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WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND THE IMPACT OF NEW LEGISLATIONS

POST-ELECTIONS PUBLIC PERCEPTION SURVEY

2024

UN WOMEN

Developed by

NAMA|نمــاء
STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE SOLUTIONS

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TABLE OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Description
CSO	Civil Society Organization
EOM	European Union Election Observation Mission
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
ISD	Institute for Strategic Dialogue
JNCW	Jordan National Commission for Women
MP	Member of Parliament
N	Number of Respondents
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PM	Prime Minister
PWDs	Persons with Disabilities
TOR	Terms of Reference
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNW	UN Women
VAWP	Violence Against Women in Politics

Executive Summary

NAMA Strategic Intelligence Solutions (NAMA), in collaboration with the Independent Election Commission and UN Women Jordan and with the generous funds from the European Union, conducted a comprehensive survey to assess the state of women's political engagement in Jordan. This survey focused on two key objectives, assessing public perceptions of women's political engagement and measuring the impact of recent legislative reforms on their involvement. Through gathering data through a nationally representative survey of 1,821 Jordanians and 174 women political leaders along with a traditional and social media analysis, the findings highlight persistent challenges and emerging opportunities. The results show the importance of targeted reforms, public awareness campaigns, and stronger support systems to foster meaningful participation and prepare for the 2025 local elections.

The general state of political representation in Jordan – Public sentiment on Jordan's political trajectory appeared divided, with 60.4% of Jordanians believing the country is heading in the right direction to varying degrees, while 39.2% see it is on the wrong path. These fluctuations in public perception are influenced by security, economic pressures, regional instability and the effectiveness of reform implementation highlighting the need for transparent governance and reforms to maintain public trust. Efforts to encourage political participation showed varied outcomes. Initiatives such as increasing youth roles in political parties (31.6%) and enhancing inclusion for persons with disabilities (27%) were moderately well received, while structural reforms like reducing the candidacy age and restructuring electoral districts were perceived to have limited impact. Support for quotas remains strong, with 47.2% of Jordanians favoring youth quotas and 44.9% supporting quotas for persons with disabilities. However, views on women's quotas are more divided, with 69.5% of women political leaders advocating for increased seats for women, compared to 32% of Jordanians, with 46.8% preferring the current allocation.

Women and leadership prospects – The survey reveals that women politicians in Jordan are primarily driven by personal ambition and advocacy, with 34.5% motivated by a desire to achieve change. Institutional support, such as encouragement from political parties, played a lesser role (6.3%), reflecting a reliance on individual motivations rather than systemic enablers. Furthermore, public support for women in politics has declined, with 74.5% of Jordanians supporting women having a greater political role in 2024, down from 84.3% in 2021. While support remains relatively high for roles in social development, education, and health, it has significantly decreased for leadership positions such as Prime Minister (from 51.9% in 2021 to 40.4% in 2024) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (from 52.2% to 42.7%). This emphasizes persistent societal biases and the need for targeted campaigns to foster public confidence in women's leadership capabilities. The effectiveness of women as leaders is perceived differently depending on the role. While 75.9% of Jordanians view women as equally effective in public university leadership, 47.2% believe the same for political leadership roles. This discrepancy highlights lingering societal conservatism regarding women in high authority political positions, despite broader support for their participation.

Women's political participation – The survey finds that 62.3% of Jordanians and 77.6% of women political leaders believe women's political participation is heading in the right direction, but significant structure and cultural barriers remain. Survey data further emphasizes this dichotomy, showing that while over 76.5% of Jordanians value women's involvement in politics, perceptions

of their competence remain divided. While 70.6% of Jordanians perceive women qualified for political roles, 12.2% consider them not qualified at all, citing stereotypes such as emotionality and lack of competence. In contrast, 73% of women political leaders believe they are equally qualified as men, reflecting a growing confidence among women in leadership positions. Challenges to women's political participation remain significant. Financial barriers for campaign costs were identified by 91.4% of women leaders and 73.4% of Jordanians, while familial restrictions (71.7%), societal rejection of women leaders (66.8%), and facing harassment from the general public including online (62.2%) hinder progress.

Women and parliamentary elections – In the 2024 parliamentary elections, 60.5% of Jordanians reported voting for women, marking a significant rise from 38.1% in 2020. This increase is largely attributed to the introduction of the two-vote ballot system, which reduced competitive pressure and facilitated support for women candidates. Consequently, the number of women MPs increased from 15 to 27, reflecting the impact of modernization efforts and expanded voter options. Despite this progress, challenges persist, 31.4% of voters who did not support women cited a lack of credible female candidates, while 23.7% expressed distrust in parliament or disinterest in elections. Further, 17.9% opposed women in politics, citing perceptions of male superiority. Modernization reforms were positively seen by 73.8% of Jordanians, who highlighted increased diversity and women's empowerment as key benefits.

Stakeholders, support networks, and the public sphere – Women politicians highlight cultural expectations (34.5%), lack of resources (16.7%), and gender discrimination (14.4%) as the most pressing barriers to their participation. Notably, 42% of women leaders believe Jordan's political modernization vision has largely addressed these barriers, and 46% feel it has created a more supportive environment. While 72.5% of Jordanians believe universities grant equal opportunities to women in politics, confidence in political parties is lower, as 41.4% of women leaders see parties as "very supportive", compared to 16.5% of the public. Civil society organizations (CSOs) also receive varied reviews. Among women leaders, 35.6% say CSOs are "very successful" in promoting women's political participation, compared to only 21.1% among Jordanians overall. Notably, there has been a 26.7% increase between the 2021 and 2024 waves in the share of Jordanians who consider CSOs successful in supporting women's participation. These findings suggest that while modernization efforts and certain societal actors are seen as helpful, long standing societal norms and inconsistent institutional backing continue to limit women's leadership opportunities.

Media and women's political participation and representation – The survey highlights the role of media in shaping attitudes. Over half of women leaders reported online harassment. Specifically, 29.4% cited negative feedback with psychological effects. Nevertheless, 67.8% of them felt Jordanian media often portrays women politicians positively, suggesting an opportunity for improving awareness. The survey emphasizes targeted measures to improve public perception and increase women's political engagement. Recommendations include enhancing media portrayals, expanding quotas, and fostering mentorship programs. Legislative changes must focus on inclusivity, particularly for women with disabilities, whose participation is widely supported (44.9%). The survey also points to potentially higher participation rates for women in future local elections, where 28.4% of Jordanians believe modernization reforms will improve women's success "to a large extent".

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context: Women's Political Participation in Jordan

Public Perceptions and Electoral Reforms – Recent electoral reforms in Jordan aimed to modernize political life and enhance women's representation in governance. According to the European Union Election Observation Mission (EOM) for Jordan's 2024 elections, measures such as raising the women's quota from 15 to 18 seats and allowing publicly employed candidates to take unpaid leave facilities women's participation[1].

Structural and Cultural Barriers – Deeply ingrained patriarchal attitudes continue to frame politics as a male domain, discouraging women from entering the field. Cultural resistance to women's political engagement intensifies when it spears to conflict with traditional family roles or involves mixed-gender environments[2]. The OECD further underscores that women candidates face skepticism about their competence, leading to limited public support. These barriers are exacerbated by the media's portrayal of women, which often reinforce stereotypes and undermines their legitimacy as political actors.

Political Violence Against Women – The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) defines electoral violence against women as "any act or abstention from action (material or moral) whose perpetrator aims to deprive a woman or hinder her from exercising any freedom, work, or right of the rights and freedoms stipulated in Election Law No. 4 (2022), provided that it is based on gender[3]." The detailed report on the 2024 parliamentary elections issued by the IEC indicates that "eight complaints related to electoral violence against women were registered, three of which concerned preventing a woman from expressing her desire to run for office. One of the complaints was referred to the Public Prosecutor after it was verified by a legal researcher in the relevant district. The fourth complaint was in the form of a report from civil society organizations regarding pressure from her family regarding a female candidate's campaign venue. It was verified by a legal researcher and found to be untrue. A complaint was also received from a female candidate whose electoral campaign was affected and false information about her was published. The complaint was referred to the Public Prosecutor and dealt with confidentially to protect the complainant, pending appropriate action by the competent authorities[4]." The report also indicates that "one complaint was registered regarding a case monitored by a social media user (which clearly insulted a female candidate and included racist hate speech, which met the components of electoral violence against women). This complaint was monitored by the e-monitor+ platform, which monitors any practices or hate speech directed against women. The individual was referred to the Public Prosecutor[5]."

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[1] "Women's political participation in Jordan," *European Union Election Observation Mission*, 2024, https://www.eeas.europa.eu/eom-jordan-2024/womens-political-participation-jordan_en.

[2] "Political Reform in Jordan: What's in for Women?," *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*, 2024 https://mena.fes.de/blog/e/political-reform-in-jordan-whats-in-for-women.html.

[3] الهيئة المستقلة للانتخاب، https://www.iec.jo/ar/.

[4] "The Detailed Report for the 2024 Parliamentary Elections", *Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)*, 2025, https://iec.jo/sites/default/files/Report/FinalReport2024.pdf.

[5] Ibid.

Women's Political Representation – When examining the representation of women in government, there have been "zigzags" since 2016, when there were only 2 female ministers in former Prime Minister (PM) Hani Mulki's second, third, and fourth cabinets (6.7%). The first cabinet of former PM Omar Razzaz, which was created in June 2018, had – until that date – more female ministers with a total of 7 or 24.1% of the total number of ministers than any other cabinet, before keeping the same number but reducing the total size of the cabinet, taking the percent of women ministers to 25.9%.

Prime Minister	Formation/ Amendment: (Month and Year)	Total No. of Ministers	No. of Female Ministers	% of Female Ministers
Abdallah Ensour	October 2012	21	0	0%
	March 2013	19	1	5.3%
	August 2013	27	3	11.1%
	March 2015	28	5	17.9%
	May 2015	28	5	17.9%
	November 2015	28	4	14.3%
	April 2016	28	4	14.3%
Hani Mulki	June 2016	29	4	13.8%
	September 2016	30	2	6.7%
	October 2016	30	2	6.7%
	January 2017	30	2	6.7%
	June 2017	30	3	10%
	January 2018	29	3	10.3%
	February 2018	30	3	10%
Omar Razzaz	June 2018	29	7	24.1%
	October 2018	27	7	25.9%
	January 2019	26	5	19.2%
	May 2019	28	5	17.9%
	November 2019	31	4	12.9%
Bisher Al-Khasawneh	October 2020	32	3	9.4%
	December 2020	32	3	9.4%
	March 2021	30	3	10%
	March 2021	30	3	10%
	October 2021	31	3	9.7%
	October 2022	29	6	20.7%
	December 2022	29	6	20.7%
	September 2023	32	8	25%
Jaafar Hassan	September 2024	32	5	16.5%

Table 1: Female representation in the GOJ

Former PM Bisher Khasawneh generally had a low women participation rate, before his seventh and final reshuffle (8th cabinet) featured 8 women ministers, or 25% of the total number of ministers. Although this was 1% lower than the number registered in Razzaz's second government, it is still the largest number of female ministers recorded to date.
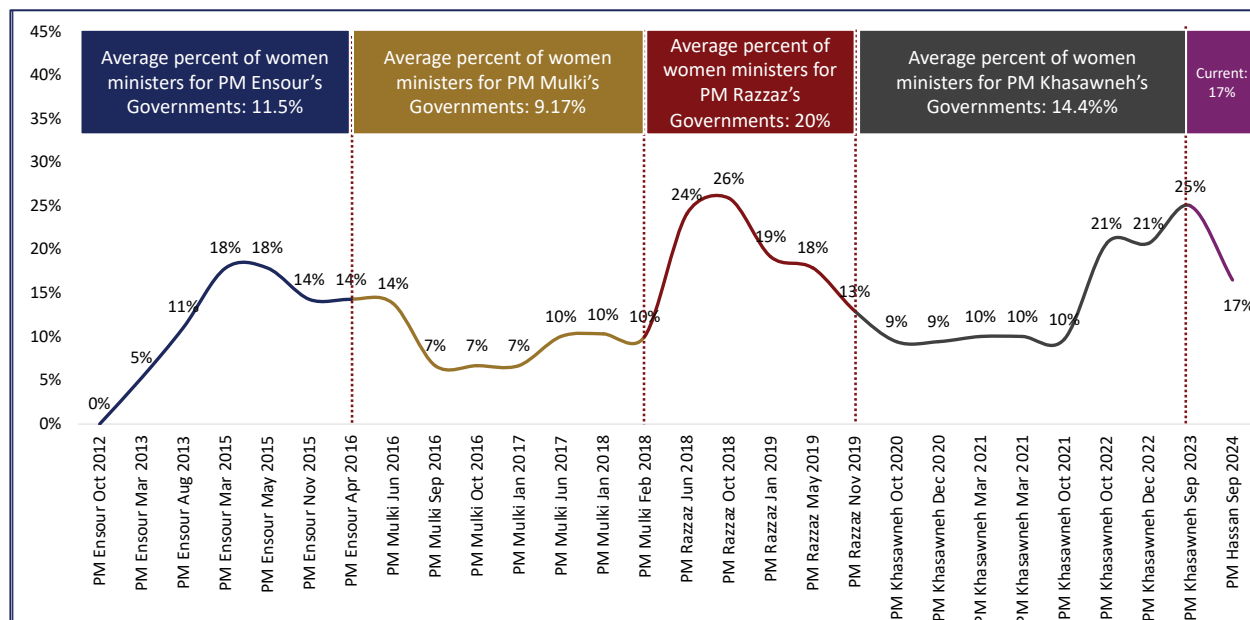

Figure 1: Percent of Women Ministers per Government

There are five female ministers in the current government of PM Jaafar Hassan, representing 16.5% of the total number of ministers in the government. This is 3.5 percentage points higher than the overall average since 2012, which was 13%. The highest percentage of female ministers was in the government of former Prime Minister Omar Razzaz, at 20%, while the lowest percentage was in the government of former Prime Minister Hani Mulki, at 9.2%.
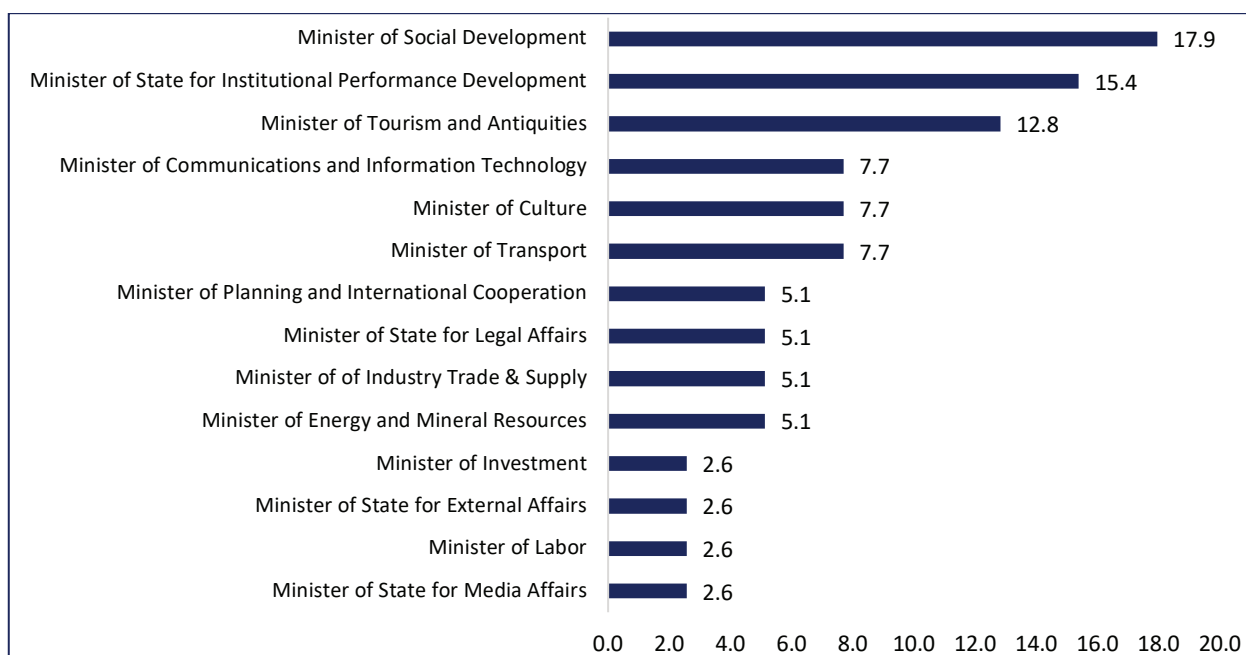

Figure 2: Percent of Ministerial Portfolios held by Women Ministers since October 2012

Overall, and especially in recent government reorganizations, female ministers were generally more likely to keep their jobs, but their representation is still quite low[6].

Further, and since October 2012, there have been 307 ministers across 5 governments, including 28 formations and reshuffles. Of those, 12.4% were female ministers (38) who held 14 different portfolios, with the Ministry of Social Development being the most common, nearly 18% of the time in fact, followed by the different iterations of state ministries for institutional performance development (15.4%), and nearly 13% for the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities.

By analyzing the 2016, the 2020, and the 2024 Parliamentary Elections, the number of women candidates was generally increasing, as 259 women female candidates ran in the 2016 elections, 360 in the 2020 elections, and 377 in the 2024 elections. When it comes to the percentage of women candidates, there is also an increase between the three rounds, from 20% in 2016 to 21.5% in 2020 and finally to 23.3% in 2024.

While there was a decrease in the number of seats held by women between 2016 and 2020 (20 seats to 15), the 2024 reflected positively, bringing the tally up to 27 (19.6%). Looking at voter turnout, women voted at a rate that is lower than the national average across the three elections. Female voter turnout in 2024's elections stood at approximately 29%, up from 26.1% recorded in 2020, albeit remains largely below the 32.7% recorded in 2016.

Year	2016	2020	2024
Number of Candidates	1,293	1,674	1623 (686 for the national list and 937 for the local lists)
Number of Female Candidates	259	360	377
Percentage of Women Candidates	20%	21.5%	23.2%
Total Number of Seats	130	130	138
Percentage of Seats Won by Women	15.4%	11.5%	19.6%
Absolute voters	1,490,200	1,387,552	1,638,351
Female Voters	716,716	638,081	783,132 (47.8%)
Total Voter Turnout Rate	36.0%	29.9%	32.25%
Female Voter Turnout	32.7%	26.1%	29.3%

Table 2: Background on Women's Participation in the Most Recent 3 Parliamentary Elections

1.2   About this Survey

With generous funding from the European Commission, NAMA Strategic Intelligence Solutions (NAMA) and UN Women Jordan conducted a survey, exploring persistent and new challenges facing women's active engagement in the national electoral process. This survey looked to examine public perceptions on women's political participation vis-à-vis the political modernization vision and provide tangible recommendations to address persistent challenges ahead of the next local elections, expected to be held in 2025. This research study aims to fulfill two overarching objectives, namely:

- **Objective I** – Assessing the public perception on women's political participation
- **Objective II** – Measuring the impact of new legislation, policies, and procedures on women's engagement in the electoral process

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[6] "The Current Government," Prime Ministry, https://pm.gov.jo/AR/CustomPages/Government.

NAMA conducted a nationally representative survey of 1,800 adult Jordanians; a survey of 174 women political leaders, including women members of parliament (MPs), parliamentary candidates who did not win seats in elections, women political party leaders, women appointed government officials, and other relevant stakeholders such as former representatives and civil society activists; and a media listening exercise, analyzing relevant content disseminated in traditional and in social media.

The findings discussed in this report offer comparisons with the previous wave of the survey, conducted by NAMA with the support of UN women and UNDP after the 2020 Parliamentary Elections. The insights discussed in this report explore the extent to which new laws governing political life have had an impact on public perceptions towards women's political participation and engagement in the decision-making process, gauging Jordanians' perceptions of the new process, particularly in terms of women's participation, and identifying key factors influencing women's political engagement. These findings set a new baseline on public perceptions and women's engagement, identify persisting challenges, and provide concrete recommendations for potential actions to be taken.

1.3   Methodology

NAMA conducted the survey over two samples: (a) a nationally representative sample of 1,821 adult Jordanians interviewed face-to-face, representative of each of the 12 governorates and demographic segments, including age, gender, marital status, among others; and (b) a sample of 174 of women political leaders interviewed over the phone, featuring current women MPs; female parliamentary candidates; female political party leaders and members; female public officials; and female civil society activists.

1.3.1   Research Design

NAMA and UN-Women Jordan held a series of scoping meetings, featuring representatives from the IEC and the Jordan National Commission for Women (JNCW). During these meetings, NAMA and UN-Women Jordan discussed the main research questions, in line with the assignment's terms of reference (TOR). The discussions emphasized the need to ensure proper comparison with the 2021 wave; ensure that the political modernization context is fully incorporated; and ensure the ability to extrapolate policy/ programmatic action points.

1.3.2   Sampling

The Nationally-Representative Sample – The latest available update (end of 2023) of the 2015 Jordan Population and Housing Census was used as the sampling frame to draw the sample. The frame provided information on the block level (the smallest Sampling Unit). A sample of 1,821 households was drawn using stratified cluster sampling with a margin of error of ±2.5% with confidence level of 95%. Stratification was achieved on three levels: classification of governorates into rural and urban areas, administrative divisions within each urban and rural area, and clusters were identified and selected within each administrative division. The distribution of the sample among these stratums was distributed proportionally to the relative population size of each stratum (probability-proportional to the cluster size). A household listing operation of these clusters was conducted and a frame of the households in each cluster was developed. A sample of 10 households was drawn from each cluster with an equal probability systematic selection. NAMA used the next-birthday respondent selection method to identify respondents.

Governorate		Gender		18-34	35-49	50+
		Male	Female			
Irbid	18.5%	50.2%	49.8%	41.9%	30.4%	27.7%
Ajloun	1.8%	50.1%	49.9%	33.1%	37.6%	29.3%
Jarash	2.5%	49.6%	50.4%	48.2%	23.6%	28.2%
Mafraq	%5.8	%49.6	%50.4	%38.4	%33.9	%27.7
Amman	%41.7	%50.4	%49.6	%41.1	%29.7	%29.2
Zarqa	%14.1	%48.7	%51.3	%46.0	%23.6	%30.4
Balqa	%5.3	%49.4	%50.6	%51.3	%30.2	%18.6
Madaba	%2.1	%50.3	%49.7	%43.0	%37.2	%19.8
Karak	%3.2	%49.7	%50.3	%33.1	%34.9	%32.1
Maan	%1.7	%49.2	%50.8	%45.9	%30.2	%23.9
Tafileh	%1.0	%50.1	%49.9	%36.7	%40.0	%23.3
Aqaba	%2.1	%49.2	%50.8	%54.8	%21.4	%23.8
Total	100%	50.1%	49.9%	42.4%	29.5%	28.1%

Table 3: Sample breakdown

The Women Political Leaders' Sample – NAMA collaborated with UN-Women Jordan and the IEC to build the sampling frame, which featured five groups (a) current women MPs; (b) female parliamentary candidates; (c) female political party leaders and members; (d) female public officials; and (e) female civil society activists. NAMA also integrated its own database into the frame and eventually drew a preliminary representative sample.

Group	No. of Interviews	Percentage
Current women MPs	8	4.6%
Female parliamentary candidates	72	41.4%
Female political party leaders and members	53	30.5%
Female public officials	15	8.6%
Female civil society activists	26	14.9%

Table 4: Women Political Leaders' Sample

1.3.3 Data Collection, Processing, and Analysis

Nationally-Representative Survey – Data collection for the national sample was conducted between November 9 and 26, 2024 by a total of 32 female enumerators, supported by 8 field supervisors who were present to monitor data collection and ensure the implementation of quality assurance measures. They also conduct random revisits to verify that the interview took place and that the type of information gathered reflected those indicated by the respondent. NAMA collected data using the Computer Assisted Personal Interview (CAPI) method to conduct the interviews face-to-face. NAMA divided the 32 enumerators into teams of fives, whereby every four enumerators were accompanied by one field supervisor, who was in charge of transportation, ensuring the correct facility has been reached, the supervisor will be also partially attending most of the interviews conducted and will keep ensure that the selection of the respondents interviewed is matching the requirements of the project creating a secondary quality assurance point during the implementation. Within each team, the supervisor monitored the data collection and ensures the implementation of the quality assurance measures.

At the end of each day, the field master receives all the tablets and synchronizes the outcomes directly to the office team. After receiving the completed questionnaires, a data cleaning team

goes over each survey to ensure completion. The team makes sure to review open ended answers and edit them accordingly. There are two functions specifically assigned to the data analysis team. They simultaneously handle the statistical analysis of the multiple-choice questions in addition to the coding and analysis of the open-ended answers through statistical analysis software such as Excel, SPSS and CSPro.

In terms of quality control and quality assurance measures, NAMA ensures that the enumerators acquire GPS coordinates at the premise of each interview. This is used to verify against the sample strategy. Additionally, each interviewer must have a valid phone number to conduct random back-checks to verify the data gathered. Any survey interview without a phone number or without GPS coordinates would be disregarded and a replacement would be requested matching the same demographic components.

Women Political Leaders Survey – As for the women political leaders' sample, 11 enumerators conducted the interviews between November 25 – 28, supported by the research manager. Data collection was implemented through over-the-phone, Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI), surveys. NAMA integrates Maqsam in its CATI surveys to enhance our data collection and analysis processes. Maqsam's cloud-based communication platform offers a robust and scalable solution that facilitates efficient telephonic surveys. With features such as call recording, real-time monitoring, and advanced analytics, Maqsam enables us to conduct high-quality interviews and gather accurate data. This is pivotal in generating insightful reports for our clients, aiding them in making informed decisions.

Social Media Analysis – NAMA employed social media listening to gauge and analyze online conversations, trends, and public sentiment across various social media platforms, news sites, and blogs. The research was conducted in general terms using keywords, in addition to a focused search within pages and accounts identified based on the general research, to determine whether there were specific patterns in the content of these accounts, specifically whether they enjoyed a high following and engagement from social media users. Once the content was monitored and collected, the analysis team at NAMA categorized and analyzed the content, identified prevailing perceptions, and analyzed how these perceptions were formed and their potential impact on women's political participation and public opinion in that context, taking engagement indicators into account in the analysis process. In doing so, NAMA sought to explore the impact of recent political reforms and the role of social media in shaping public attitudes toward women in politics.

Data Processing, Cleaning, and Analysis – Following the end of data collection, NAMA proceeded with the data cleaning, processing, and analysis. Raw datasets were handed to a team of data analysts, who handle the statistical analysis of the multiple-choice questions in addition to the coding and analysis of the open-ended answers through statistical analysis software such as SPSS & CSPro. Minor post-stratification weights were applied to ensure that the sample represented the community and demographic information of the population, including, but not limited to, age, gender, education, socioeconomic status, and others. Overall, each interview/ record includes a unique respondent ID number, interviewer ID number, interview duration, Sampling Point ID number, interview start and end times, date of interview, and GPS coordinates. Each record will include demographic information about the respondent, including gender, exact age, education level, socioeconomic status, governorate, and relevant demographic information.

2. THE GENERAL STATE OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN JORDAN

This section examines Jordan's overall political representation situation, with particular attention on interest in politics, propensity to run for office, and the impact of political changes on participation. It also gauges opinions on quotas for women, youth, and persons with disabilities (PWDs), illuminating attitudes toward inclusivity and obstacles to greater representation in Jordanian politics.

2.1 Perceptions of Overall Conditions in Jordan

To gauge public perception on Jordan's current trajectory, Jordanians were asked whether they believe the country is heading in the right or wrong direction. The question provides valuable insights into how citizens perceive Jordan's political, social and economic progress, shedding light on the public's trust in ongoing reforms and modernization initiatives. The results show that 17.2% of Jordanians see things as mostly heading in the right direction, coupled with 43.3% who believe it is somewhat heading in the right direction. In contrast, 39.2% of Jordanians believe the country is heading in the wrong direction (20.9% for somewhat wrong direction and 18.3% for mostly in the wrong direction). These results suggest that while most Jordanians believe the country is moving in the right direction to varying degrees, a significant portion of the population holds negative views. This split in opinion highlights the need for policymakers to address persistent concerns, increase transparency, and engage with citizens to align public sentiment with the country's long-term modernization goals.

When assessing the results in comparison to previous years, notable trends and changes over time are observed. Spanning from June 2018 to November 2024, there are clear fluctuations, reflecting shifts in sentiments. Initially, 45.6% of Jordanians saw that the country was moving in the right direction in June 2018, yet there was a steady decline to 39.5% by April 2019 before hitting a significant low of 23.4% in December 2019. This period marks a downturn, suggesting negative sentiment or challenging conditions. However, a noticeable recovery follows, as more Jordanians saw things heading in the right direction (47.8% by September 2020), maintaining relative stability into early 2021, before declining again to 35.6% by November 2021.
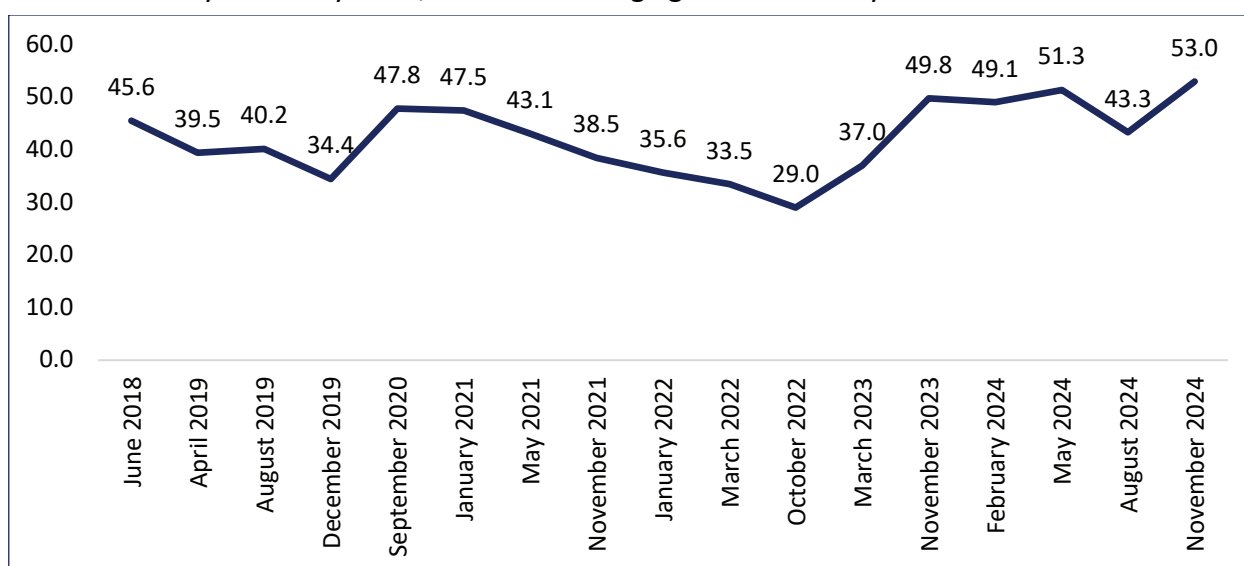

Figure 3: Overall, do you think Jordan heading in the right or wrong direction? [Trend Line]

The increase in the percent of Jordanians who assess the country direction positively can be attributed to factors pertaining to security. Traditionally, Jordanians tend to be more positive in their outlook whenever they perceive of a security challenge. In this case, the COVID-19 pandemic affirms this hypothesis, which could also explain the correlation between the start of a downturn trajectory and the COVID-19 recovery period. In fact, by October 2022, only 29% of Jordanians held such positive views, marking a period of considerable stagnation or decline. While the March 2023 figures are in line with the historic average, the 49.8% recorded in November 2023 and the values that follow can be directly attributed to the war in Gaza.

These fluctuations suggest that public sentiment remains sensitive to external factors, including economic pressures, regional instability, and the effectiveness of reform implementation.

2.2 Perceptions of Citizen Influence

Jordanians were asked to what extent they feel their voices as Jordanian citizens are reflected in the country's reform and policy priorities. This question explored three key domains: political, economic, and foreign policy reforms. By focusing on these critical areas, the inquiry aimed to uncover how citizens perceive their influence on shaping national priorities and decision-making processes. The findings provide valuable insights into whether recent changes align with public expectations and address the broader goals and aspirations of the Jordanian people.
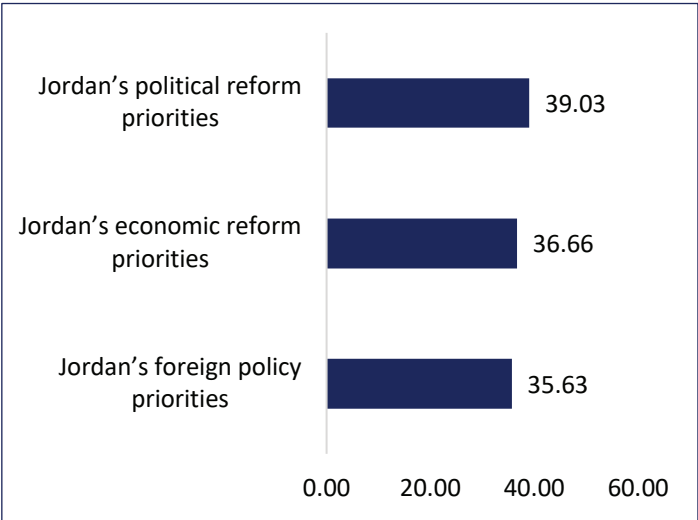

Figure 4: To what extent do you feel that your opinions and positions, as a Jordanian citizen, are reflected in ………?

The survey findings showed varying degrees of perceived impact in the three primary categories, as the graph illustrates. With an average rating of 39.03%, political reform goals were thought to be the most representative of the views of the public. Priorities for economic transformation were closely followed, at 36.66%, suggesting a reasonable level of agreement with popular sentiment. With an average 35.63%, foreign policy priorities were thought to be the least reflective.

Analyzing the data by gender, it was found that Jordanians, regardless of gender, felt similarly about the extent to which their opinions and positions were reflected in the priorities of political, economic, and foreign policy reform, with a difference of 5.6 percentage points between males and females. This means that the progress of the modernization process as a whole was met with similar approval by Jordanian men and women, albeit Jordanian women were more satisfied with the extent to which they felt that their opinions and positions as Jordanian women were reflected in those priorities.
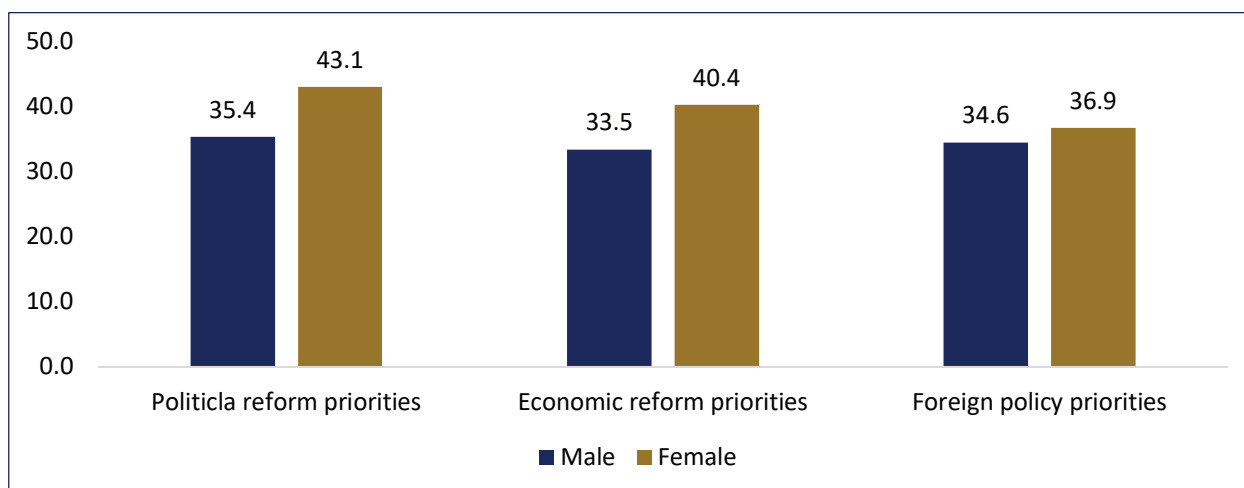
Figure 5: To what extent do you feel that your opinions and positions, as a Jordanian citizen, are reflected in ………?
(Analyzed by gender of respondents)

2.3   Attitudes toward Political Participation

To gauge the level of political interest among Jordanians, Jordanians were asked to indicate the extent to which they are interested in politics. The survey findings highlight a troubling trend of political disengagement. Only 10.8% of Jordanians reported they interested to a large extent, coupled with 25.4% who were indicated "to a medium extent". The survey also reveals that Jordanian men were more likely to be interested in politics when compared to Jordanian women. On average, 36.7% of Jordanian men reported interested in politics, compared to 32.3% among women, marking a near 5-percentage-point difference.

