

氏名	Maryam Mustafa Ahmed ALKUBATI				
学位の種類	博士（社会科学）				
学位記番号	博 甲 第 9 3 4 8 号				
学位授与年月日	令和2年3月25日				
学位授与の要件	学位規則第4条第1項該当				
審査研究科	人文社会科学研究科				
学位論文題目	<b>Substantive Representation in Arab Parliaments: Female MPs and Policy Agenda Priorities in Jordan and Tunisia</b> （アラブ圏の議会における実質的な表象—ジョルダンとチュニジアにおける女性議員と優先される政策議題—）				
主査	筑波大学	准教授	博士（国際政治経済学）	タック川崎	レスリー
副査	筑波大学	准教授	博士（国際政治経済学）	大友 貴史	
副査	筑波大学	助教	Ph.D. (Political Science)	関 能徳	
副査	東海大学	教授	博士（法学）	辻中 豊	

#### 論文の要旨

This thesis focuses on examining the policy agenda priorities of female members of the national parliaments of Jordan and Tunisia. It aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of women's participation in Arab parliaments by considering how the background experiences of female members of parliament (MPs) are reflected in policymaking and the policy agendas that they promote. The main research questions of the thesis involve first identifying the background experiences of female MPs in the national parliaments of Jordan and Tunisia, and then showing how these background experiences are reflected in their speeches and statements. In addition, through an in-depth examination of their speeches in parliament, the author also aims to show the policy agendas invoked by female MPs, as well as the policy areas that they prioritize.

The thesis utilizes a combination of theoretical and methodological approaches. With regard to theory, after careful deliberation, the author chose two representative country-level case studies (Jordan and Tunisia) in the Arab and used a combined theoretical approach incorporating theories of representation and intersectionality. The study argues that theories of representation can be deepened through the application of an “intersectionality lens” (in essence, delving deeper into the differences among women themselves) that allows for a clearer depiction of possible influences on their policy priorities and agenda. From a methodological viewpoint, the study utilizes a qualitative content approach, with the author integrating consideration of background information with content analysis of the videos of female MPs speeches available on parliamentary websites.

The thesis is structured as follows. As the introductory chapter, Chapter 1 lays the groundwork for the study, outlining the research objectives, significance, methodology, and limitations of the study. Chapter 2

illustrates the broad theoretical span of this research. This chapter describes theoretical approaches such as patriarchy and women's political empowerment, showing how these have contributed to previous researches involving theories of female representation. In addition, the author shows that while foregoing researches concerning women in national politics in general, as well as detailed studies on their policy priorities have addressed the critical topic of women's representation, their focus tends to be examining the attention paid to women's issues in particular, rather than a holistic consideration of policy agenda and female MPs' background and experience. After consideration of these prevailing theories, the author shows how the combination of intersectionality theory and theories of representation can address the theoretical gap in current research.

Chapter 3 provides detailed information on the background of the Arab states in general, justifying the choice of Jordan and Tunisia as country-level case studies and outlining their background in terms of women's rights, electoral system, and gender quotas.

Chapter 4 describes the qualitative methodology in detail. The author's approach included identifying a sample method, accessing web-based video content, and devising the criteria and coding methods applicable to a content-analysis-based study. The coding process and issues of reliability and validity are also addressed.

Chapter 5 then presents the data analysis and the main findings. The first section provides general information about the background education and experiences of the sample of female MPs in both countries, including educational level, field of study, political background and expertise, votes received, incumbency/political activities, type of quota seat, membership in parliamentary committees, and political party affiliation. This is followed by two main sections that address the research questions, namely, showing how background experiences of female MPs are reflected in their speeches and statements in national assemblies and how they address women's issues or non-women's issues as policy priorities.

As a conclusion, Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of the research, demonstrating that the theoretical approach of intersectionality, combined with the detailed content analysis as methodology, showed that Arab female politicians are not a homogenous group, but rather, their diverse background experiences, including education and political expertise, contribute to their promotion of diverse policy agendas.

The implications of these findings show female politicians are not a homogenous group, but rather, reflect their background and experiences to address both women's and non-women's issues. This linkage of expertise and background, combined with a concrete qualitative approach as devised for this research, can be applied to further country-level case studies to draw out further depths in examining the political lives of female MPs.

## 審査の要旨

### 1 批評

Previous research concerning female MPs and their stated policy priorities and the issues that they address have demonstrated certain tendencies such as comparing policy agenda priorities to those of men or being based in Western political environments and systems. With respect to theory, prior research has

tended to focus on women's representation and the introduction of quota systems. In terms of methodology, studies have tended to consider and reflect a limited range of policy priorities and issues, mainly based on official parliamentary records such as *Hansard*. As such, the within study advances our theoretical understanding of women's representation, as well as laying new groundwork for methodological approaches.

This thesis has distinct strengths in its overall approach and design. First, in terms of theory, although previous researches have addressed the topic of female representation in terms of single-theory approaches such as patriarchy and political empowerment, this study goes deeper to forge a combined theoretical approach integrating intersectionality and theories of representation. As a result of this theoretical combination, the study explores new perspectives on investigating female MPs' activities in national parliaments.

A second strength is that this is the first research project that deeply explores female MPs' policy agendas and addressed issues in the Arab milieu. While previous researches have mainly featured Western national milieu, this research focuses on a geographical area that is under-represented in research, and thus makes an important contribution to advancing our theoretical and practical understanding of female political life in this region.

Finally, a third major strength is the author's attention to methodological research design. The author devised an original approach involving content analysis of web-based videos of female MP's speeches. The content analysis design was particularly detailed and conducted with due consideration to its robustness and applicability in the future to other national contexts.

This thesis has only a few very minor weaknesses. The first weakness involves the possible impact of differences in the political systems in the two countries (Jordan as a kingdom and Tunisia as a parliamentary democracy). However, as both countries have elected representational systems and such systems were not the focus of this study, this could possibly be ameliorated with future country-level comparative analyses. The second weakness is the small sample size of female MPs in both countries and the difficulty of making generalizations based on such. This can be improved in the future by expanding the number of countries and politicians, optimally applying a similar research design to male politicians as well.

The above strengths, combined with the author's detailed analysis of the research findings and drawing out the current and future implications of this research, have promising implications for future research in this area.

## 2 最終試験

The final examination committee conducted a final examination on January 17, 2020. The applicant provided an overview of the dissertation, and addressed questions and comments raised during the Question-and-Answer session. All committee members reached a final decision that the applicant passed the final examination.

## 3 結論

Therefore, the final examination committee approved that the applicant is qualified to be awarded a

Doctor of Philosophy in Social Sciences.