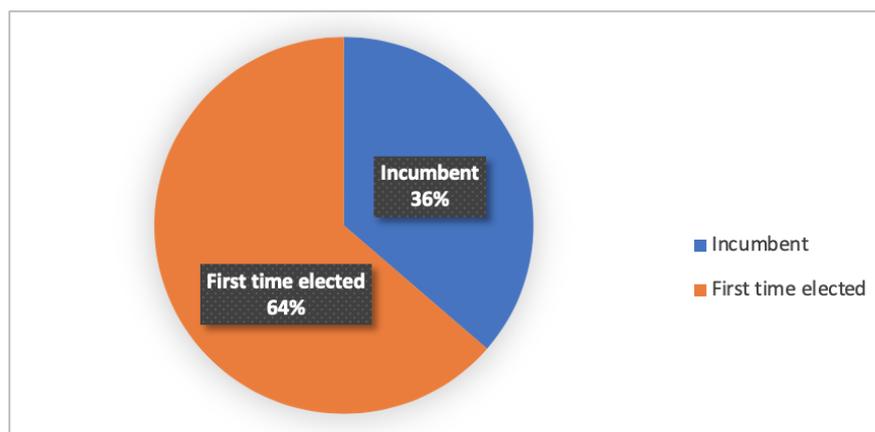
Source: Author

As discussed in Chapter Three, women's numbers in the national parliament of Jordan increased after the adoption of gender quotas. Before the adoption of quotas, very few women were represented in national politics. As shown in Figure 5.3, the majority of the female MPs won quota seats.

iii) **Incumbency**

From the ten female MPs, six were elected to the parliament for the first time while four were incumbents, serving at least their second term in the national parliament of Jordan.

Figure 5.4: Incumbency (Jordan) (N= 10)



Source: Author

Although more women were serving their first term as parliamentarians, the number of incumbents cannot also be neglected.

iv) **Membership in parliamentary committees**

Each parliamentary committee has around ten to eleven members (male and female). The majority of female MPs in Jordan were assigned to the Women and Family Affairs Committee. There were ten members in this committee, and eight of them were women resulting in only two men being members of this committee. Also, four of the

female MPs selected for this analysis were among the eight women in this committee.

Other committees that female MPs were assigned to are listed in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Distribution of Female MPs in Parliamentary Committees (Jordan)

Committees	Number of women
Women and Family Affairs Committee	8
Transparency and Fact-finding Committee	2
Tourism and Antiquities Committee	1
Legal Committee	2
Arabic and International Affairs Committee	3
Administrative Committee	1
Education Committee	6
Labor and Social Development Committee	1
Health and Environment Committee	2
National Steering Committee	3
Public Service Committee	2
Public Freedom and Rights of Citizens Committee	1
Palestine Committee	2
Rural Area Committee	1

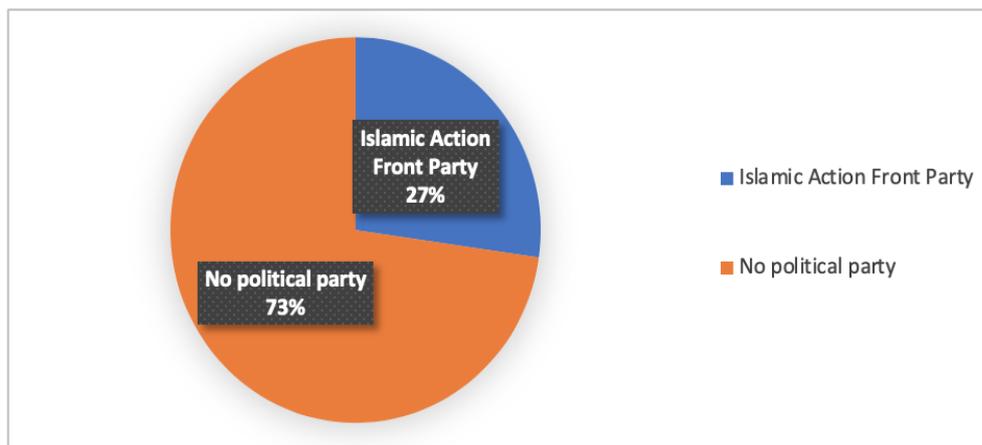
Source: Author, adapted from <http://www.jordanpolitics.org/en/lower-house/5/lower-house-18>

As can be seen in Table 5.2, the majority of female MPs belong to the Women and Family Affairs Committee, and the Education Committee came second. In general, it can be said that female MPs in Jordan are commonly assigned to committees that are considered women's areas of interest (traditional issues and concerns).

v) **Political Party Affiliation**

As discussed in Chapter Two, political party affiliation plays a crucial role in national politics. Therefore, I first examine female MPs affiliation with political parties in Jordan.

Figure 5.5: Political Party Affiliation (Jordan) (N=10)



Source: Author

From the ten female MPs selected, only three were affiliated with a political party, and all three belonged to the Islamic Action Front Party (IAF). The IAF is the ruling political party in Jordan. Findings show that the majority of the female MPs did not belong to any political party. This is because Jordan is a monarchy, and political parties are relatively new in the country (see Chapter Three for more details).

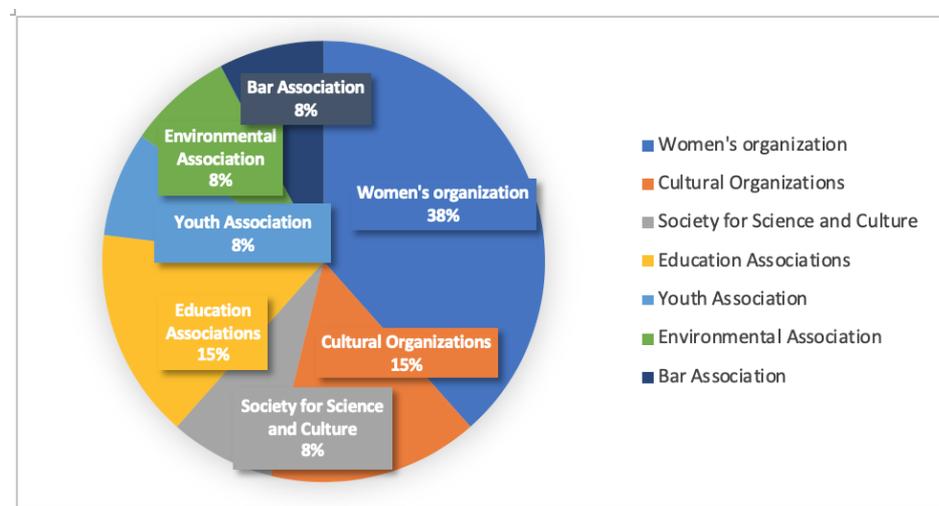
c) **Professional working experience:**

All female MPs had diverse work experience before being elected to Jordan's national parliament. Some of their experiences include teaching at universities, working as lawyers, working in schools, working as social activists, at international organizations, for Ministry of Education, at hospitals, etc.

d) CSO participation:

Interests in this study are defined based on affiliation with non-governmental groups and organizations. CSO participation shows the diverse areas of interests of Jordanian female MPs. Figure 5.6 shows the different organizations that female MPs participated in.

Figure 5.6: Participation in Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) - Jordan (N= 7)



Source: Author

From the ten female MPs, only seven had information on participation in CSOs. The majority of the women belong to women's organizations, followed by organizations that promote education and culture.

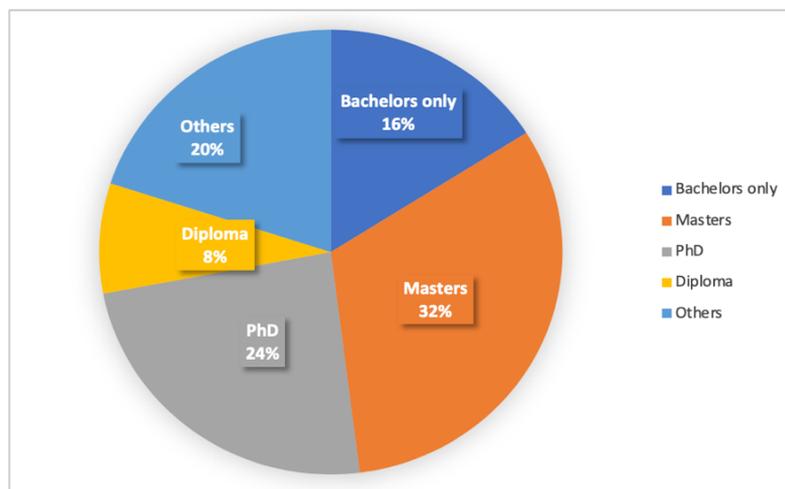
5.1.2 Tunisia

In this section, the background experience of female MPs in Tunisia were analyzed. Out of the 35 women included in this study, 25 were selected from Tunisia. The findings based on the eight variables are presented below:

a) Education Background:

The percentage of the Tunisian female population aged 15 and above who completed tertiary school (post-secondary) education was 6.96% (World Bank, 2014). Since the percentage of Tunisia women with a post-secondary degree or higher is relatively low, it can be said that majority of the female MPs in Tunisia’s national parliament are highly educated. For female MPs in Tunisia, information on education level and field of study are shown in Figure 5.7 and Table 5.3, respectively.

Figure 5.7: Highest Degree Obtained by Female MPs (Tunisia) (N= 25)



Source: Author

Table 5.3: Highest Degree Obtained by Female MPs- Tunisia

SP_ID	Highest Degree and Major
T01	Master's degree in Law
T02	Bachelor's degree in Mathematics
T03	Master's degree in Mathematics
T04	Master's degree in Media Engineering
T05	Ph.D. in Applied Chemistry
T06	Bachelor's degree in Natural Sciences
T07	Master's degree in Advanced Modern History
T08	Diploma in Law
T09	Ph.D. in Medicine
T10	Bachelor's in International Cooperation and Economics
T11	Ph.D. Biological Science
T12	Ph.D. in Agricultural Science and Bioengineering
T13	Master's degree in Public Law
T14	Master's degree in Sports Science
T15	Ph.D. in Dentistry
T16	Bachelor's degree in Medicine
T17	Master's degree in Public Law
T18	Ph.D. in English Language
T19	Master's degree in Law
T20	Diploma in Finance

Source: Author, adapted from <http://www.jordanpolitics.org/en/lower-house/5/lower-house-18>

The information on the education background of female MPs was only available for 20¹⁸ of the MPs. From the 20 women examined, the majority of the MPs had tertiary education, two only had diploma certificates¹⁹, four only had bachelor's degrees, eight had master's degrees, while six others had Ph.D. degrees as well. Likewise, as shown

¹⁸ T21- T25 did not have any information on the website.