While 44.1% of Jordanians stated they had no interest in politics whatsoever, underscoring significant public disengagement, this marks a drop from 61.3%, per one of NAMA's surveys – conducted in October 2022. In fact, the results reveal a consistent decline in political interest. For example, 11.8% of Jordanians expressed strong political interest in April 2019, dropping to 9.9% in January 2021 and reaching a low of 4.9% in October 2022, before a modest recovery to 10.7% in November 2024. Disinterest, on the other hand, has risen sharply, from 37.2% in April 2019 to 41.4% by January 2021, peaking at 61.3% by late 2022, and leveling at 43.5% in November 2024.
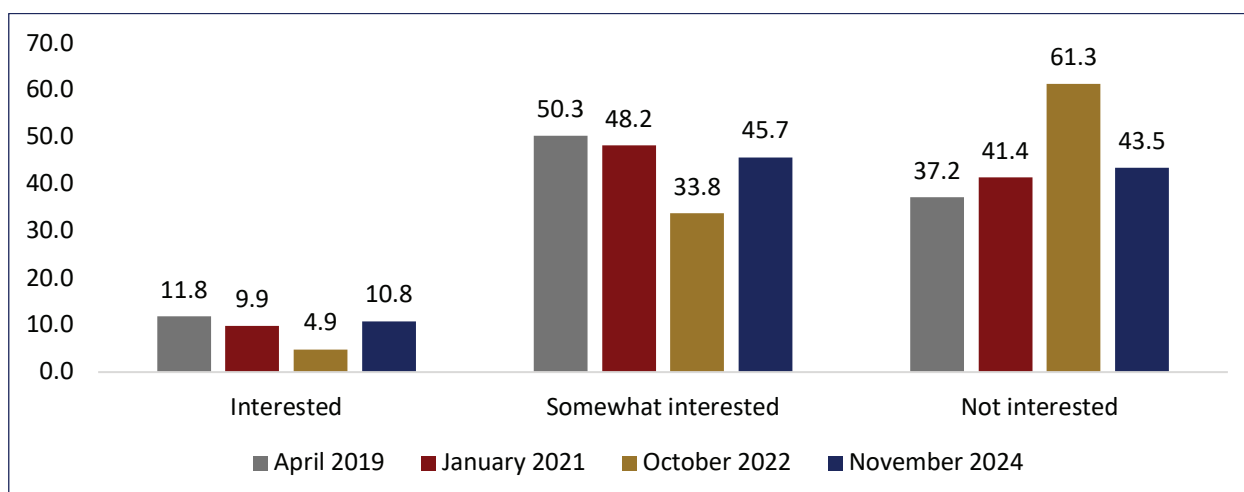

Figure 6: To what extent are you interested in politics?

To explore Jordanians' interest in political office and the accessibility of leadership opportunities, Jordanians were asked whether they had ever considered running for political office and, if so, which position. This question provides critical insights into the broader dynamics of political ambition in Jordan, a country where structural, social, and cultural
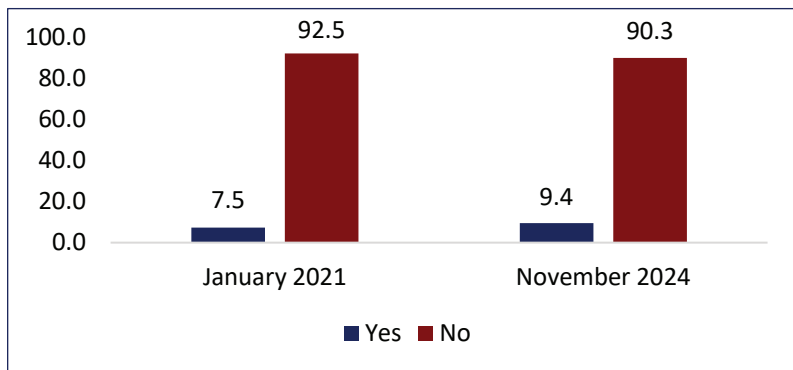

Figure 7: Have you ever considered running for political office? was the question posed to the respondents. Which office, if any?

barriers often limit participation in leadership roles. The findings reveal that 90.3% of Jordanians have not considered running for political office, as only 9.4% expressed a prior intent to run for office, marking a 1.9-percentage-point increase in comparison to the January 2021 wave. There was also a 2-percentage-point difference between males and females, whereby 10.4% of men indicated they had, at some point, considered running for office, compared to 8.4% among Jordanian women. As for the offices they would want to run for, municipal councils topped the list, with 44.5% of the 8.9% who have considered running, followed by 42% for Parliament. Smaller percentages showed interest in the now-dissolved Local Council (6.6%) and Governorate Council (5%), signaling that parliamentary and municipal roles are seen more impactful or probably more accessible pathways for aspiring leaders.

2.4   Drivers of Political Participation

Political modernization efforts, emanating from the Royal Committee to Modernizing the Political System, have targeted key groups, including women, youth, students, and PWDs while contributing significantly to the revamped political parties and elections laws. As such, to explore the impact of political modernization efforts on Jordanians' willingness to run for public office, the survey asked whether specific measures increased or decreased this likelihood, which would help in identifying which initiatives resonate most with the public, thereby helping policymakers design more inclusive strategies that encourage greater participation in political processes.

Looking at the survey results, there were varying degrees of influence that different measures have on encouraging individuals to consider running for office. Providing youth with a larger role in political parties emerged as the most impactful measure, with an overall 30.5% of Jordanians indicating it would make them more likely to run for an elected office, followed by 27% for each of "increasing the participation of people with disabilities, including women with disabilities" and "providing PWDs, including women with disabilities, with a larger role in political life".

There was some positive support for allowing students greater space to hold political events on university campuses, with 24.6% indicating it would make them more likely to consider candidacy. Introducing a two-vote system and reducing the age of candidacy from 30 to 25 and had relatively modest effects, with only 24.2% and 22%, respectively, stating these would make them much more likely to run. Broader structural reforms, such as the restructuring of electoral districts and dedicating 41 seats to political parties, had the least impact, as 19.2% indicated that

dedicating 41 seats for parties could entice them to run for elections, compared to 22.9% for the restructuring of electoral districts.

Looking at the differences between males and females, the results show that women were more likely to see encouragement in being provided with a larger role in political parties, as indicated by 27.8%. Further, 27.1% of Jordanian women were also likely to be encouraged with youth being provided with similar opportunities. It is worth noting that women were, on average, about 3-percentage-points less likely than men to be encouraged by these modernization/ reform efforts. Given they were generally supportive of these reforms, it is likely that their perceptions stem from other areas, perhaps those associated with socio-cultural norms.
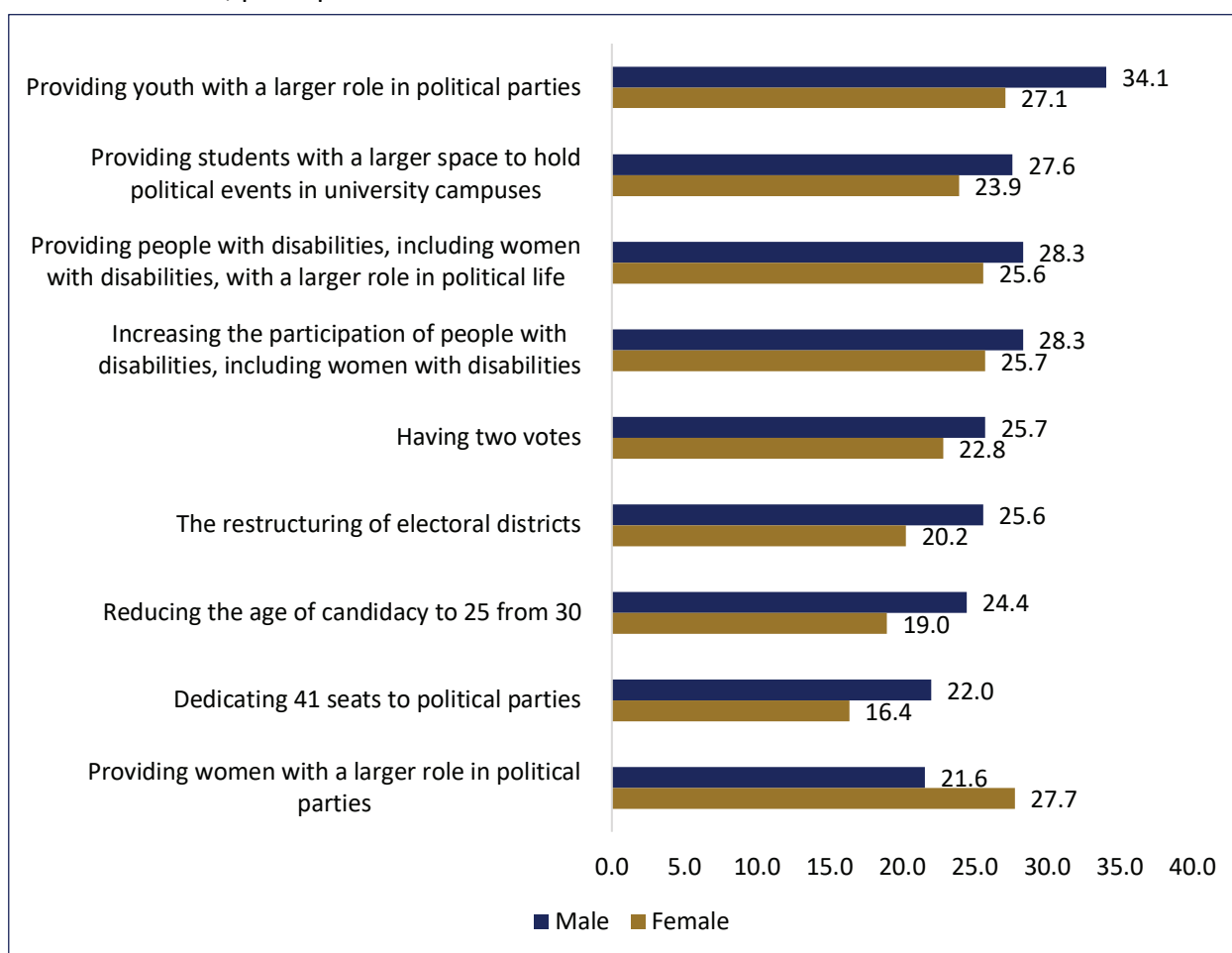
Figure 8: As part of the recent political modernization/ reform efforts, does "………"make you more or less likely to run for any elected office? [Mean scores, higher means more likely]

Women political leaders surveyed hold positive support for reforms promoting women's political participation, with 82.8% favoring providing women with a larger role in political parties. Similarly, 78.2% endorsed the idea of having two votes, while 73.2% supported dedicating 41 seats to political parties. Reforms aimed at engaging youth and students also garnered significant approval, with 69.7% and 69.2% supporting larger roles in political parties and student councils, respectively. Inclusivity for people with disabilities received strong backing (65.7%), while reducing the age of candidacy to 25 years was supported by 62.8% of the sample.
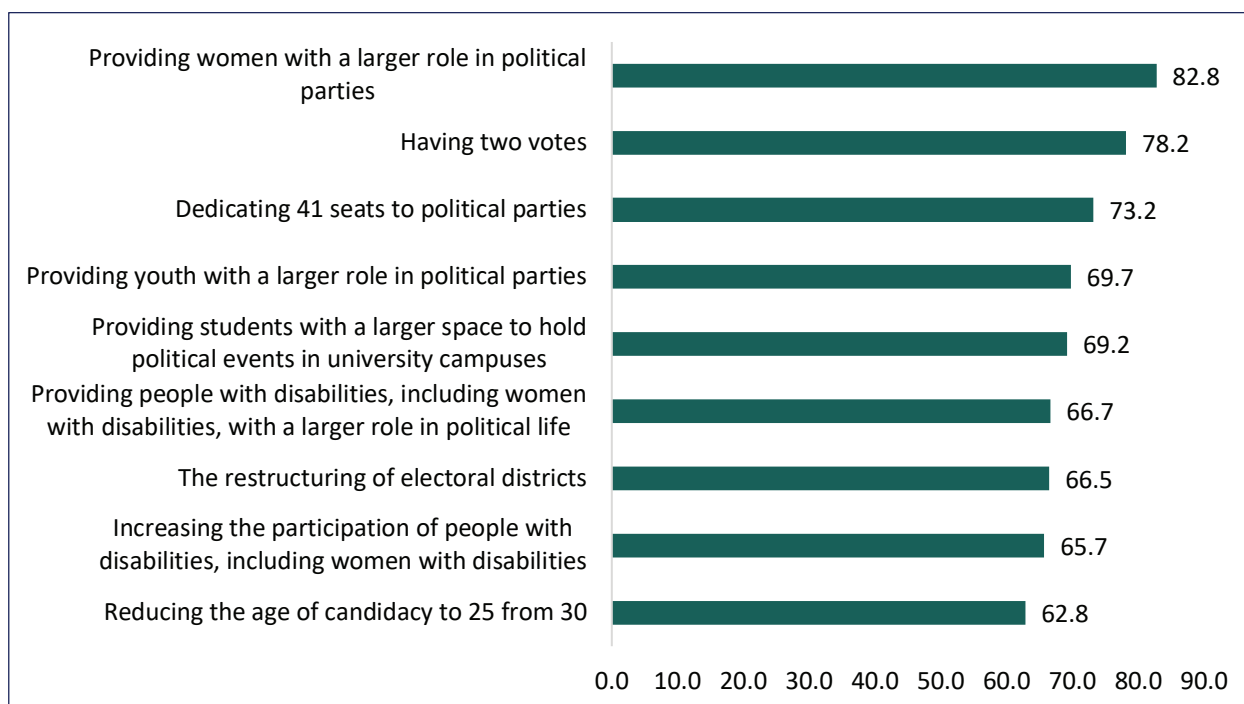
Figure 9: As part of the recent political modernization/ reform efforts, does ……… make women more or less likely to win seats at elected councils?

2.5   Perceptions of Quotas and Affirmative Action Policies

Jordanians were asked to indicate the extent to which they would support or oppose allocating seats (quota) for youth under the age of 30 in elected councils, such as parliament, municipalities, and governorate councils, among others. The larger goals of modernization initiatives to promote young involvement in government and decision-making are closely related to this query. Thus, the survey finds strong support for the implementation of youth quotas. Nearly half of Jordanians (47.2%) indicated they would largely support this measure, demonstrating significant enthusiasm for this initiative. An additional 24.2% expressed support to a medium extent, further highlighting a favorable stance toward youth quotas among most Jordanians.
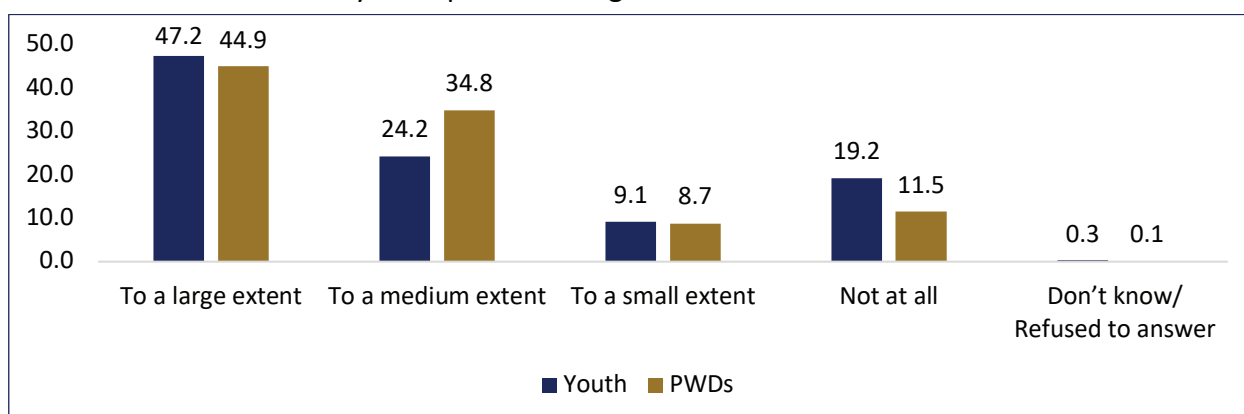

Figure 10: To what extent would you support or oppose allocating seats (quota) for youth and for people living with disabilities in elected councils (parliament, municipalities, governorate councils, etc.)?

The findings show that young quotas are widely supported by the public, with the majority indicating strong or moderate support for the change. This indicates that the necessity of

elevating the voices of younger generations in governance is widely acknowledged. When asked the same question but in the context of persons living with disabilities, the results show an equally positive level of public support. In fact, a significant 44.9% of Jordanians expressed their support "to a large extent", while an additional 34.8% indicated medium-level support. These results reveal that policies aiming to increase the political representation of PWDs are generally supported by the public. With 19.2% and 11.5% of Jordanians opposed to youth quotas and PWDs quotas, respectively, requires measures to address their drivers. To allay these worries, policymakers should highlight the benefits of youth involvement and support educational initiatives that will boost public support for policies that target young people.

When analyzing the results in terms of the gender of respondents, Jordanian men were more likely to be supportive of dedicating quota seats for youth under 30, with a 3.3 percentage point difference to be precise. However, Jordanian women were 2.5 percentage points more likely than men to be supportive of dedicating quota seats for PWDs.
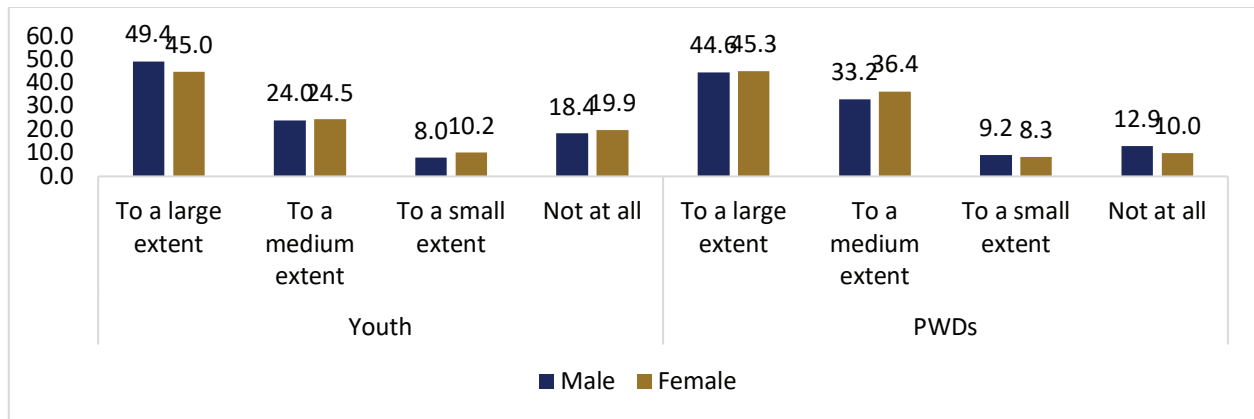

Figure 11: To what extent would you support or oppose allocating seats (quota) for youth and for people living with disabilities in elected councils (parliament, municipalities, governorate councils, etc.)? [Analyzed in terms of gender]

Women political leaders showed demonstrated positive levels of support for the inclusion of PWDs, particularly women living with disabilities, in political and public life through the political party law. The law, which mandates at least one PWD among the founding members of political parties, was viewed positively, with 54 %, believe that this requirement has largely supported inclusion, as 25.9% believe it has done so to a medium extent.
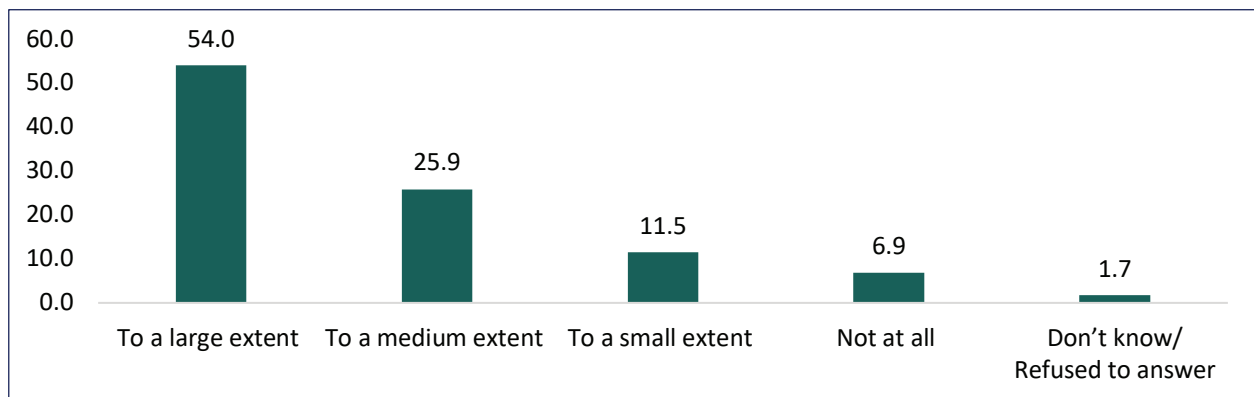

Figure 12: The political party law mandates that at least one person with disabilities (PWD) should be among the founding members of political parties. To what extent do you believe this requirement has supported the inclusion of people with disabilities, especially women with disabilities? [Women Leaders' Sample]

When asked about the extent to which recent reforms, such as the inclusion of PWDs in political party formation, encouraged women political leaders to participate in political activities, the survey reveals sizeable positive and direct attribution, as 55% of women leaders surveyed indicated "to a large extent" and 32.2% stated "to a medium extent". These findings reveal that reforms, when fostering a more inclusive political participation ecosystem, reflect directly in increased interest and engagement, even in a short period of time.
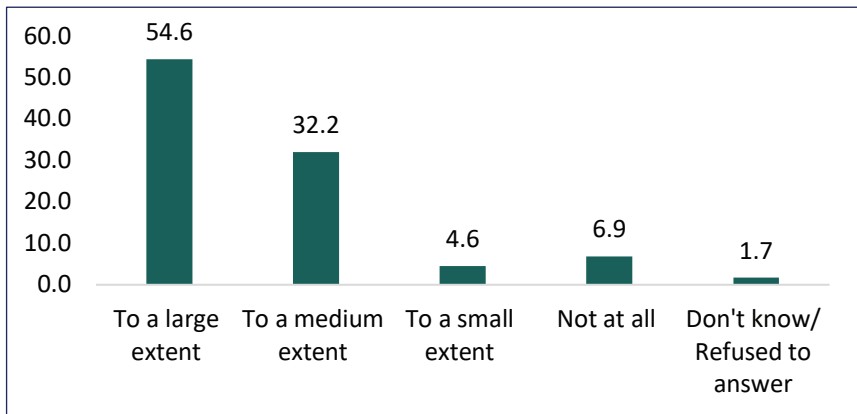
Figure 13: To what extent have recent reforms, such as the requirement for PWD inclusion in political party formation, encouraged you to participate in political activities?

When it comes to the women's quota system, the survey looked to track changes in public perceptions regarding women's quota-driven engagement in Parliament. Among women political leaders, a significant majority (69.5%) advocate for increasing the number of seats allocated to women, reflecting their strong belief in quotas as a vital mechanism for addressing systemic barriers and advancing gender equity. Conversely, only 32% of the general population share this sentiment, with 46.8% favoring the current allocation. This preference for maintaining the status quo indicates either satisfaction with existing representation or hesitancy toward further reform. Opposition to the quota system is notably higher among the general population, with 12.2% advocating for a reduction in allocated seats and 8.4% calling for the complete removal of quotas. As for the women political leaders' sample, the results indicate that 84.6% of female activists support increasing the number of allocated seats, compared to 75% of female members of parliament, 73.3% of female public sector employees, 68.1% of female candidates in the last elections, and 62.3% of female party members and leaders.
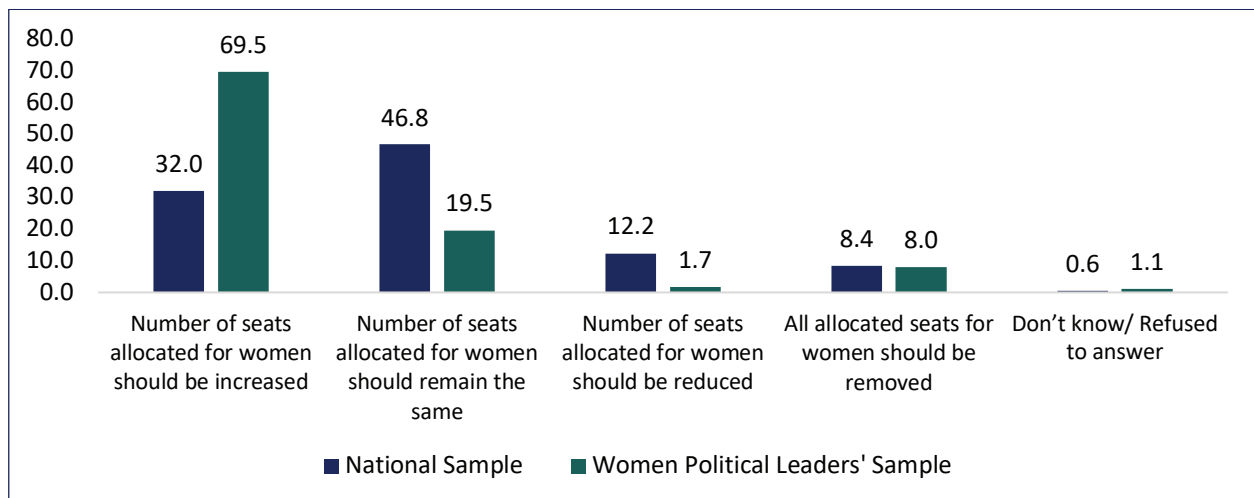

Figure 14: Which of the following is closest to your opinion regarding the quota system for women?

In comparison to men, data disaggregation shows that women were twice as likely to support increasing the allocated seats for women in Parliament, as indicated by 43% of Jordanian women, contra 21% among men. On average, 3 out of 4 women more likely to prefer increasing the number of allocated seats or, at least, keeping them as is, with 15 percentage point difference in comparison to men. Additionally, nearly 55.3% of Jordanian men were likely to support quota seats being dedicated for each of youth, PWDs, and women. In comparison, 60.4% of women demonstrated the same sentiment, with about 5-percentage-point difference between the two.
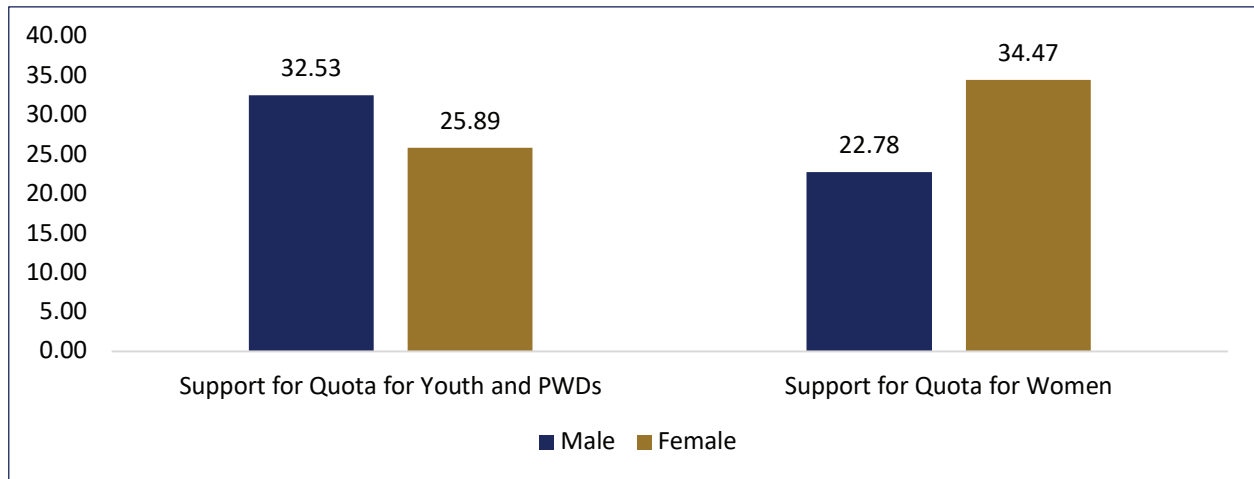
Figure 15: Cross-Analysis: Support for Quota for Youth, Women, and PWDs among Jordanian Men and Women

In comparison to the previous wave of January 2021, it appears that around 3.5% of Jordanians have now become more or less content with the current size of women's quota in Parliament. While a marginal decrease among those who would like to see the quota system removed, a near-4.5-percentage-point increase among those who would like to see the number of allocated seats decreased raises some eyebrows. It is important to explore their reasons in future studies, as some may exhibit the belief quotas reduce competitiveness, or they may just be fully opposed to women's political participation. Nonetheless, understanding such drivers is important in terms of curating relevant responses and potentially policies or public messaging.
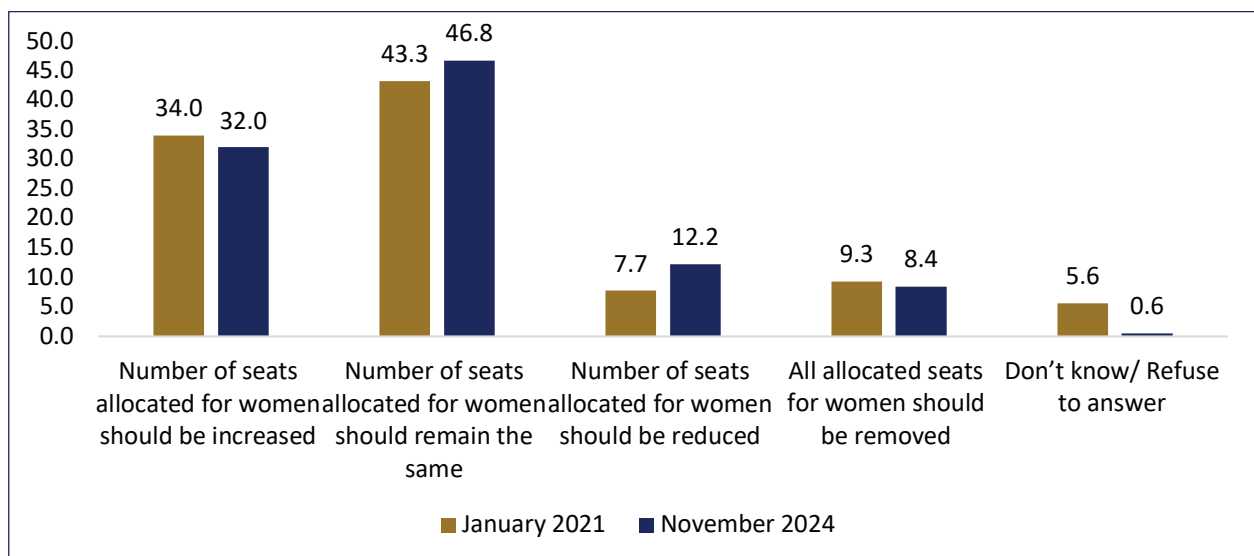

Figure 16: Which of the following is closest to your opinion regarding the quota system for women?

3. WOMEN AND LEADERSHIP PROSPECTS

3.1 Women Politicians' Drivers for Political Engagement

To understand the reasons as to why women leaders chose their paths, and in order to support public messaging with real-life and tangible reasons, the survey asked women leaders to indicate what was the main reasons that drove them to pursue a career in public and political life. The results show that "personal desire or ambition to achieve change" was the most prevalent reason for over 56.3% of women leaders surveyed, followed by 12.1% who were motivated by "advocacy for social issues, including public services," 9.8% were encouraged by political parties, and 7.5% were encouraged by "advocacy for women's rights." lesser but notable motivations include being "raised in a politically active environment, including family" (4%), and to address gender-based inequalities (3.4%).
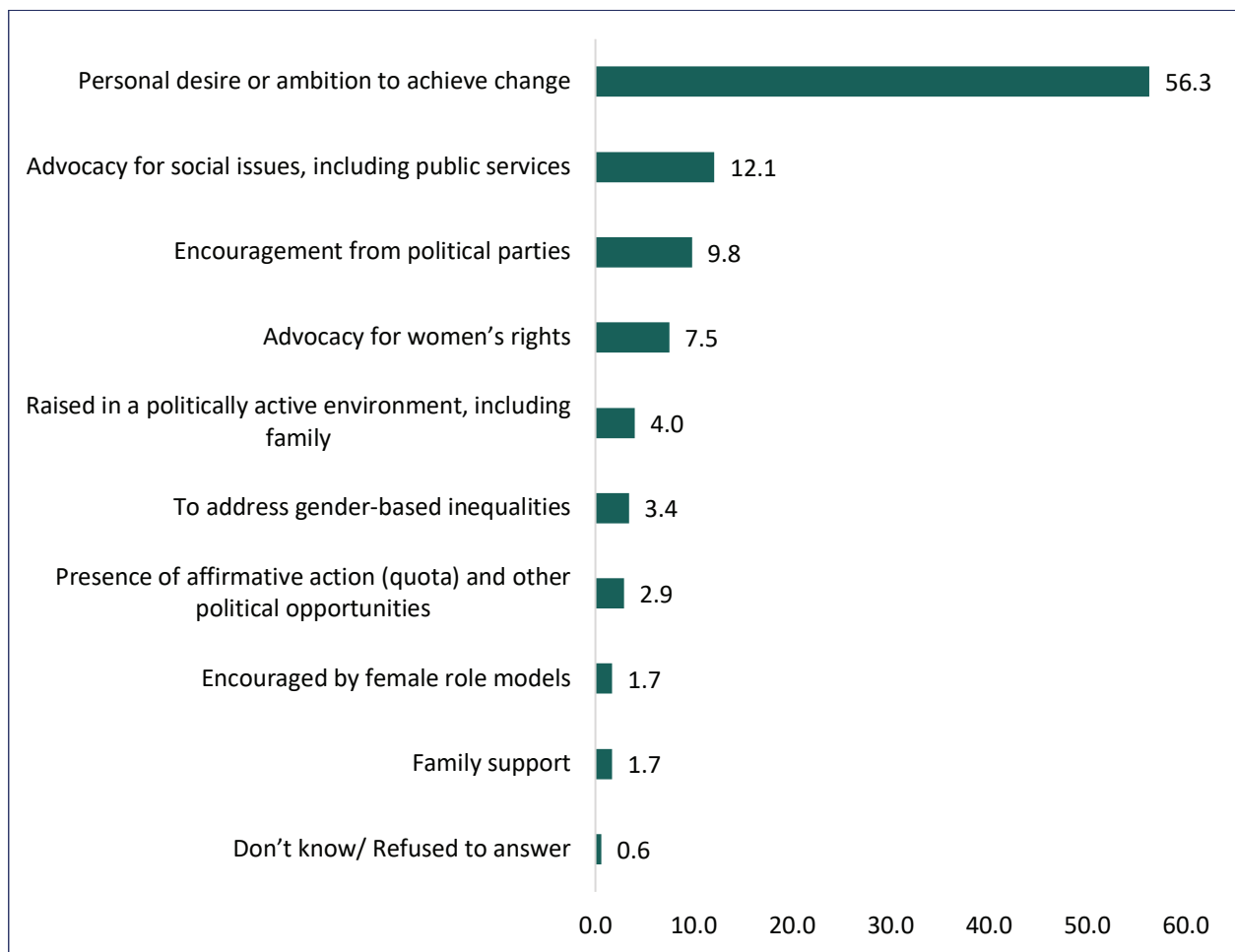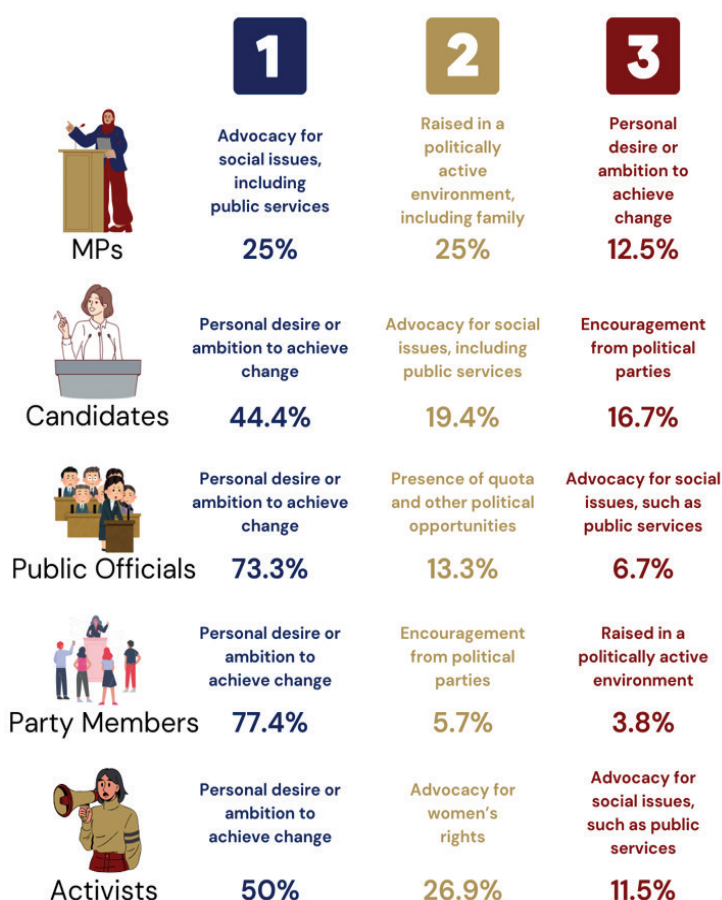

Figure 17: What motivated you to pursue a role in political/ public life?

