

# The Impact of Electoral Campaigns on Voting Behavior in the 2013 Jordanian Parliamentary Elections (Field Study)

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**Abstract:** The most interesting questions about an election are not concerned with who won, but why people have voted. Understanding why and how people decide which party or candidate to vote for remains one of the key questions in political science. Therefore, the main objectives of the present study are to investigate the impact of political campaigns on voting behavior, and to find out which factors affected the voters' choice in the 2013 Jordanian parliamentary elections. A sample of 500 respondents was selected systematically from the Al-wistiya District. The main finding of the study is that electoral campaigns play only a limited role in influencing voters' behaviors and attitudes when choosing a candidate, and the majority of voters have made their decision even before the start of the election campaign. It was also found that voters who were influenced by the campaign were more persuaded by speech making skills of the candidate, as well as his appearance rather than slogans and proposed agendas.

**Key words:** Political behavior, Electoral campaign, Political attitudes, Decision-making process, Elections.

## 1.0 Introduction

Political participation can be divided into conventional political participation, which takes place within the norms and traditions of a particular country, for example the act of voting; and unconventional political participation which tends to move outside the norm, outside the

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traditional, and be more aggressive as in protests and demonstrations. Generally speaking, citizens in the Arab world are more likely to engage in conventional political participation than in the unconventional. However, voting and other forms of electoral activity are the most common and the easiest forms of political participation for most Jordanians.

Voters are influenced and inspired by several factors when exercising their right to vote. The domain of study related to factors and situations which inspire and influence voters to exercise their right to vote in favour or against a particular candidate is known as “voting behavior”. Hence, the study of voting behavior is concerned with the ways in which voters tend to vote in public elections and the reasons why they vote the way they do. Sociologists have focused on sociological characteristics, party identification and observing the correlations between class, occupation, ethnicity, sex and age to understand voting-related decision-making and behavior of voters, whereas political scientists study the influence of political factors such as political issues, political programmes, electoral campaigns, and the popularity of party leaders on voting behavior.

Although scholars debate the influence of election campaigns on electoral decision- making, they agree that campaigns do have an effect, although the central question remains in relation to why people vote the way they do. Therefore, this study aims to identify the effectiveness of electoral campaigns on voting behavior, and to explain how Jordanian voters voted during 2013 elections, particularly in relation to the changing nature of campaign communications and the growing involvement of the media- particularly electronic media- in election campaigns.

## **2.0 Research Methodology and Design**

The research methodology is the various steps that are generally adopted by a researcher in studying his research problem. Moreover, it is the way through which the researcher gathers data samples and then analyzes the data gathered to solve the research problem through various procedures, schemes or algorithms. It therefore covers what a sample consists of and how the sample is to be obtained by defining the scope and population of the survey, tools and techniques used for the analysis, interpreting or making sense of findings, explanation of results, and presenting and using of findings.

## **2.1 Main Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of a research project summarize what is to be achieved by the study. This study therefore aims to understand elections and voting behavior in Jordanian parliamentary elections by

Identifying factors that influence people as to vote or not.

Evaluating the extent to which components of election campaigns, party identification, candidate evaluations, and media affect the voting behavior.

Explaining how Jordanian voters take their decisions.

## **2.2 Research Problem and Questions**

Election campaigns, without a doubt, give candidates a real chance to communicate with their voters and announce their programs and the aims they intend to achieve if they win the parliamentary seat. In turn, it gives voters an opportunity to learn about the views and platforms of candidates running for parliamentary elections. Voters then can choose the candidate whose policy positions most closely resemble their own set of preferences. However, election campaigns remain governed by their ability to influence voting behavior through several factors such as the social and tribal factors, as well as the religious, economic and political factors.

Accordingly, the question addressed in this research is to what extent election campaigns in Jordanian parliamentary elections influence the voters' psyche, and to what extent do they influence voting behavior and have the ability to prompt voters to vote for one candidate over another.

### **The Main Question in This Study**

- How and why do Jordanian voters behave the way they do?

### **Sub-questions**

- In order to answer the main question the following sub-questions are important;
- How can candidates and campaigns influence the electorate?
- What influences people's vote decisions?
- Are all Jordanians equally likely to change their voting preferences in response to campaign events?
- What are the main factors that affect voters' choice or preferences?