¹⁹ These are post-secondary certificates that are not equivalent to a Bachelor's degree.

in Table 5.3, female MPs specialized in diverse fields both in social sciences and natural sciences such as medicine, law, chemistry, sports, etc. Based on these findings, it can be said that majority of the female MPs in Tunisia's national parliament are highly educated having at least a bachelor's degree and majoring in diverse fields of study.

b) Political expertise:

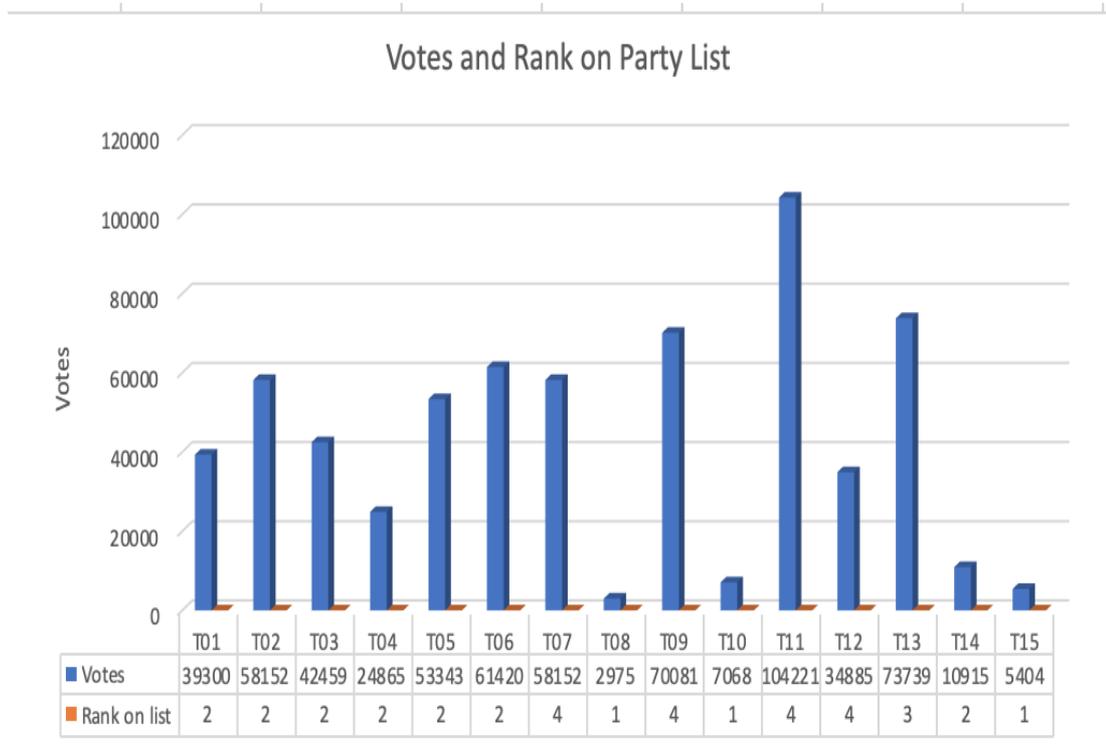
The political expertise of Tunisian female MPs was analyzed through different political variables. To have a better understanding of the selected female MPs selected, I looked at the number of votes they received, their political activities, the parliamentary committees they were assigned to, and political party affiliation. Both incumbency and gender quota seats are not included in the Tunisian case²⁰.

i) Votes and rank:

Of all the party lists, only three women were placed at the head of the lists. However, the majority of female candidates were placed second on the party lists. Overall, only 15 out of the 25 female MPs had information on votes received, as shown in Figure 5.8.

²⁰ Incumbency is not considered because 2014 was the first regular legislative elections (resulting from the Arab-Spring Revolutions) held in Tunisia since 1956 (independence). As for gender quotas, Tunisia has legislative candidate quotas rather than reserved seats.

Figure 5.8: Votes and Rank on Party List (Tunisia) (N=12)



Source: Author, adapted from <http://www.jordanpolitics.org/en/lower-house/5/lower-house-18>

Tunisia has many political parties, and, as explained in Chapter Three, it is argued that many women fail to win parliamentary seats because they are not at the top of the party lists.

ii) **Political activities**

Although some of the female MPs have had some political experience, information on most of the female MPs' political activities was missing. Based on the information available, female MPs in Tunisia had some experience in politics before they were elected.

Table 5.4: Political Activities of Female MPs in Tunisia

SP_ID	Political Activities
T01	Tunisian General Union of Students Member of the Executive Office of the Ennahdha Movement (2011-2012) Member of Shura Council of the Ennahdha Movement (2012-2014)
T02	Member of the Regional Youth Employment Office Regional Office of Mahdiya supervising Women and Family Affairs (2011-2014)
T03	Member of the Founding Body (2011 to 2013) Member of the Shura Council (2013 to 2014) Member of the Shura Council of the Ennahdha Movement
T04	Member of the National Constituent Assembly on the list of the Ennahdha Movement in Tunis 1 (2011-2014)
T05	One of the leaders of the Nahdha Movement since 1983 Member of the National Constituent Assembly on the list of the Ennahdha Movement in the Department of Ben Arous Assistance to the President of Ennahdha Movement in charge of general conduct and supervision of the implementation of the budget
T06	Member of the National Constituent Assembly on the list of the Ennahdha Movement in the Italian Department (2011-2014) Member of the Consultative Council of the Maghreb Part of Nidaa Tounis movement since (2012) Member of the Regional Office of the Nidaa Tounis Movement Sfax 2
T07	National Trainer of Nidaa Tounis Movement President of the Regional Training Committee of the Nidaa Tounis Movement Sfax
T08	Member of the French Community Youth Parliament (2003)
T09	Member of the Office of the Nidaa Tounis Movement
T10	Founding member of the Tunisian Project Movement Party
T11	Founding member of Tunisia Horizons Party
T12	Joined the Congress Party for the Republic (2006-2013)

Source: Author, adapted from <http://www.jordanpolitics.org/en/lower-house/5/lower-house-18>

iii) **Membership in parliamentary committees**

The female MPs in Tunisia’s national parliament were assigned to multiple committees targeting diverse issues. Each committee had either 17 or 22 members. The committee with the highest number of female MPs was the Women and Family Affairs Committee, although the percentage was only 22%, followed by the Education Committee with 17%.

Table 5.5: Distribution of Female MPs in Parliamentary Committees (Tunisia)

Committees	Number of women
Education Committee	1
Palestine Committee	1
Women and Family Affairs Committee	4
Palestine Committee	1
Environment Committee	1
General Services Committee	2
Education Committee	3
National Steering Committee	2
Health Committee	2
Legal Committee	1
Rural and Badia Committee	1
People with Disabilities/Vulnerable Groups Committee	1
Security and Defense Committee	1
Rights Freedom and External Relations	1
General Legislation Committee	2
Finance, Planning and Development Committee	1

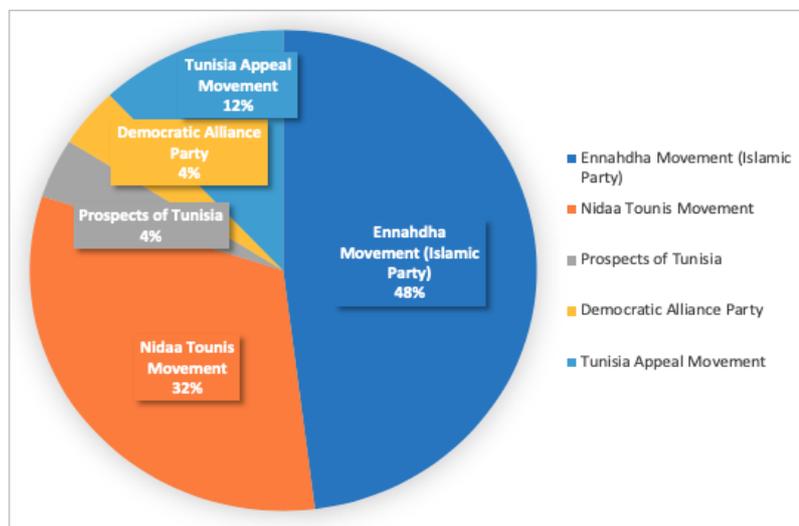
Source: Author, adapted from <http://www.jordanpolitics.org/en/lower-house/5/lower-house-18>

Based on the selected female MPs for this study, the number of women in the Women and Family Affairs Committee was higher than other committees. Nonetheless, women were widely dispersed into diverse committees and serving in other committees as well. Therefore, it was difficult to gauge the distribution of women in the parliamentary committees.

iv) **Political party affiliation**

As discussed in Chapter Three, the new law implemented in Tunisia in 2011, necessitates alternating between male and female politicians in political parties' candidates list. This has empowered women further and resulted in a higher number of women being politically active (see Chapter Three for more details).

Figure 5.9: Political Party Affiliation (Tunisia) (N =25)



Source: Author

The majority of the female MPs were affiliated with a political party. The main two political parties are Ennahdha (Renaissance Movement), which is the Islamic party, and Nidaa Tounis (Tunisia Call Movement). Others were affiliated with smaller parties or were independent candidates.

c) **Professional working experience:**

All female MPs had working experience prior to running for office, some of which include working at universities, as lawyers, at laboratories, at consulates, information technology consultants, for the government, as medical specialists in hospitals, etc.

d) **CSO Participation:**

Interests in this study are defined based on affiliation with non-governmental groups and organizations. This shows Tunisian female MPs' diverse areas of interest. Some of the female MPs in Tunisia were active in different civil society activities.

Table 5.6: Civil Society Participation by Female MPs (Tunisia)

SP_ID	Civil Society Participation
T01	Member of the regional branch of the Bar Association since 2007 Founding member of the Tunisian Cell Agency
T02	Blogger (website) Reporter Founding member of Q Cultural Association
T03	Founding member and president of the Civil Pole Network for Development and Civil Rights
T04	Founding member of Future Generation
T05	Engaged in the business law entities Formed a group for various social benefits in 2008
T06	Member of the Environment and Health Association
T07	A former official of the Muslim Youth Association of Southern Italy Vice- Chair of the Family and Labor Policy Committee at the Youth and CSO Forum in Italy
T08	Head of the regional office in Sfax for the Tunisian Association of Doctors
T09	Member of the Young Room in Sousse, Tunisia (2001) A host of the Mediterranean Games at its 14th session in Sousse
T10	Member of the Tunisian University
T11	Member of the Carthage Society for Music
T12	Founding member of the National Council for Liberties in Tunisia (1998)

Source: Author, adapted from <http://www.jordanpolitics.org/en/lower-house/5/lower-house-18>

Table 5.6 gives an overview of the civil society activities in which that female MPs are engaged in. Although information on many of the female MPs remains missing on the parliamentary website, it can be generalized that most of the female MPs in Tunisia have some experience working with CSOs.

5.2 Reflection of Background Experiences in Speeches and Statements of Female MPs

Upon reviewing the background experiences of the 35 selected female MPs in the previous sections, this section gives an overall discussion of the findings from the background experience examined as well as the reflection of these experiences in speeches and statements.

Education background:

Past studies have shown that education is crucial for political knowledge and participation (see Chapter Two) (Dassonneville & McAllister, 2018). Specifically, university education has been found to be of crucial importance to political participation (Verba, Schlozman, Brady & Nie, 1993). Based on the analysis conducted, it can be said that female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia are well educated. Findings from this study showed that female MPs all had bachelor's degrees, many had master's and doctorate degrees as well. The degrees were in diverse fields such as law, psychology, public administration, pharmaceuticals, medicine, linguistics, engineering, etc.