The data highlights a notable reliance on individual motivations, such as personal ambition and advocacy, rather than external institutional or structural support. The relatively low percentages for factors like encouragement from political parties (9.8%) or the presence of the quota or other opportunities (1.7%) suggest lighter weight associated with institutional facilitators even if their role as enables could be more tangible is seeing women reaching public offices.

There were some notable differences when exploring the responses of each sub-group. For instance, among the women MPs surveyed, advocacy for social issues as well as being raised in a political active environment, with 25% each, followed by their personal desire/ ambition to achieve change. This particular reason was in fact the main driver for parliamentary candidates (44.4%), for public officials (73.3%), for party members (77.4%), and for activists (50%). For candidates, advocacy for a social issue, including public service provision was the second highest driver, with 19.4%. As for public officials, they also highlighted the presence of political opportunities (13.3%), while 5.7% of party members were encouraged by their parties, and 26.9% of activists emphasized their desire to advocate for women's rights.

	1	**2**	**3**
MPs	Advocacy for social issues, including public services **25%**	Raised in a politically active environment, including family **25%**	Personal desire or ambition to achieve change **12.5%**
Candidates	Personal desire or ambition to achieve change **44.4%**	Advocacy for social issues, including public services **19.4%**	Encouragement from political parties **16.7%**
Public Officials	Personal desire or ambition to achieve change **73.3%**	Presence of quota and other political opportunities **13.3%**	Advocacy for social issues, such as public services **6.7%**
Party Members	Personal desire or ambition to achieve change **77.4%**	Encouragement from political parties **5.7%**	Raised in a politically active environment **3.8%**
Activists	Personal desire or ambition to achieve change **50%**	Advocacy for women's rights **26.9%**	Advocacy for social issues, such as public services **11.5%**

3.2   Support for Women in Politics

One of the rather discouraging findings was the slight decrease in the intensity of Jordanians' support for women having a greater role in political life. This is because in comparison to January 2021, there is a 9.8 percentage point decrease, dropping from a combined 84.3% who indicated supporting women having a greater role in political life to a great extent and to a medium extent to 74.5% in the November 2024 survey.
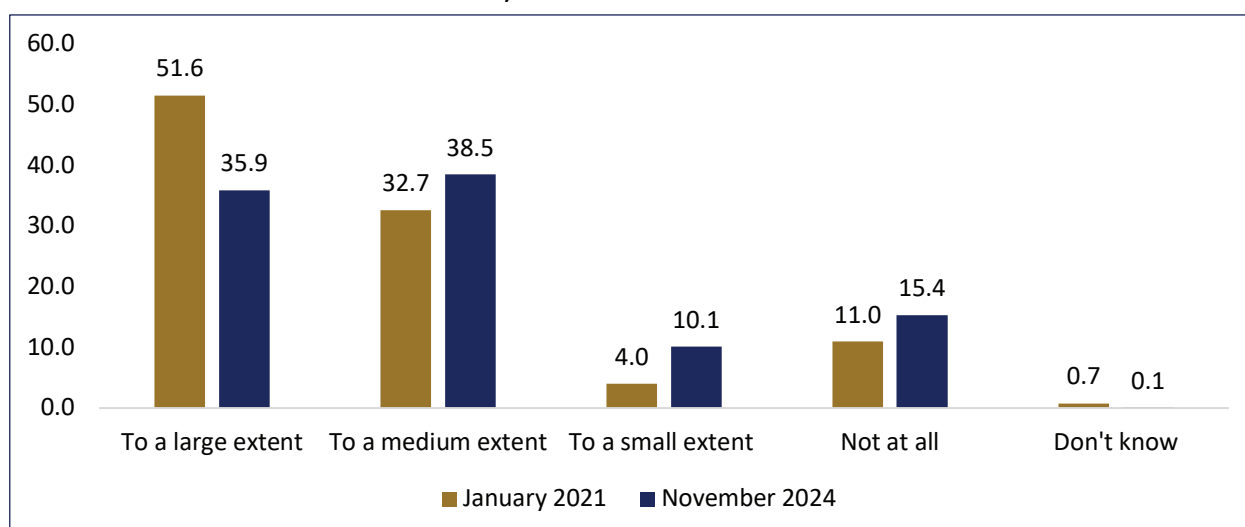
	To a large extent	To a medium extent	To a small extent	Not at all	Don't know
January 2021	51.6	32.7	4.0	11.0	0.7
November 2024	35.9	38.5	10.1	15.4	0.1

Figure 18: To what extent do you support women having a greater role in political life?

Further, the analysis shows that there is a 16.2-percentage-point difference in the extent to which Jordanians support women having a greater in political life between females and males, whereby 73.1% of Jordanian women showed such support compared to 56.9% for Jordanian males. As for age groups and education level, the differences were not very notable, albeit youth were more likely to show support in comparison to older age groups.
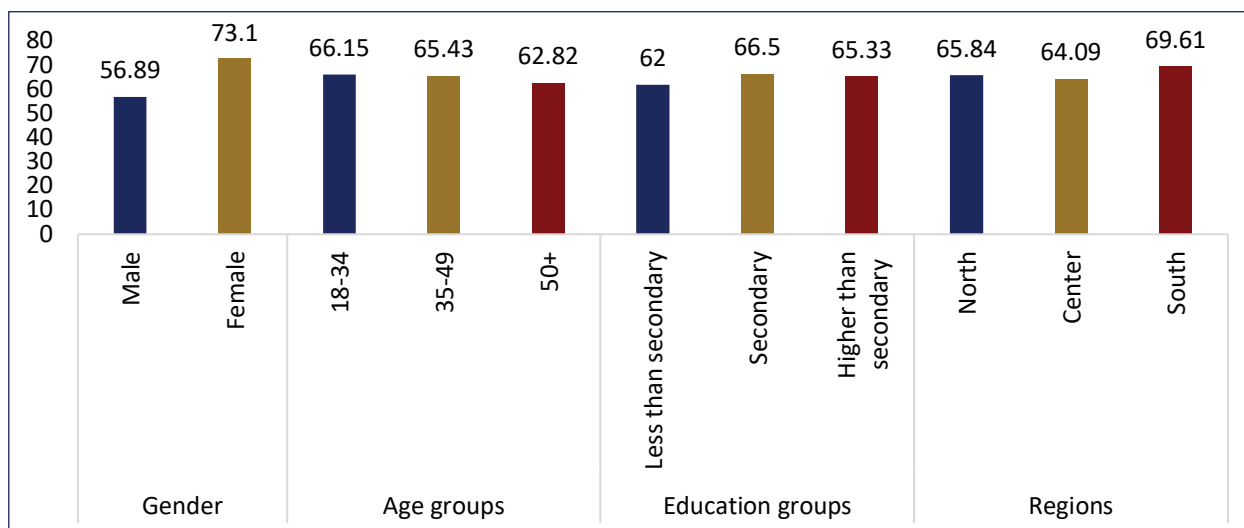

Figure 19: To what extent do you support women having a greater role in political life?

When it comes to public agreement regarding the extent to which women should hold various political, support was highest for women as Ministers of Social Development and as MPs, with 76% and 75.7%, respectively in 2021. By 2024, these figures dropped to 74%, each. A similar trend is observed across other key positions.
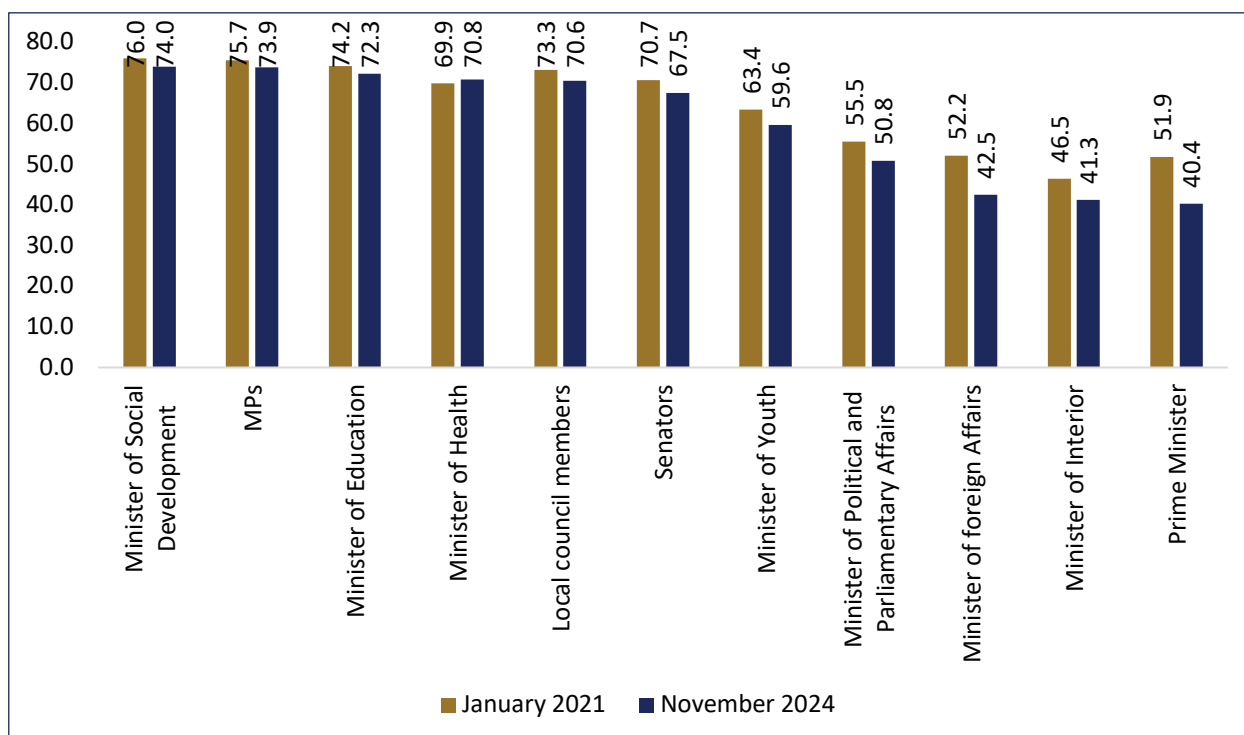
Figure 20: To what extent do you agree that women should be "………"?

Support for women as Ministers of Education fell from 74.2% to 72.3%, while their perceived role as Ministers of Health decreased slightly from 69.9% to 70.8%. For local council members and senators, support declined from 73.3% and 70.7% in 2021 to 70.6% and 67.5%, respectively. The most significant declines are seen in traditionally male-dominated and high-authority positions. Support for women as Ministers of Foreign Affairs fell from 52.2% in 2021 to 42.5% in 2024, while support for women as Prime Minister declined from 51.9% to 40.4%.

The findings indicate a regression in public support for women holding political positions since the January 2021 wave. While women continue to receive higher levels of approval in roles related to social development, education, and health, significant declines in support for higher-level leadership positions emphasize ongoing challenges. These results underscore the need for targeted efforts to challenge gender biases, foster public confidence, and promote women's leadership in all sectors of governance.

Figure 21: To what extent do you agree that women should have equal opportunities as men to participate in political life in Jordan?

Nonetheless, public support for women receiving access to equal opportunities to participate in political life in Jordan was slightly more positive, with approximately three-quarters of Jordanians indicating high to medium levels of positive support. On the other hand, 13.4% of Jordanians supported this idea only *"to a small extent,"* while 11.7% opposed it entirely, stating *"not at all"*, highlighting that a quarter of the population remains hesitant or resistant to fully endorsing women's equal participation in political life, reflecting lingering societal and cultural barriers.

Support for women having equal opportunities as men seemed higher among female respondents compared to makes, as 41.7% of females indicated their agreement to a large extent, along with 41% who indicated their support to a medium extent, compared to 24.2% and 42.6%, respectively, among males.

3.3 Perceptions of Women Effectiveness as Leaders

Regarding the effectiveness of women compared to men in various leadership roles, the findings mirror the same trends discussed above. For instance, the highest level of agreement that women are as effective as men in leadership positions was observed in the context of public university leadership positions, with 75.91% agreeing. As for judges, support diminishes, reaching 62.05% of Jordanians, slightly ahead of business executives with 62.74%. The
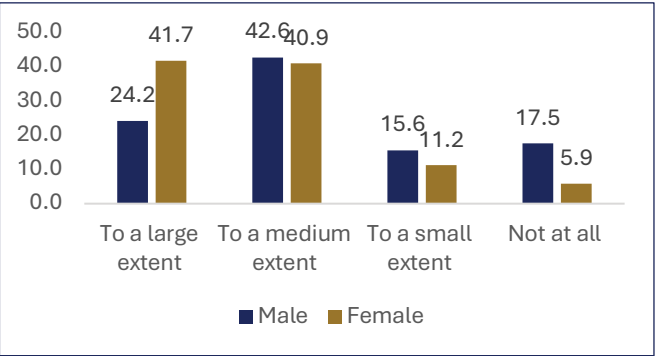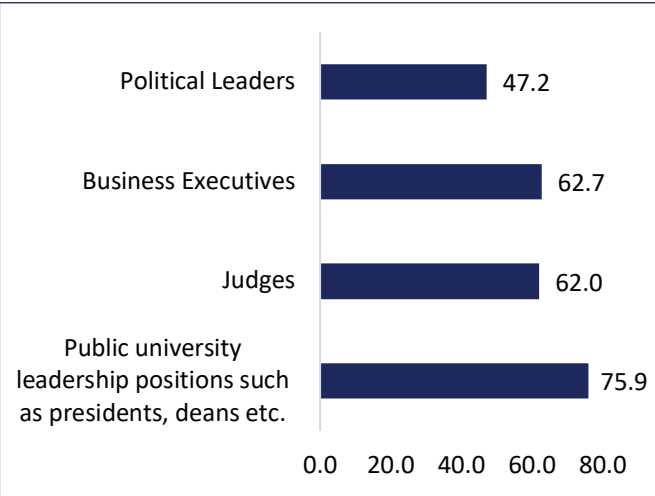

Figure 22: To what extent do you agree that women are as equally effective as men in each of the following?

lowest level agreement was observed for political leadership roles, with 47.2% of Jordanians agreeing that women are equally effective as men.

This finding contradicts the sentiment echoed in a previous question asking about the extent to which the public supports women having a greater role in politics, whereby 74.5% of Jordanians support greater involvement to a "large" and "medium" extent. This discrepancy may suggest that while Jordanians support greater political engagement among women, societal attitudes remain more conservative when it comes to real-life application. Addressing this requires sizeable and visible efforts, including by women politicians themselves. In fact, the surveyed women leaders were asked to assess Jordanian women's presence in public and political life. The results show that 42% view their presence as very good and 44.3% as somewhat good.
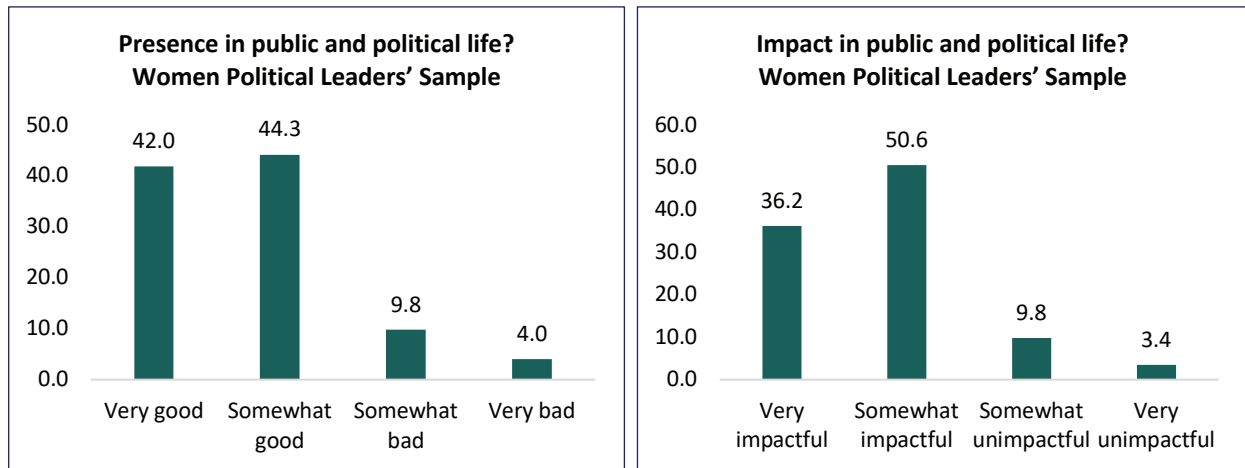
Figure 23: How do you evaluate Jordanian women's presence in public and political life?

In assessing Jordanian women's impact in public and political life, most women leaders surveyed view this impact as positive, with 36.2% rating it as "very impactful" and 51% as "somewhat impactful," for a combined 86.8%. These results suggest that women leaders generally perceive Jordanian women as making a meaningful contribution to public and political life. Therefore, bridging the gaps between their visibility and impact with Jordanians' level of awareness could potentially reflect positively on improved attitudes toward meaningful engagement of women in public and political life.
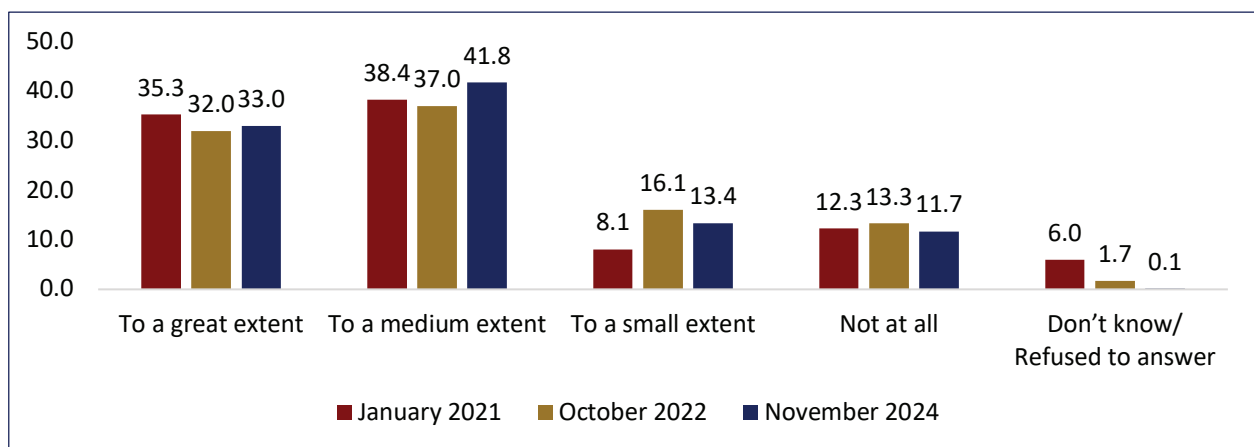

Figure 24: To what extent do you think female members of parliament are as competent as their male counterparts?

This hypothesis is supported by the finding that more Jordanians are new viewing women MPs as equally competent as male MPs. Around 65.3% of Jordanians believe that female MPs are as equally competent as male MPs, increasing from 62% when asked in October 2022 and 63.6% when asked in January 2021. It is worth noting that it remains early to provide any concrete assessment of current women MPs considering the parliament has just recently embarked on its first session. However, Jordanians' responses offer an indication as to the extent to which they retain a positive outlook.

3.4   Prevalence of "Visible" Women Leadership

The decrease observed in Jordanians' perceptions regarding women MPs' equal competence could be attributed to a lack in their awareness of women political leaders. In fact, when asked to name the living Jordanian woman politician they respect the most, only 32.5% were able to name any women leader, compared to 65.5% among the women political leaders' sample. About 42.1% of the national sample indicated there were not any women political leaders they could name as the ones they respect the most, compared to 18.4% from the women leaders' sample. Around 24.5% of Jordanians stated they did not know any, compared to 16.1% among the women leaders' sample. When analyzing the names mentioned, different profiles/ philosophies exist, perhaps suggesting that Jordanians identified them for reasons beyond primordial, non-choice-based identities, rather due to the visibility of their work and their ability to tap into, and respond to, Jordanians needs.
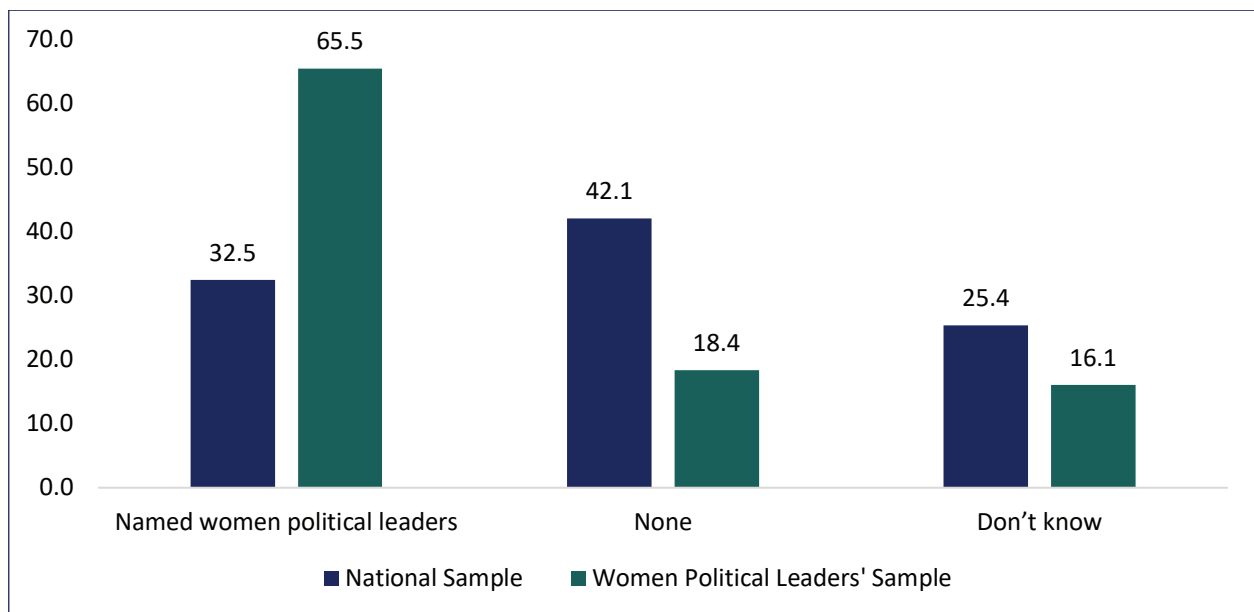

Figure 25: Apart from the Royal Family, which living Jordanian woman politician do you respect the most?

Lower levels of recognition are evident for other figures such as Toujan Al-Faysal (1.2%), Lana Al-Qsous (0.9%), Dima Tahboub (0.7%), and Insaf Al-Khawaldeh (0.4%). Nonetheless, a significant 42.9% of Jordanians indicated that there was not any woman they would name while 26.5% stated that they did not know of any. Interestingly, more female respondents were unaware of any women leaders (30%), compared to men (23.6%). These results demonstrate a clear and widespread lack of awareness of female political figures, perhaps entailing the need for efforts to enhance their visibility among the general public.

4. WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

4.1   Perceptions of the Value of Women Political Participation

The survey looked to provide a pulse check as to how Jordanians view the current state of women's political participation in Jordan. Thus, when asked if they believe it was heading in the right or wrong direction, the survey finds somewhat positive perceptions. Among the national sample, around 63.3% of Jordanians believe that women's political participation is heading in the right direction, compared to 77.6% among the women political leaders' sample.
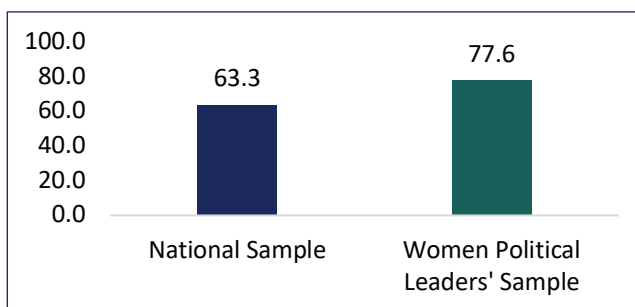
Figure 26: In general, do you think women's political participation is heading in the right direction or in the wrong direction?

Jordanians were also asked to indicate how important they think it is for women to participate in politics. Looking at the results, Jordanians demonstrated generally positive perceptions regarding women's participation in politics. A significant 32.7% of Jordanians deemed it very important, coupled with 43.8% who believe it is somewhat important, as over three-quarters see the value of women's political participation in Jordan, albeit a quarter disagrees. This emphasizes the necessity of alleviating social obstacles and advance gender inclusion in politics. Campaigns and policies that highlight the benefits of women's political participation for community development and governance may be able to change attitudes and increase support.

4.2   Perceptions of Women's Competence as Political Leaders

When asked whether women were as qualified as males to hold political offices, the responses highlighted somewhat positive outlooks, with 29.5% of Jordanians indicating that women are equally qualified to a large extent and 41.1% indicated to some extent, with 12.2% indicating that women were not at all as qualified as men. Among women political leaders, the responses were expectedly far more positive, with 73% indicating women are fully as equally qualified as men.
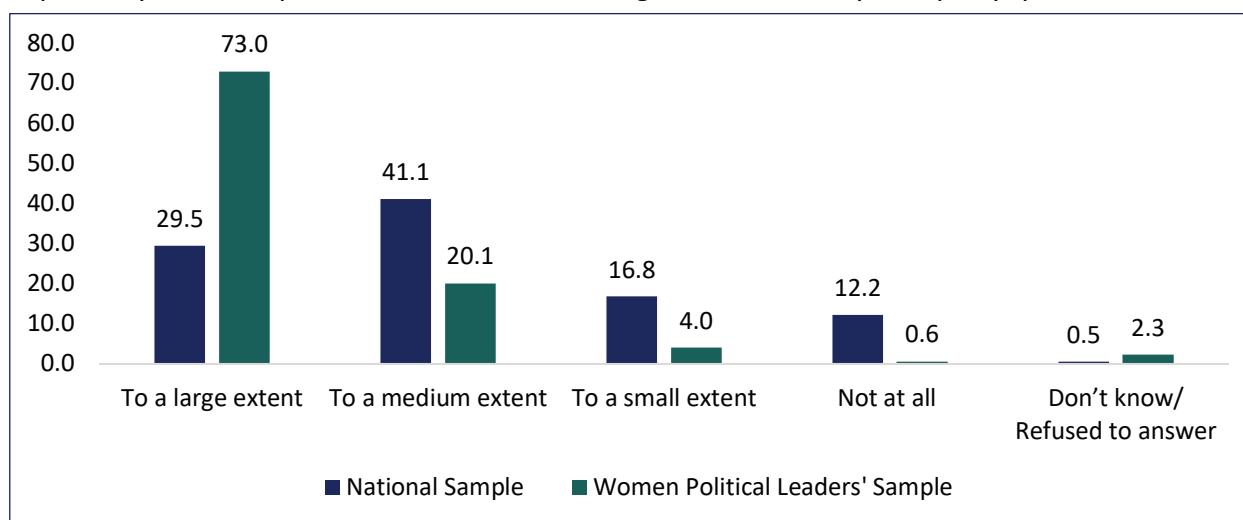
Figure 27: To what extent do you believe that women are equally qualified to hold political office as men?

Among the 70.6% of Jordanians who demonstrated some positive perceptions, slightly over 30% indicated that women have the necessary personality traits to be competent and reliable leaders, followed by 26% who said the same with emphasis on professional and academic competencies. However, even among them, around 19% exhibited some negative perceptions, perhaps why they opted for viewing women's qualifications as somewhat equal to men's.
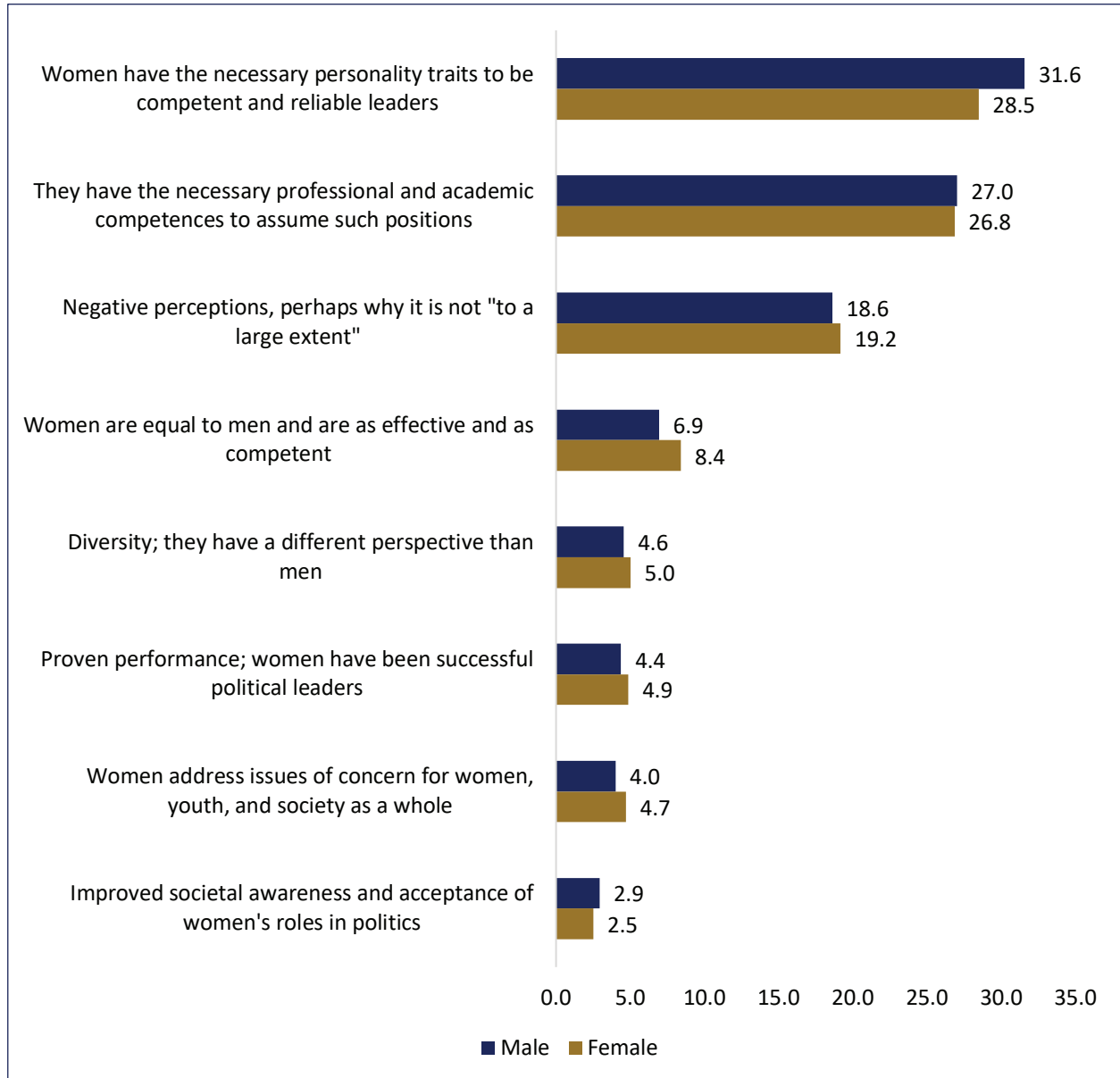

Figure 28: Why do you believe that women are equally qualified to hold political office as men?