- To what extent did the media (in the new media era) succeed in gaining access to large segments of Jordanians and affect their voting decisions?

I explore these questions using a unique repeated- measures- survey design, deployed immediately after 2013 parliamentary elections. The sample used for this study is: Male and Female voters in Al-Wistiya Department (The ninth district) in Irbid, Governorate<sup>(1)</sup>.

### 2.3 Questionnaire and Sample Design

The first step of the survey research process after determining the goal of the study is designing the survey instrument for gathering information from respondents by asking questions and then generalizing the results to the groups represented by the respondents. An important part of the questionnaire construction process is piloting, known as pre-testing of the questionnaire. Accordingly, a pre-test (with 30 respondents) of the research questionnaire was deployed. As a result a few amendments were made to the questionnaire, and the amended version of the questionnaire consisted of 25 questions designed to reach the objectives and answer the research questions. A copy of the questionnaire is attached in Appendix A.

### 2.4 Sample Description

The target population of this study is all voters who were randomly selected from Al-Wistya District (liwaa Al-Wistiyah). To calculate the sample size, the following formula was used  $n \geq Z^2 \alpha / 2 p (1-p) / d^2$

Where:

n : sample size.

$Z \alpha/2$ : it is the  $(1-\alpha/2)$ th quintile of the standard normal distribution.

d: maximum absolute error accepted for the difference between the estimator and the parameter(it is assumed to be 5%).

P: population proportion (where it can be replaced with 0.5 to ensure

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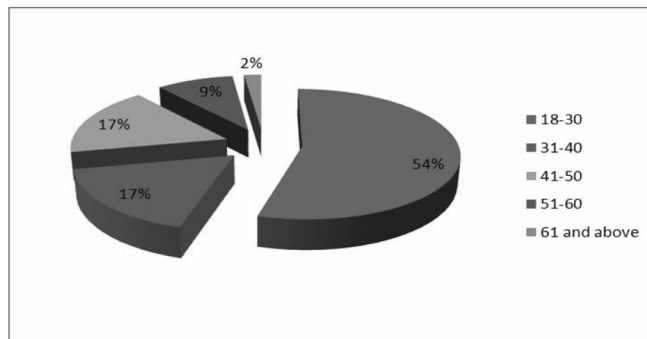
<sup>(1)</sup> Al-Wistya Department (liwaa Al-Wistiyah (لواء الوسطية) is one of the nine departments that constitute the Irbid Governorate of Jordan. It is located in the west section of the governorate, and is 15 km from Irbid. The department has an area of 50 Km<sup>2</sup> and includes 7 towns and villages with population of over 34000, offers 14,000 electoral votes. Al-Wistya District is a rural district.

having the largest size of a sample at the specified error and confidence levels).

\* Confidence level 98% \* Population size 14000

So, the required sample size with an acceptable margin error (d) at 5% would be 500 voters.

Accordingly, a total of 500 questionnaires were distributed; of these, 397 were completed and returned with a response rate of 74.25%. The majority of respondents, 205 (69%) were males, and 92 (31%) were females. In terms of age groups, the respondents aged between 18 and 30 comprised 54.5% of the total; those between 31 and 40 years accounted for 17.2%; those between 41 and 50 years for 16.8%; and the 51 to 60 years and '61 and over' groups comprised 11.4% as shown in figure 2.1. These results may indicate that age makes a difference: the younger the individual the more likely he or she is to participate.



**Figure 2.1: Age Distribution of Respondents**

In relation to educational level, 221 respondents (74.4%) had a Bachelor degree or higher; (16.2%) did not complete secondary education; and 28 held a diploma degree (9.4%). Taking into consideration the fact that the literacy rate in Jordan is 91% with a rank of 92 out of 194 countries (among the highest in the Middle East), it is clear that the majority of the respondents were highly educated as shown in figure 2.2<sup>(2)</sup>.

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<sup>(2)</sup> Regarding religion, Al-wistya district is comprised of 99.9% Muslims and only 0.1% of the population are Christians.