Political expertise:

Past studies (see Chapter Two) have emphasized the importance of political knowledge for participation in political discussions (Mondak & Anderson, 2004; Mendez, Jeanette & Osborn, 2010). Political expertise has been defined based on political knowledge and experience of politicians (Huckfeldt, 2001; Mendez, Janette & Osborn, 2010). In this study, political knowledge and expertise of female MPs were defined based on female MPs' votes, political activities, incumbency, type of seat, parliamentary committees, and political party affiliation.

Based on the political expertise of female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia, it was revealed that female MPs in Jordan were not affiliated with any political party (this can be explained due to the political system) except for the IAF (Islamic Party). In Tunisia, the opposite is true; the majority of female MPs were affiliated with a political party, however, this is also because of Tunisia's political system (see Chapter Three). In other words, the majority of female MPs in Jordan were non-partisan; while in Tunisia, the majority were affiliated with a political party. However, one shared similarity is that the Islamic political party is a dominant and critical political player in the politics of both countries.

In Jordan, the type of gender quotas available for women are reserved seats in the national parliament. Therefore, women could win gender seats or other seats, such as Muslim seats. Since political parties are not active in the country, the majority of the female MPs were elected directly from constituencies and districts to fill the quota seats. However, in Tunisia, legislative candidate quotas were implemented. Therefore, the majority of female MPs were elected through political parties. As per the new electoral law in Tunisia "candidates shall file their candidacy applications on the basis of parity between men and women" (IDEA, 2019) (Chapter Three). This new electoral law obliged political parties to ensure parity in party lists.

Consequently, the Nidaa Tounis and Ennahdha (Islamic) political parties had the most seats at the 2014 parliamentary elections. Likewise, both parties had the highest number of female MPs (26 female MPs respectively) (Assemblée des représentants du peuple, 2019). Upon examining the ranks on the party lists in Tunisia, the female MPs at the top of the party ranks did not receive the highest votes; instead those who held second, third, and fourth rank on the party list had the highest votes. However, the

female MPs that were placed at the top of their party lists did not belong to the dominant political parties such as Ennahdha (Islamic party) nor Nidaa Tounis.

In Jordan, the majority of the female MPs were serving their first term in the national parliament. In Tunisia however, the first-ever regular legislative elections (resulting from the Arab-Spring Revolution) were held in 2014 (the election cycle being analyzed in this study); therefore, incumbency was not applicable to Tunisia. Nonetheless, political activities of female MPs were also examined. For Jordan, information on the political activities of female MPs was not accessible on the official website of the parliament, and this could be as a result of the limited political experience Jordanian female MPs had (based on their working experience). In Tunisia, however, some female MPs had political experience prior to being elected to office.

In both Jordan and Tunisia, committees that were considered to be within women's traditional areas of interests such as children, family, youth, health, etc., had the highest number of female representatives. Likewise, comparatively fewer women were assigned to committees that are conventionally associated with men's areas of interests such as security, economy, energy, etc. However, overall, in Tunisia, some non-traditional committees had up to 40% female representation.

Professional working experience:

Previous studies have considered factors such as educational background, political knowledge, working experiences, interest groups, etc. to be relevant for political participation (Matland, 1998; Rule, 1987; Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Thomas, 1994). The majority of the female MPs had extensive working experience in different fields including their areas of study before being elected to office. All of the

selected female MPs in both Jordan and Tunisia had previous working experience either in schools, universities, the government, hospitals, local and international organizations, etc. This shows their diverse skills and experiences that female MPs bring to national parliaments.

CSO participation:

Past studies (see Chapter 2) have shown that CSOs represent the interests of society and can influence policy processes by advocating the interests of members of the society (Heinrich & Fioramonti, 2007). Therefore, female MPs' participation in CSOs shows their diverse interests and experiences. Using participation in non-governmental activities and organizations, I was able to gain some perspectives into female MPs' interests prior to being elected to national parliament. The majority of the female MPs in both countries had previous experience working in civil society organizations, and some female MPs also had experience working or volunteering in women's organizations. Female MPs' participation and membership in different organizations demonstrates their diverse interests. Therefore, it can be said that female MPs bring their experiences from non-governmental activities to policymaking processes.

In summary, the different background experiences of female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia were examined. Findings showed that female MPs' in Jordan and Tunisia were well educated; they had some political knowledge and expertise (more in Tunisia than in Jordan), years of professional working experience, and had diverse interests through their activities in different non-governmental organizations.

Upon examining the background experience of the selected female MPs, I also drew out general references and reflections of these experiences in speeches and statements of female MPs.

Female MPs in both parliaments are highly educated and have studied diverse fields. Past studies have shown that university education is essential for political participation. Upon examining the speeches of female MPs in this study, it was found that there were not enough direct references to their field of study in speeches and statements, however, the field of study could still be reflected in how female MPs approach policy agenda and political discussions.

Gender quotas have been introduced in both Tunisia and Jordan to increase women's political representation. However, female MPs in Tunisia supported gender quotas in their speeches, unlike those in Jordan.

In Tunisia, most female MPs were affiliated with political parties, unlike those in Jordan. In both countries, the Islamic Party is one of the dominant parties (if not the dominant party and has an active group of women representing the party. The Islamic party is dominant and considered conservative in both countries. In both parliaments female MPs invoked their political party or political party's stance when affiliated with the Islamic Party.

In Jordan, female MPs usually invoked issues about their constituency, since female MPs in Jordan are assigned to reserved seats based on votes cast through respective constituencies, and it can be said that female MPs tend to invoke constituency issues to satisfy voters. Likewise, in Jordan all female MPs would begin their speeches with a prayer (Islamic prayer), while in Tunisia, only women from the Islamic Party (Ennahdha) would start their speeches with a prayer.

In Jordan, the majority of the female MPs were serving their first term in the national parliament. This, however, did not affect their ability to promote diverse policy agendas. In Tunisia however, the first-ever regular legislative elections (resulting from the Arab-Spring Revolution) were held in 2014; therefore, incumbency could be examined. Nonetheless, political activities of female MPs were examined. Some female MPs in Tunisia had some political experience before being elected to office. For Jordan, information on the political activities of female MPs was not accessible on the official website of the parliament; this may be because most of the female MPs had little to no experience in politics (based on their working experience). In both parliaments, female MPs did not make direct reference to previous political experiences.

The majority of the female MPs were assigned to committees concerning women's issues, and while they did not prioritize women's issues over other areas such as government and the economy, they often invoked issues related to education, women's rights, and health. Therefore, in both parliaments, female MPs' membership in committees was reflected in their speeches and statements. Likewise, the status of the female MP in the committee was found to be important. This was evident in the case of Jordan, where the chairperson of the Committee for Women and Family Affairs prioritized policies concerning women, family, and children over other policy areas in her speeches. The same was also the case in Tunisia, where the chairperson of the Committee on Children, Youth, Culture and Sport, prioritized policies concerning children and youth in her speeches.

Previous studies have shown that female MPs' professional working experience, similar to educational attainment, allowed female MPs to express their opinions on different policy areas demonstrating their knowledge in political discussions (Norris &

Lovenduski, 2004; Thomas, 1994). Female MPs in both parliaments had professional working experience in different fields before being elected. Although it was difficult to find direct references to previous professional experiences in speeches and statements of female MPs, it can be assumed that work experience contributes to the knowledge and expertise that female MPs bring to policymaking.

Based on past studies, women's diverse interests through participation in non-governmental groups and organizations are relevant to political discussions (Heinrich & Fioramonti, 2007). In both parliaments, female MPs who participated in diverse non-governmental organizations demonstrated their diverse interests and activities. All of these experiences contributed to the perspectives they bring to policy discussions. However, it was difficult to identify direct references to CSO participation in speeches and statements of female MPs because of the diverse issues they addressed.

Overall, female MPs in both parliaments were outspoken and knowledgeable about the topics of discussion. They contributed to political discussions in both parliaments through their diverse background experiences. However, female MPs in both parliaments directly reflected only some aspects of their background experience in their speeches and statements.

5.3 Women's Issues or Non-Women's Issues as Policy Priorities in Arab Parliaments

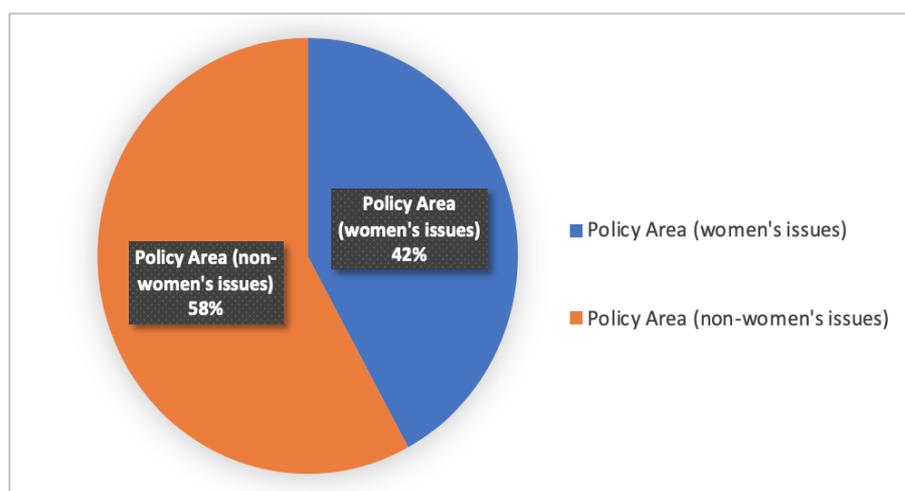
As per the research questions guiding this thesis, this section aims to understand the policy agendas that female MPs promote as well as the policy areas they prioritize. Based on the analysis of speeches and statements of 35 randomly selected female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia in the last election cycle, I identified and categorized the contents

of the speeches based on policy agenda priorities. The contents were analyzed using Atlas.ti, and the findings were converted into tables, graphs, and charts in Microsoft Excel for better visual and statistical representation. A brief discussion of the analysis and findings are included in the subsequent sections.

5.3.1 Plenary speeches and statements of female MPs-Jordan

This section illustrates the findings from the speeches and statements given by ten selected female MPs in Jordan's national parliament. As explained in Chapter Four, I identified two broad policy areas: women's issues and non-women's issues. I then analyzed the speeches to identify which policy area was prioritized by female MPs in Jordan.