On the other hand, among the 12.2% who do not believe women are at all as qualified as men for public offices, 31.1% attributed their response to their belief that "women are not suited for political roles; they are incapable and lack experience", followed by 22.3% who view men as more capable and more competent, and 21.4% who stated that "women are emotional and weak and therefore cannot lead such roles." Other results show deeply engraved socio-cultural, gender-based norms, as illustrated in the figure below.
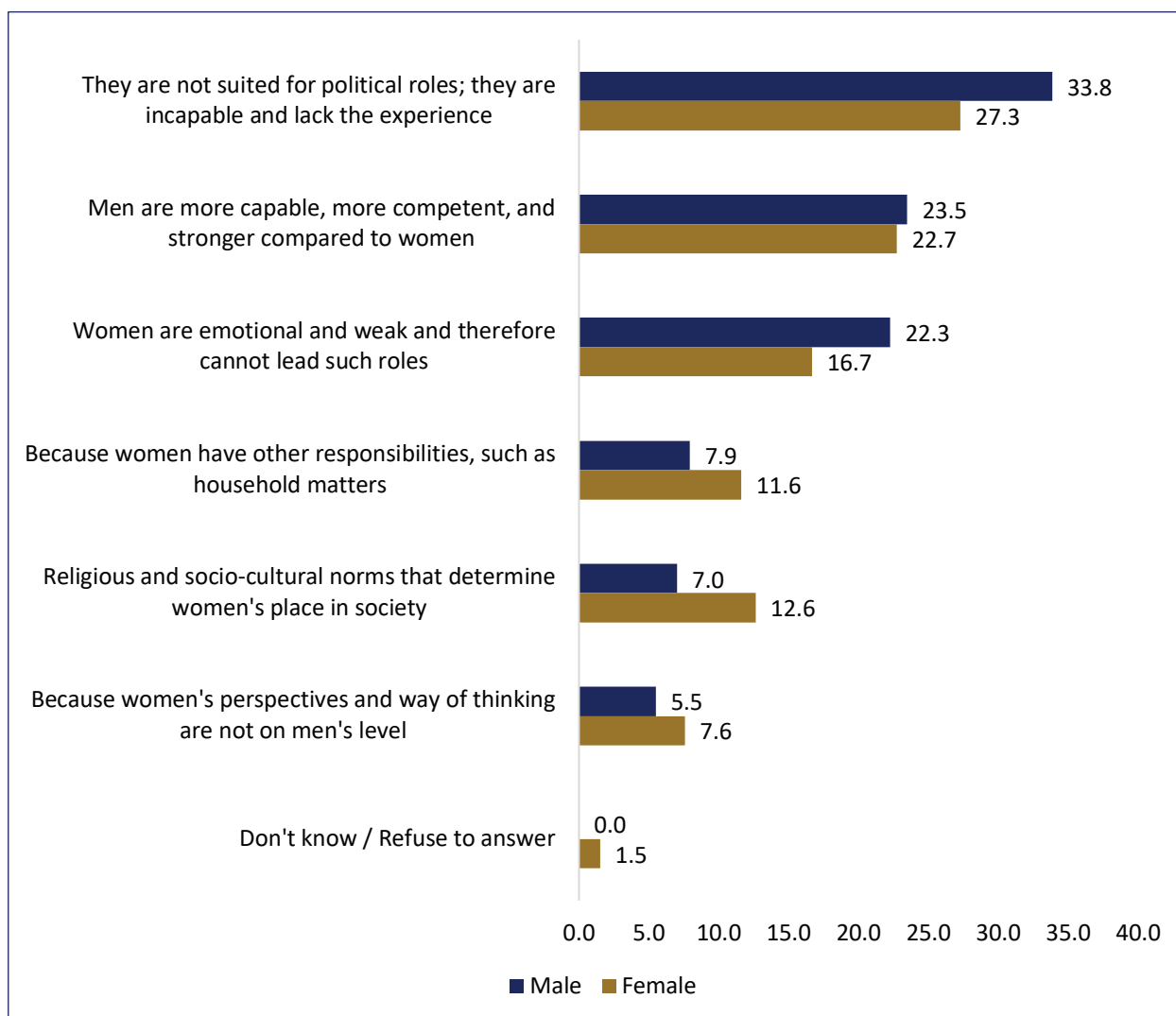
Figure 29: Why do you not believe that women are equally qualified to hold political office as men?

4.3 Women as Political Leaders: Socio-Culturally Engraved Misconceptions

When it comes to the extent to which Jordanians perceive changes in public attitudes toward women in politics over the past few years, the results find that 44.4% of Jordanians observed a positive shift, 5.3% noted a negative change, and 48.5% reported no change at all. As for women political leaders, they appeared far more optimistic, with 86.2% noticing a positive change and 12.6% stating they had seen no change.
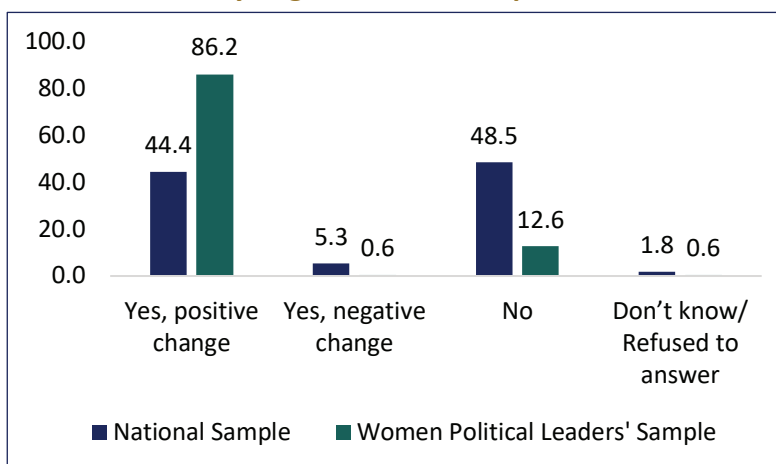
Figure 30: Have you noticed any changes in public attitudes toward women in politics over the past few years?

Among those who have perceived a positive change, nearly 30.3% clarified that the positive change is "women are now more politically competent, present, and visible", followed by 22.5% who believe that there are "more opportunities available for women to assume their rightful position in politics", and around 15% who indicated that "society is more accepting of and receptive to women in politics." On top of that, around 13% highlighted that the reform efforts have resulted in a system that promotes equality and supports women's rights, as 10.3% added that there is a greater representation in parliament for women as a result.
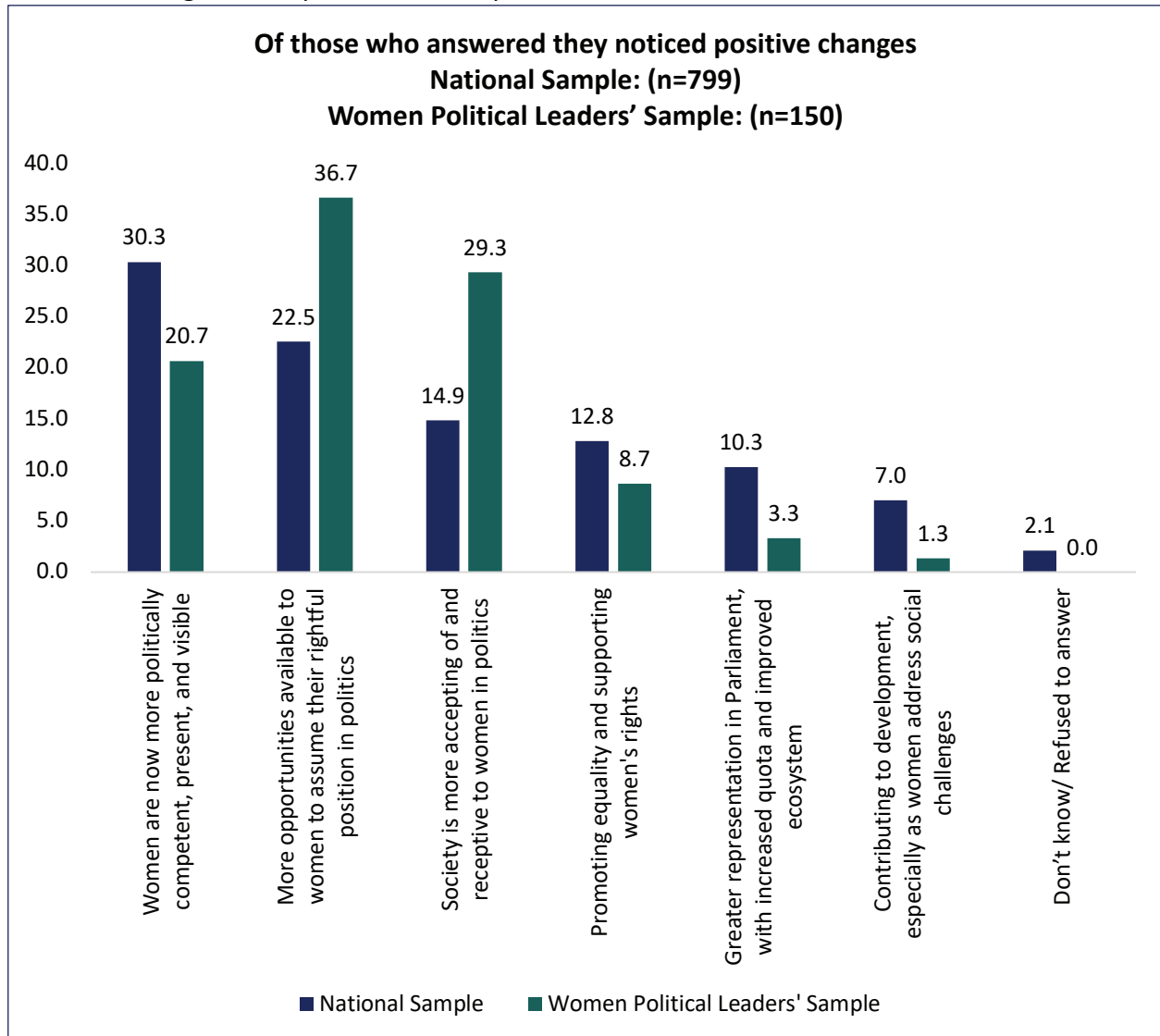
Figure 31: What was the positive change?

Conversely, progress is seen as "empty slogans with no tangible results" and "women assume positions they are incapable of leading" were the most prevalent "negative" changes indicated by 20.1% and 18.8%, respectively of those who had indicated they observed negative changes in public attitudes toward women in politics over the past few years (5.3%). Overall, the gap between the two samples emphasizes the necessity of raising awareness of ongoing reforms and their effects to guarantee that all demographic groups recognize and acknowledge the space and opportunities offered to them by the new modernization efforts.

4.4 Women as Political Leaders: Advocacy and Under-Addressed Issues

When asked if they thought female politicians address issues that are different from the issues men address, the survey finds mixed responses. Among Jordanians, 49.7% indicated that women do indeed address issues different than those addressed by men, whereas 48.3% affirmed that women address the same issues. Further, when asked to indicate the extent to which they agree with experts they say women tend to focus on issues that matter to a larger portion of society, rather than issues that only matter to women, Jordanians were more likely to agree. In fact, nearly 30.7% of Jordanians strongly agreed, coupled with 43.9% who agreed to an extent.

Jordanians were then asked to indicate which issues they believe women political leaders tend to address, unlike men. The survey finds that 30.3% of Jordanians believe that women politicians tend to emphasize efforts pertaining to women's political and social empowerment.
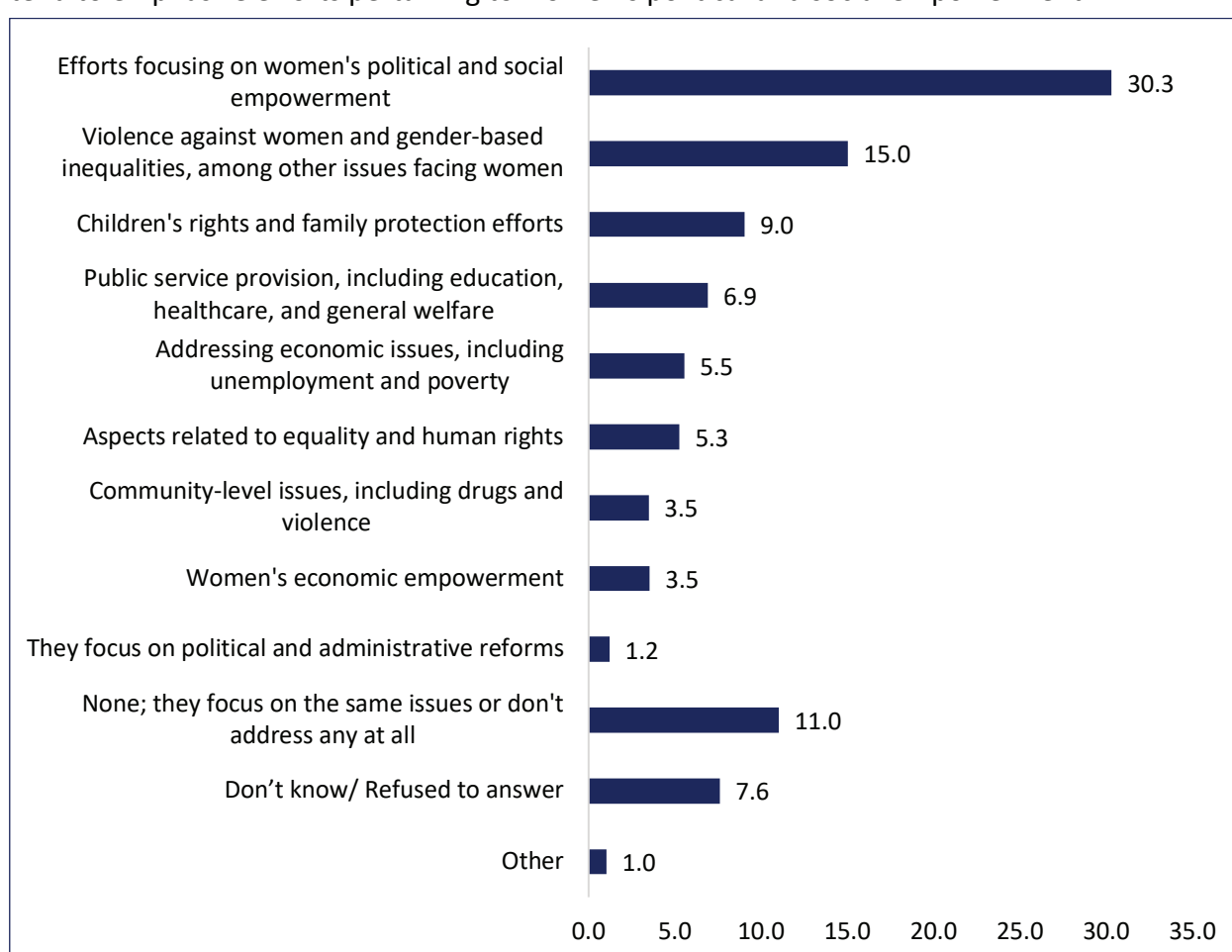
Figure 32: What issues do women political leaders tend to focus on that men do not address?

This was followed by 15% who indicated "violence against women and gender-based inequalities, among other issues facing women" and 9% who emphasized "children's rights and family protection efforts". The results show that women are perceived, on average, to be more concerned with societal, local-level community challenges.

Women political leaders weighed in on this matter, affirming that they indeed are expected to focus primarily on social issues as illustrated by nearly 82% of the leaders surveyed. Around 79%

also indicated that they are expected to focus mainly on service provision issues, slightly ahead of women issues, indicated by 77.4% of the sample. Less than two-thirds of women leaders indicated they are expected to focus primary on security policy and slightly over half of them said the same for foreign policy, two traditionally male-dominated portfolios.
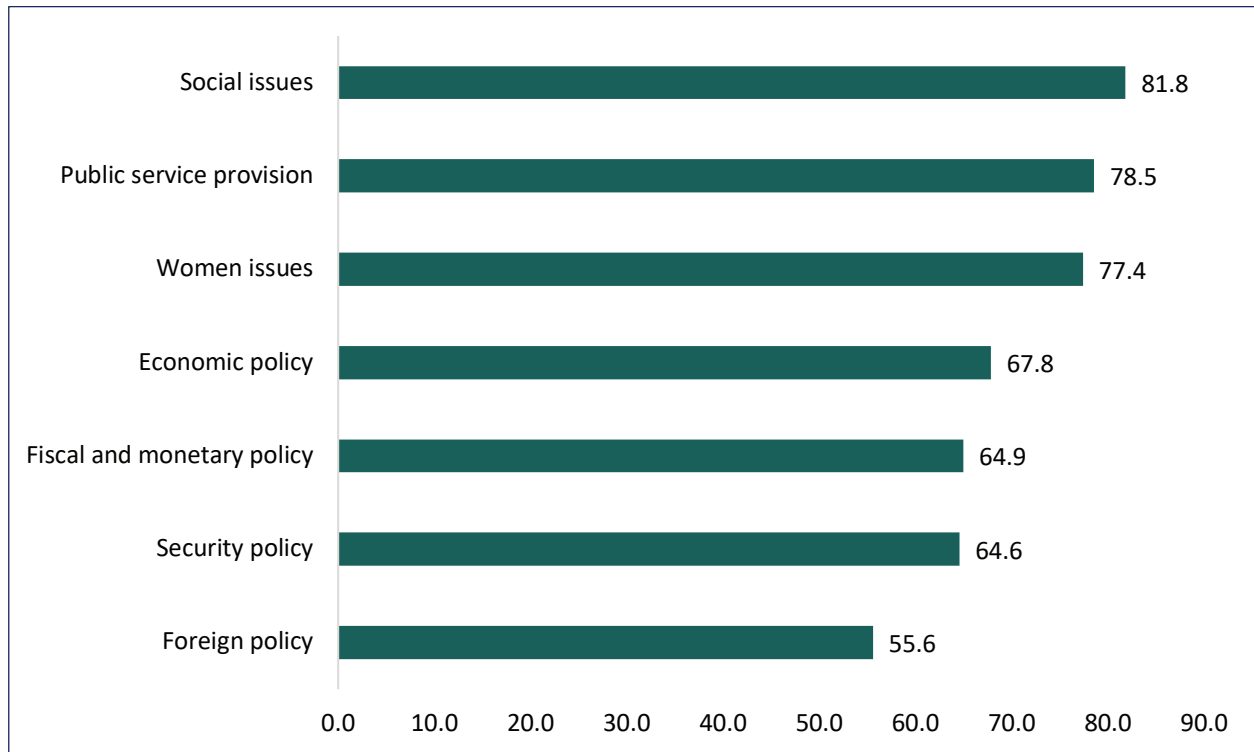

Figure 33: To what extent do you feel that women politicians are expected to focus primarily on "………"?

4.5 In Practice: Women as Representers of Jordanians

Despite the tremendous progress made since the 2020 parliamentary elections, particularly in the context of political modernization, the survey shows limited change in Jordanians' satisfaction with the current representativeness of women in political life in Jordan. In fact, while nearly three-quarters of Jordanians were satisfied when asked in January 2021, there is a near-4.2-percentage-point decrease

Figure 34: In general, to what extent are you satisfied with the current representativeness of women in the political life?

when asked in November 2024, with 13.8% now not at all satisfied, up from 7.8%. These results could also be viewed positively, as they could entail support among Jordanians for even more modernization efforts to enhance women's political representation beyond the achievements made so far.
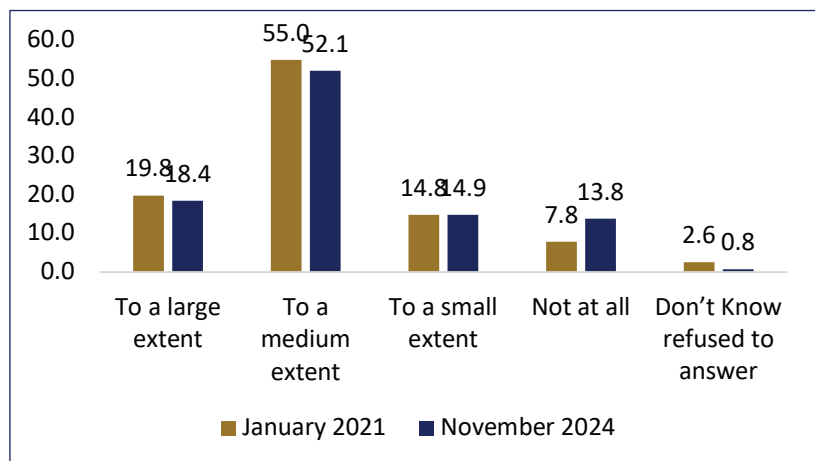
When it comes to on-the-ground, real-life, tangible sense of representation by women, the survey finds mixed responses. When asked to indicate the extent to which Jordanians feel represented by current women politicians, nearly 44.5% of Jordanians indicated to a large or medium extent, whereas 35.2% Jordanians do not at all feel represented by women political leaders. This could be read in a multitude of ways, but since Jordanians do see the value in women's political participation, as illustrated earlier, reasons pertaining gender-based stereotypes would not be expected to feature.

However, when asked why they do not feel represented by current women politicians, nearly 59% of those who do not at all feel represented by women (approximately 31% of Jordanians) provided gender-based stereotypes. Specifically, 19.3% of those asserted that "women do not belong in politics; they are ineffective as political leaders" along with 18.5% who believe that women cannot represent men because of differences in needs, 17.2% stated "women are emotional, weak, and are not competent to lead such positions, and 3.8% added that "politics is for men; they are stronger and more competent as leaders". Even when analyzed in terms of the gender of the respondents, it was observed that a plurality of Jordanian women see that women politicians are inaccessible and unapproachable; they do not engage directly with people on the issues they are concerned about, while Jordanian men tended to emphasize aspects pertaining to gender-based discrimination.
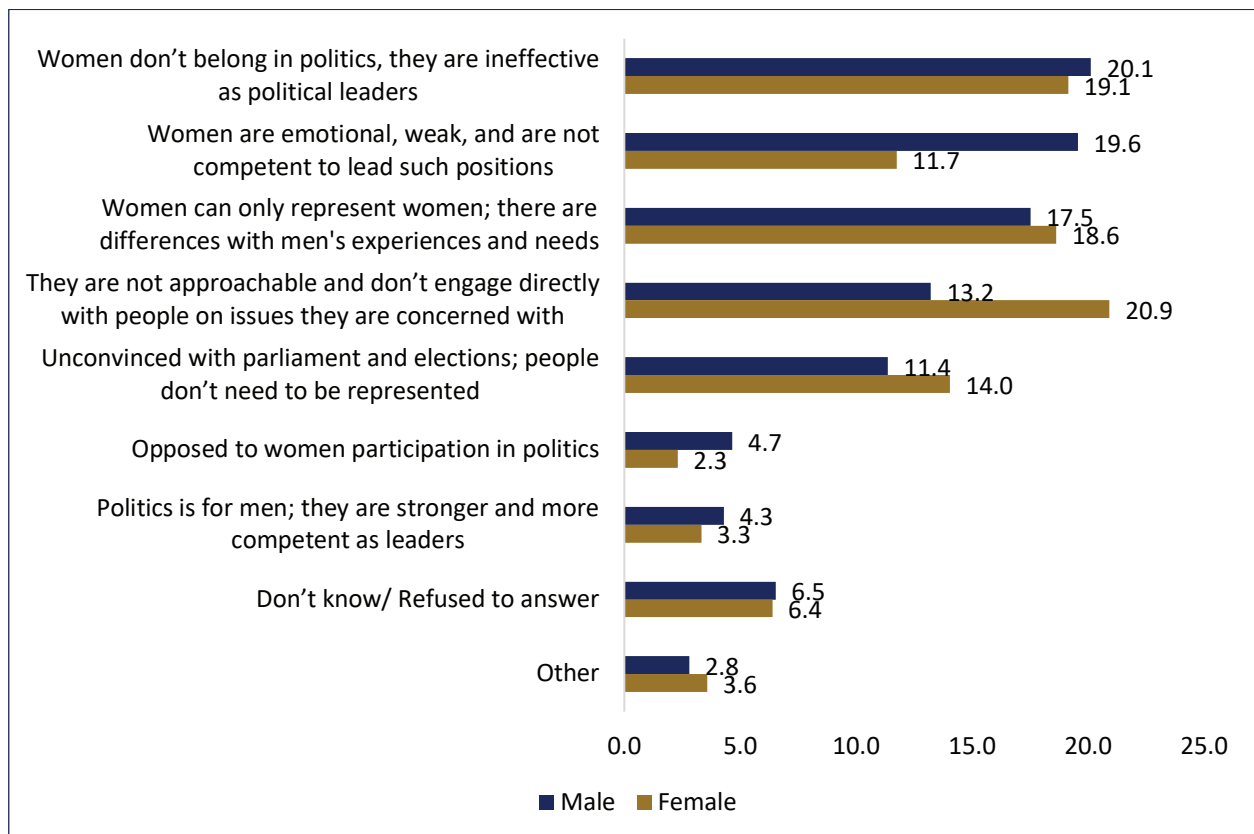

Figure 35: Why do you not feel represented by current women politicians? (n=959)

Conversely, most of the 42.6% of Jordanians who do feel represented by women politicians provided outcome-related reasons as to why they feel represented by women politicians. In fact, 22% of them indicated that women are "competent, reliable, and courageous", followed by

20.1% who stated that "women address women and youth issues", 15% who indicated that women "tackle issues of concern to society, including socioeconomic issues and service provision", 9.4% attributed that women "are a major part of society, can be great leaders, and should be empowered", and 7.7% highlighted that "women can relay people's concerns very well". While about a third of men tended to say that women are competent, reliable, and courageous enough, the majority of women said they feel that current female politicians represent them because they address issues related to women and youth. This was also the case for the majority of respondents aged 18 to 35, while respondents in older age groups tended to talk about reasons related to the personality and characteristics of the female leader.
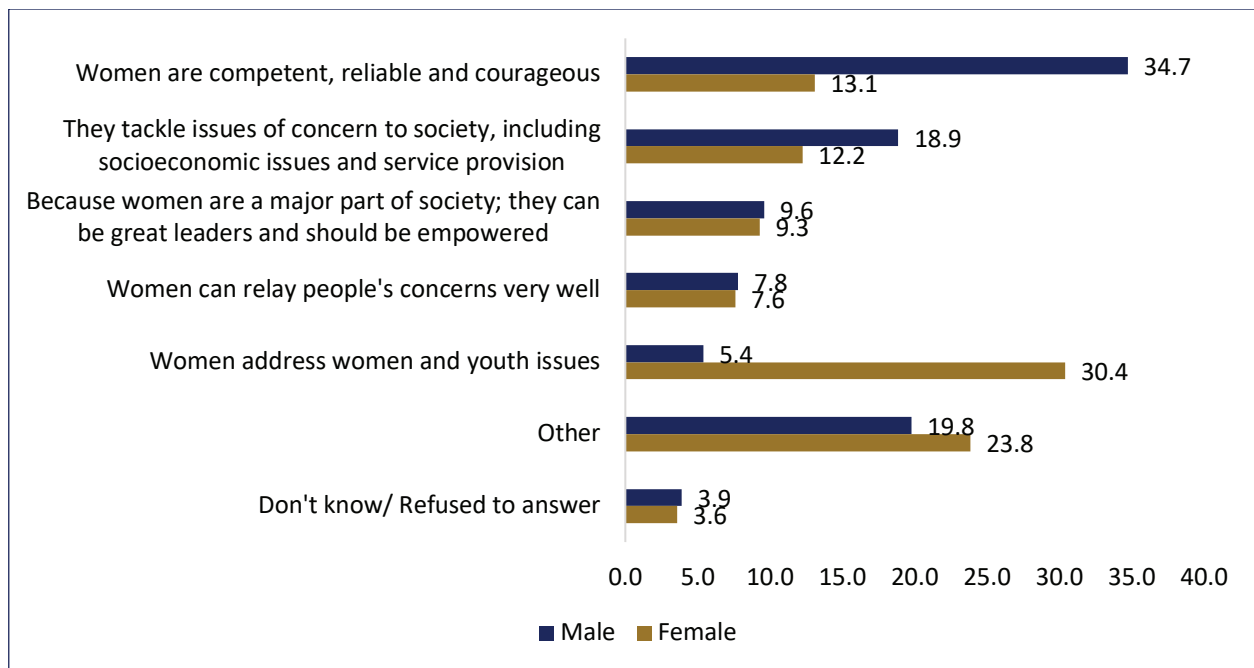
Figure 36: Why do you feel represented by current women politicians? (N=774)

4.6   Challenges and Barriers Hindering Women's Political Participation

To understand the challenges women face in pursuing political careers, the survey explored a number of potential challenges to understand where efforts should be prioritized toward facilitating improved and easier access for more women to pursue roles in political life. The results show that among the women leaders' sample, 91.4% pointed to lack access to financial means to cover campaign expenses as the most significant barrier, a sentiment echoed by 73.4% of Jordanians. For the national sample, 74.2% indicated, as the single most important barrier inhibiting women's political participation, that male family members, including husbands would not allow them to pursue such careers.

Further, familial obligations were also prominent, noted by 71.7% of the national sample and 64.4% of women political leaders. Societal rejection of women's leadership was acknowledged by 66.8% of the national sample and 69.2% of women political leaders, while harassment, including online abuse, was a barrier for 62.2% of the national sample and 55.9% of women political leaders. Additionally, 56.5% of the national sample and 62.8% of women political leaders reported struggling to compete with male candidates. The lack of qualifications and

competencies was seen as a challenge by 66.8% of the national sample and 62.8% of women leaders, as was the stereotyping of women's inability to leverage connections for political favors.
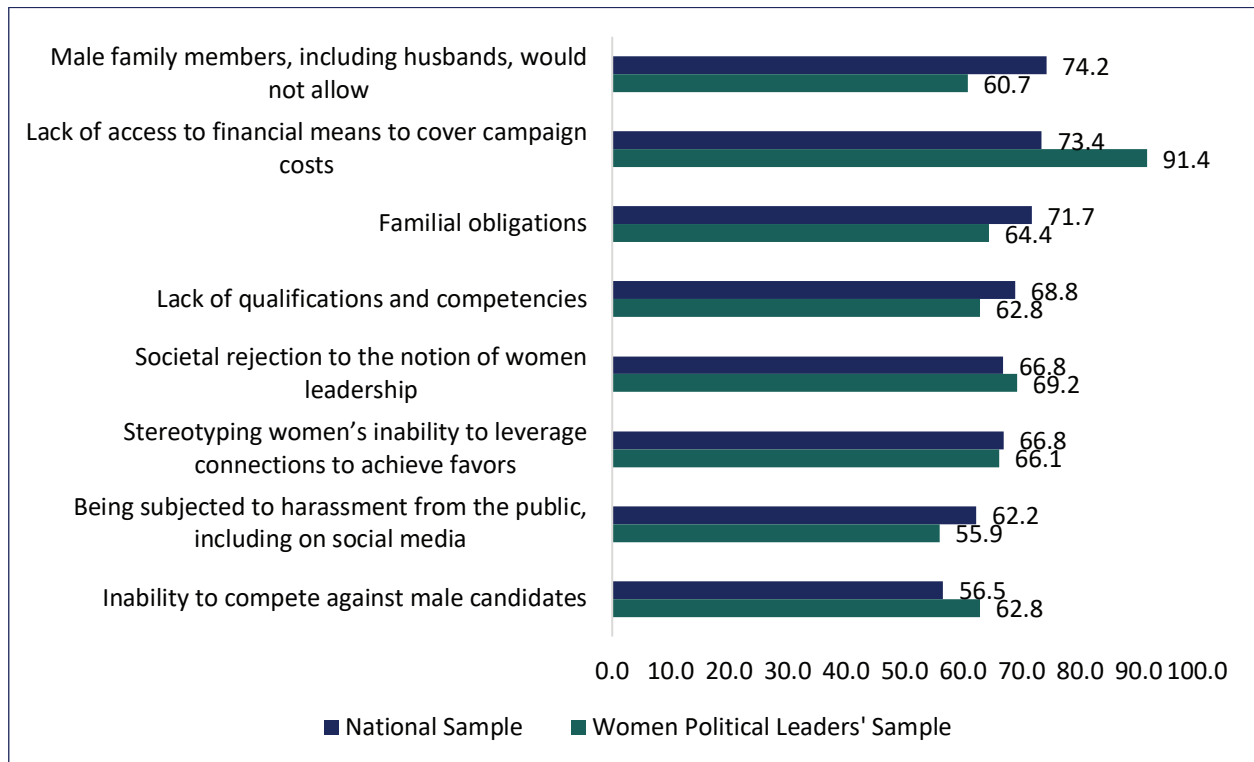

Figure 37: To what extent does "………" constitute a barrier that inhibit women's political participation?

restrictions imposed by male family members, including husbands, were highlighted by 74.4% and 60.7%, respectively.

Interestingly, female respondents perceive structural and socio-cultural barriers more than men do, as 77.1% of women stated that being denied by male family members was a barrier that inhibit women's political participation, with nearly 77% also pointed to the lack of financial resources to cover campaign costs and 74% referred to family obligations.
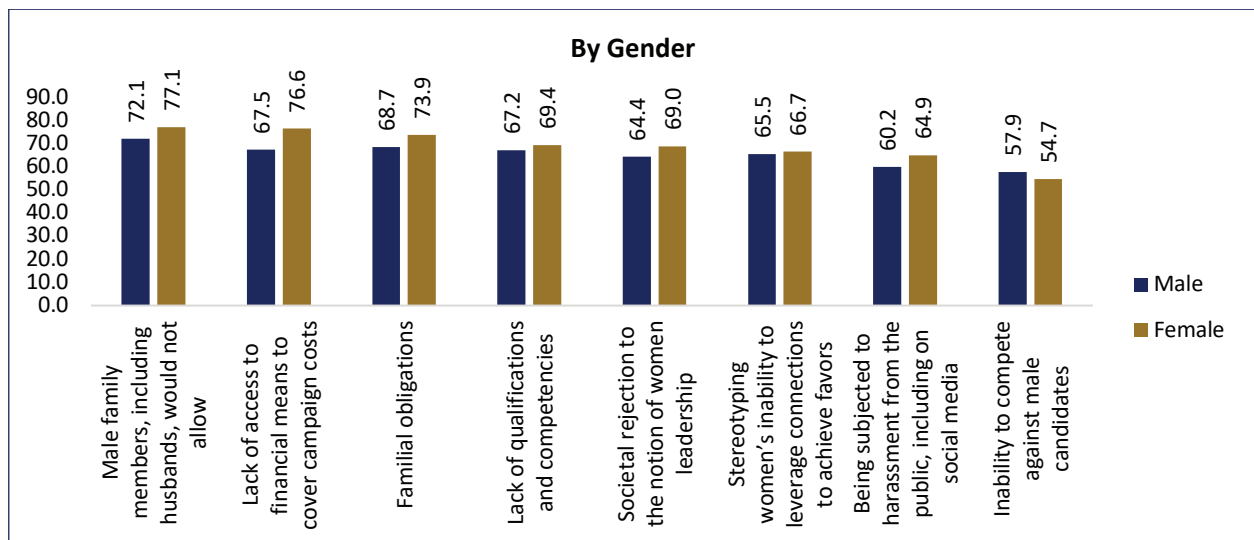
Figure 38: To what extent does "………" constitute a barrier that inhibit women's political participation?

5. WOMEN AND THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

5.1 Jordanians' Assessment of the 2024 Parliamentary Elections

The survey delved into Jordanians' perceptions of the 2024 Parliamentary Elections, held on September 10, especially considering it was the first national-level event since the recent modernization efforts came into effect. For the most part, around 55.6% of Jordanians reported fully or somewhat satisfied with the elections, while 12% were somewhat dissatisfied and 29.8% were fully dissatisfied. Accordingly, a clear polarization is drawn with a notable split between satisfaction and dissatisfaction, with a slight leaning towards satisfaction, which is a sentiment that rarely featured in previous surveys.

This is explained by a remarkable increase in the percent of Jordanians who believe the elections accurately reflect the will of Jordanians. In fact, in comparison to the previous survey conducted in January 2021, the percentage of Jordanians who believe the elections fully reflect the will of the Jordanian people nearly doubled, jumping from 10% to 19.9%, coupled with an increase among those who stated the elections reflect Jordanians' will to some extent, leveling at 38.5% – up from 25.9%.
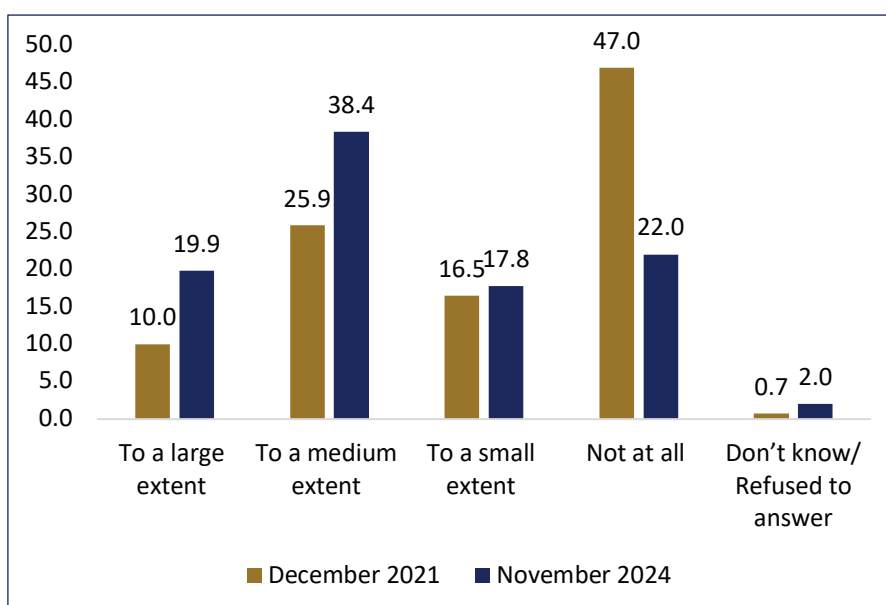

Figure 39: To what extent do you believe that the recent elections accurately reflect the will of the Jordanian people?