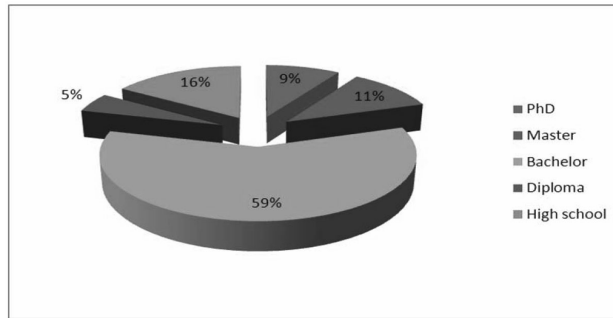


Figure 2.2: Educational level

### 3.0 Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Understanding issues in electoral campaigns and voter behavior requires a better understanding of certain topics central to voting behavior such as electoral marketing, elections, and electoral campaigns.

#### 3.1 What is Electoral Marketing?

The Chartered Institute of Marketing defines marketing as “...the management process responsible for identifying, anticipating and satisfying customer requirements profitably” (Chartered Institute of Marketing, 2004). In the same way the American Marketing Association defines marketing as “...the process of planning and executing the conception, pricing, promotion, and distribution of ideas, goods, and services to create exchanges that satisfy individual and organizational objectives” (American Marketing Association, 2004). Electoral marketing is a species of political marketing, applied and directly and exclusively related to electoral situations. Accordingly, electoral marketing can be defined as "the management process responsible for identifying, anticipating and satisfying voters' requirements before the elections and exclusively for elections.

#### 3.2 What Elections Mean

Elections are the means by which the electorates are entitled to select one or more person or political party from a list of candidates to represent them in the House of Representatives. To achieve this objective it is necessary that each political party and candidate enjoys the right to freedom of expression and freedom of association, and has access to the

electorates to be able to explain their platforms, i.e. the political, economic and social issues and their proposed solutions, in order to influence the decision- making of the electorates.

### **3.3 What Election Campaigns Mean**

In modern democratic societies, election campaigns are an important aspect of deciding election outcomes. Furthermore, they are integral to the process of political programmes being reviewed and government policies discussed. In addition campaigns provide voters with important information that enables them to make a decision. Therefore, election campaigns are a legitimate right guaranteed in the constitutions of most countries which adhere to the necessity of multilateral action to elect the individuals and political entities via the ballot box.

According to Gelman and King, “campaign activities increase the amount of information that voters have available to them about the type of things that are important and the candidates’ position on these things. In this way, campaigns do two things: they help voters make sense of the agenda and they reduce voter uncertainty about candidate positions or real conditions of important variables” (in Stevenson and Vavreck, 2000, 220).

During the pre-election period candidates undertake organized efforts to influence voters’ decisions to secure victory in parliamentary elections. In the case of Jordan, some candidates start their campaigns months before the official period in order to attract the voters to vote for them. Some candidates continue their campaigns right up until the polling day itself. Therefore, the candidates intensify their visibility within society and try to improve their relationship with the public, particularly by making visits to *Madafas* (Guest Houses), and making home visits, particularly in rural areas and small districts. These includesocial meetings, visits both for congratulation and condolence, and presenting gifts on important occasions such as weddings. Moreover, the candidates attend and participate in a range of public meetings, whether of a political, artistic, cultural, religious, commemorative, recreational or sporting nature in order to make contact with citizens.

#### **3.3.1 The Campaign Effect Debate**

The questions: Do campaigns matter, why do some people decide to vote, and Why do others decide not to vote., have long been debated in the political science literature. Furthermore, these basic questions remain

critical because they have important implications for any normative evaluation of democracy in any country. Thus, several important arguments have been raised about the importance of campaigns in terms of persuading voters. Scholars of political science and communication have raised questions about whether and how electoral campaigns influence the political beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of voters, and some argue that campaigns are an integral part of deciding election outcomes. Moreover, there is much debate over the relative impact of the various factors in determining electoral outcomes.

In early studies about the electoral impact of campaigns activities, researchers have found that immutable social and psychological forces influenced voters to vote in particular ways. They concluded that campaigns are of marginal importance, and have only limited influence in directing voting behavior (Stevenson & Vavreck, 2000). Early researchers such as (Berelson, Bernard, Paul Lazarsfeld, & William McPhee) have also argued that most voters decide to select a candidate based on candidate's sociological characteristics and /or partisan identification before the campaign even begins (Berelson et al., 1954).