Figure 5.10: Policy Area Priorities (Women's/Non-Women's Issues) of Female MPs in Jordan

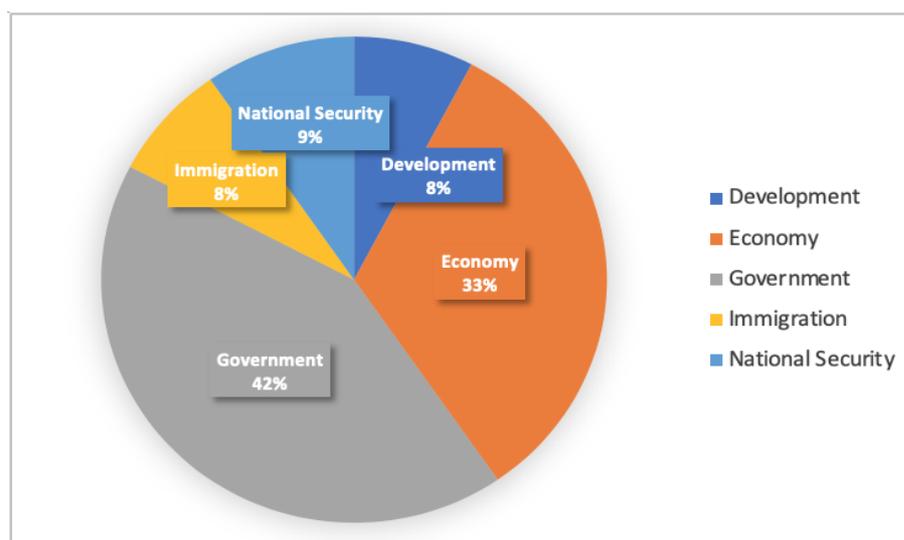


Source: Author

Figure 5.10 shows that in Jordan, female MPs prioritized non-women's issues (issues conventionally associated with men's areas of interests) in their statements and speeches when compared to women's issues. The subsequent sections provide further analysis to have a better understanding of these policy areas (non-women's and

women's issues). I first examine non-women's issues to identify which issues were discussed by female MPs in Jordan.

Figure 5.11: Non-Women's Issues (Non-Traditional Interests): Policy Agenda Priorities (Jordan)



Source: Author

Figure 5.11 illustrates the policy agendas concerning non-women's issues. For Jordanian female politicians, they invoked issues concerning development, economy, government, immigration, and national security. However, they mostly prioritized the government and economy.

Table 5.7 gives an overview of some of the specific topics that were mentioned concerning each policy agenda related to non-women's issues.

Table 5.7: Policy Agenda and Topics (Non-Women’s Issues) (Jordan)

Policy Area	Policy Agenda Priorities	Topics
<i>Non-women's Issues</i>	Development	International laws
		International organizations
		International relations
		Economic crisis
		Agriculture
		Investments
		International trade
		Salaries
	Economy	Funding
		Tax
		Development projects
		Opportunities
		Debt
		Poverty
		Alternative energy sources
		Laws
	Government	Corruption
		Accountability
		National aid fund
		Constituency
Services		
Transparency		
Immigration	Equal rights	
	Secularism	
	Refugees	
National Security	Role of international organizations	
	Retired military personnel	
	Military weapons (expenditure)	
	Military for security purposes	
		Military personnel

Source: Author

As shown in Table 5.7, with regards to development, the most commonly mentioned aspects were international organizations, international relations and

international relations. For example, female MPs focused on the need to improve relationships with international organizations in Jordan, the need to implement and abide by international laws, as well as the importance of improving relations and cooperation with other countries for the development of Jordan on a global scale.

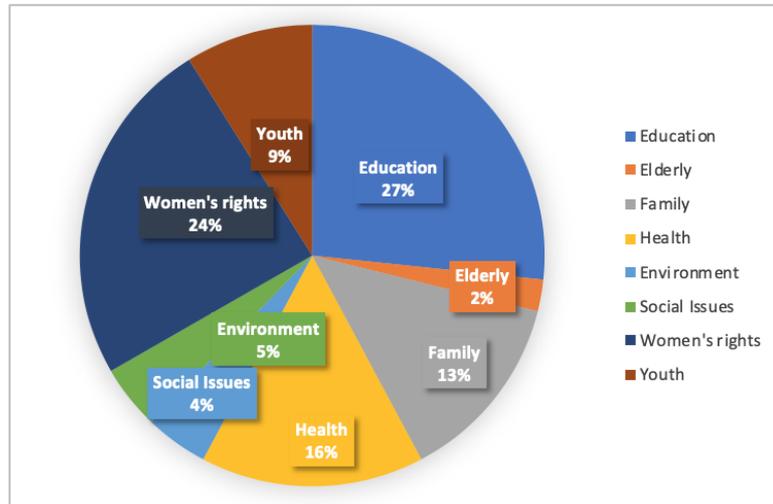
With regard to the economy, many issues and topics were discussed that would improve the Jordanian economy. These include agricultural infrastructure, supporting farmers, enhancing economic opportunities, creating job opportunities for citizens, investment projects, unemployment, pension-related issues, alternative energy sources, etc.

Concerning national security, the issues and topics invoked by female MPs include increasing the salaries of retired military personnel, military expenditures, and weapons purchase, increasing support, and assistance to armed forces, etc.

With regards to the government, the issues mentioned by female MPs were taking necessary actions and implementing laws where needed, dealing with government corruption, holding corrupted officials accountable, government intervention in constituencies, national aid fund, providing equal rights to all citizens, etc.

With regards to immigration, many issues and topics were discussed, such as refugee influx, the need for a ministry to handle refugees in Jordan, issues with international aid organizations changing the culture and traditions of Jordan and the need to monitor international organizations' activities, etc.

Figure 5.12: Women's Issues (Traditional Interests): Policy Agenda Priorities (Jordan)



Source: Author

Figure 5.12 represents the policy agendas concerning women's issues that female MPs mentioned in their speeches in Jordan. As illustrated, most of the issues invoked are associated with women's traditional areas of concern; however, they prioritized education and women's rights, among other women's issues. Female MPs did not invoke feminist issues such as reproduction rights, abortion rights, or equal pay, that are generally invoked in Western parliaments (see Chapter Two). Based on the policy agendas shown in Figure 5.12, I discuss each of these policy agendas and the topics related to them in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Policy Agendas and Topics (Women’s Issues) (Jordan)

Policy Area	Policy Agenda Priorities	Topics
Women's Issues	Education	Schools programs and curricula
		Health of students
		Opportunities
		Ministry of Education
		Facilities, equipment and laboratories
		Student loans
		Transport
		Universities
	Elderly	Pension
Family	Empowerment	
	Conflict	
	Family needs	
	Inflation in prices	
	Roles and responsibilities	
Health	Supporting poor families	
	Medical services	
	Transport	
	Chemical compounds and other related diseases	
	Insurance coverage	
	Medical facilities	
	Doctors and salaries	
Medical supplies and equipment		
Environment	Clean environment	
Social issues	Services	
	Youth unemployment	
	Charities and associations	
Women's rights	Rights	
	Economic empowerment	
	Laws	
	Supporting women	
	Entrepreneurship	
	Women as mothers	
	Unemployment	
	Opportunities	
Development		

Source: Author

As shown in Table 5.8, with regards to education, the most commonly mentioned issues were school related (especially within MPs' constituencies). Female MPs mentioned school curricula, workshops, and training for teachers, cooperation between Ministry of Education and schools, educational facilities and laboratories and equipment, university loans, increasing education opportunities and student loans, etc. In family and elderly needs, invoked issues include pension, services for elderly, increase in price of commodities, supporting poor families, family empowerment, etc.

In health, issues invoked include health insurance coverage, improving medical facilities, equipment, and services, increasing the number of doctors, increasing doctors' salaries, etc. The social issues invoked by female MPs include the need for youth centers, and supporting charities and associations that work to support the society.

In women's rights and concerns, the most commonly mentioned issues include laws to protect women's rights, supporting women small and medium enterprises (SMEs) in municipalities, supporting women socially and economically, providing women with funding opportunities, empowerment of women, etc.

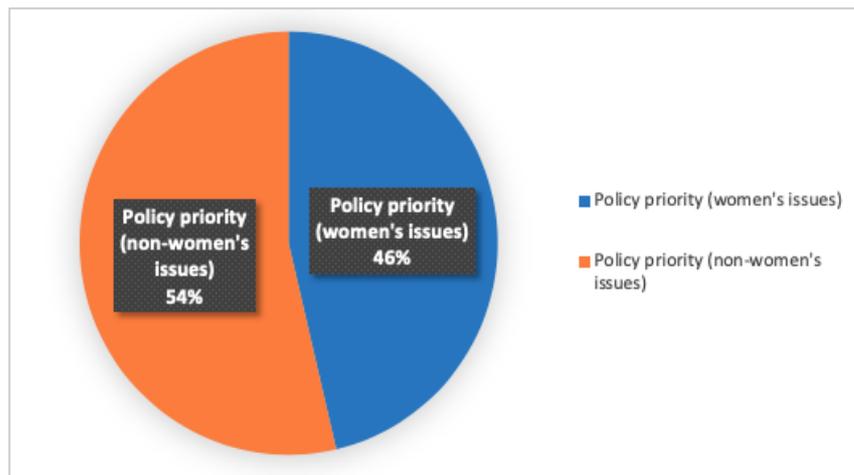
Overall, women's issues have been identified as areas of traditional interest to women (see Chapter Two). Jordanian female MPs often invoked women's issues; nonetheless they prioritized non-women's issues (non-traditional areas) in their speeches. The women's issues they often invoked were related to education, elderly and family, health, environment, social issues, and women's rights.

5.3.2 Plenary speeches and statements of female MPs-Tunisia

This section illustrates the findings from the speeches and statements given by 25 selected female MPs in Tunisia's national parliament. As explained in Chapter Four,

I identified two broad policy areas; women’s issues and non-women’s issues. I then analyzed the speeches to identify which policy area was prioritized by female MPs in Tunisia.

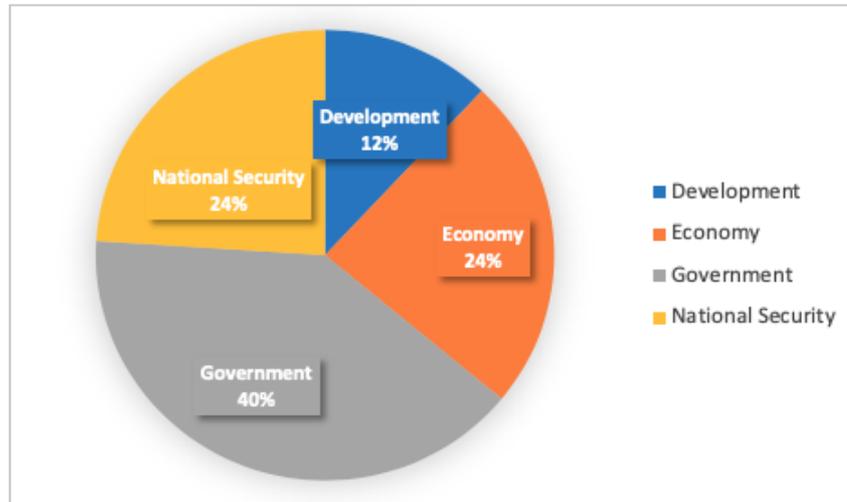
Figure 5.13: Policy Area Priorities (Women’s/Non-Women’s Issues) of Female MPs in Tunisia



Source: Author

As per Figure 5.13, it can be seen that in Tunisia, similar to Jordan, female MPs prioritized non-women’s issues (issues conventionally associated with men’s areas of interest) in their statements and speeches when compared to women’s issues. The subsequent sections provide further analysis to have a better understanding of the policy agendas mentioned under each policy area. I first examine the policy agendas invoked by female MPs under non-women’s issues followed by women’s issues.

Figure 5.14: Non-Women's Issues (Non-Traditional Interests): Policy Agenda Priorities (Tunisia)



Source: Author

Figure 5.14 illustrates the policy agendas under non-women's issues that female MPs invoked in their speeches and statements. For Tunisian female MPs, the policy agendas mentioned were government, the economy, national security, and development however, they prioritized government, the economy and national security.