Another important factor that can explain the increase in positive attitude between the two waves is explained directly through the revamped process itself. The centrality and coherence with which the elections were managed by the IEC, including overseeing the process of political parties correcting their situations and rearranging their structures, can be seen clearly as a driver, especially with a decrease in the share of Jordanians who reported any normatively negative views of the electoral process itself.

The two-vote ballot system provided Jordanians with more opportunities to enhance their representation. The survey reveals that nearly 64.6% of Jordanians were able to distinguish between the national and local lists, which was initially a concern that regulators were worried it would reflect negatively on the process. Fortunately, the results paint a positive outcome, with just 4.9% reporting unable at all to distinguish between the two lists.
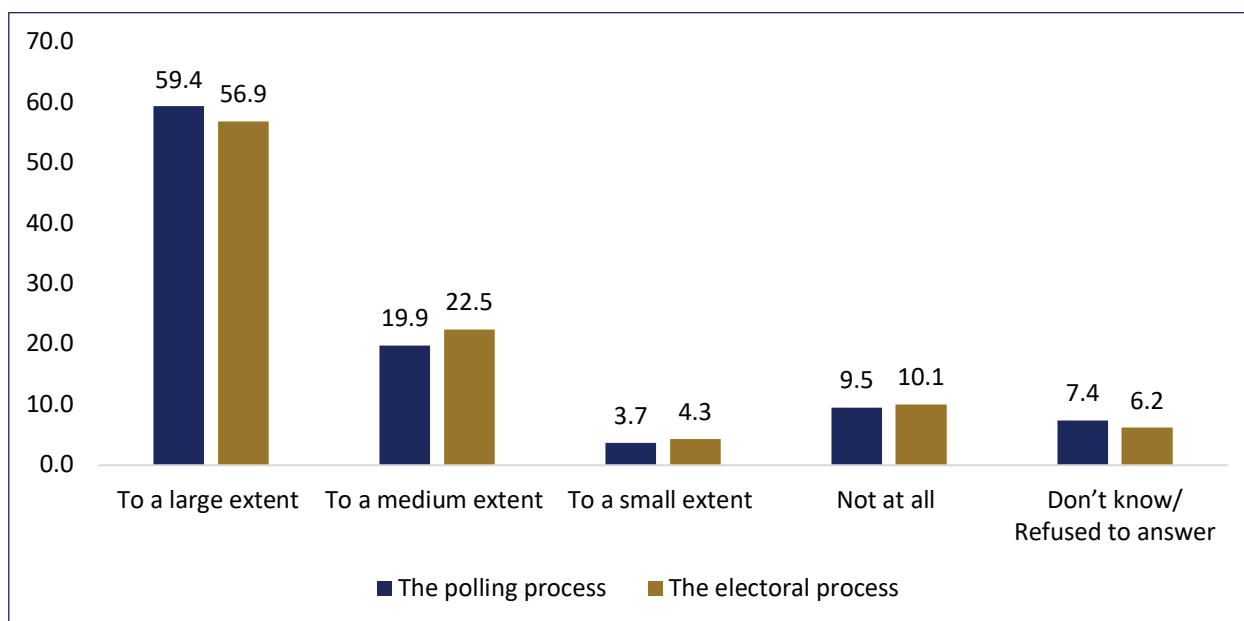
Figure 40: To what extent did you find the "........." clear and easy for you to understand?

The positive sentiments could also be attributed to Jordanians perceiving, for the most part, high level of clarity in terms of the polling and electoral processes, with 59.4% and 56.9%, respectively, indicated they were – to a large extent – clear and easy for them to understand, as only 9.5% and 10.1%, respectively, did not at all find them understandable, reflecting a near 6 to 1 ratio.

It is worth noting that respondents from the central governorate reported lower levels in terms of the clarity of the voting and electoral processes compared to respondents from the northern and central governorates, as illustrated in the figure below. This calls for enhanced guidance and awareness efforts in the upcoming elections, particularly when considering the disparity in voter numbers across different regions.
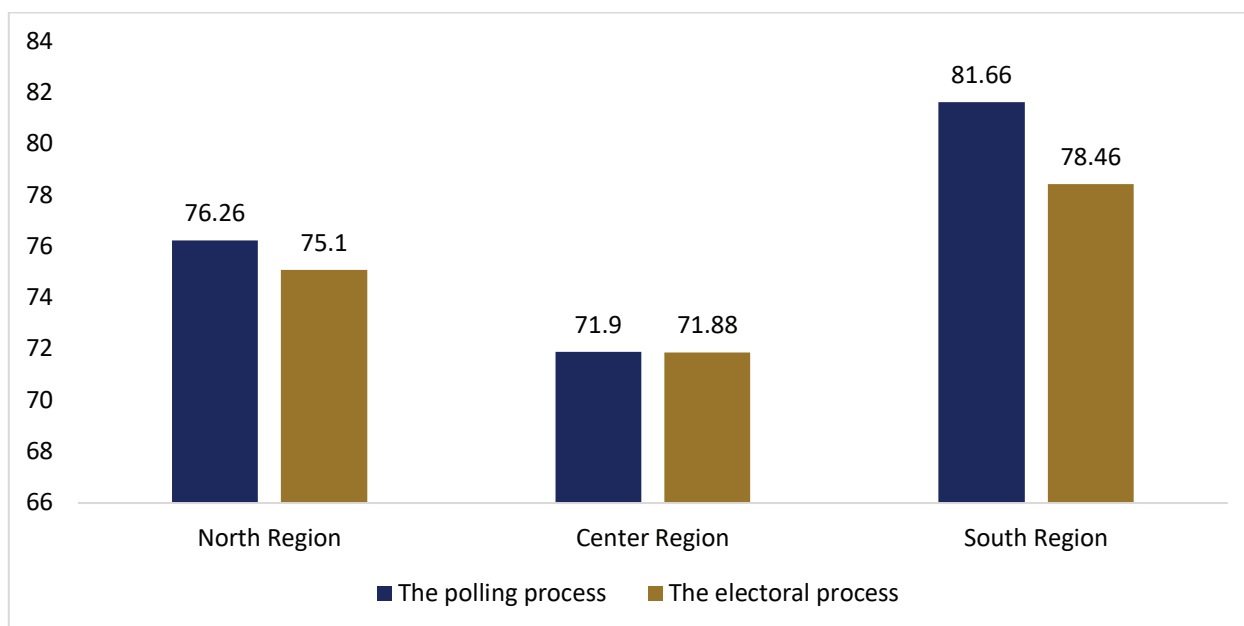

Figure 41: To what extent did you find the "........." clear and easy for you to understand?

5.2   Jordanians' Level of Participation in the 2024 Parliamentary Elections

The IEC announced a 32.25% voter turnout rate, up from the 29.9% recorded in the 2020 elections. Looking specifically at respondents' voting behavior, the survey finds that 43.5% of Jordanians indicated they voted, with nearly 9.6% of Jordanians voted only in the local list and never used their second vote to elect a political party in the national list, as 46.2% did not vote.
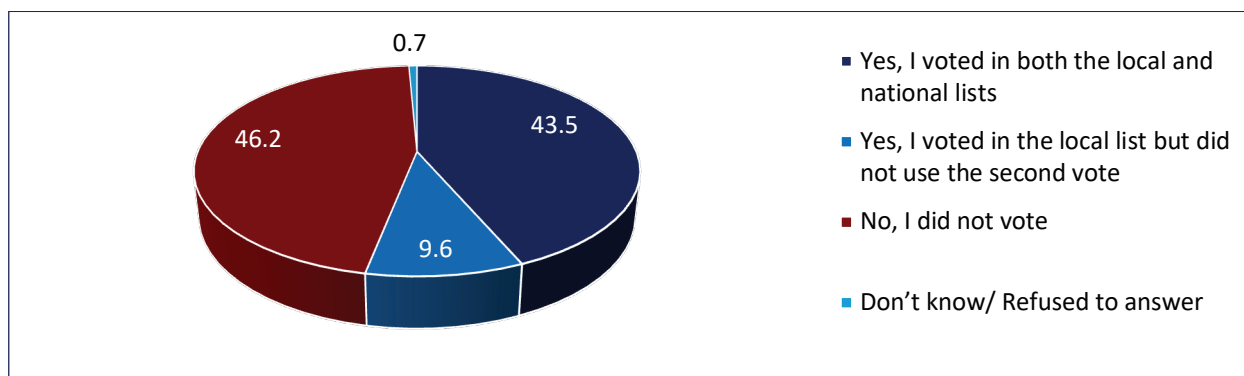

Figure 42: Have you voted for the parliamentary elections held on September 10?

Among those who voted, 28.7% were driven by tribal or familial ties, coupled with 11% who stated they voted because the candidate is from their area. At face value, it would appear as there were not any changes in which drivers mobilize people to vote; however, a combined 35.4% (17.9% and 17.6%) indicated they voted because the candidate helped people was honest and trustworthy. Political platforms account for almost 6.7%, showing limited voter focus on policy agendas. This analysis suggests that in these elections, personal ties and character perceptions were far more influential than political platforms or party strategies.
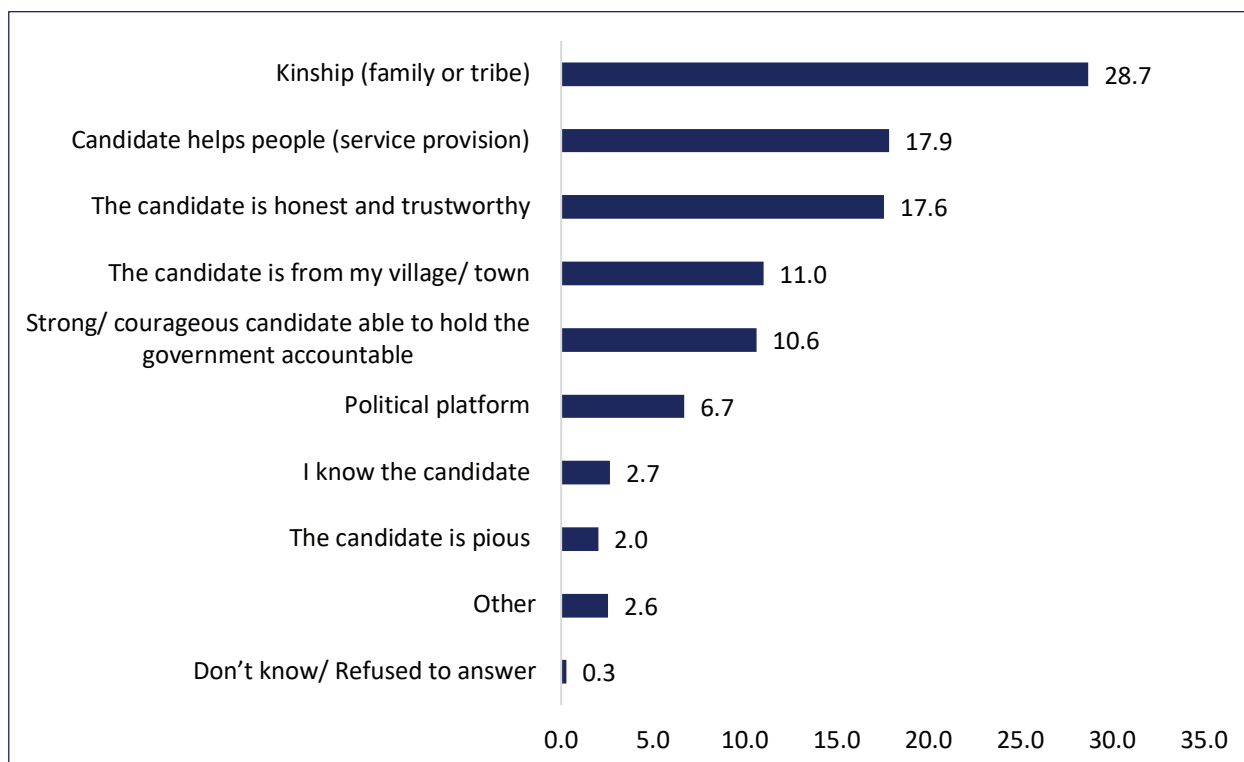

Figure 43: What was the main reason behind your vote?

When asked why they did not vote, prevalence of "worthy" candidates topped the list, with about 23.5% of Jordanians who did not vote, up from 19.5% when compared to the January 2021 poll. Strikingly, there is a disconcerting increase in the percent of nonvoters who attributed their decision to their lack of conviction in elections, leveling at 20.6%, compared to only 2.2% when asked in January 2021. This is coupled with around 9.3% who stated their votes would not have any impact, also up from only 2% when asked in January 2021.
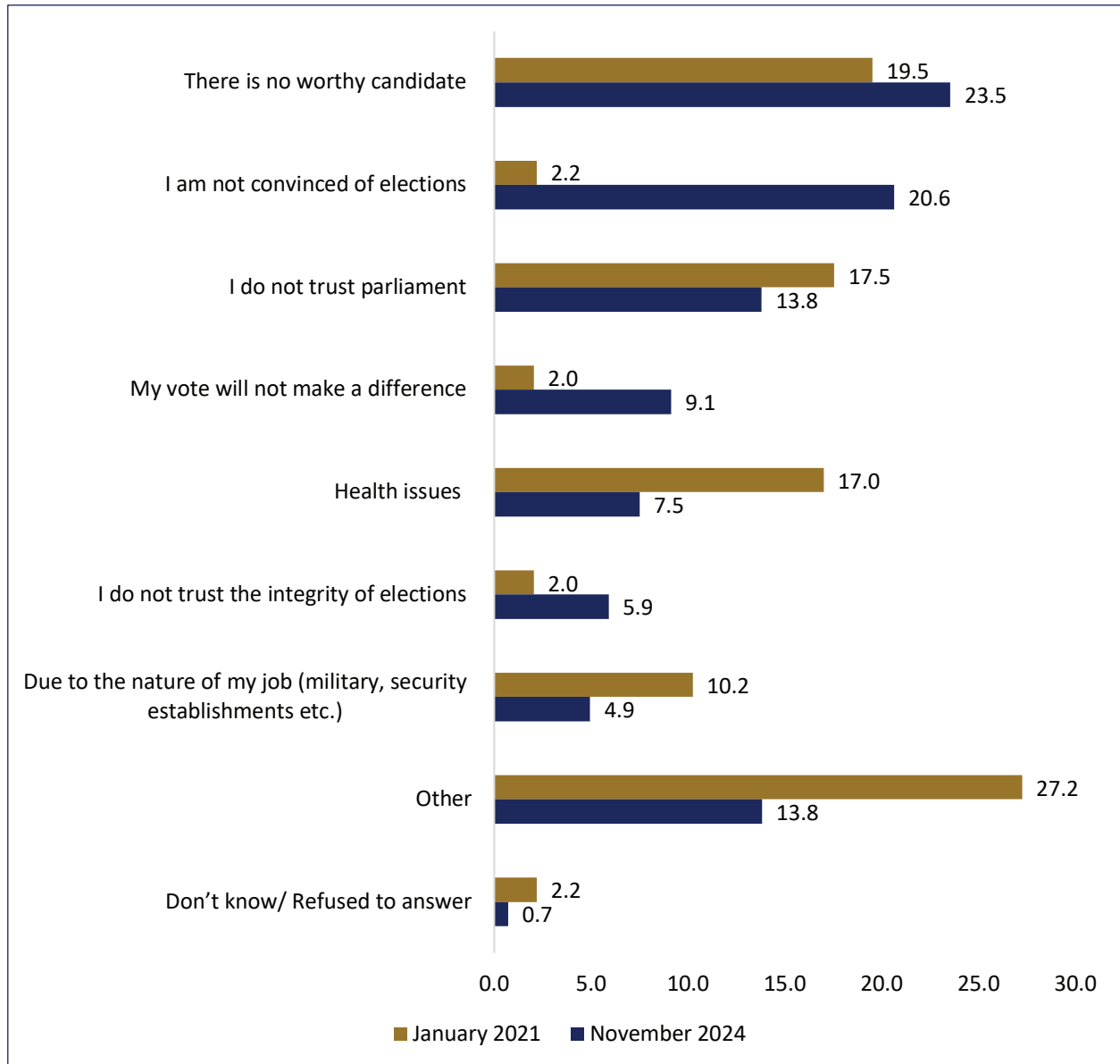
Figure 44: Why did you not vote?

The extent to which Jordanians feel pressured when it comes to voting saw limited changes between the two waves. There was merely a 0.3-percentage-point increase among those who indicated someone had influenced their decision to vote or not vote, increasing from 5.3% in January 2021 to 6% in November 2024. Among those, 33.3% indicated that their spouses were those who influenced their decisions, followed by 18.3 who pointed to their friends, 17.9% for their other relatives such as uncles and cousins, and 17.3% to their fathers.

5.3 Jordanians' Attitudes toward Voting for Women: Between Perceptions and Reality

When it comes to voting for women, the survey reveals a significant increase among Jordanians who indicated they indeed have voted for a woman in the 2024 parliamentary elections, 60.5%, up from 38.1% when asked in January 2021 about the 2020 elections.

As indicated earlier, women won 27 seats in Parliament, up from 15. One of the prevalent discussions pertaining to this increase is the notion that the two-vote ballot removing the sense of competition, providing Jordanians with a relaxed sense that they can vote for women without perceiving such an action from the perspective of a "zero-sum, winner-takes-all". Women political leaders support these findings, as over 87% of leaders surveyed indicated that the increase in the number of women in parliament is attributed directly to the two-vote ballot system. Further, nearly 77% of women leaders also affirmed that the two-vote ballot system increased women's chances to win seats in parliament because it removed the sense of competition with male candidates.
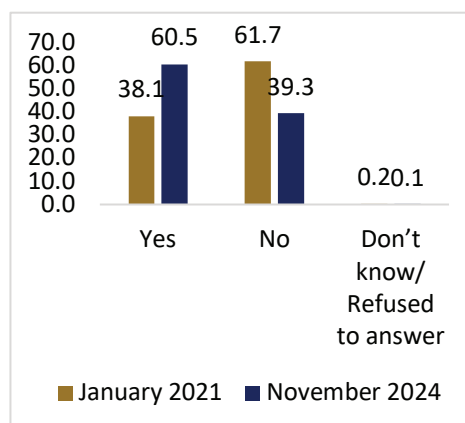
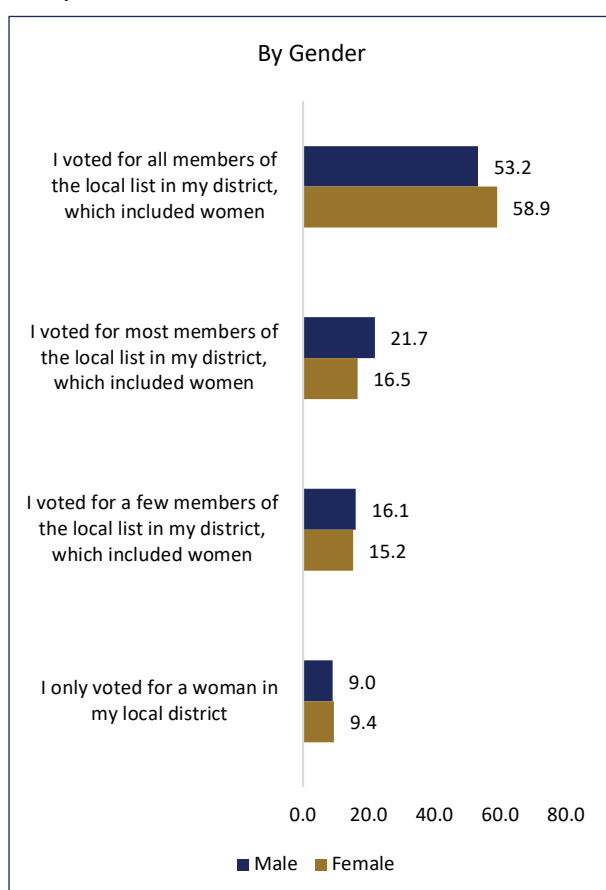*Figure 45: Did you vote for a woman in the parliamentary elections?*

Figure 46: If yes, which of the following is closest to your situation? [n=555 (those who indicated they voted for a woman in the elections)]
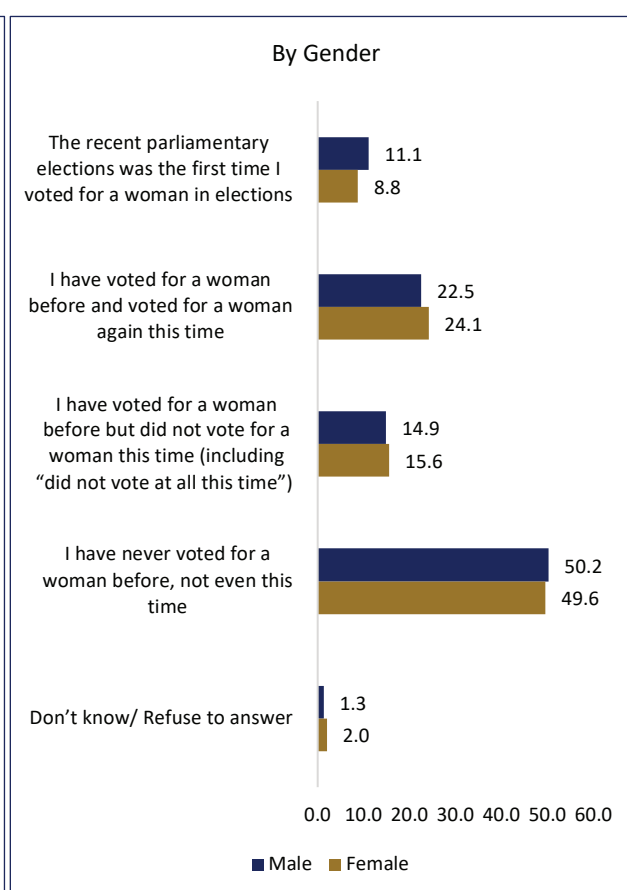
Figure 47: Which of the following statements is closest to your situation regarding voting for a woman in previous elections?

Likewise, 56% of those who voted for women said they voted for all members of the list in their district, which included women, followed by 19.2% who voted for most members of the list, which also included women, with 15.6% indicating they voted for some members of the list, which included women, as 9.2% only voted for women. Moreover, it seems that the modernization effort contributed directly to encouraging 10% of Jordanians to vote for women and contributed to maintaining 23.3% of Jordanians who had also voted for women before. However, more than 49.8% of Jordanians stated they have never voted for a woman before, and that includes the 2024 elections. On top of that, and perhaps most explicitly, nearly 35% of those who voted for women in elections attributed their reasons to the two-ballot system, quota, and political parties that generally expanded voter options.
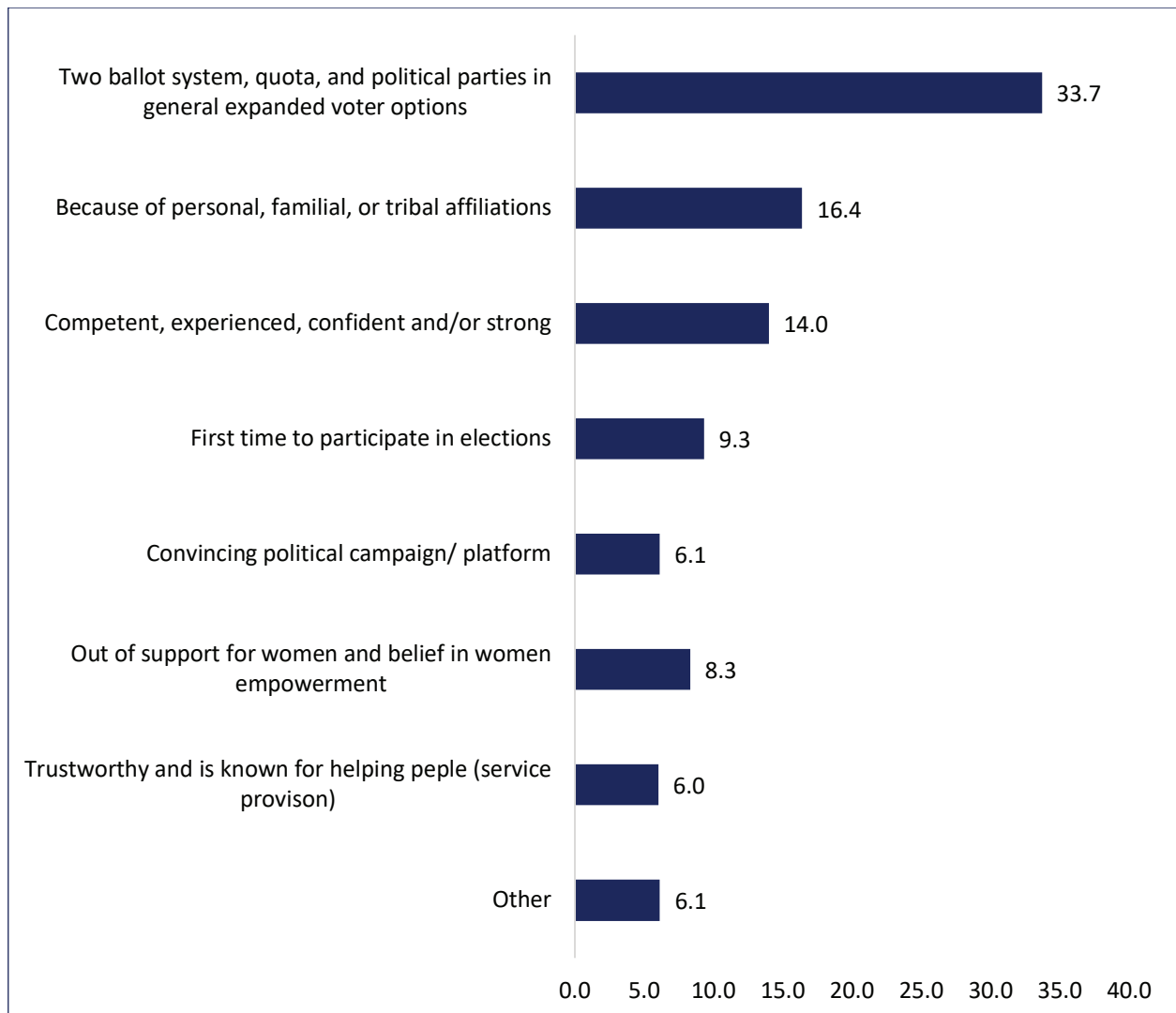

Figure 48: What was the main reason for that? [n=191]

On the other hand, among those who did not vote for a woman, 36.1% reasoned that "there were not any worthy women candidates on the list" or that they were unaware of or unfamiliar with women candidates. This was followed by 23.2% who indicated they did not very much trust parliament and were uninterested and unconvinced with participating in elections. Around 17.4% affirmed they were opposed to women in politics, perceiving men as more competent.
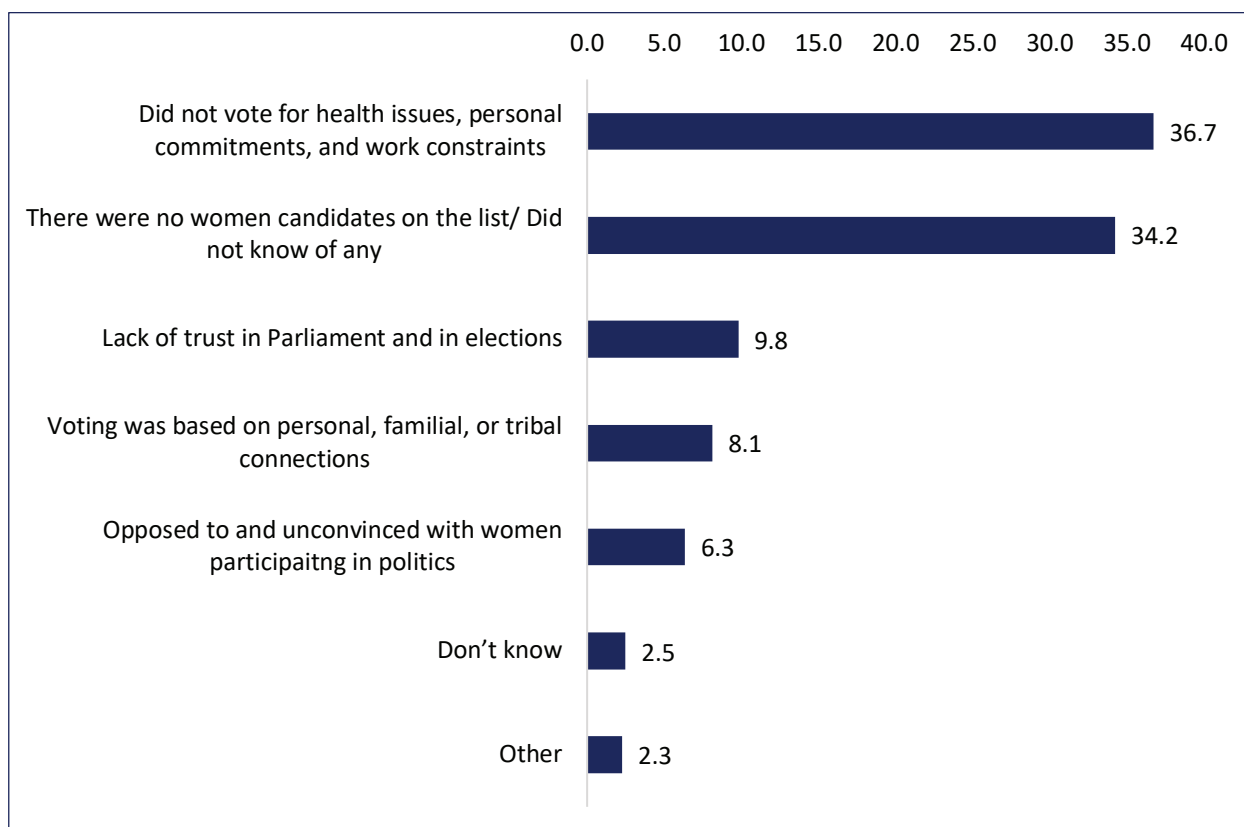
Figure 49: Why not? [n=954]

Finally, Jordanians were asked whether they would vote for a woman in various contexts. The results show that 75.3% of Jordanians would vote for a woman who has previously served as a local councilor, and 74.4% of would vote for women from civil society organizations. Further, 73.4% would vote for a woman who is more qualified but is running against a male family/tribe member. Even if a woman is running as part of a certain political party, a traditionally driver of reduced support, 61.3% of Jordanians would vote for a woman, nonetheless.
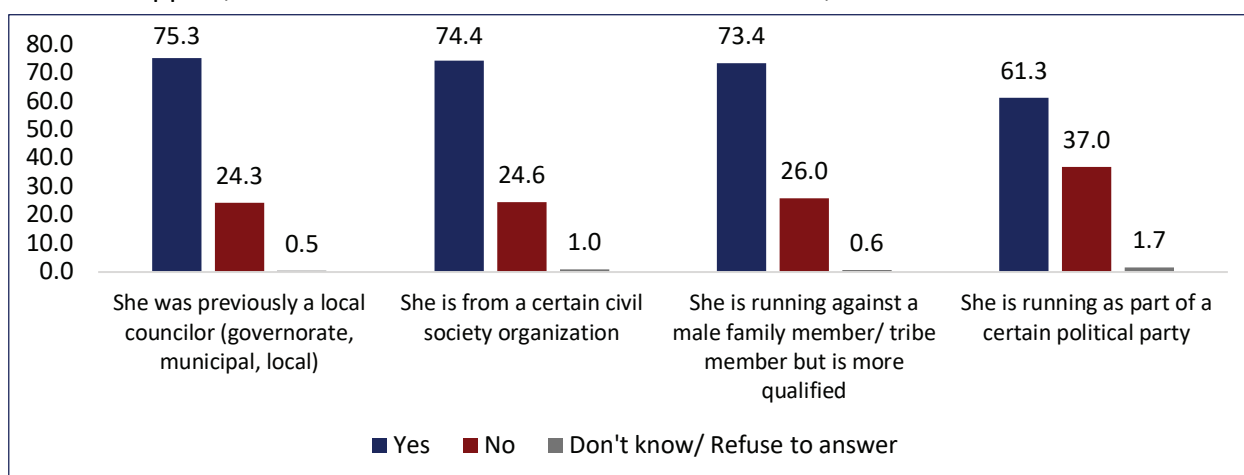

Figure 50: Would you consider voting for a woman if "………"?

Overall, 82.2% of women political leaders saw that, in comparison to the 2020 elections, women had a greater opportunity to succeed in the 2024 elections.

5.4   Jordanians and Women-Empowering Modernization Efforts

Looking at the implications of increased representation of women in Parliament, the survey asked both samples to indicate the extent to which it would reflect positively on a variety of aspects.
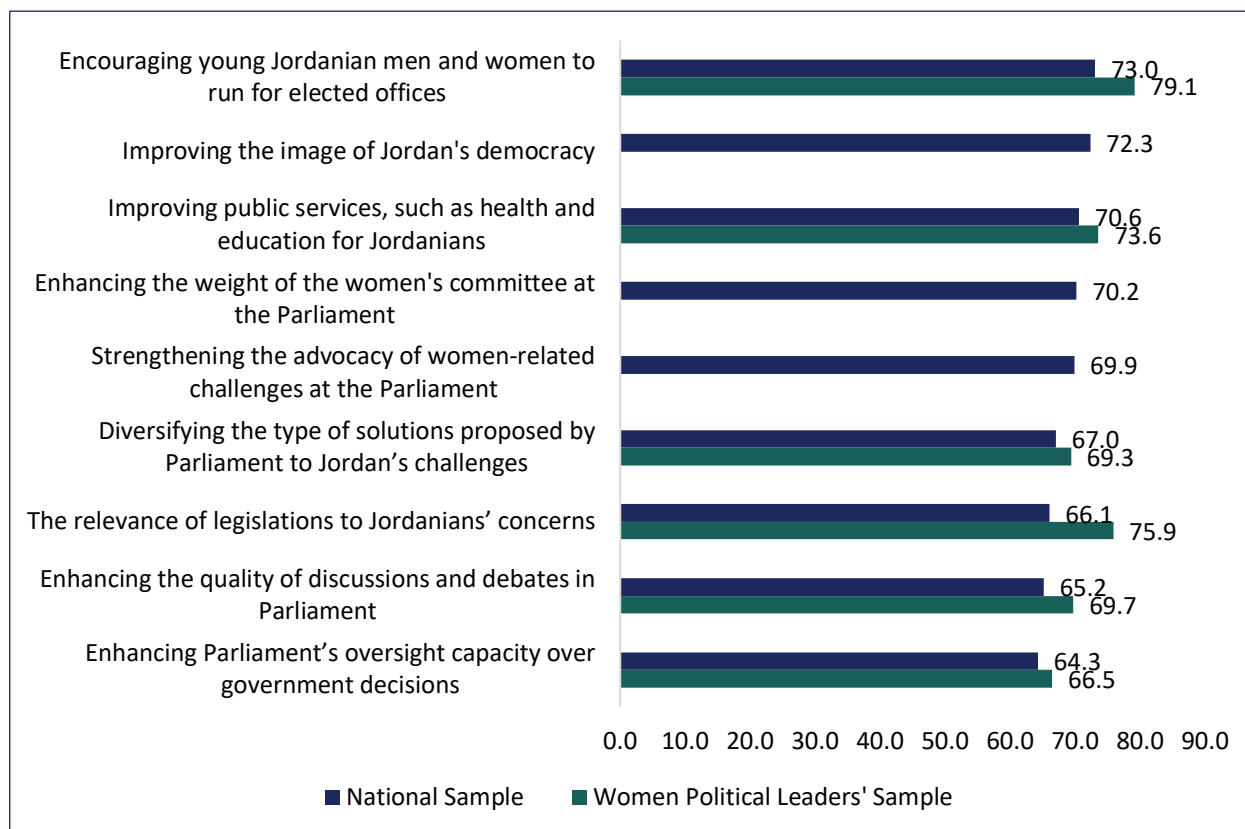

Figure 51: The elections resulted in 27 women MPs, compared to 18 in the previous Parliament. To what extent is this increase will be positive in terms of "………"?