Environmental and socio-cultural factors may influence voting behavior. Hence, an individual's social class, occupation, educational level, residence and level of income may be the sources of individual voting behavior (Books & Prysby, 1988). In addition to the individual voter's social and cultural environment, the psychological attributes of the individual voter has a significant role in explaining their voter behavior (Books & Prysby, 1988). Therefore, some authors argue that voters base their choice from among a range of candidates on psychological factors such as fear, aggression and selfishness (Ceyhan & Gul, 2004).

One of the first studies in this field, conducted by Cutright and Rossi, argued that the main factors that affect election outcomes are the characteristics and activities of the party organization and the individual characteristics of candidates; moreover the voters' behavior is affected by the psychological attributes of the individual voter, in addition to their individual voter's social and cultural environment (Cutright& Rossi, 1958).

Newman and Sheth (1985) developed a model of voter behavior which proposed seven distinct cognitive domains that drive voters'

behavior: (1) issues and policies, (2) social imagery, (3) emotional feelings, (4) candidate image, (5) current events, (6) personal events, (7) epistemic issues. They concluded that these domains could be fewer in the future elections, due to overlapping of some of the topics (Newman&Sheth, 1985). The figure below shows the model of voting behavior proposed by Newman and Sheth.

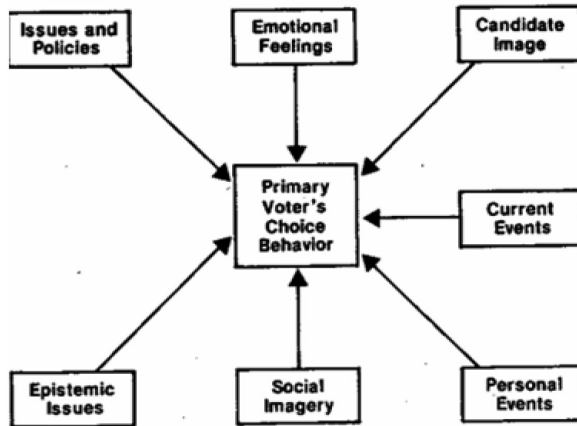


Figure 3.1: Model of Primary Voting Behavior

Source: Newman, B. I. & J. N. Sheth (1985). A Model of Primary Voter Behavior, *Journal of Consumer Resreach*, Vol. 12, p. 179.

Carreirao in his article "*Relevant Factors for the Voting Decision in the 2002 Presidential Election*" investigated the relevant factors voting decisions in the 2002 Brazilian presidential election. He found that the main four factors affecting voting decision for individuals were the voter's religion, the voter's party affiliation, the evaluation of the current government, and the candidates' attributes (Carreirao, 2007). Little and his colleagues studied whether facial appearance could have an effect on voting decision. The study results demonstrated that facial appearance has a significant effect on the choice of candidate (Little et al., 2007).

In the fall of 2006 the American National Election Studies group (ANES) concluded that forces that may have an effect on voting decision fall under two categories, internal and external (Baruca, 2006). Internal factors which have a significant impact on voters' choice refer to the psychological characteristics, patterns of behavior, cognitive beliefs and

affective reactions to political campaigns. In addition to the internal factors, voters' behavior is also affected to a large extent by external factors. Internal factors can be broadly divided into the following categories: (1) campaigns focused on influencing voters' attitudes and behaviors towards candidates (advertisement, rallies, and endorsements); (2) events taking place in the country which are not influenced by campaign ads such as economic issues and wars; (3) behavior of individuals close to the voter e.g.- family and friends (Baruca, 2006).

Box-Steffensmeier argues that there are short-term and long-term factors affecting the voter's behavior. Long-term factors refer to political attitudes such as party identification, ideological orientations; and demographic attributes such as race, religious affiliation, and union membership. These factors affect voting behavior by affecting the attitudes of voters in making their decision, and often voters show patterns in their voting, when they vote for the same political party every four years (Box-Steffensmeier et al., 1999).

However, short-term factors (such as the candidates' images, position on various political issues, whether they address family and/or specific issues during the electoral campaigns, and exposure to campaign advertising) refer mainly to the election campaign itself. From this perspective, voters do not make the same electoral decision every four years, because short-term factors are topical and relevant to the election campaign and contemporary events (Steffensmeier et al., 1999).