Table 5.9 gives an overview of some of the specific topics that were mentioned concerning each policy agenda related to non-women's issues in Tunisia.

Table 5.9: Policy Agendas and Topics (Non-Women’s Issues) (Tunisia)

Policy Area	Policy Agenda Priorities	Topics
Non-Women's Issues	Development	International cooperation
		International investment
		Projects
	Economy	New economic strategies
		Tourism
		Agriculture
		Economic crisis
		Economic diplomacy
		Debt
	Government	Corruption
		Democracy
		Government accountability
		Citizens' rights
Corruption		
National Security	Terrorism issues	
	Fund anti-terrorism projects	
	Improved security measures	

Source: Author

As shown in Table 5.9, with regards to development, the most commonly mentioned aspects were increasing international cooperation, increasing international investments and implementing new projects for the development of Tunisia.

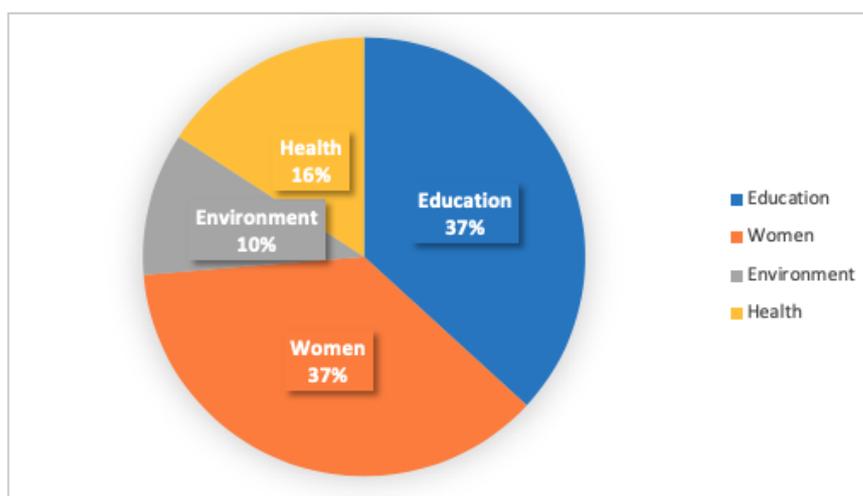
Concerning the economy, the most commonly discussed issues were Tunisia’s national debt, the economic crisis facing the country, the need for economic diplomacy, boosting tourism, and implementing new strategies to improve Tunisia’s economy.

Concerning the government, the most common issues invoked by female MPs were government accountability, transparency, corruption, citizen’s rights, freedom of

expression, democratic instability, non-democratic actions taken by the government and, the need to maintain democratic values post-revolution, etc.

With regard to national security, the issues that female MPs mostly focused on were anti-terrorism measures, eliminating terrorism promotion in schools, increased funding for anti-terrorism projects, and finding the responsible parties funding terrorism, etc.

Figure 5.15: Women's Issues (Traditional Interests): Policy Agenda Priorities (Tunisia)



Source: Author

Figure 5.15 represents the policy agendas under women’s issues that female MPs invoked in their speeches in Tunisia. For Tunisian female MPs, the policy agendas mentioned were education, women, health, and environment; however, similar to Jordan, they prioritized education and women. Likewise, similar to Jordan, female MPs in Tunisia did not invoke feminist issues such as reproduction rights, abortion rights, equal pay, and LGBTQI that are generally invoked in Western parliaments (see Chapter Two). Table 5.10 gives an overview of some of specific topics that were mentioned concerning each policy agenda related to non-women’s issues in Tunisia.

Table 5.10: Policy Agendas and Topics (Women’s Issues) (Tunisia)

Policy Area	Policy Agenda Priorities	Topics
Women's Issues	Education	Opportunities/ scholarships Private schools’ curricula School facilities Islamic schools and after schools Transportation services Improved health facilities
	Environment	Clean environments Misuse of energy resources Pollution
	Health	Health services Medical Experts Insurance
	Women's rights	Opportunities Domestic violence Economic participation Mechanisms and laws Political empowerment Progress in women’s rights Female politicians’ influence Economic empowerment

Source: Author

As shown in Table 5.10, with regards to education, the most commonly mentioned issues were scholarship opportunities for students, the need for school facilities to be improved, the need for school curricula to be unified across private and public schools, the need for monitoring Islamic school activities, the need for better health services for students, and the need to provide better study environments for students, etc.

With regards to women's rights and concerns, the topics invoked by female MPs include more opportunities for economic participation, domestic violence against women as a significant problem, the need for better mechanisms and actions to ensure the protection and empowerment of women and laws to increase women's political participation. One interesting finding was that the majority of the women's rights and issues were related to women's economic and political empowerment. In Jordan, unlike Tunisia, women's political empowerment was not commonly mentioned by female MPs.

Concerning health, improving health services for citizens, the need for hospitals to have more doctors and nurses and better health insurance coverage was mentioned.

With regards to environment issues include the misuse of Tunisia's energy resources, pollution of the Tunisian environment by factories and industries and maintaining a clean environment for Tunisians.

5.4 Overall Findings

In this section, I present the overall findings from the speeches and statements analyzed. I discuss the policy agendas that female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia prioritized, identifying similarities and differences. I also support my findings by providing some examples of issues invoked by female MPs in both parliaments.

In Jordan, the policy agenda priorities of female MPs J01, J02, and J03²¹ were in areas relating to the government and welfare of the Jordanian citizens²². All three female MPs are members of the Islamic Front Party; in their speeches they only mentioned women in light of the private sphere, focusing on empowerment of mothers

²¹ See Appendix F for a table with names of MPs and their IDs

²² See Appendix M for a table with MPs' names, IDs, and frame captions from speeches.

and families. They mostly highlighted women as part of a family or household rather than belonging to the public sphere. For example, J03 did not promote gender quotas in her speech, and although she was elected through quotas, she did not mention it as a positive measure. Although she did not precisely say that quotas are ineffective, she mentioned that the most effective way of empowering women is not only by increasing their presence in politics²³.

Female MP J07²⁴ in her speech, on the other hand, showed her policy agenda priorities were empowering women, improving the economy, and the welfare of the citizens. She mentioned the importance of supporting women's SMEs in municipalities as well as empowering women economically²⁵. This could be because of her status as the chairperson of the Committee for Women and Family Affairs in the national parliament.

Female MPs J05 and J09 mentioned issues concerning the government and economy, and they stressed issues such as high corruption within the government and the need to hold corrupt officials accountable. Female MP J10²⁶ is the youngest MP in the national parliament of Jordan at the age of 30. In both her speeches and statements, she stresses issues that are affecting her constituency. Her speeches and statements were mostly related to improving the quality of education, as well as facilities and opportunities for children in her district²⁷. Throughout her speeches, she rarely mentions issues related to women.

²³ See Appendix M for a table with MPs' names, IDs, captions from speeches

²⁴ See Appendix F for a table with names of MPs and their IDs

²⁵ See Appendix M for a table with MPs' names, IDs, frame captions from speeches

²⁶ See Appendix F for a table with names of MPs and their IDs

²⁷ See Appendix M for a table with MPs' names, IDs, frame captions from speeches

In Tunisia, female MPs T07, T08 and T13²⁸ focused on the need for Tunisia to boost its tourism industry for developing the economy²⁹. They also discussed issues of national security. They urged the government to increase the budget for funding anti-terrorism projects.

Female MPs T02, T05, T09, and T11,³⁰ on the other hand, focused on democracy and governance³¹. They stressed the importance of maintaining democracy and freedom of expression. They also discussed the economy in issues such as the economic instability facing Tunisia. Female MPs T12, T16, T17, T21, T23, and T25³² all focused on issues affecting women such as domestic violence and stressed the importance of women's economic and political empowerment³³.

Female MPs T01, T08, T09, T15, and T20³⁴ invoked issues relating to education and health, such as improving school facilities and unifying curricula in private and public schools. T01, T04, T17, T22, and T25³⁵ mostly focused on ensuring national security, improving governance and strengthening the economy³⁶. T02, T09, T14, and T19³⁷ mentioned topics relating to health and development such as increasing medical experts and the need for international cooperation.

Based on the speeches analyzed thus far, I can conclude that in the national parliaments of Jordan and Tunisia, female MPs share similarities and differences in their policy agenda priorities. Concerning non-women's issues, female MPs prioritized

²⁸ See Appendix G for a table with names of MPs and their IDs

²⁹ See Appendix M for a table with MPs' names, IDs, captions from speeches

³⁰ See Appendix G for a table with names of MPs and their IDs

³¹ See Appendix M for a table with MPs' names, IDs, captions from speeches

³² See Appendix G for a table with names of MPs and their IDs

³³ See Appendix L for table with MPs names, IDs, captions from speeches.

³⁴ See Appendix G for a table with names of MPs and their IDs

³⁵ See Appendix G for a table with names of MPs and their IDs

³⁶ See Appendix M for a table with MPs' names, IDs, captions from speeches

³⁷ See Appendix G for a table with names of MPs and their IDs

the economy and government in both parliaments. Female MPs in both parliaments often invoked issues related to high corruption and holding governments accountable as essential issues. However, in Tunisia, female MPs also prioritized national security. Likewise, they often invoked issues relating to democracy, but this was not the case in Jordan. This could be explained due to Tunisia's recent transition into a democratic country, while Jordan is a monarchy. Many female MPs in Jordan on the other hand, lobbied for policies that would help their constituencies or on broader issues of the economy and citizens.

Concerning women's issues, female MPs in both parliaments addressed women's issues in their speeches. They prioritized education and issues affecting women. With regards to women, they focused on women's rights and economic empowerment of women. However, in Tunisia, female MPs equally stressed women's political empowerment, which was not the case in Jordan. Even though the majority of the female MPs in both parliaments belonged to the Women and Family Affairs Committee, they mention women's issues less frequently than non-women's issues. Thus, it is clear that this not their top priority, with a few exceptions (the chairwomen for Women's Committee). Based on the analysis in Jordan, female MPs from the Islamic party were not in support of gender quotas as an essential mechanism for the political empowerment of women.

For both parliaments, it was revealed that female MPs who were chairwomen of their committees often invoked issues relating to their committees as policy agenda priorities. Overall, it can be said that for both parliaments, many similarities were found in the policy agendas that are promoted by female MPs in their speeches.

CHAPTER 6

Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis proposed that previous theories of substantive representation of female MPs through policy priorities could also be generalized to the Arab region where support for women in national politics remains low, yet the adoption of gender quotas is increasing. After analyzing the speeches of female MPs in two Arab parliaments (Jordan and Tunisia) this generalization was found inadequate in explaining findings from the Arab region.

Using an innovative methodological approach, I developed a coding scheme that applies to the Arab region in examining the policy agenda priorities of female MPs in national parliaments. By developing a workable schema to apply to speeches of female MPs, I was able to analyze and identify the ‘who,’ ‘what,’ ‘how’ and ‘when’ of substantive representation of women in Arab states.

Most of the previous researches have studied women as one monolithic entity, comparing their policy priorities and perspectives to men. Through the lens of intersectionality, I was also able to illustrate that women are not a single group; there are significant differences in their experiences and policy agenda priorities globally.