The results show that nearly 73% of Jordanians believe the increase in the number of women MPs would reflect positively on encouraging more Jordanians to run for elected offices, especially young men and women, a perception echoed by 79.1% of the women leaders surveyed. Further, 72.3% of Jordanians also indicated that this increases would reflect positively on the image of Jordan's democracy, as nearly 70.6% stated it would improve public service provision, with 73.6% of women political leaders surveyed agreeing. Among the women leaders' sample, nearly 76% believe the increase would improve the relevance of legislation to Jordanians' concerns, to which about two-thirds of Jordanians agreed.

As illustrated earlier, the increase in the number of women MPs can be attributed to the political modernization efforts. When asked about the extent to which they support these efforts, 73.8% of Jordanians indicated they fully or somewhat support these efforts, compared to 95% among women leaders. Among the 73.8% of Jordanians who asserted their support to these reforms, 24.7% attributed their support to the reforms "supporting women empowerment; they should be given their rightful place in politics", followed by 22.9% who indicated that women are "highly capable of addressing people's needs and can achieve positive results", with 14% celebrating the modernization's positive effects on increasing diversity in decision-making, which they see as key in addressing Jordanians' concerns.
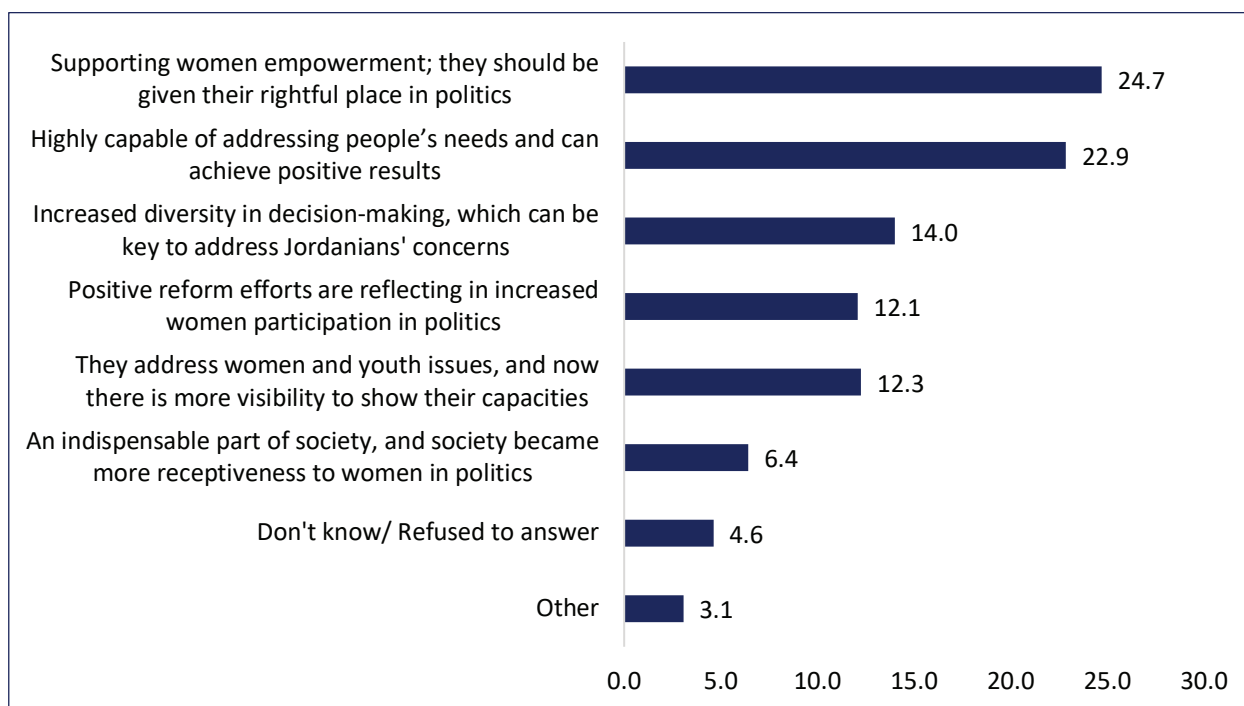
Figure 52: Why do you support these reforms?

On the other hand, among the 22.4% of Jordanians who oppose these reforms, 27.3% stated "women are less competent, less experienced, and are controlled by their emotions", reflecting deeply rooted stereotypes and gender biases among some Jordanians. This was followed by 21.1% who indicated the increase does not necessarily "equate to improvement; women leaders are ineffective", and 20.3% who "opposed to women roles in politics and gender equality altogether". In comparison to those who support the reforms, the survey finds polarized perspectives, whereby while many see women as empowered and capable, a considerable portion remains resistant due to entrenched gender norms and skepticism.
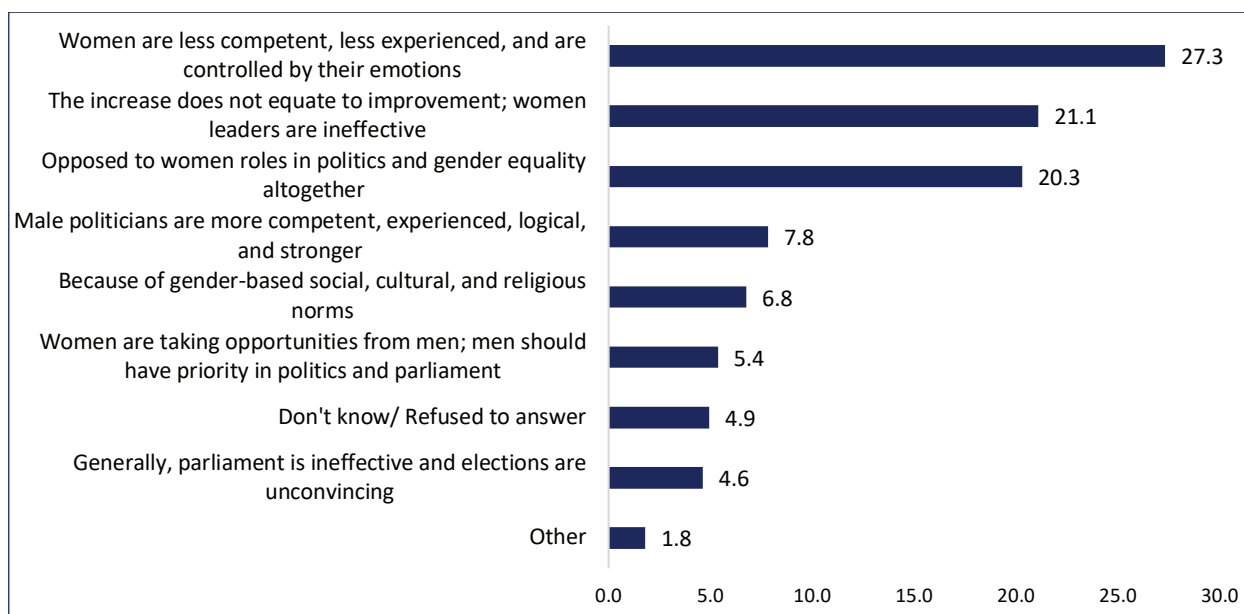

Figure 53: Why do you not support these reforms?

6. STAKEHOLDERS, SUPPORT NETWORKS, AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

One of the main factors that would enhance the efficacy of reform processes is if they were to be supported by an improved ecosystem. For that to be materialized, there are a multitude of aspects to address, some of which are deeply rooted socio-cultural, gender-based norms and conceptions. When asked about the biggest challenge they have faced as a woman in politics, 34.5% of the women leaders surveyed pointed to cultural expectations, with 16.7% indicated lack of resources, and 14.4% to gender discrimination.
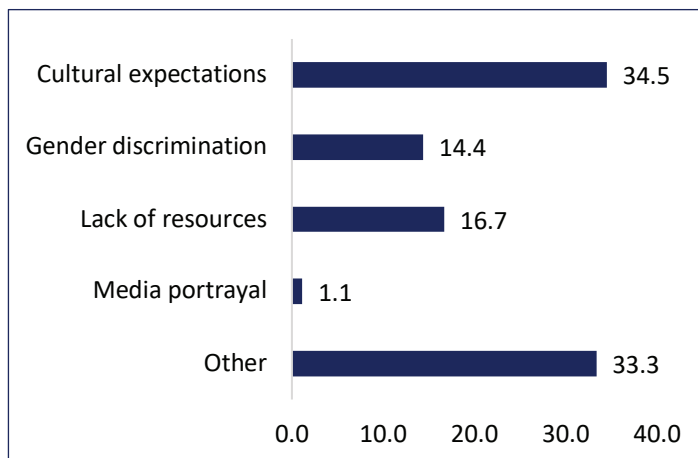

Figure 54: What do you consider to be the biggest challenge you have faced as a woman in politics?

It is worth noting that 42% of women leaders believe the political modernization vision has effectively addressed, to a large extent, barriers to women's involvement in political life, coupled with 44.8% who believe it has to a medium extent. Additionally, 46% of the same sample said the vision has created, to a large extent, a more supportive environment for women political leaders, coupled with 42% who said the same to a medium extent. These results highlight a broad sentiment among women leaders that the political modernization vision has had a positive impact on improving women's involvement and leadership opportunities in politics.
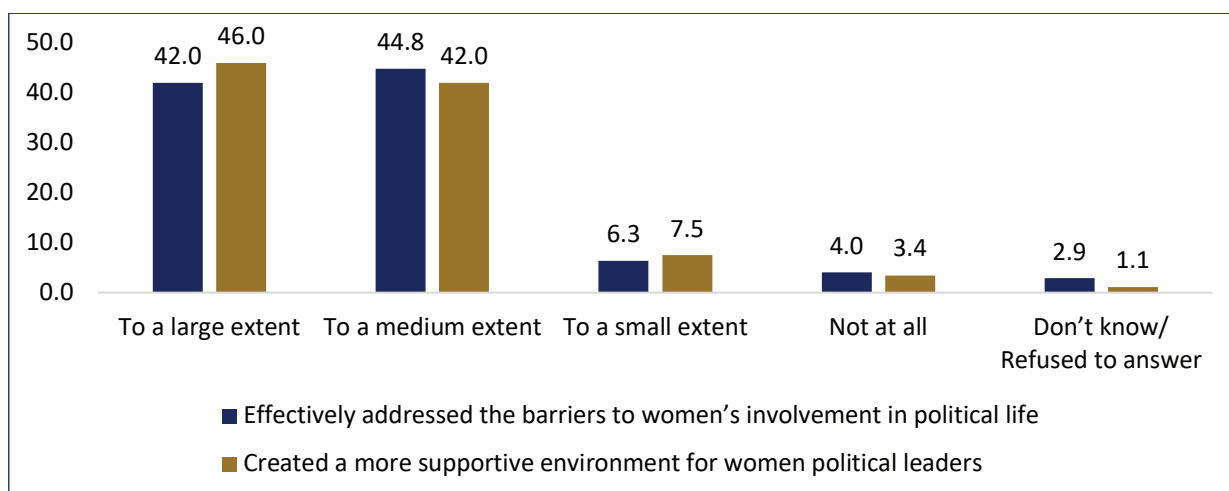

Figure 55: To what extent has the political modernization vision effectively addressed the barriers to women's involvement in political life and created a more supportive environment for women political leaders?

6.1 Lacking Incubating Environment for Women Political Leaderships

When it comes to the various actors who could either enhance or hinder the environment for women's political participation, the survey finds interesting insights. Among Jordanians, 72.5% believe universities provide women politicians with an equal opportunity compared to men to gain public support, as about two-thirds of the women political leaders agreed. Similar results were seen for families and trade and labor unions across both samples, as 67.8% of Jordanians

believe that families provide women with these equal opportunities, compared to 69.3% of the women leaders' sample while 65.6% of Jordanians indicated the same for unions, compared 64.2% of the women political leaders' sample. When it comes to social media and political parties, women political leaders were more likely to view them as fair enablers whereas the general public was on average less likely to agree with the same conviction.
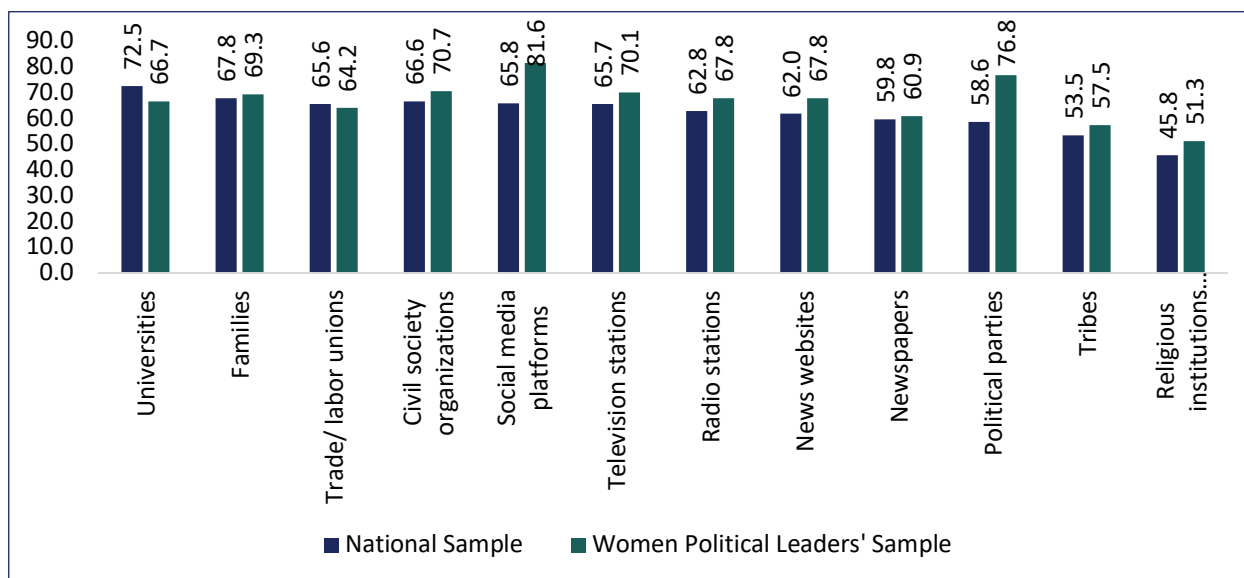

Figure 56: To what extent do you think "………" provide women politicians with an equal opportunity compared to men to gain public support?

6.2 Tenets of Democracy as Supporters of Women

The survey explored perceptions on political parties and the extent to which they provide sufficient opportunities for women to hold leadership positions. The results demonstrate slightly more positivity among the women leaders surveyed, which is understandable considering the nature of the sample. Nonetheless, 41.4% indicated that political parties offer, to a large extent, sufficient opportunities for women to hold leadership positions, coupled with 40.2% who said the same to a medium extent, compared to 16.5% and 55.7%, respectively, among Jordanians.
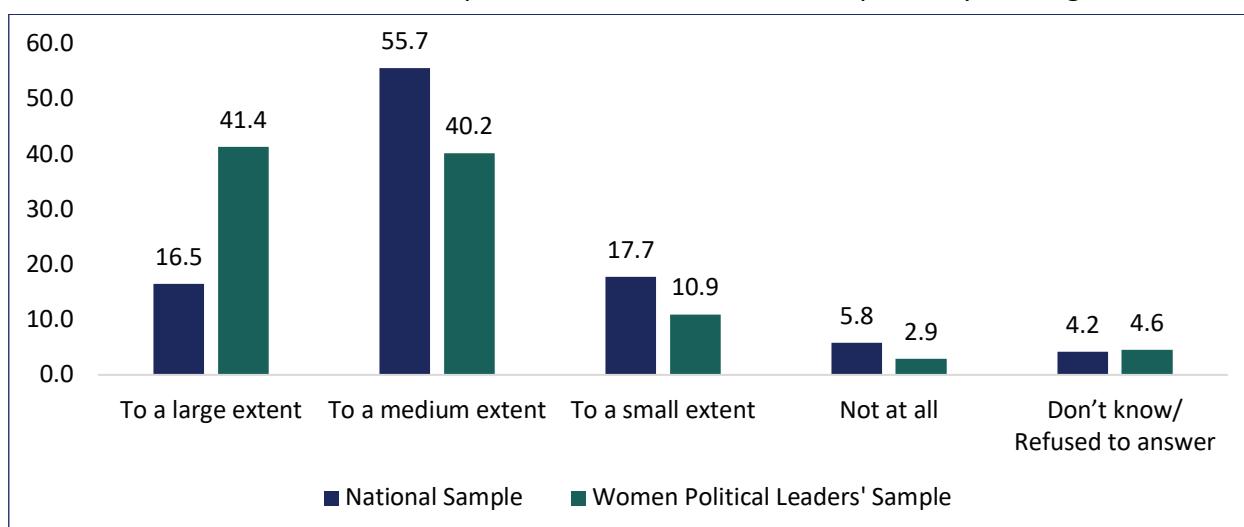

Figure 57: To what extent do political parties offer sufficient opportunities for women to hold leadership positions?

As for civil society organizations (CSOs), the survey gauged respondents' assessments in terms of how successful they have been in supporting women's political participation. The results show that 21.1% of Jordanians believe that CSOs have been very successful, compared to 35.6% of the women political leaders surveyed. Nearly 61.4% of Jordanians believe CSOs have been somewhat successful for this goal, compared to 52% among women leaders.
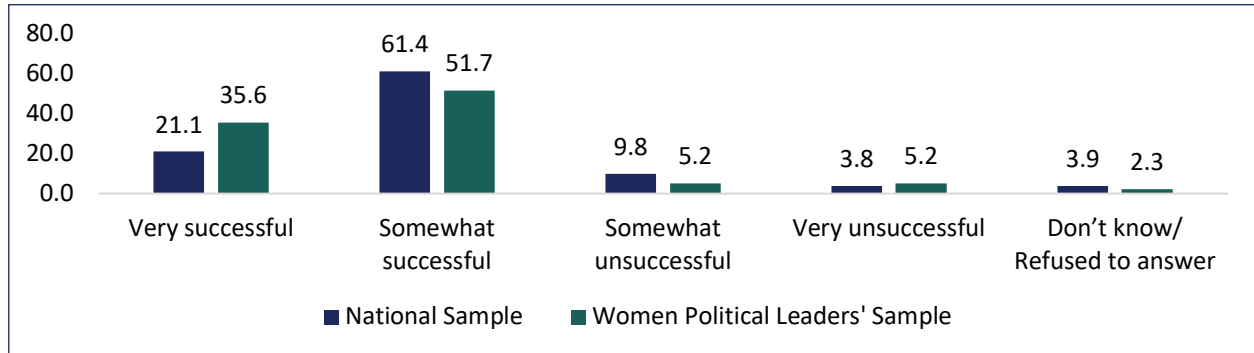

Figure 58: How successful do you think civil society organizations have been in supporting women's political participation?

Additionally, as shown in the figure below, there is an increase in the percentage of Jordanians who assess CSOs as successful in supporting women's political participation. In fact, there is a 27.1-percentage-point increase between the 2021 wave and the 2024 wave.
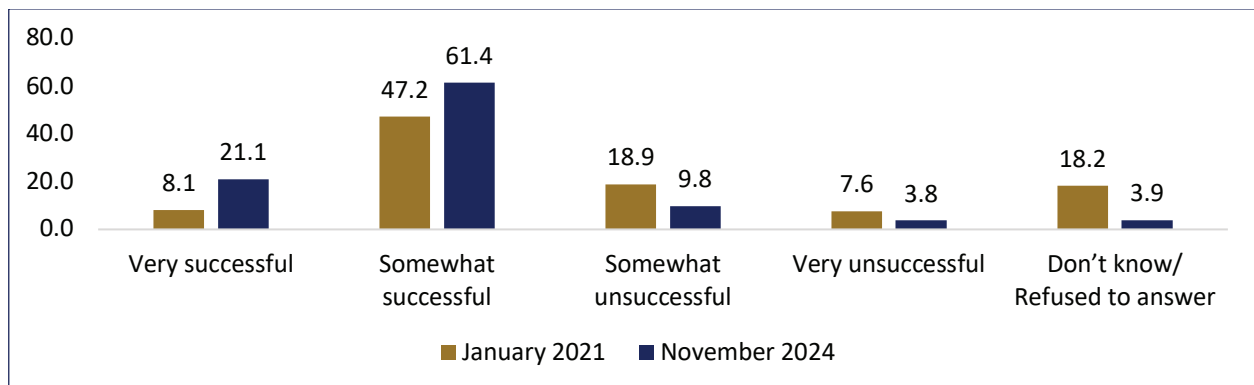

Figure 59: How successful do you think civil society organizations have been in supporting women's political participation?

6.3   Violence Against Women in Politics (VAWP)

One of the main findings from the 2021 wave was the need to address gender-based violence against women in politics. With the political modernization efforts along with the passing of the new cybercrimes law in the summer of 2023, this survey offered for a checkpoint to assess the current state of VAWP. The survey asked both the general public and women leaders to indicate the extent to which Jordanian women political leaders are subjected to harassment and/or discrimination by various intermediaries[7]. The results show that 51.5% of the women leaders surveyed believe their peers face harassment and/or discrimination on social media, compared to 46.3% among the general public. These were followed by 28.7% among women leaders who indicated their peers face such difficulties by political parties and 27% by television stations,

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[7] The questionnaire in Arabic used the phrase "مضايقات" as opposed to "تحرش"

compared to 24.3% and 25.2%, respectively, among the general public. When analyzed further in terms of gender, there were not any noteworthy insights, suggesting that Jordanian men and women alike retain similar perceptions in that regard.
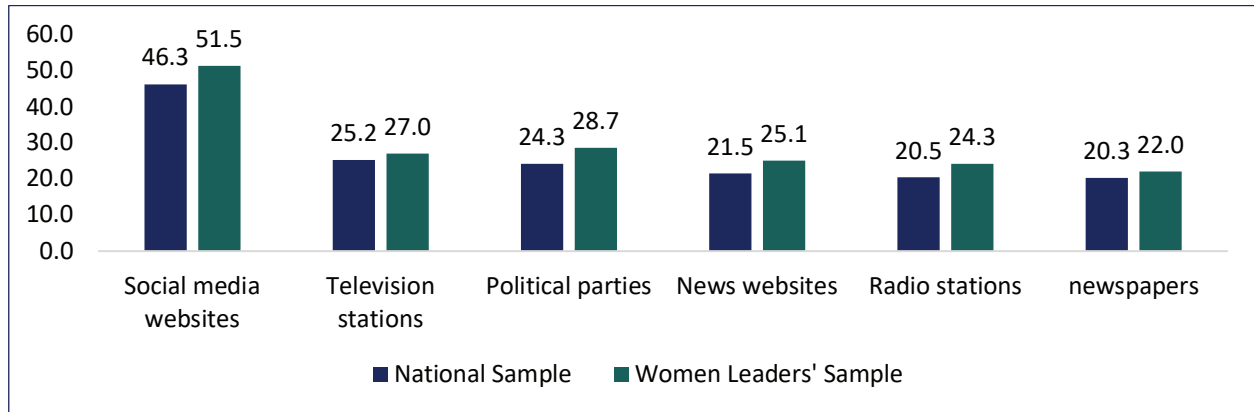

Figure 60: To what extent do you think Jordanian women political leaders are subjected to harassment and/or discrimination by "………"?

The IEC has institutionalized several parameters toward women empowerment and enhance her political role as well as to address the issue of electoral violence against women. According to the IEC's report on the 2024 parliamentary elections, one of these parameters is "countering electoral violence against women, providing a safe environment, and leading a national initiative to counter electoral violence against women." To achieve that, the IEC explained in its report the efforts and measures it has taken, including setting a unified framework for identifying cases of electoral violence and discrimination against women, including cases of electoral violence against women in the electoral process reports, so that they can be analyzed, whereby recommendations for legislative/ regulatory reforms can be extrapolated. The IEC has also relied on the election campaign monitoring platform, allocating sections for reporting electoral violence against women within complaints and violations. It has also leveraged technology as part of the violations, infractions, and bullying on social media platforms (e-monitor+) program, as it took direct action to address them and mitigate their impacts[8]."

Such efforts are relevant to the nature of the challenge, but it may be important to raise more public awareness in that regard, including within political parties, traditional media, and social media platforms. This is especially imperative considering the significance of the support it provides, thus, enhancing these efforts in time is important. The immediacy of these
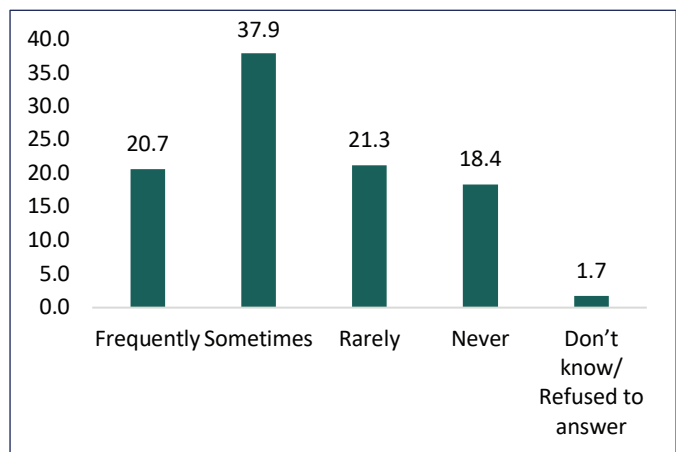

Figure 61: To what extent have you encountered discrimination during your political career?

[8] "The Detailed Report for the 2024 Parliamentary Elections", *The Independent Election Commission (IEC)*, 2025, https://iec.jo/sites/default/files/Report/FinalReport2024.pdf.

interventions is paramount, especially as 20.7% of women leaders surveyed said they have encountered incidents of discrimination frequently during their political careers, with nearly 38% experiencing such incidents sometimes.

7.   MEDIA AND WOMEN'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION

7.1   Traditional and Digital Media: Amplifier or Exacerbator?

In analyzing media and its implications on women's political participation in Jordan, the survey finds that media has in fact been a double-edged sword. On the one hand, media has provided women with much needed access to communication channels to reach wider audiences they would not otherwise be able to reach. In fact, when asked about media's portrayal of women politicians, the survey results show that most Jordanians (55.9%) and women leaders (67.8%) believe that media portrays Jordanian women politicians as capable and effective leaders, albeit the percent of

Further, 15.5% of Jordanians and 14.4% of women leaders indicated that Jordanian media portray Jordanian women politicians as compassionate leaders. While some might view this positively, it is worth noting that it indeed contributes to the sentiment that women are not "strong" enough for political offices, a theme observed throughout the results. On top of that, 6.3% of Jordanians and 4% of women leaders added that Jordanian media portrays women politicians as ineffective leaders while over 19.9% of Jordanians and 13.2% of women politicians asserted that media does not at all run any programmatic materials on women politicians. When explored further, the data shows that 61% of Jordanian women believe the media portrays Jordanian women politicians as capable and effective leaders, compared to 49.6% among Jordanian men.
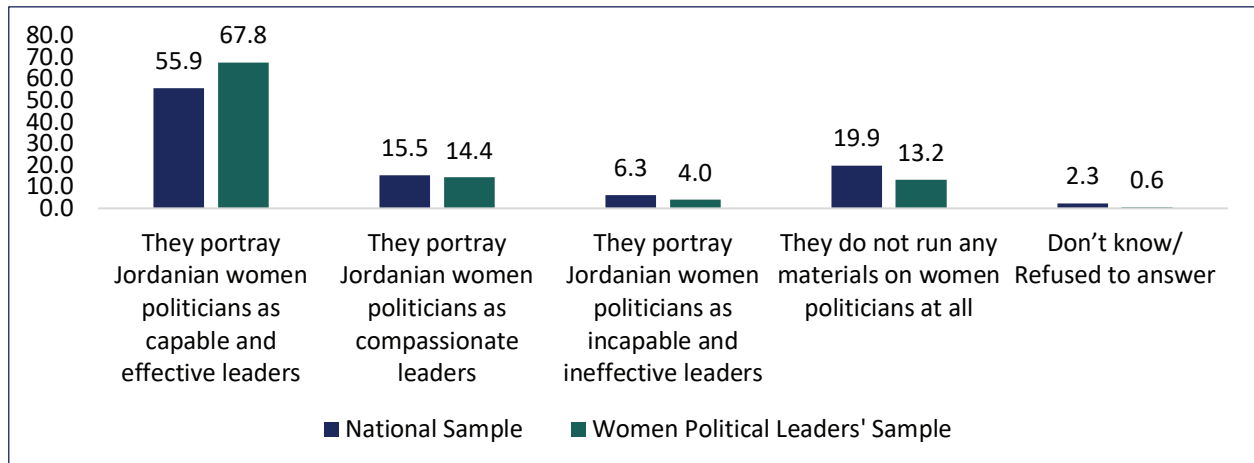

Figure 62: Which of the following is closest to your personal opinion when it comes to Jordanian media's portrayal of Jordanian women politicians?

On the other hand, media has been an amplifier if not also a perpetrator of VAWP, especially social media. Thus, when asked to indicate the means through which social media influences perceptions of women in politics, over two-thirds of Jordanians emphasized a multitude of ways in which women political leaders are subjected to negative content online with major implications on their political leadership aspirations.

In fact, 29.2% of Jordanians specified that women political leaders are subjected to unsubstantiated negative feedback and criticism, which has psychological implications,

compared to 16.7% of the women political leaders' sample. This was followed by 13.9% of Jordanians who indicated that women are subjected to harassment, defamation, bullying, and other forms of harm on social media, compared to 36.8% of women political leaders surveyed. This particular issue is something competitors capitalize on, as indicated by 10.8% of Jordanians, who argued that competing politicians use online spaces to launch smear campaigns against their female counterparts, compared to 8% of women political leaders. Additionally, 11.1% of Jordanians highlighted that such content undermines and downplays women's capacities as effective leaders and viable candidates, with 2.8% others adding that the lack of digital accountability contributes to cybercrimes targeting women.
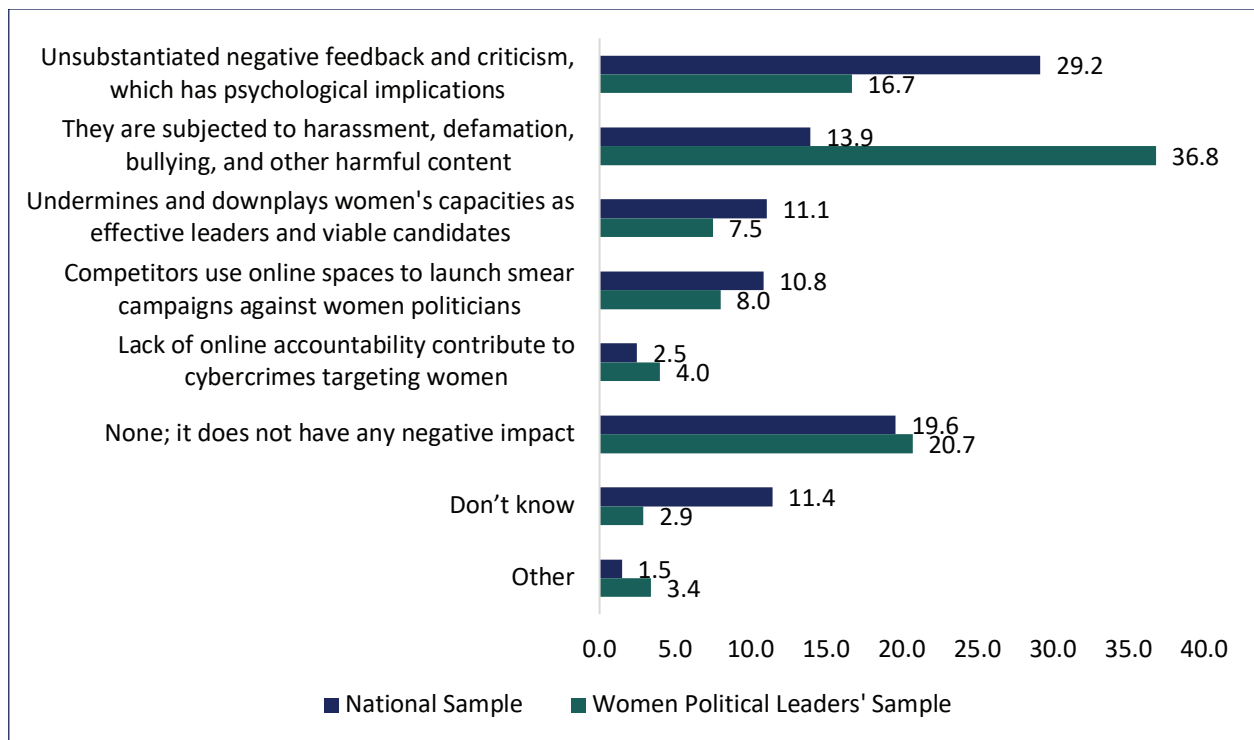

Figure 63: How do you think social media influences perceptions of women in politics?

These findings are concerning, particularly in light of the 2023 cybercrimes law, which provides protections against these actions. However, it appears as though more is needed, especially since more than half of the women political leader interviewed pointed that Jordanian women political leaders are subjected to harassment and/or discrimination on social media than on or by any other medium or actor.

7.2   Social Media Listening

The social media listening component of the research focuses on the role of digital platforms and online news sites in shaping public perception of Jordanian women politicians, particularly during their participation in the most recent elections. As indicated earlier, NAMA used a variety of monitoring tools, looking at social media platforms as well as news websites and blogs to collect and narrow down the content pertaining to women's political participation, with emphasis on the parliamentary elections. The content was collected and filtered using a general search that used various relevant keywords along with a targeted, specific search in which pages and accounts – identified through the general search – were monitored, especially those that

demonstrated high engagement rates on social media platforms. Once the content was collected, NAMA's analysts worked on grouping and analyzing the content, determining the prevailing narratives and exploring the means through which such narratives were formed and, in turn, how they have impacted women's political participation in specific and on public opinion in general.

Accordingly, this section sheds light on how social media platforms affect public opinion as concerns women's political participation, along with how digital platform promotes or hinders women's political participation, which extrapolates positive and negative sentiments surrounding their political engagement. This analysis provides valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities facing Jordanian women politicians in the digital sphere and its impact on broader public perceptions.

7.2.1 Facebook

Facebook as a social media instrument has a profound influence on perceptions of women's role in politics due to the abundance of positive and negative narratives. On the positive side, Facebook, as the single platform Jordanians use the most, provides positive opportunities to demonstrate support for women in political life. It enables them to gain more visibility and engage more with the general public, allowing them to share their views, policies, and achievements directly with the public. By maintaining personal pages, engaging with followers, and participating in Facebook groups, women politicians can bypass traditional media gatekeepers and build direct, personal connections with voters.