This study analyzed the background experience and speeches of 35 female MPs in the national parliaments of Jordan and Tunisia. The objectives of the study were to identify the different women elected into Arab parliaments, highlighting the diverse experiences they bring to national parliaments, drawing out the reflection of these experiences in their speeches, and identifying the policy agendas they promote and prioritize in Jordan and Tunisia.

Past studies have shown that women's experiences need to be included in policymaking in order to bring diverse perspectives into parliamentary discussions and debates, thereby having positive effects on policy debates and outcomes (Thomas, 1994; Childs et al., 2010; Scarrow & Gezgor, 2010). Upon examining the background experiences of female MPs, it can be stated that female MPs in Arab parliaments are not a homogenous group; they have attained different educational backgrounds, political expertise, professional working experience, and CSO participation. Therefore, female MPs can contribute to policy making with their diverse experiences. In their speeches and statements, most of the selected female MPs in both parliaments were outspoken and knowledgeable about the topics of discussion.

Female MPs in Arab parliaments bring different perspectives from their past experiences to policymaking. Through this study, female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia were found to be highly educated in comparison to the average educational level of their respective countries. Likewise, female MPs had years of working experience in diverse fields before being elected to office. Female MPs in both parliaments also had diverse interests through participation in non-governmental groups and organizations. As for political expertise, there were differences in the level of experience of female MPs in both parliaments. In Arab parliaments, it can be argued that women contribute to policymaking with their diverse background experience from their education background, political expertise, professional skills, and CSO participation.

Female MPs reflect their background experiences in national parliaments in different ways. In Arab parliaments, the background experiences of female MPs were reflected in female MPs' speeches and statements (although some were more evident than others).

Some differences were also found among female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia. Jordanian female MPs had less political experience than Tunisian women; likewise, in Jordan, female MPs would always open their speeches with a religious (Islamic) prayer while in Tunisia, only female MPs affiliated with the Islamic political party would initiate with a prayer. This shows that Tunisia as democracy allows more freedom of speech in national parliaments whereby female MPs feel free to choose their political and religious affiliation. To support this, I used the Freedom House Report (2019) (see Chapter Three), whereby Tunisia is ranked as “free” in civil and political liberties while Jordan is ranked “partially free” in civil and political liberties.

In Tunisia, most female MPs were affiliated with political parties, unlike those in Jordan. In both countries, the Islamic Party is one of the dominant parties (if not the dominant party) and has an active group of women representing the party. Therefore, it can be said that religious parties support women’s political representation. Nonetheless, the extent of this support is unknown. Tunisia is a democratic country, and women have been granted more rights than any other country in the Arab region (see Chapter Three), therefore, it is expected that even women in Islamic political parties are more liberal than in other Arab countries.

Some critical aspects identified through examining speeches and statements of female MPs were constituencies (Jordan), political party affiliation (Islamic parties), and parliamentary committees. Female MPs generally invoked issues about their constituencies, particularly in Jordan, their committees (especially if the MP is a chairperson) and their political party’s stance (mostly the Islamic Party) in their speeches and statements.

Gender quotas have been introduced in both Tunisia and Jordan to increase women's political representation. Jordan has reserved seats for women, and Tunisia has legislative candidate seats. With the increase in the numerical representation of women in both parliaments, women's issues have been among the policy agenda that female MPs promote; however, this was not always their priority.

My findings have somewhat contradicted previous studies, showing that although female MPs in Arab parliaments prioritize traditional issues such as women's rights and education in their speeches, when comparing their support for traditional issues to other non-traditional issues (economy, government, etc.), they prioritized non-traditional issues (non-women's issues) which have conventionally been considered as men's areas of interest. Thus, female MPs elected through gender quotas in Arab parliaments have the potential to raise women's issues; however, this is not their top priority. Their priority agenda ranges from economy to governance and other non-traditional policy areas. Female MPs in both parliaments often invoked issues related to corruption, holding governments accountable and democracy (only in Tunisia) as policy agenda priorities.

Therefore, in the Arab case, descriptive or demographic representation of women is not always a significant indicator of the tendency to prioritize women's issues. However, it can be said that female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia substantively represent both women's and non-women's issues.

Among the women's issues that female MPs' support, they have prioritized education and women's rights. Female MPs in Jordan invoked women's rights and empowerment mostly in the private sphere (family and household). On the other hand, female MPs in Tunisia invoked women's concerns and empowerment mostly in the

public sphere such as women's economic and political empowerment. However, in both parliaments, female MPs mostly prioritized non-traditional issues and stressed issues pertaining to the general public.

Through an examination of speeches and statements of selected female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia, I find no evidence of female MPs' support for western feminist issues such as reproductive rights, equal pay, etc. It is evident that in Jordan and Tunisia, most female MPs do not publicly represent a "feminist" claim as it is considered among Western ideals, at the same time, this does not diminish their attempts at representing women's interests (private sphere and to some extent public sphere) within a cultural and religiously accepted context.

Based on the speeches analyzed thus far, I can conclude that in the national parliaments of Jordan and Tunisia, female MPs have diverse policy priorities. Even though the majority of the female MPs are assigned to the Women and Family Affairs Committee in both countries, they did not prioritize women's issues over other policy areas in their speeches. Most of the female MPs prioritized policies that are non-traditional issues such as the government, economy or development.

This study has contributed to the few studies on women's substantive representation in Arab parliaments. Generally, women in parliaments of Arab countries substantively represent both women's and non-women's issues in their speeches. However, they prioritize non-women's issues over women's issues (traditional issues).

For future studies, I recommend that the coding scheme for analyzing YouTube speeches and statements be applied to other Arab and non-Western parliaments in identifying policy agenda priorities of female MPs. Likewise, instead of categorizing policy priorities of MPs into women's and non-women's issues, men's priorities and

women's priorities or soft issues and hard issues, the coding scheme can be developed further to re-categorize the issues outside a gender frame (contrary to previous literature which has been gendered). Thus, this study proposes that policy priorities be categorized as traditional issues³⁸, contemporary issues³⁹, private issues, and public issues⁴⁰. By doing so, a gender-neutral approach can be developed that would help identify policy priorities of MPs such as women, men, minorities and LGBTQI in national parliaments.

In conclusion, this study adds a gender-neutral perspective to examining female MPs' policy agenda priorities that has been missing in previous studies of national parliaments. This study has established a foundation for understanding women's political participation in Arab parliaments. Due to the scope limitation of this thesis, only two parliaments and 35 women were examined. Nonetheless, it provides an innovative methodological foundation that can be extended to other Arab parliaments and non-Western regions. Likewise, since the experiences of female MPs were analyzed qualitatively in this study, the findings from this study can be supported further using quantitative analysis in the future. This methodological foundation can also be expatiated to examine policy priorities of women, men, LGBTQI and minority groups in future studies of Arab and non-Western parliaments. Likewise, interviews could be conducted to provide in-depth analysis as well as identify factors that influence policy priorities of female MPs in Arab parliaments.

³⁸ Traditional issues (e.g. rights) should be defined based on the cultural and political context of each country/region.

³⁹ Contemporary issues (e.g. feminist issues) also based on the cultural and political context.

⁴⁰ General issues: Personal/private issues: family, elderly, youth, children, health, social issues, etc.
Public issues: Energy, immigration, development, government, national security, etc.

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APPENDIX A Personal Status Code (Tunisia)

THE TUNISIAN CODE OF PERSONAL STATUS (MAJALLAT AL-AHWAL AL-SHAKHSIYAH)

Note on Translation: The new Code of Personal Status of Tunisia, prepared under the direction of the Ministry of Justice, came into effect on January 1, 1957. It applies to Muslim Tunisians only, the personal status of Christians being regulated by French law, while Jewish citizens of Tunisia have their own code. Students of Islamic law will note several radical departures from the traditional. Polygamy is abolished; divorces may only take place in courts and full consent of both parties is a prerequisite to marriage. On the other hand, the Islamic law of inheritance is preserved.

The Code was translated into English from the official Arabic text by George N. Sfeir, who recently received his doctorate in Comparative Law from the University of Chicago.

BOOK I MARRIAGE

Article 1. A promise and an exchange of promises to marry do not constitute marriage and shall not be actionable.

Article 2. The betrothed shall recover the gifts which he presented to his fiancée save where the break [in the engagement] was on his initiative or a special stipulation [to the contrary] exists.

Article 3. Marriage shall not be concluded save with the consent of both spouses. A valid marriage requires that two worthy witnesses be present and that the dower (*mahr*) to the wife be specified.

Article 4. Proof of marriage shall not be established save by formal deed (*bujjah rasmiyah*), such deed to be regulated by a special law. Proof of marriage concluded abroad shall be established in accordance with the laws applicable in the country in which the marriage was concluded.

Article 5. Both spouses should have attained the age of puberty (*bulugh*) and should be free of all legal impediments. The woman is considered to have attained the age of puberty on the completion of 15 years of age and the man on the completion of eighteen years. The marriage of either below the said ages shall be subject to a special authorization by the judge. Such authorization shall not be given save upon proof of attainment of physical maturity.

Article 6. The marriage of a man or a woman who have not attained the age of legal majority shall be subject to the consent of the guardian. In the event the guardian refuses to grant his consent and they persist in their desire [to marry] the matter shall be referred to the judge.

Article 7. The marriage of a person interdicted (*mabjur*) for prodigality (*safab*) shall not be valid save with consent of the guardian. The latter may, prior to its consummation, request the judge to annul the marriage.

Article 8. The guardian is the agnatic relative and should be sane, of the male sex and have attained the age of majority. The father or his executor is the natural guardian of his minor child be it male or female. In the absence of a guardian the judge shall act as one.

Article 9. Marriage may be concluded by the husband and wife themselves or by their delegated agents. A guardian, too, has the right to delegate others.

Article 10. No special qualifications shall attach to the marriage agent mentioned in the preceding article, save that he shall not delegate his mandate without the consent of his principal. The act of delegation shall be executed in a formal deed expressly designating the spouses in default of which it shall be considered null and void.

Article 11. "Choice of stipulation" (*Kbiyar al-sbart*) in marriage is admissible. If the stipulation is non-realizable or violated the aggrieved party may apply for dissolution of the marriage by divorce. Such dissolution shall not give cause for any indemnity, provided it occurs prior to the consummation of the marriage.

THE DOWER (AL-MAHR)

Article 12. Anything which is lawful and has a monetary value may be designated as dower. It shall not be anything that is valueless or its maximum limited. The dower is the property of the woman which she may dispose of as she wishes.

Article 13. The husband shall not, in default of payment of the dower, force the woman to consummate the marriage. After consummation of the marriage, the dower shall constitute an unsecured debt which the wife may only claim payment thereof. Refusal to pay the dower shall not be cause for divorce.

IMPEDIMENTS TO MARRIAGE (MAWANI' AL-ZAWAJ)

Article 14. The impediments to marriage are of two types: Perpetual and Temporary. The perpetual impediments are: blood relationship (*al-qarābah*), or affinity by marriage (*muṣabarab*), or fosterage (*al-rida'*), or the triple divorce (*al-tatliq thalatha*). The temporary impediments are: the existence of third party rights in the marriage (*Ta'alluq haqq al-ghayr*) or the 'iddah [cf. Book III].

Article 15. The women prohibited because of blood relationship are the men's ascendants and descendants, the

Source: Tunisian Personal Status Law - Tunisian Government website

APPENDIX B Personal Status Code (Jordan)

Jordanian laws / 2010 Personal Status Law / ...

Personal Status Law ◀

Posted in Site 17/09/2011
Personal Status Law
Law No. 36 of 2010
and published in the Official Gazette No. 5061 Date of
17/10/2010

Article
.This law shall be called the Personal Status Law of 2010 (1)
Chapter One: Marriage and its Preamble
Chapter One: Preamble to Marriage
Article 2 - Marriage
.Engagement or promise
(Article (3
Marriage shall not be concluded by a khutbah or by reading al-
Faatihah or by collecting anything at the expense of the mahr or
.by accepting the gift
Article
A - Both the fiancé and the betrothed shall refrain from the (4)
.engagement
B - If one of the parties amended the engagement or ended by
death, the address or heirs of the right to recover what was paid
on the dowry account of cash or eye if it exists or value on the
.day of his arrest if it can not be returned to him or his like
C- If the fiancé buys the possession of the dowry at the expense
of the dowry or some of it, then she has the choice between
returning what she has seized or handing over what she bought

Source: Jordanian Personal Status Law - Jordanian Government website

APPENDIX C Coding Scheme

Coding Scheme

Coding Scheme

This coding scheme is designed to help the coders in the process of coding recorded video contents of the parliamentary speeches and statements of Female MPs in Jordan and Tunisia. Each variable is defined on its use in this study. The coders should refer only to these definitions and instructions. Coders should code each unit according to the coding scheme, i.e. choose the variables (labels) that best suit to describe each unit (part of the video).

Level 1: Definition of all variables for coding

This includes the definition of all the labels (codes) to use throughout the coding process (if you are uncertain or have any inquiries, kindly contact the researcher).

Unit of Analysis:

The unit of analysis is the speeches and the statements of selected female members of national parliament (MPs) in Jordan and Tunisia. Every time a female MP takes to the floor, the contents of her speech are coded. Specifically, the unit is each period a female MP speaks except when interrupted by breaks or session chairs.

Speaker_ID

Fill in the female member of the parliament's (MP) ID as indicated by the Researcher in the excel sheet. Every time a selected female MP takes to the floor, please code based on the assigned code (kindly refer to excel sheet). Note: All IDs follow the

following format: first letter of country and a double-digit number/first name (e.g., J01 → Jordan, Maryam).

Video_ID:

Fill in the Videos' ID number, as indicated by the Researcher. All videos have a number assigned in the excel sheet provided. Kindly follow the format: first two letters of country/ID of video/access date(day-month-year) (e.g., JoAB101018 → Jordan, AB, 10 October 2018).

Coder ID:

Indicate the number of the individual who is filling the sheet. See the excel sheet for your number.

Speaker's Name:

Give the name of the person delivering the speech or statement i.e. female MP.

Codes:

These are the labels assigned to the topics or specific issues mentioned by each female MP in their speeches and statements.

Code Groups:

These are the sub-themes used to group all policies mentioned by female MPs such as education, government, health, etc. These follow the pre-defined definitions given by the researcher (see coding sheet for more details).

Policy Areas:

These are the umbrella terms used throughout this thesis. They are categorized as: women's issues and non-women's issues. These follow the pre-defined definitions given by the researcher.

Session interruption:

One or more non-session segments shown during the recording of a session (e.g., a break, other MPs speaking, the interruptions or speaking time of the session chairs, etc.)

Session–

A length of the parliamentary session, typically, between 1 to 120 minutes in length.

Unit_period:

The period in which a speaker (female MP) speaks. It should have a starting time and ending time.

Media –

the online platform that the parliamentary session is recorded on, i.e. YouTube

Date:

Add the date in which the article was published. Use the following format: DD-month abbreviation-YYYY (e.g., 31-Jan-2009).

Type of Session:

Choose a code for the type of session being analyzed:

1. Debates
2. Individual speeches
3. Short statements
4. Others

Level 2: Coding of the contents of the speeches and statements

This section defines all the important concepts and terms guiding this research. Kindly get well acquainted with all the definitions and use them to code the contents of the speeches. If you are uncertain or have any inquiries, kindly contact the researcher.

Definitions /Dictionary of Policy Agenda on Women's Issues guiding this study

These are the themes and labels assigned to describe the policies that female MPs mention in their speeches and statements. Please use the most appropriate of these codes to assign to the statements given based on the coder's understanding of the content of the speech and statement given by female MP.

Step 1: Policy Areas

Firstly, during the coding process, all policies should be categorized under one of these two areas:

- **Women's issues (traditional issues):** issues considered by previous studies and also by society to be of women's interest. It is generally associated with women's areas of traditional concern such as family, children and elderly, etc. (Kindly refer to the coding sheet and follow it accordingly).
- **Non-women's issue: hard issues/non-traditional issues:** issues that are not generally associated with the private sphere or of women's interests. Generally associated with men's interest. Such as energy, economy, military, etc.

Step 2: Codes Groups

These are sub-categories or themes listed by the researcher (they all fall under policy areas: women's or non-women's issues. They are general themes that have been identified by the author from previous literature.

- **All code groups for women's issues/traditional issues under women's issues:**

Women/women's rights: Any code addressing women.

Family: Any code addressing family.

Health: Any code addressing health.

Education: Any code addressing education.

Social Issues: Any code addressing social issues affecting citizens.

Environment: Any code addressing the environment.

Elderly: Any code addressing the elderly.

Youth: Any code addressing youth.

*Others: *based on coder's perspective (kindly justify)*

e) Possible policy topics/issues (codes) under women's issues that female MPs may invoke (examples)

Empowerment, medical Services, schools, youth unemployment, education, empower families, insurance, pension, inflation, supporting women, medical equipment, school facilities, support entrepreneurship, charities and associations, training and support, etc.

***Please use the coding scheme above to fill in the coding sheet for all women's issues (policy areas), themes (code groups), and codes (issues/ topics mentioned). Below is an example for your reference.**

Example of Women’s Issues (Traditional Issues)

Policy Area	Codes Groups (themes) (see dictionary of terms) *	Codes (issues mentioned)	Other comments
Women’s issues	Women	Empower women	
	Family	Financial support	
	Health	Increase medical equipment	
	Education		
	Social Issues		
	Environment		
	Elderly Youth		

f) All code groups for non-women’s issues/non-traditional issues for non-women’s issues:

Immigration: Any code addressing immigration, such as refugees.

National Security: Any code addressing national security such as military and weapons

Development: Any code addressing other forms of development (non-social) such as
Infrastructure.

Government: Any code addressing government such as corruption, transparency and
Accountability.

Economy: Any code addressing the economy.

g) Possible policy topics/issues (codes) under non-women’s issues that female MPs may invoke (examples)

Refugees, military, terrorism, agriculture, international organizations, trade, corruption, accountability, economic crisis, development, constituency issues, salaries, government transparency, tax, national debt, alternative energy etc.

***Please use the coding scheme above to fill in the coding sheet for all non-women’s issues (policy areas), themes (code groups), and topics/ issues (codes). Below is an example for your reference.**

Examples of non-women’s issues (non-traditional issues)

Policy Areas	Codes (themes) (see the dictionary of terms) *	Code Groups (issues mentioned)	Other comments
Non-women’s issues/non- traditional	Immigration	Ministry for refugees needed	
	Development	Infrastructure development required	
	Government	Corruption in government	
	Economy National Security		

**If the coder is confident that (s)he has understood the coding scheme and has no questions or uncertainties. Kindly proceed to code by filling in the coding sheet. Also, kindly refer to the coding scheme throughout the coding process to avoid mistakes.*

APPENDIX D Coding Sheet 1

Coding Sheet 1

Coding Sheet 1 – Video Information

Date of coding: _____

Name of coder/ID: _____

Video_ID#: _____

Published: Month: __ __ Date: __ __ Year: _ _ _ _

Code of country

1. Jordan
2. Tunisia

Source of the session:

1. YouTube page
2. Official website
3. Other: _____

The number of female speakers in the session:

Duration of the session? _____

[1] 30 minutes _____

[2] 31-60 minutes _____

[3] 61-90 minutes _____

[4] 91-120 minutes _____

[5] Other (How long in minutes? __ __ __)

2. Period of Unit: Start: 00:00:00, Finish: 00:00:00

APPENDIX E Coding Sheet 2

Coding Sheet 2

Coding Sheet 2 – Characteristics and policy priorities

Date of coding: _____

Name of coder: _____

Published: Month: __ __ Date: __ __ Year: _ _ _ _

Code of country

- i. Jordan _____
- ii. Tunisia _____

i. Speaker_ID [ID#: _____]

ii. The number of times she spoke in the session:

- iii. Policy Priority (Code group):
 - 1. Women’s issue
 - 2. Non-women’s issue
 - 3. Other: _____

iv. Types of women’s issues/non-women’s issues mentioned (Codes): _____

v. **Table of analysis (please fill in):**

Speaker ID	Policy area	Codes	Code group	*Characteristics of female MP	Timing (start & finish time)

Characteristics of female MP:

* Speakers Personality and style of speaking

For example loud voice, low voice, clear, calm, nervous, preaching, religious, others (please specify)'

Delivery of policy Issue

Mentions policy issues in a positive sense, in a negative sense, any other exciting perspective (positively/ negatively/neutral).

Other:

(e.g., How did she start her speech- with a prayer/ without? __ __ __)

Notes:

APPENDIX F List of IDs, Names, and Sources of Speeches (Jordan)

List of IDs, Names, and Sources of Speeches - Jordan

Country	SP_ID	Name of female MP	Speech/Debate link	Channel	Date posted	Date accessed
Jordan	J01	Anasaf Ahmed Salama Al Khawaldeh.	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	YouTube	05/05/17	10/01/19
	J02	Fatih Abdullah Faleh Abu Kadoura	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	YouTube	07/05/17	11/01/19
	J03	Hayat Hussein Ali Masimi	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	YouTube	10/05/17	12/01/19
	J04	Haya Hussein Ali Shibli	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	YouTube	19/07/17	13/01/19
	J05	Huda Hussein Mohammed Al - Atom	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	YouTube	25/09/16	14/02/19
	J06	Intisar Badi Mustafa Hijazi	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	YouTube	12/05/18	15/02/19
	J07	Reem Aqla Nawash Abu Delboh	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	YouTube	10/05/16	16/02/19
	J08	Safaa Abdullah Mohammed Al Momani	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	YouTube	30/06/17	10/03/19
	J09	Wafaa Saeed Yacoub Bani Mustafa	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	YouTube	17/06/15	12/03/19
	J10	Zainab Hamoud Salem Al Zubaid	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	YouTube	15/05/17	13/03/19

APPENDIX G List of IDs, Names and Sources of Speeches (Tunisia)