Throughout the monitoring, some supporting efforts to women's political participation were observed. This was seen through posts urging constituents to vote for a certain female candidate, or through resharing snippets from interviews by women leaders on traditional media outlets. In general, many women and their proponents were able to use Facebook to raise public awareness of their work and advocate for gender equality and gain public support. Success stories from certain women could inspire other women to engage in political life. Women politicians using Facebook effectively could also engage directly with voters and challenge stereotypes and shape public narratives in their favor. Regular engagements, such as questions/answers sessions along with posts shedding light onto their achievements could help in gaining trust and confidence.

Advocacy efforts often face resistance and intense reactions, especially from some conservative groups or from opponents who reject women's participation in leadership positions. Thus, on the negative side, the monitoring revealed that some posts on Facebook strengthen gender-based stereotypes, as women were often assessed and judged on the basis of their appearance, their familial roles, and emotions rather than on their policies, thoughts, or even leadership capacities. This was especially prevalent within comments, where the narrative shifts to women's choices of attire, behavior, or tone, which contributes to nullifying her contributions.

The monitoring also showed that women politicians face harassment on Facebook, as female leaders are disproportionately targeted with insults, threats, and hate speech, thereby creating a toxic environment that diminishes their active participation on social media. Gender-based harassment often deviates attention away from their professional efforts and toward their personal lives, inhibiting their place and opportunities in the public sphere. In some cases, this could result in women refraining from engaging with voters on social media or disengage from politics altogether.

Facebook's impacts on perceptions of women political leaders remains double-sided. While it could empower them to gain public support, communicate with voters, and even enhance gender equality – with some of the content that was observed showed positive attitudes to women's political participation, there are yet several other examples where women are subjected to unsubstantiated criticism, harassment, and disinformation, solely on the basis of being women leaders seeking to engage in political life.

For instance, one woman wrote on her personal Facebook account announcing her intention to run for elections, and by looking at the comments on her post, positive messages were observed, such as "Best of luck", "Great, all the support", "Best of luck, may success be your outcome", which support

Figure 64: Examples of Reactions on Facebook

and encourages her in her journey. However, many comments turn to mockery in their rejection of women's political participation and leadership roles, which generally feature opinions undermine women's capacities to assume political leadership positions.

Thematic analysis shows that such clusters tend to include narratives pertaining to (a) women "taking away from men's rights", viewing women's political leadership as a "zero-sum game" whereby men's role will by definition get marginalized with women's increased participation; (b) viewing narratives discussing women's rights as an attempt to defame Jordan's brand and image in the international community; (c) viewing advocacy efforts as merely an attempt by the international community to promote "oblique agenda"; (d) viewing women leaders as incompetent and that their efforts will always be counterproductive; and (e) seeing women's political leadership as an unnecessary feat that will only have "negative consequences".

7.2.2   Twitter/X

As for Twitter/X, it is also influential in affecting the perceptions regarding women's participation in the parliamentary elections. For female politicians, it was observed that X was used by some of them as a platform to engage directly with the public, which enhanced their visibility and contributed to bypassing traditional media filters. Female politicians can also use the platform to show their opinions and demonstrate their leadership, achievements, abilities in addition to challenging gender-based stereotypes and promoting greater acceptance of women in politics. Female politicians can engage directly with citizens, respond to criticism, and share success stories, fostering public support. Moreover, leveraging the platform allows for female politicians to run campaigns, highlighting the importance of women's participation and influencing public opinion. The use of X can be extremely beneficial, as it mobilizes voters through hashtags, trends, and viral content, especially in support of women candidates which can inspire younger generations to support or participate in politics.

Some tweets in support of women's participation in political life face negative reactions in the form of online attacks or organized disinformation campaigns. While Twitter/X can empower

women by amplifying their voices, it can also perpetuate gender biases, misinformation, and harassment. These negative factors can discourage women's participation, distort public perceptions, and create an uneven playing field in parliamentary elections. Addressing these challenges requires stronger regulations, safer online environments, and a shift toward constructive engagement.

While X can prove to be useful in shifting perceptions about women's participation in parliamentary elections, it also has negative aspects that can hinder progress. These negative aspects are mainly constructed by the general public which are used as forms of attack against female politicians in general. In analyzing the mapped content, some trends were observed, including:

- Women politicians often face online harassment and threats, creating a toxic environment that discourages women from participating in political discourse.
- False narratives, manipulated content, or fake news about women candidates can spread quickly, damaging their credibility and can reinforce stereotypes and deter voters from supporting women candidates.
- Users on X tend to engage within like-minded groups, creating polarized environments. This concept, also known as echo-chambers, tends to reinforce biases against women's participation rather than fostering constructive dialogue.
- The focus on image over substance tends to cause female politicians may face pressures to focus on their appearance or personal lives rather than their policies or capabilities. This focus is related to social media's amplification on superficial narratives, undermining their professional credibility.

Looking at some examples, one tweet from a female candidate saw a variety of reactions, some were in support of her such as "all the best. May God bless you and make you beneficial to the country and its people. You're capable of it," while there were those downplaying and outright making a mockery of her capacities. Another candidate faced harassment, as the replies on her tweet demonstrated a variety of negative perceptions that criticize and defame her. There were also several tweets in which users expressed their rejection to women's political participation, including one reply that said "even if this candidate were the last person on earth, we will not vote for her", before adding several insults aimed at her personally and belittling her work. The same candidate faced more harassment, often manifested into "character assassination", as one user wrote "she blocks people who do not agree with her", which very much hinders her chances of winning, especially considering the stereotype that members of parliament distance themselves from engaging with their voters the moment election results are announced.

There were also numerous examples of tweets and responses that were hostile to women running for elections, including "where are the men when it comes to monitoring women?" and "those who entrust their affairs to a woman will never succeed," among other narratives. Even within some seemingly positive narratives, such as one describing a female leader as "worth 100 men," it is clear that many female leaders have gained popularity and support among the general public solely because of certain traits commonly associated with men and male political leaders, not necessarily because of their views or political work.

8. Conclusions and the Way Forward

8.1 Looking Ahead: Women, Modernization, and the 2025 Municipal Elections

While the next four years of parliament will offer significant indications as to how effective the modernization efforts have been in enhancing women's political participation and leadership prospects, which ought to be rechecked and restudied toward the latter half of the parliamentary cycle, the next nationwide event, the 2025 Municipal Elections, offer an opportunity to measure and assess the extent to which any course correction taken between now and then is effective. The significance of this opportunity is supported by the fact that, traditionally, local level elections tend to draw larger turnout compared to parliamentary elections in Jordan. In fact, 42.5% of Jordanians indicated they will vote for sure in the 2025 Municipalities and Governorate Council Elections, marking a 35.2-percentage-point increase when compared to an October 2022 poll by NAMA. There is also a 5.7-percentage-point increase among those likely to vote, from 16.9% to 22.6%. This is coupled with a sizeable decrease among those who had indicated in 2022, adamantly, that they were surely not going to vote (64.2%) to 26.9%.
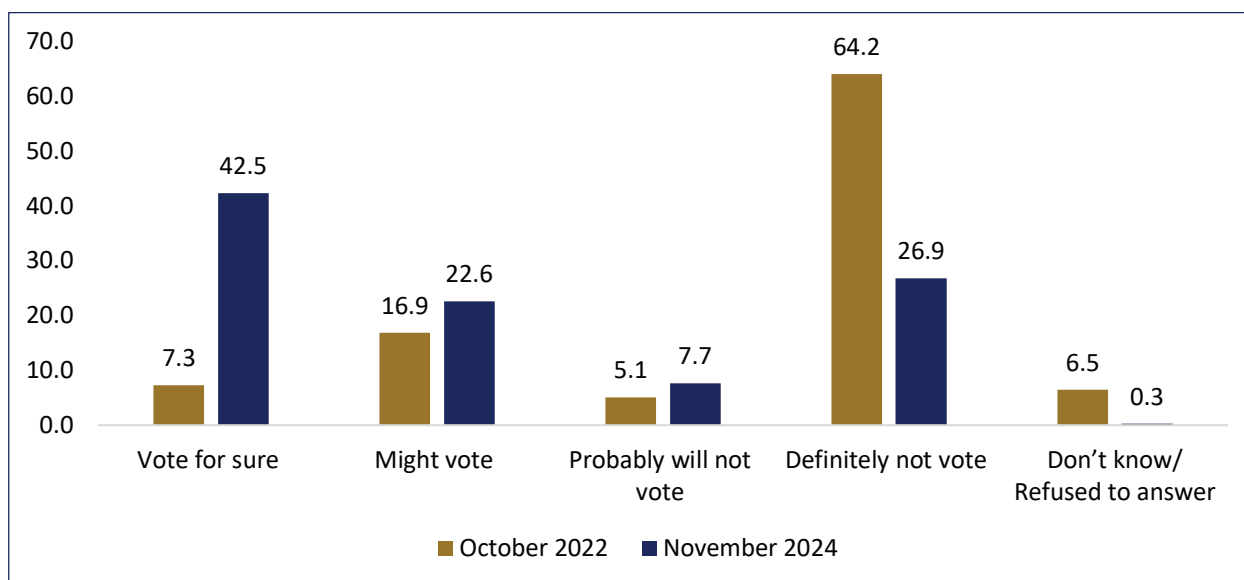

Figure 65: The Municipalities and Governorate Council elections are expected to be held next year. Are you going to…?

Analyzing the data by gender, it was found that 43.6% of Jordanian males indicated they would vote in the upcoming municipal elections, compared to 36% of Jordanian females. Conversely, 24.1% of females reported that they were likely to vote, compared to 22.5% of males. A third of Jordanian males indicated that they might not vote or would definitely not vote, compared to 39.9% of females.

Further, one of the qualitative findings from this survey is a sense of decreased representation among Jordanians from peripheral governorates, who conceive decreased districts or reduced seats for their localities. This is because (a) there was a general overreliance on MPs for service provision across Jordan and (b) it would require more time for citizens to recognize and acknowledge that such perceived gaps are expected to be bridged by political parties.
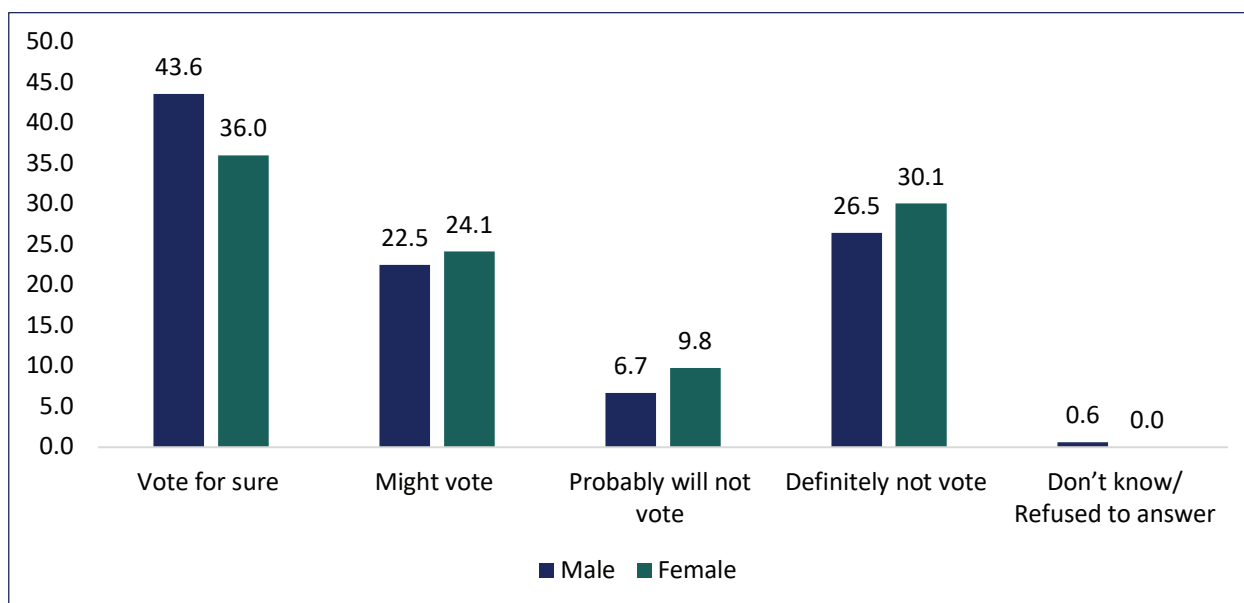
Figure 66: The Municipalities and Governorate Council elections are expected to be held next year. Are you going to…?

As such, the 2025 Municipalities and Governorate Council Elections present a major opportunity for women to increase their participation at the local level, a feat seen by many Jordanians as a point of strength for women political leaders. Thus, when asked about the extent to which the modernization efforts will result in more women winning seats at the local level, 29% of Jordanians believe these efforts will indeed reflect positively in that regard, with 50.3% of Jordanians highlighting that they expect that result to a medium extent.
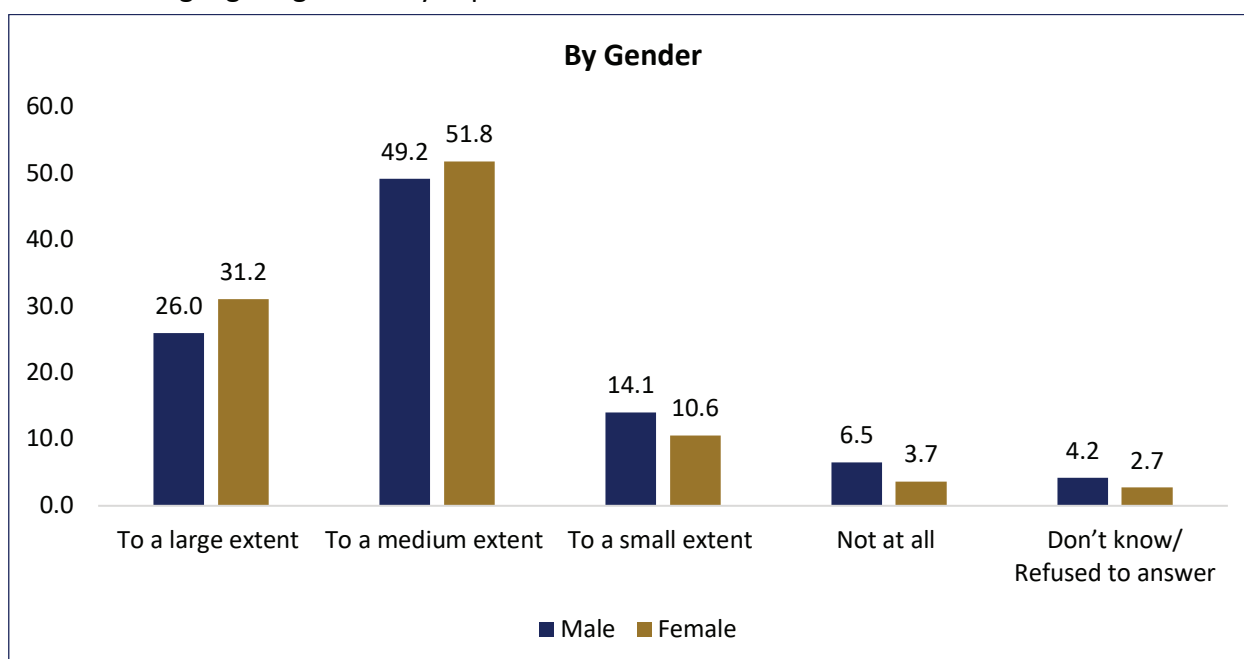
Figure 67: To what extent do you believe that the recent political modernization efforts will result in more women winning seats at Municipal and Governorate councils?

8.2 Jordanians' Priorities, Expectations, and Outlook on Women in Parliament

8.2.1 Short-Term Priorities

Looking ahead, the survey finds that Jordanians' most important priority remains economic, as 71.9% of Jordanians highlighted that they would like the parliament to prioritize in its first few months improving the economy by creating jobs, addressing price hikes, and increasing wages. Other priorities include social development and improve public service provision, especially education and healthcare, as illustrated by 10.5%, followed by 5.6% who would like the parliament to emphasize countering the drug epidemic.
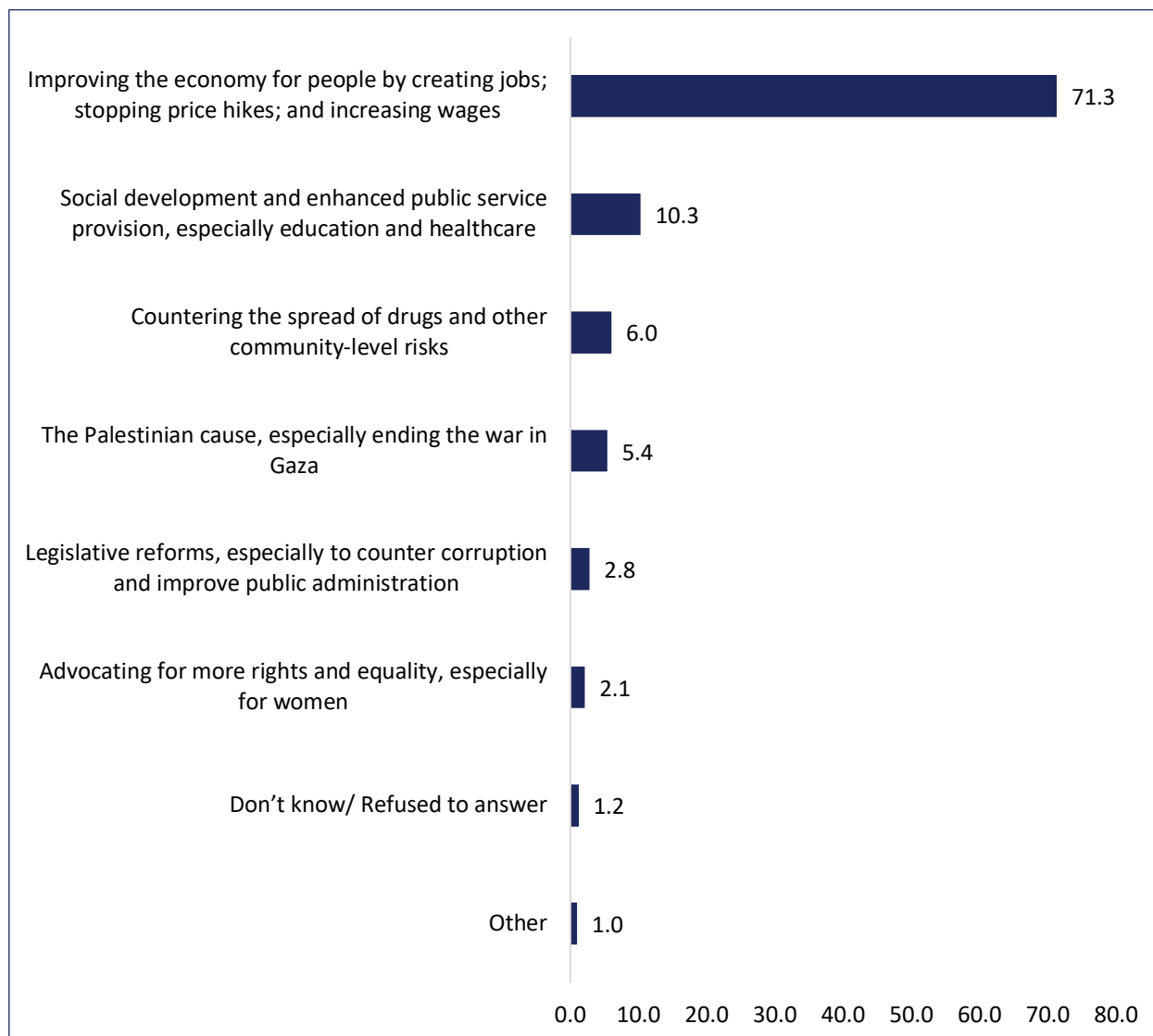
Figure 68: What is the single most important issue that you would like the Parliament to focus on during its first few months?

When analyzing the results by gender, it became clear that economic issues were of greater importance, albeit slightly, to Jordanian males, with three-quarters of respondents, compared to 69% of Jordanian females, who were more interested than males in community and service issues, as shown in the figure below.
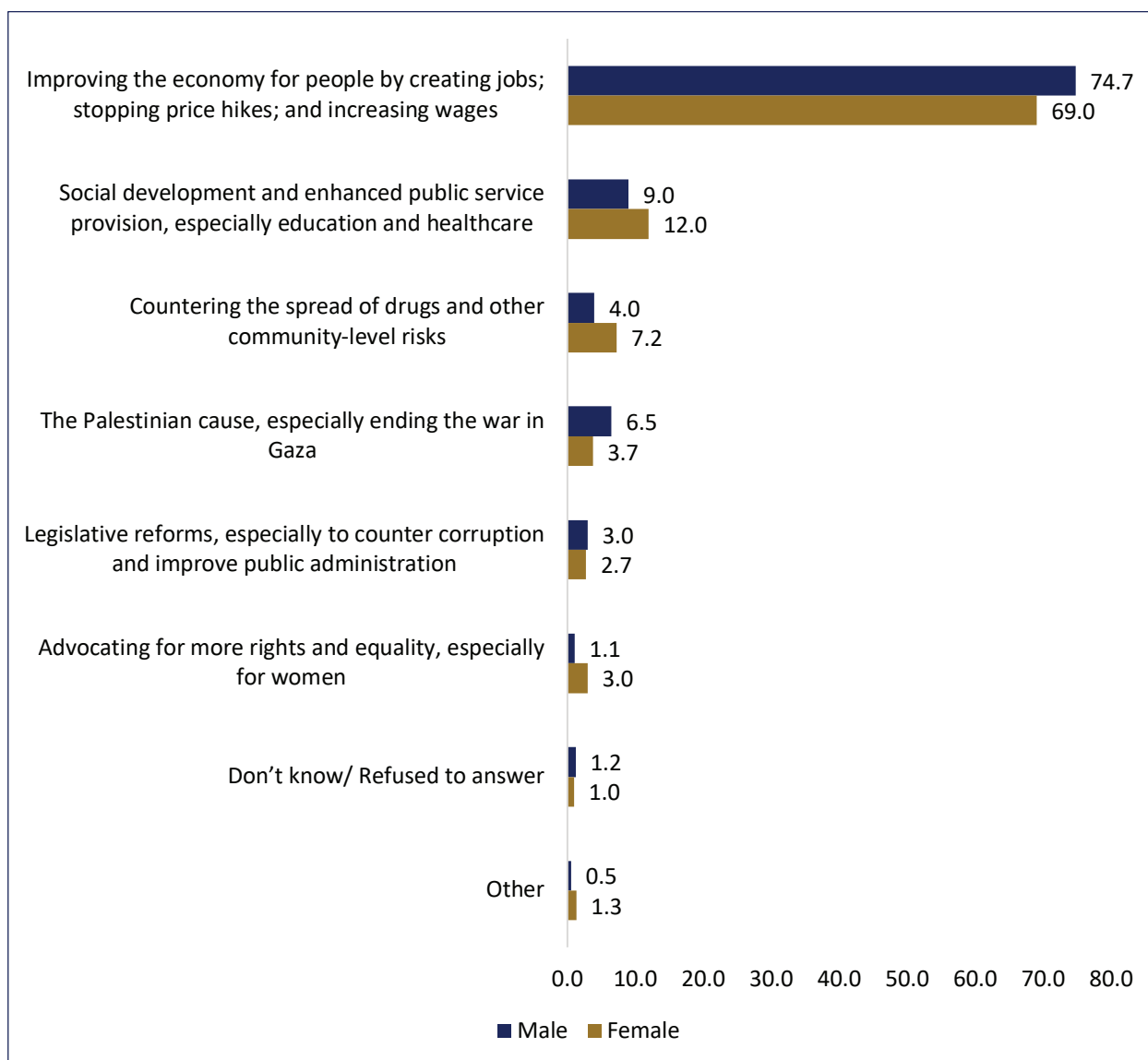
Figure 69: What is the single most important issue that you would like the Parliament to focus on during its first few months?

Nearly 70.7% of Jordanians believe that women MPs will advocate for this issue in Parliament. Moreover, around 54% of Jordanians believe that women MPs will definitely advocate for more rights and equality for women and for countering the spread of drugs and other community-level risks, with the lowest point recorded was seen for advocating for legislative reforms, especially to counter corruption and improved public administration, as 28% of Jordanians believe women MPs will surely advocate for this particular priority.

8.2.2 Long-Term Priorities

When it comes to most important objective Jordanians would the Parliament to achieve during its four-year term, the results were quite similar in a sense that a third of Jordanians would like to see legislations passed to improve the labor law, increase minimum wage, and regulate public sector employment, coupled with 12.3% who highlighted the need for policies that promote economic development, including by attracting investments and revising tax laws.
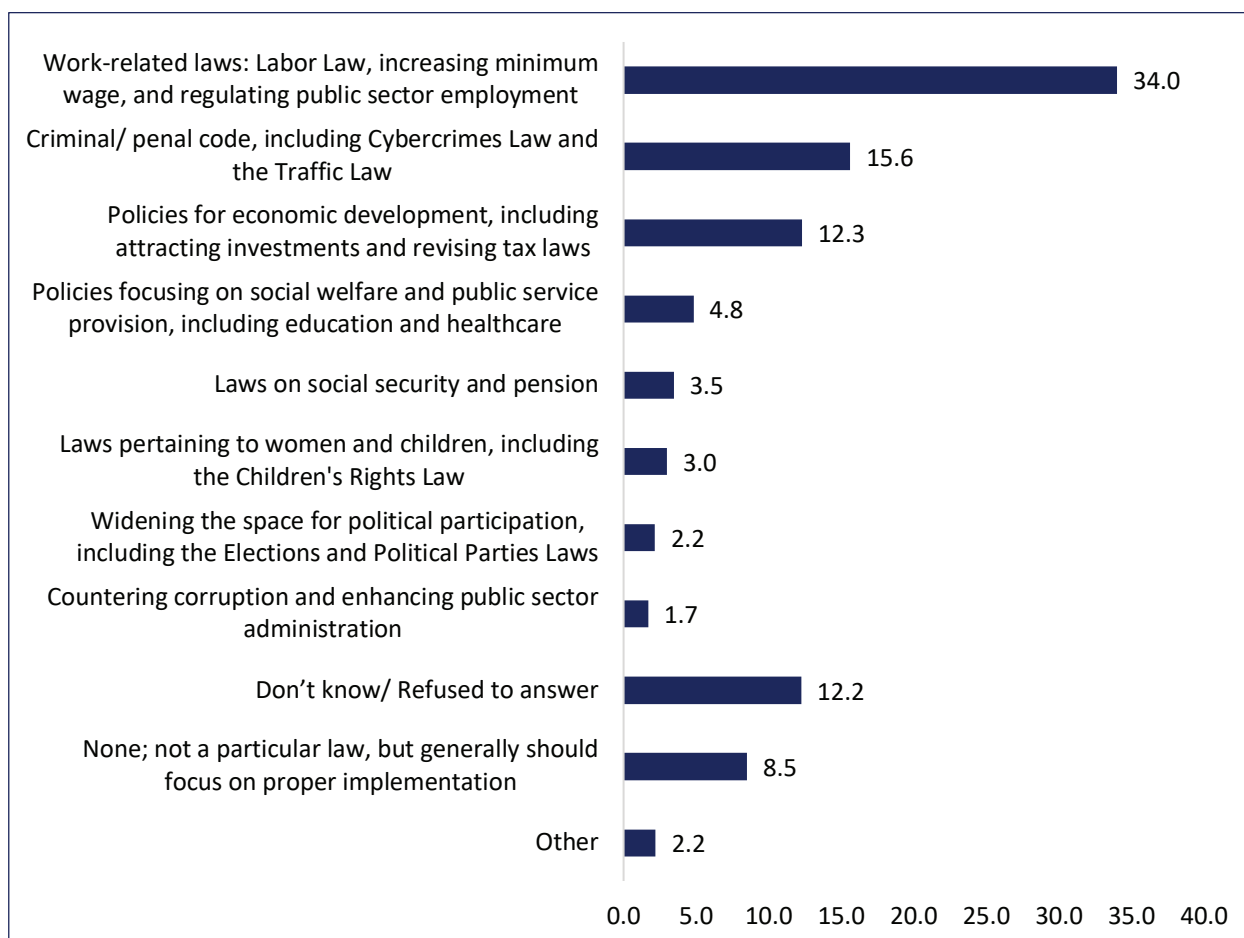
Figure 70: What is the single most important objective that you would like the Parliament to achieve during over its four-year term?

Elsewhere, 15.6% of Jordanians would like the parliament to turn its attention to the penal code, with emphasis on the cybercrimes and traffic laws, each of which were passed in August 2023. Additionally, 4.8% of Jordanians identified policies focusing on social welfare and improved public service provision, especially in relation to education and healthcare. It is worth noting that 8.5% of Jordanians indicated that there are not any specific legislations they would like the Parliament to focus on; rather, they would like from the Parliament to ensure proper law implementation.

For the most part, nearly 57% of Jordanians believe women MPs will be successful in passing the legislations they mentioned. Specifically, over 84% of Jordanians believe that women MPs will be, to a large or medium extent, successful in passing laws pertaining to women and children, including the Children's Rights Law. About 81% said the same for welfare and public service provision, compared to 78% for the labor law, minimum wage, and public sector employment regulations, and 73% for laws on social security and pension. Similar to the case with perceptions of women MPs' efficacy in addressing short-term priorities, the smallest percentage of Jordanians who stated women MPs will be successful in passing a legislation was observed for countering corruption and enhancing public sector administration, perhaps entailing that either they do not think women are as capable of addressing such a priority or that the issue is too grandiose to be resolved altogether.

When analyzing by gender, similar perceptions were observed, even within the context of laws related to economic affairs, as indicated by 50.5% of Jordanian males, compared to 49% of Jordanian females. The gap was slightly larger regarding laws related to governance and political modernization, with 21.5% of Jordanian males versus 17.5% of Jordanian females. Women were more interested in laws related to public services and community issues, with 9.4% of females compared to 6.2% of males.
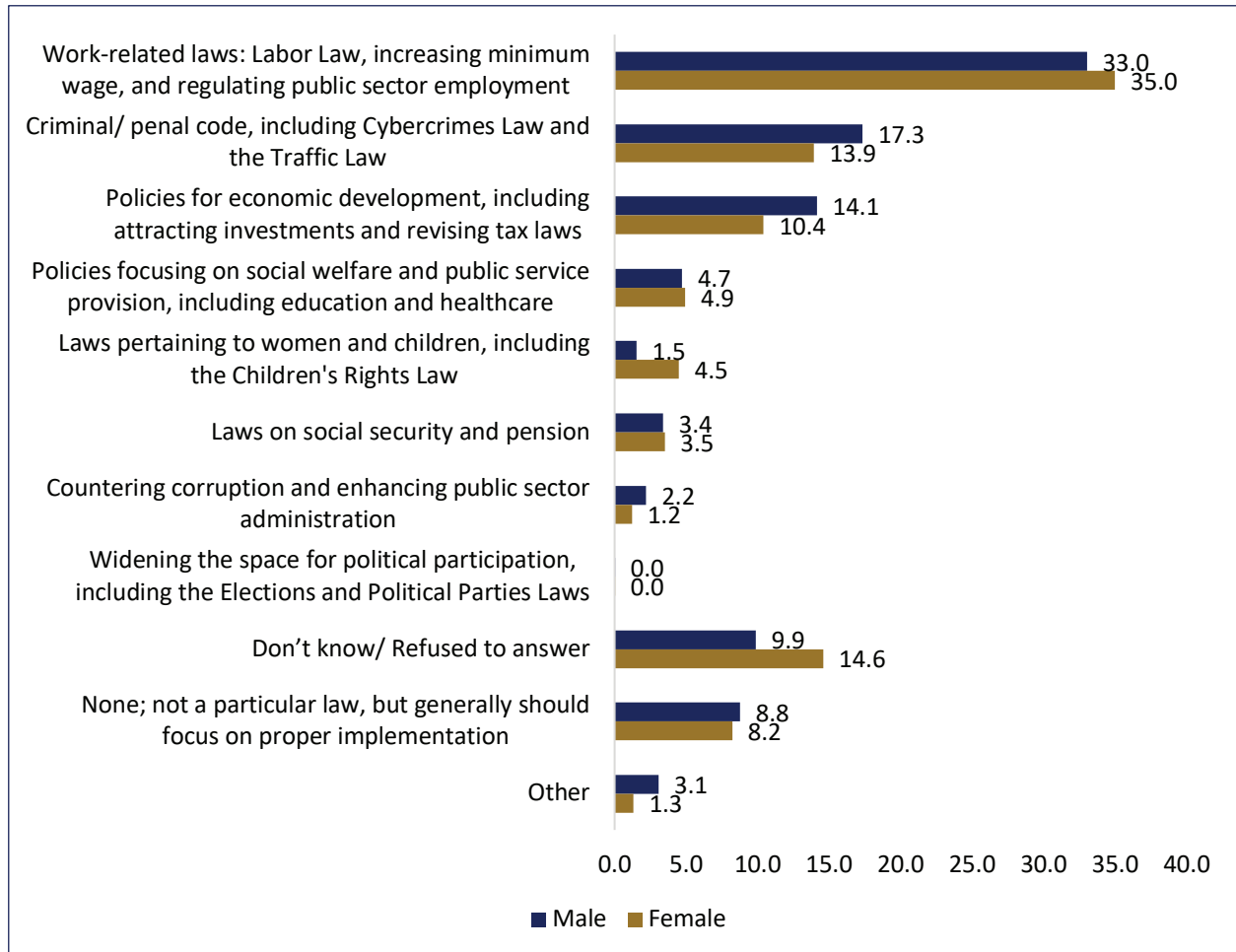

Figure 71: What is the single most important objective that you would like the Parliament to achieve during over its four-year term?

8.3   Research-Informed Recommendations to Increase Women's Political Participation

The survey inquired about measures Jordanians believe could be implemented to increase the political participation of women. In analyzing the results, the below recommendations emerge:

Capacity Strengthening – A mix of technical and financial support is key to not only equip women but also enable them to reach public offices. Over 32.2% of Jordanians believe that women ought to be provided with relevant and targeted capacity strengthening efforts coupled with financial support. This was echoed by approximately one quarter of the women leaders' sample. Capacity strengthening would essentially enhance women's competence to not just lead political offices but also excel in them, thereby providing tangible results that younger generations can learn from and hope to sustain.

Legal and/or Structural Reforms – When women political leaders surveyed were asked to specify legal and/or structural reforms that would encourage women political leaders to pursue a role in political or public life, a lack of specificity was noted. 31% did say that would like to see legislative reforms, particularly in terms of elections, citing further increased participation and presentation was the main goals, as 20.1% highlighted their view for this latter point through the context of the quota seats.
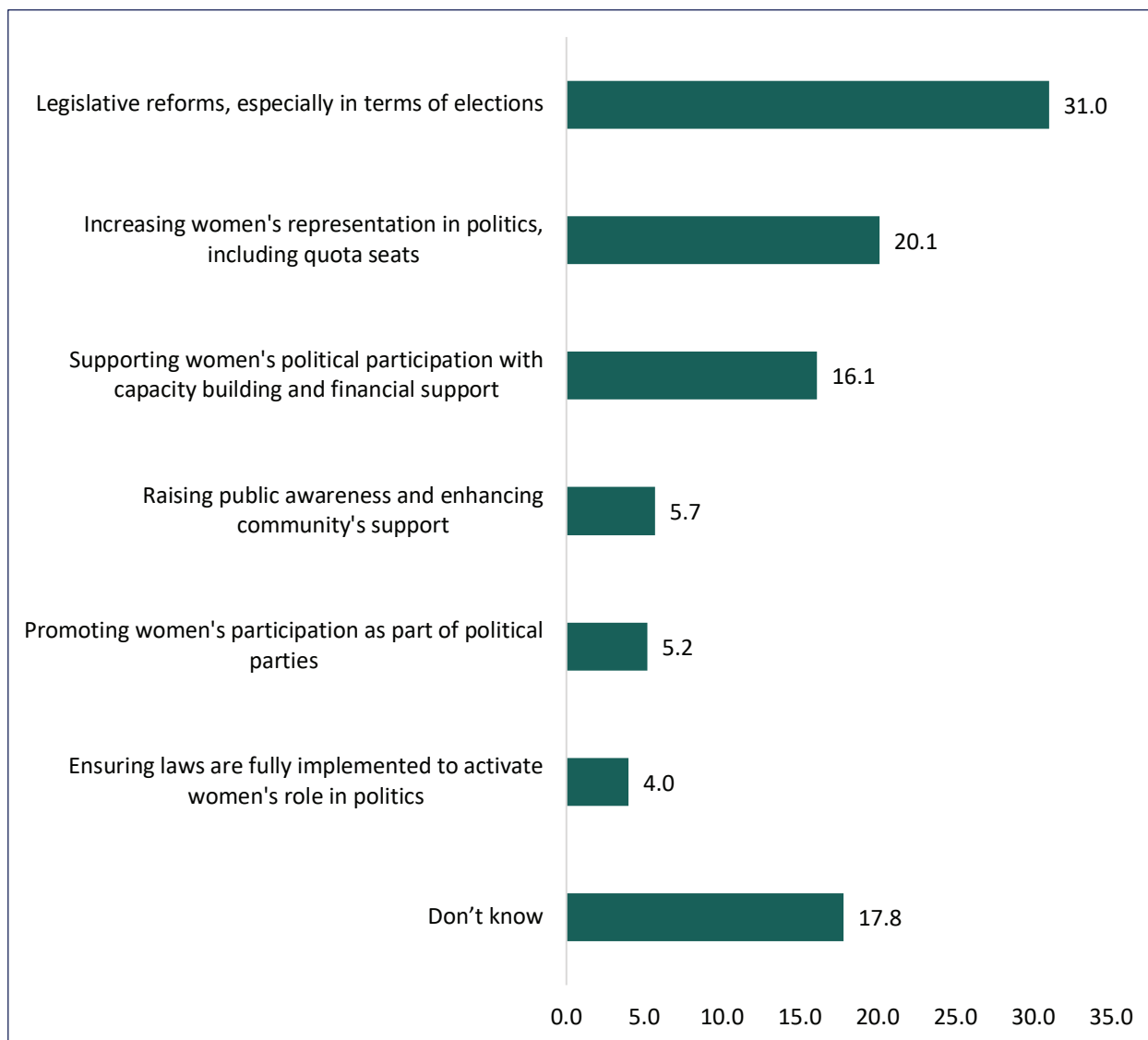
Figure 72: What legal or structural reforms do you believe would encourage more women to pursue a role in political or public life?

Empowering Women with More Political Empowerment Opportunities – It is important to keep the momentum on an upward trajectory and further provide women with more opportunities to lead important decision-making roles and positions, as indicated by 12.3% of Jordanians. Ensuring there are 40% women in the first five names on electoral lists along with potentially stipulating that one woman be among the first two names are two ways in which opportunities offered to women can be maximized.
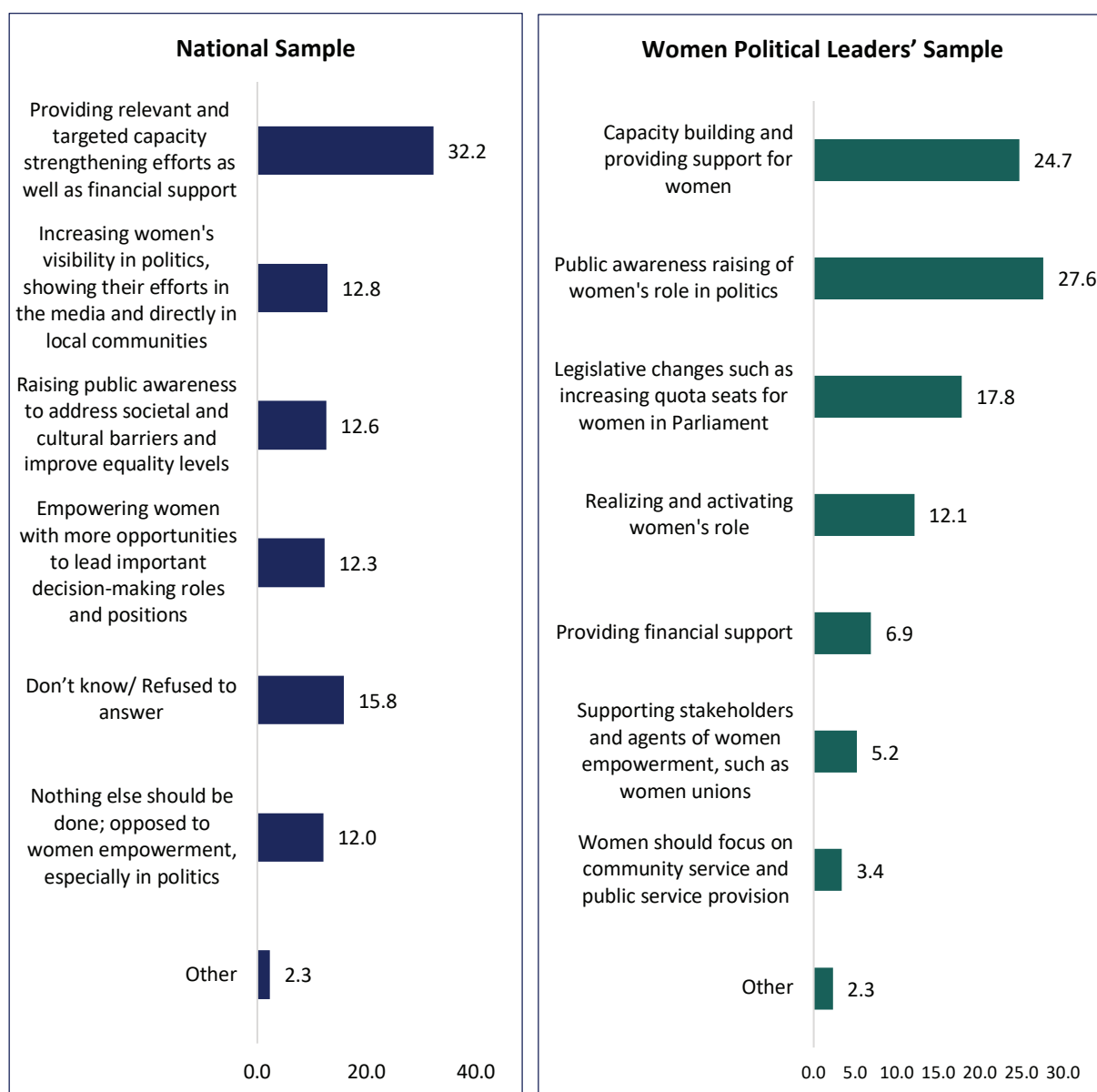
National Sample

Category	Value
Providing relevant and targeted capacity strengthening efforts as well as financial support	32.2
Increasing women's visibility in politics, showing their efforts in the media and directly in local communities	12.8
Raising public awareness to address societal and cultural barriers and improve equality levels	12.6
Empowering women with more opportunities to lead important decision-making roles and positions	12.3
Don't know/ Refused to answer	15.8
Nothing else should be done; opposed to women empowerment, especially in politics	12.0
Other	2.3

Women Political Leaders' Sample

Category	Value
Capacity building and providing support for women	24.7
Public awareness raising of women's role in politics	27.6
Legislative changes such as increasing quota seats for women in Parliament	17.8
Realizing and activating women's role	12.1
Providing financial support	6.9
Supporting stakeholders and agents of women empowerment, such as women unions	5.2
Women should focus on community service and public service provision	3.4
Other	2.3

Figure 73: What is the first thing that comes to mind that can be done to increase women's political participation?

Public Awareness Raising – There is a need for public awareness raising, focusing on the importance of enhancing the level of political participation for Jordanian women, as recommended by 12.6% of Jordanians. This is expected to not only address some socio-cultural misconceptions but also provide a much-needed visibility for women political leaders, as supported by another 12.8% of Jordanians. Nearly 28% of women leaders also stressed on the need for public awareness. Raising awareness of women's efforts in the media is important to offset the sizeable percent of Jordanians who reiterated numerous times that there were unaware of any women leaders, whether emerging or already established.

Role of Civil Society and Media Outlets – Women political leaders were asked to specify what they think CSOs should do to activate women's role in public cand political life. The results show that 44.8% of the women leaders surveyed indicated focusing on capacity building efforts,

followed by 34% who emphasized that CSOs ought to delve into awareness raising and advocacy efforts, as 18% believe that CSOs should take on a leading role in advocating for women's rights. Somewhat similar results were observed among media outlets, with their awareness raising and public education roles at the forefront, as nearly 60% of women leaders recommend that media outlets highlight women's role in politics and promote women's political inclusion.
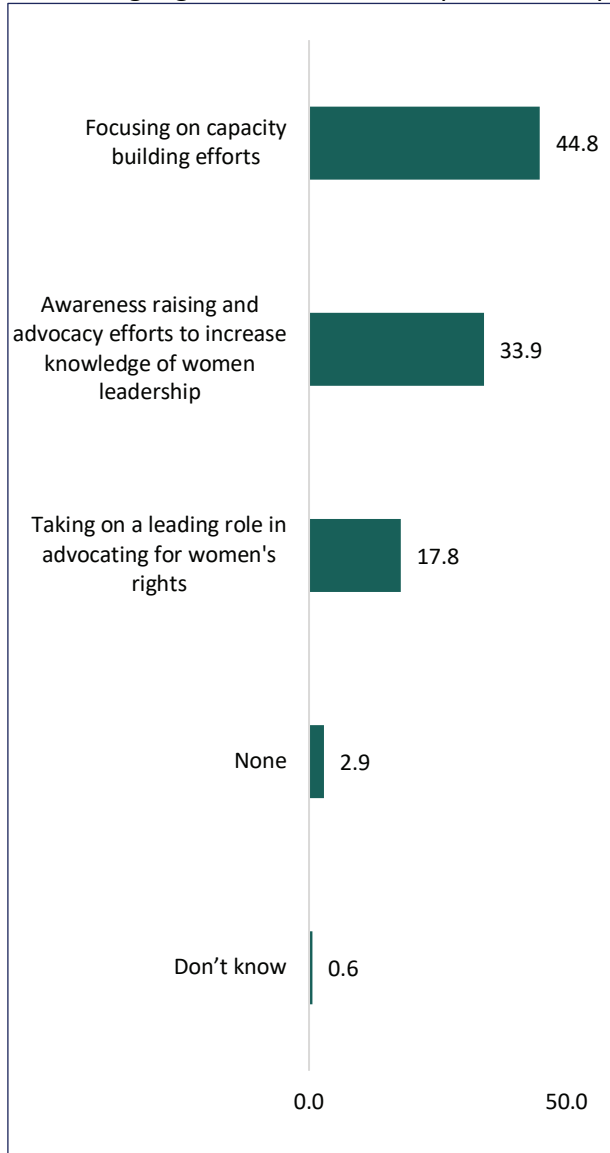

Figure 74: What should CSOs do to activate women's role in public and political life?
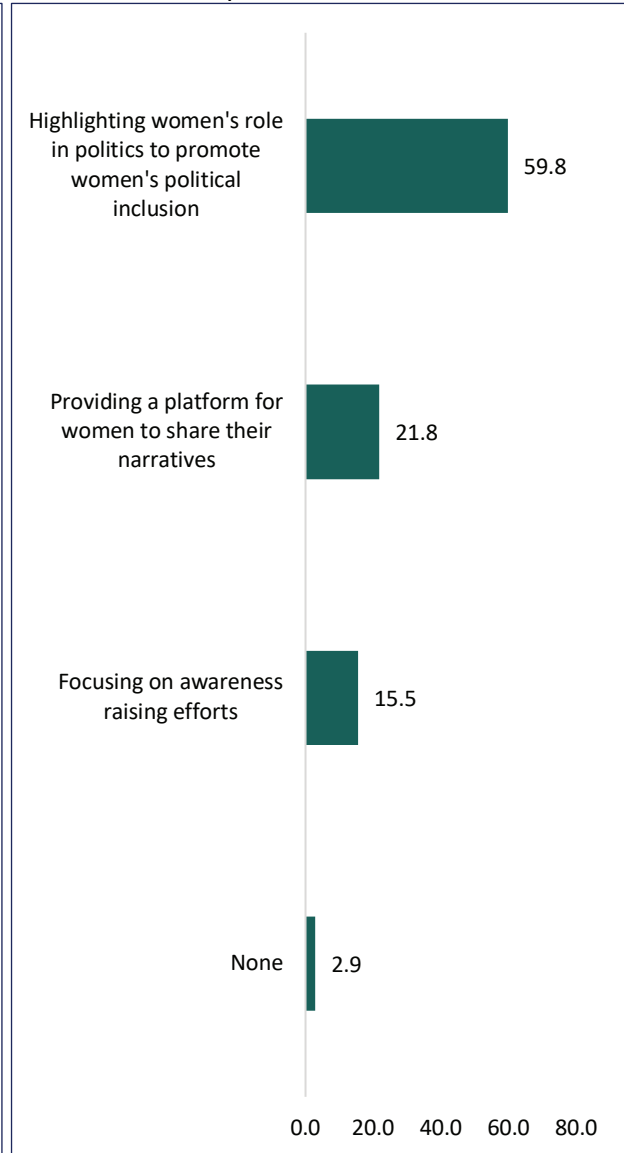
Figure 75: What should the media do to activate women's role in public and political life?

Role of Universities – Women political leaders recommended that universities focus on raising students' political awareness and knowledge (34.5%), advocating for women's political engagement in classrooms and on campuses (21.8%), hosting events, conferences, and symposiums focusing on women in politics (19.5%), adding elective courses and/or core courses focusing on women's political participation.
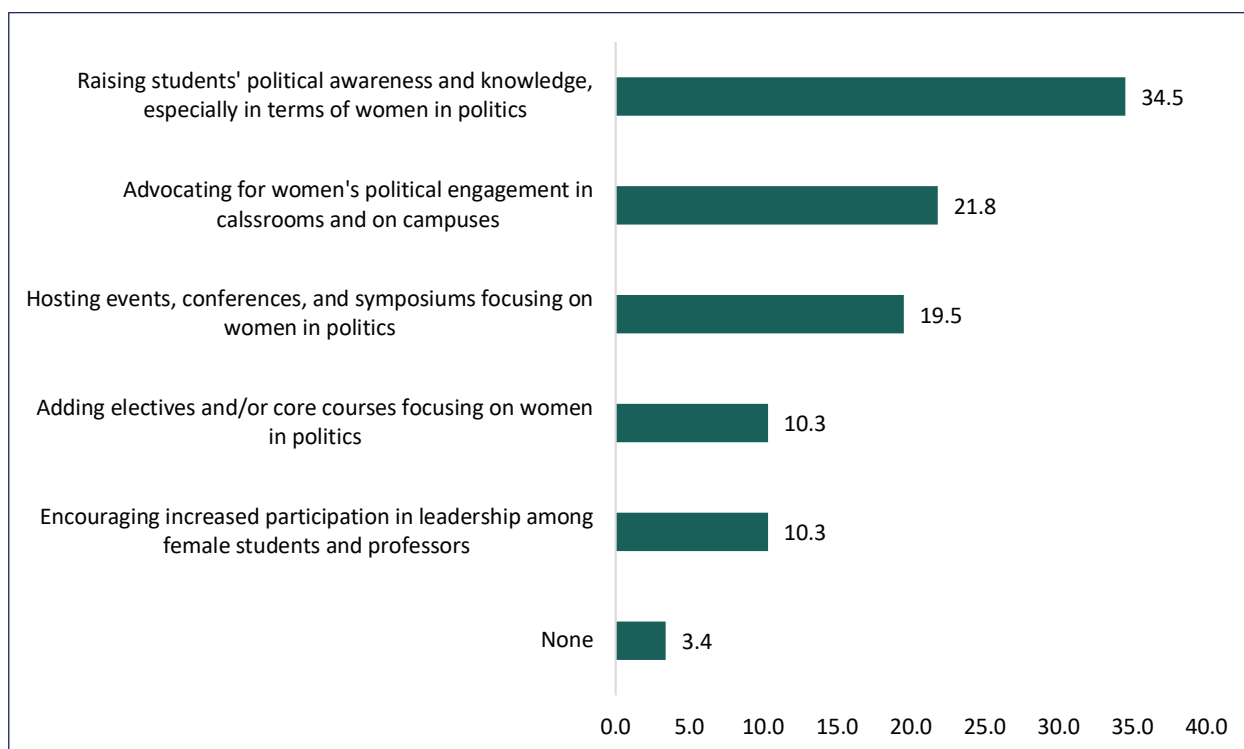
Figure 76: What should universities do to activate women's role in public and political life?

Role of Political Parties – Over 49% of women political leaders prioritized that political parties enhance their representation of women and empower them meaningfully in leadership roles within their ranks. Around 20% emphasized the need for parties to provide women with all types of support, whether technical, moral, or financial, with another 19.5% asserting that parties need to focus on raising public awareness of women's political leadership, as 7.5% believe that parties should contribute to the implementation of the political modernization efforts in a meaningful and impactful manner.
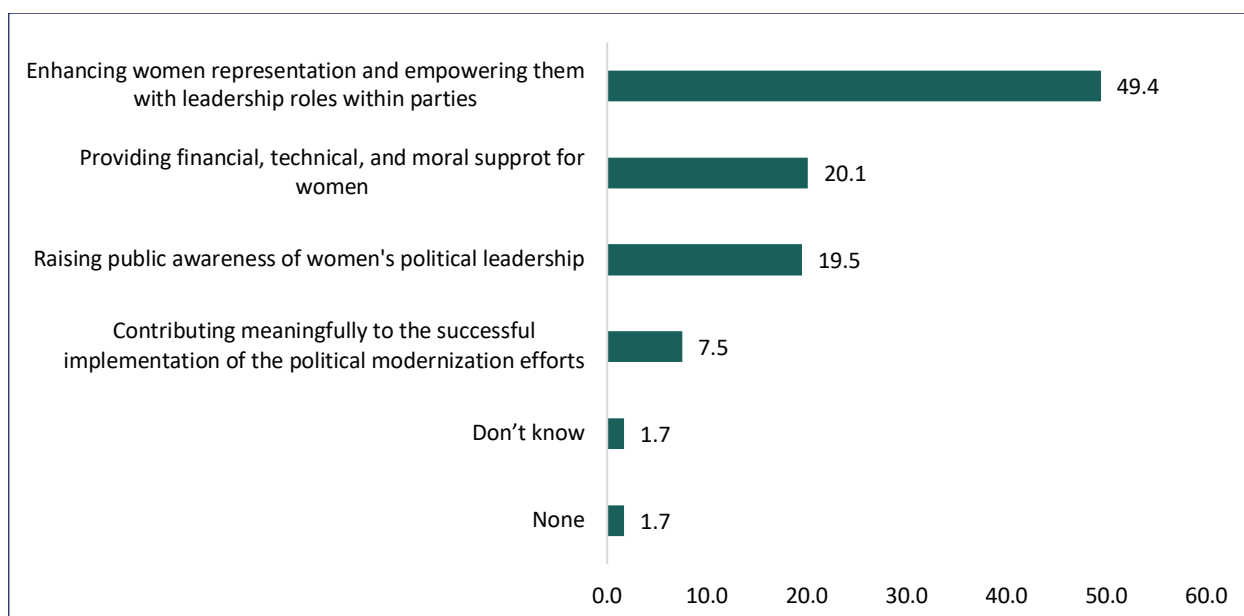
Figure 77: What should political parties do to activate women's role in public and political life?

Role of Future Women Leaders – The survey concluded with an inquiry asking women political leaders to share their best advice for young women considering pursuing a career in politics. The recommendations provided can be categorized into three areas, as follows:

- **Personal Competences**: 43.7% of women leaders asserted that young women considering careers in politics focus on enhancing their personal competences, with emphasis on their confidence and perseverance as well as their leadership and decision-making capacities.
- **Community Outreach**: 11.5% of women leaders recommended that young women build and maintain community support and primarily work on addressing people's needs in order to build and attract public support and visibility.
- **Political Compass**: 22.4% of women leaders emphasized the need for emerging young women leaders to raise their political awareness and knowledge while 20.1% added that they should develop their political compass and engage with political parties that best align with their personal views and beliefs.
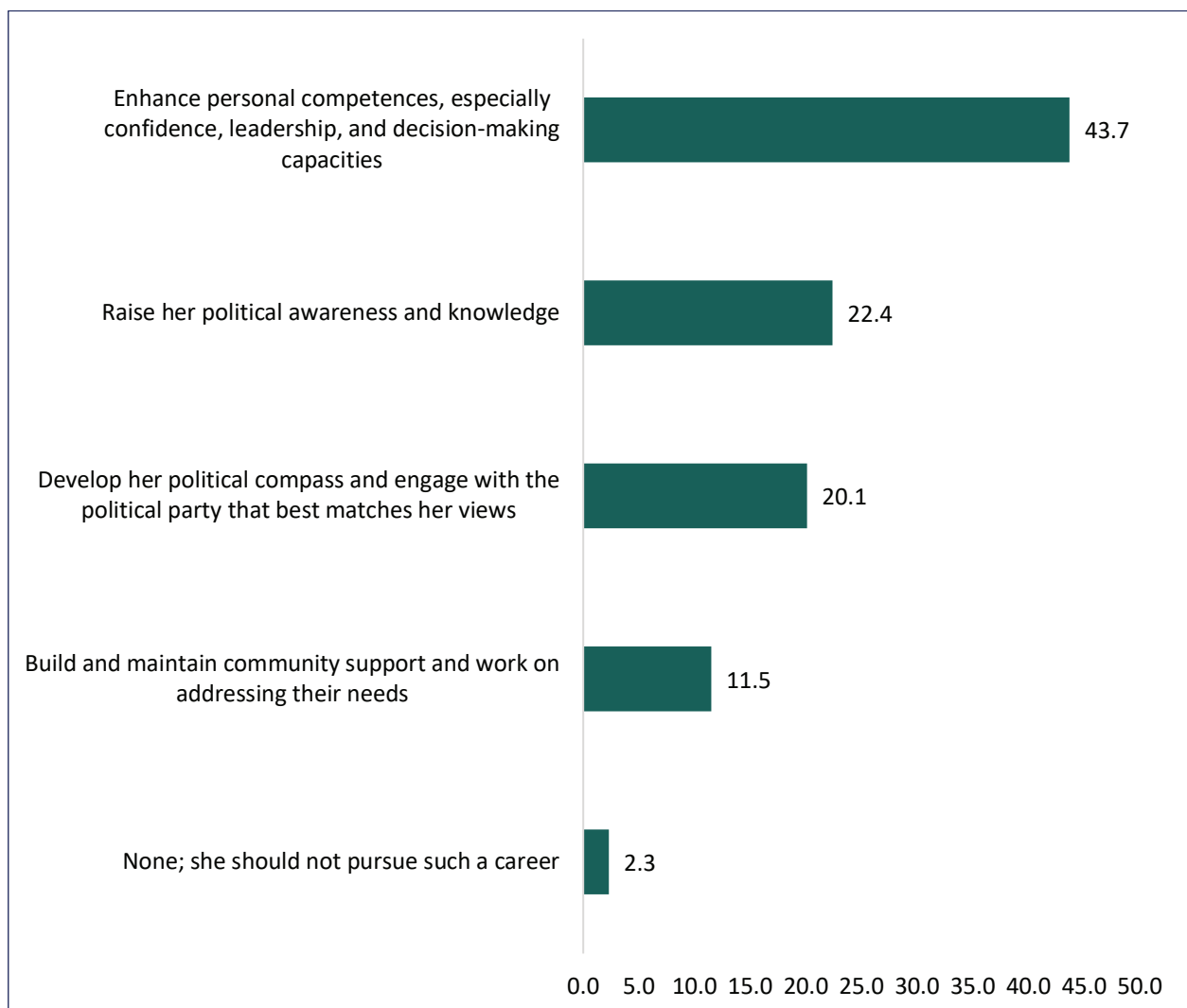
Figure 78: If there was a young woman considering pursuing a role in political or public life, what advice would you give her?

9. DEMOGRAPHICS

9.1 National Sample
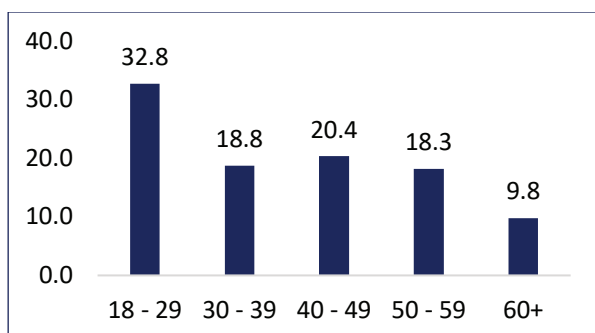
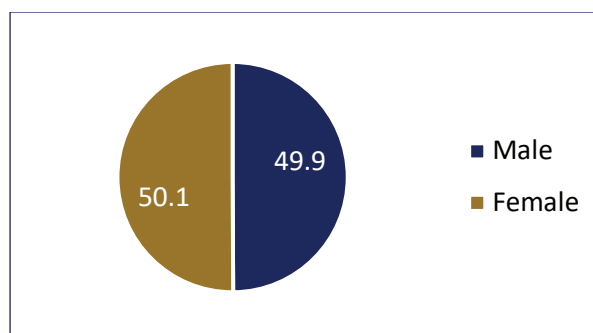*Figure 79: Age – National Sample*

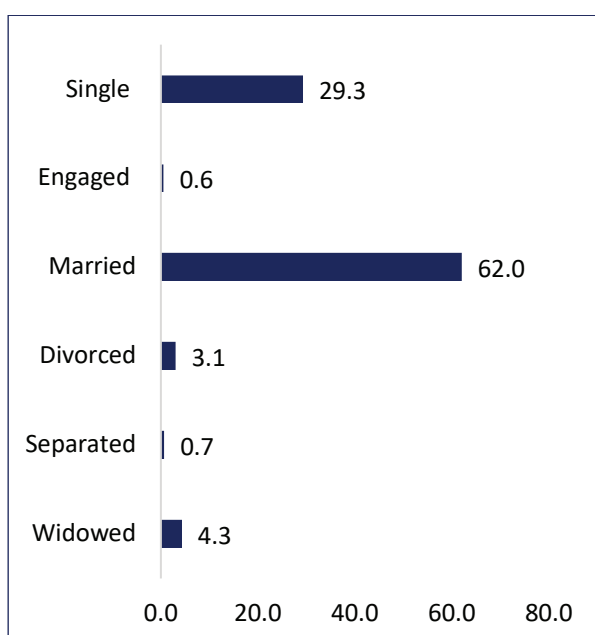*Figure 80: Gender – National Sample*

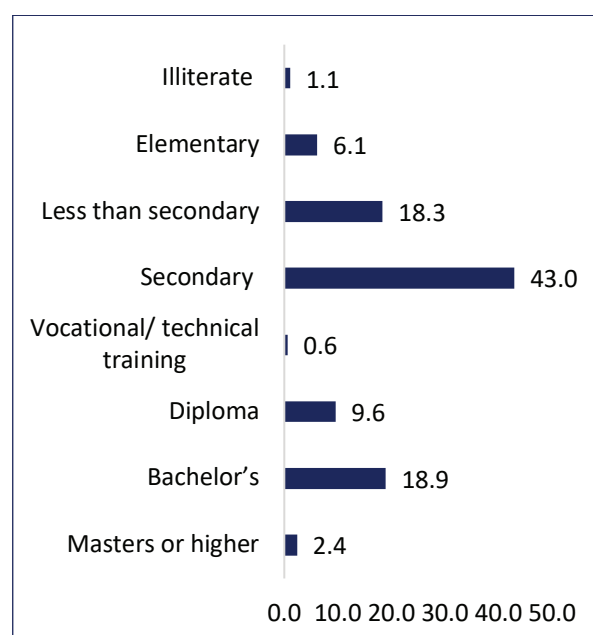*Figure 81: Marital Status – National Sample*

Figure 82: Education Level – National Sample
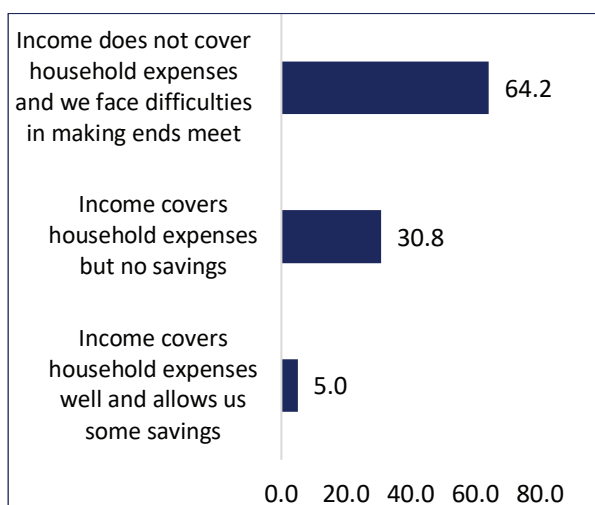

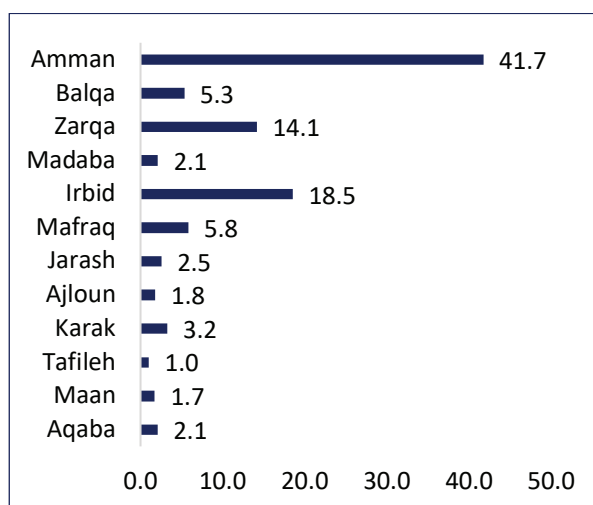*Figure 83: Income Groups*

Figure 84: Governorates
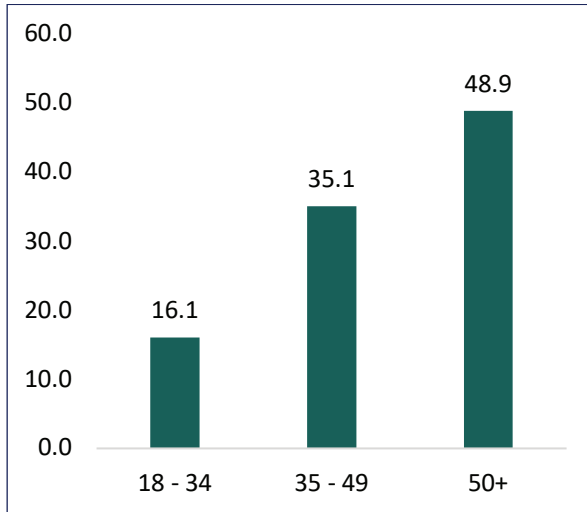
9.2   Women's Political Leader's Sample Breakdown

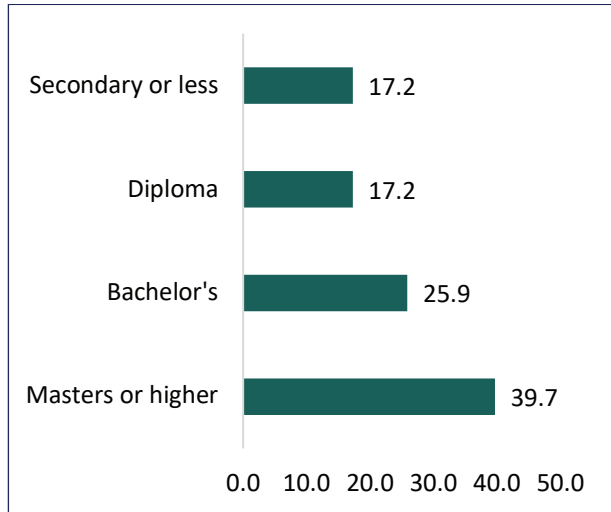Figure 85: Age Groups – Women Political Leaders

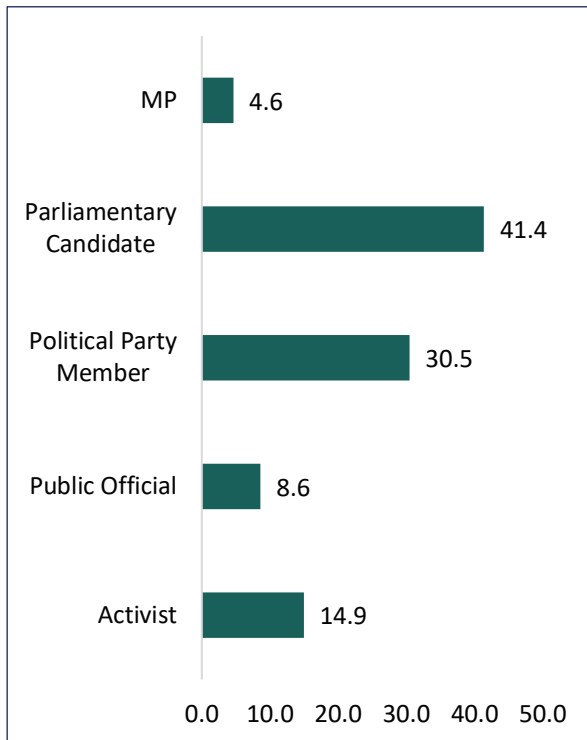Figure 86: Education Level – Women Political Leaders
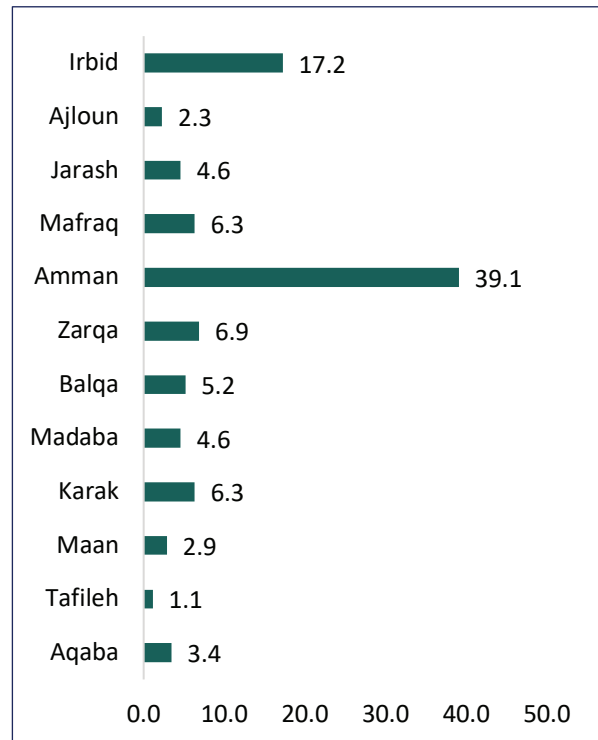

Figure 87: Sub-Groups – Women Political Leaders

Figure 88: Governorates – Women Political Leaders