Country	SP_ID	Name of female MP	Speech/Debate link	Method of access	Date posted	Date accessed
Tunisia	T01	Farida Obaidi	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	08/04/19	12/12/18
	T02	Amal Sweid	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	31/03/19	14/12/18
	T03	Jameela Dabsh	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	14/01/17	17/12/18
	T04	Hajar Bouzmi	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	08/04/19	10/01/19
	T05	Hayat Omri	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	26/07/16	12/01/19
	T06	Laila Al Waslati	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	18/10/17	14/01/19
	T07	Yemina Zaghlami	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	28/10/17	20/02/19
	T08	Hala Al – Hami	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	16/05/18	22/02/19
	T09	Radhia Toumi	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	25/03/17	27/02/19
	T10	Lateefa Alhibshi	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	16/04/17	29/02/19
	T11	Fatima Al Massadi	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	22/07/18	12/03/19
	T12	Lamia Malih	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	08/05/16	13/03/19
	T13	Samah Bouhwal	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	08/04/16	15/03/19
	T14	Nasreen Al Ammari	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	21/03/17	17/03/19
	T15	Nadia Zangar	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	13/10/14	18/03/19
	T16	Reem Mahjoub	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	12/06/17	19/03/19
	T17	Samia Abbou	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	07/07/18	20/03/19
	T18	Mahrezia Al-ubaidi	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	07/07/18	20/03/19
	T19	Hajer Alaroosi	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	07/07/18	20/03/19
	T20	Wafa Makhloouf	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	07/07/18	20/03/19
	T21	Lamia Algharbi	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	07/07/18	20/03/19
		T22	Laila Awlad bin Ali	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	07/07/18

	T23	Zahra Idris	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	07/07/18	20/03/19
	T24	Ibtisam Aljabali	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	07/07/18	20/03/19
	T25	Leila Zahaf	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/feed?activity_view=1	YouTube	07/07/18	20/03/19

APPENDIX H Website of Tunisia's National Parliament

الجمهورية التونسية
مجلس نواب الشعب

Fransis

أعضاء المجلس | النواب | المداولات | مشاريع القوانين | عمكمة المجلس | مركز الموارد و الإستشارات البرلمانية

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- لجنة الرؤساء
- لجنة القارة
- لجنة الخفصة
- لجنة الخاصة بغير قارة
- الكتل
- السناتور
- النظام الداخلي
- تنظيم المصالح الإدارية

نشاط المجلس

- نشاط رئيس المجلس
- نشاط المكتب
- نشاط النواب
- نشاط لجنوة الرؤساء
- حصية نشاط المجلس

النشاط الخارجي

- لجنة النواب المشاركين بجهت بخارج

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المحوريات في الجلسات العامة
الجلسات العامة
غويات الصوت و السدة النواب
في الجلسات العامة
النسخ الأولية للمداولات
اجتماعات النواب
تقرير النواب
مخبر جلسات النواب
المحوريات في اجتماعات النواب
رزعامة العمل النيابي
اجوية الحكومة حول الأسئلة
الكتيبات النواب
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التقرير حسب المجلس

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- لجنة الرؤساء
- لجنة القارة
- لجنة الخفصة
- لجنة الخاصة بغير قارة
- الكتل
- السناتور
- النظام الداخلي
- تنظيم المصالح الإدارية

نشاط المجلس

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- نشاط المكتب
- نشاط النواب
- نشاط لجنوة الرؤساء
- حصية نشاط المجلس

النشاط الخارجي

- لجنة النواب المشاركين بجهت بخارج

التقرير حسب المجلس

التقرير حسب المجلس

بحث عن نائب

الاسم
اللقب
الجنسية
الكنية
التاريخ
التصنيف
العمارة
العضوية

البحث

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التقرير حسب المجلس

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اللقب
الجنسية
الكنية
التاريخ
التصنيف
العمارة
العضوية

البحث

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APPENDIX J Website of Jordan's National Parliament

الدستور النظام الداخلي مدونة السلوك المحكمة الدستورية ديوان المحاسبة

مجلس الاعيان مجلس الامة بحث

مجلس النواب
المملكة الأردنية الهاشمية

عن المجلس - الإيرادات الملكية السامية - الانتخابات - المجالس النيابية - الامانة العامة - الأخبار - تواصل معنا - خريطة الموقع



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موسى علي محمد الوحش	يحيى محمد محمود السعود	خلد رمضان محمد عواد	
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- اللجان النيابية
- القوانين المحالة للدورة الحالية
- الجلسات
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موسى علي محمد الوحش	يحيى محمد محمود السعود	خلد رمضان محمد عواد	
قيس خليل يعقوب زيادين	عبد علي محمد عليان المحسيري	صالح عبدالكريم شحادة العرموطي	
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- القوانين المحالة للدورة الحالية
- الجلسات
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- الانجازات النيابية
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APPENDIX K Social Media Channels-Jordan's National Parliament

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١	لجنة الخدمات العامة والنقل	١١:٠٠	عبدالحليم التمر الطابق الاول	مناقشة موضوع الباص السريع وامور تهمة اللجنة، بحضور معالي امين عمان.
٢	اللجنة الإدارية	١١:٠٠	مصطفى خليفة الطابق الثاني	بحث سبيل تعزيز العلاقة بين مجالس المحافظات والمجالس البلدية بحضور وزير الإدارة المحلية ورؤساء البلديات الكبرى في المملكة.



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APPENDIX L Female MPs and Speech Contents (Tunisia)

SP_ID	Frame Capture	Frame Title	Interval	Link	Access date
T01		Democracy, education,	01:43.83 – 01:51.56 02:54.99 – 03:00.80 02:33.55 – 02:41.67	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	20/03/19
T02		Economy, government, health, development	: 33:31.60 -:35:45.79 09:33.55 – 02:41.67 22:33.55 – 02:41.67	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	20/03/19
T03		Economy, education	06:33.55 – 02:41.67 04:33.55 – 02:41.67 : 33:31.60 -:35:45.79	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	20/03/19
T04		Government, economy, education	: 45:57.62-:47:07:.69 06:33.55 – 06:41.67 09:33.35 – 12:55.07	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	25/03/19
T05		Economy, government, environment	12:00.52 – 12:00.55 12:41.86 – 12:44.67 11:45.44 – 11:53.45	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	25/03/19
T06		Development, environment	13:33.35 – 17:41.67 17:44.45 – 14:41.57	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	25/03/19
T07		Economy, Government, Education, Women, national security	03:13.91 – 03:17.67 04:24.08 – 04:30.95	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	25/03/19

SP_ID	Frame Capture	Frame Title	Interval	Link	Access date
T08		Education, youth, children, government, economy, national security	30:21.09 – 30:21.10 28:56.26 – 29:03.39 30:21.09 – 30:21.10	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	29/03/19
T09		Government, Youth, education, health, development	1:48:01.58 – 1:48:06.64 : 48:31.69 – 1:48:45.77	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	29/03/19
T10		Economy, government, national security	11:45.44 – 11:53.45 02:33.55 – 02:41.67 02:33.55 – 02:41.67	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	27/02/19
T11		Government, Development, Security Financial policy	: 47:24.60 – 1:47:32.84 : 33:31.60 -:35:45.79	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	27/02/19
T12		Education, Economy	00:13.00 – 04:43.67 01:23.55 – 05:47.77	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	27/02/19
T13		Government, economy, national security	41:05:55 – 47:42.67	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	27/02/19
T14		Government, Education, development, health	10:32.97 – 11:39.95 11:43.10 – 12:17.09	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	27/02/19
T15		Economy, government, education, health	02:33.55 – 02:41.67 02:33.55 – 02:41.67	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	15/02/19
T16		Economy, Government, women	07:12.63 – 07:58.17 03:11.61 – 03:21.66	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	15/02/19

SP_ID	Frame Capture	Frame Title	Interval	Link	Access date
T17		Women, government, economy	30:21.09 – 30:21.10	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	15/02/19
T18		Development, environment	01:43.83 – 01:51.56	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	1/02/19
T19		Development, health	02:33.55 – 02:41.67 02:33.55 – 02:41.67	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	1/02/19
T20		Development, education, health	: 56:17-1:08:00 02:33.55 – 02:41.67	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	1/02/19
T21		Women, environment	28:01-29:52 2:40:17.24 – 2:41:07.12	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	1/02/19
T22		Economy, education, women, national security	00:28.06 – 00:48.22 01:43.83 – 01:51.56 02:54.99 – 03:00.80	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	1/02/19
T23		Development, women	07:12.63 – 07:58.17 05:32.85 – 05:36.44	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	1/02/19
T24		Economy, Government	03:11.61 – 03:21.66	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	25/01/19
T25		Government, energy, women	2:40:17.24 – 2:41:07.12 05:32.85 – 05:36.44	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCPuzHxQuP5Roi7wvQ97NHpg/playlists	25/01/19

APPENDIX M Female MPs and Speech Contents (Jordan)

SP_ID	Frame Title	Frame Title	Interval	Link	Access Date
J10		Women, education, children, development and economy.	1:35:32- 1:39:25 14:27.57 – 14:37.51 13:49.01 – 15:23.66 13:49.01 – 15:23.66	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dm31Et3cMl0&list=PLwP2v6TcUfedBCSxpgG7KPMXpHY4EP5lf&index=6	13/03/19
J02		Women, education, government and family	00:46.60 – 03:23.22 1:46:09.08 – 1:48:08.54 10:47.14 – 10:57.94	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	12/03/19
J03		Family, women, education, government, environment and economy	14:38.12 – 15:03.11 09:33.94 – 10:30.59 10:32.97 – 11:39.95 11:43.10 – 12:17.09 09:33.94 – 10:30.59	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	13/05/19
J04		National security, Government and women	1:09:51-1:17:02 04:27.87 – 04:49.88	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7glhOOMHtM&list=PLwP2v6TcUfecbVvf-z3WoBo0iL_eYWEpe	13/03/19
J05		Government, economy, development and health	: 56:17-1:08:00 04:26.07 – 04:31.19	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7glhOOMHtM&list=PLwP2v6TcUfecbVvf-z3WoBo0iL_eYWEpe	13/03/19

SP_ID	Frame Title	Frame Title	Interval	Link	Access Date
J06		Government, economy and health	07:12.63 – 07:58.17 03:11.61 – 03:21.66 2:40:17.24 – 2:41:07.12 05:32.85 – 05:36.44 05:32.85 – 05:36.44	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	13/03/19
J07		Women, economy, national security and youth.	28:01-29:52 07:12.63 – 07:58.17 03:11.61 – 03:21.66 2:40:17.24 – 2:41:07.12 13:49.01 – 15:23.66	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vRXtSwgTH_A&list=PLwP2v6TcUfeey2rAleu3aEccKKz-rtIQr	13/03/19
J08		Government, elderly and social issues.	05:32.85 – 05:36.44 05:32.85 – 05:36.44 5:32.85 – 05:36.44	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wi9XPxrvAEs&list=PLwP2v6TcUfedBCSxpgG7KPMXpHY4EP5lf&index=4	13/03/19
J09		Government, national security and health.	14:38.12 – 15:03.11 14:38.12 – 15:03.11	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7glhOOMHtM&list=PLwP2v6TcUfeebVvf-z3WoBo0iL_eYWEpe	13/03/19
J10		Education, economy, immigration and government.	06:50.69 – 07:28.84 10:12.87 – 10:18.85 14:38.12 – 15:03.11 14:38.12 – 15:03.11 04:05.05 – 04:24.24	https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCyjZgDMtp9Kon2yvsGkGAWg	13/03/19