### **3.4 Why Do People Vote? Theories of Political Participation**

In "Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?", Milbrath asserts that "Taking any political action generally requires two decisions: one must decide to act or not to act; and one must also decide the direction of his action. For example, a person not only decides to vote or not to vote, but also decides whom to vote for" (Milbrath, 1965, p6). Accordingly, three prominent schools have emerged to explain political participation. They are the socio-economic or socioeconomic status (SES) school, the political culture school, and the institutional school. Scholars in the socio-economic school claim that there is a positive relationship between income, education, occupation and political participation. Therefore, those who enjoy higher incomes,

better education, and more highly respected jobs are more likely to be active participants in political life (Alazzam, 2008).

Taking a rather different approach, the political culture scholars choose to emphasize political values and attitudes. They argue that political culture and attitudes towards political efficacy and political trust, for example, affect political participation more than other factors. In addition, they argue that the most basic psychological orientation is the individual's "interest in politics". Peteman in *Participation and Democratic Theory*, argues that one of the most important correlations between political culture and participation is the sense of political efficacy or political competence. She stresses that, "people who have a sense of political efficacy are more likely to participate in politics than those in whom this feeling is lacking.... Persons, who feel more effective in their daily everyday tasks and challenges, are more likely to participate in politics." (Peteman, 1970, 46).

In the institutional school, scholars have focused on institutional affiliation and its effect on individuals' political participation. They contend that institutional factors such as inter-party competition, type of electoral system, size of electoral district and legal rules determine who is eligible to vote; and, moreover, voting facilities also play a significant role in increasing political participation and have a major impact on voter turnout (Jackman, 1987).

### **3.5 The Impact of Election Campaign in Western Democracies (USA)**

The most basic function of the political campaigns -in democratic theories- is to inform voters about the choices before them and to persuade them to participate (Norris, 1999). Accordingly, in the following section of this article the researcher tries to discuss the question about the importance of election campaigns in democratic societies and to what extent and what way do they fulfill this primary goal and thereby enhance the democratic process.

#### **3.5.1 The Impact of Election Campaign in USA**

There are more elections to fill more offices in The United States than any other major democracy. These elections start from drain commissioner to the President of the United States. Most American studies have focused their attention on analyzing and investigating how campaigns affect voting behavior in USA presidential elections. Some

Scholars, who studied political campaigns in America, cast doubt on the impact of election campaigns on voters' behavior as a result of lack of knowledge or interest in politics and political campaigns. Instead, they argue that the success of voting models depends on the presence of other factors such as incumbency, presidential approval, and economic performance (Brian & Daron, 2006).

Early studies of political campaigns for the presidential elections in 1940, (Berlson, Lazarsfield, & McPhee 1954; Lazarsfield, Berlson, & Gaudet 1948) indicated that few voters were found to change their vote choice in selecting a preferred candidate or party during the campaign. In addition, it has been found that only about 8% of people change their party affiliations during the final 6 months of a campaign (Berelson et al, 1954). Recently, in some contemporary studies (e.g., Bartels and Zaller 2001; Campbell & Garand 2000; Hibbs 2000) it has been concluded that election outcomes are largely predictable by looking at trends in presidential approval, economic performance, incumbent administration and other factors taking place before the campaign or outside of campaign activities (Henry et al., 2006).

Wilson, has dedicated a whole chapter which he entitled "Campaigns and Elections" to examine the effect of the campaign environment on electoral behavior and election outcomes in the general election for U.S. president. He claimed that although elections in USA happen every year on many different dates in many different areas of the country, voter turnout in American election tends to be lower than in most other democracies. Moreover, American political parties play a minor role in regard to American elections and campaigns, even less than other countries (James and Candice, 2004). Wilson also argued that ethnicity and demographic factors have played a profound role in the voting behavior of the electorate in 1984 presidential election. The electoral campaign in 1984 by a black, Jess Jackson, motivated black voters to register for participation particularly in the south, when about 700,000 more blacks were registered in 1984 than in 1980. Consequently, these changes had a significant effect on voting behavior of most white southern politicians (James and Candice, 2004). Moreover, in the 1996 presidential elections, black voters played an important role in Bill Clinton's victory over Dole.

Toni Morrison labeled Democrat Bill Clinton the first black

president of the United States<sup>(3)</sup>. Furthermore, Morrison argued that Clinton was "blacker than any actual black person who could ever be elected in our children's lifetime (Hubbard, 2001). The black registration rate in 1996 was 69.3%, 84% of them voted for Clinton in 1996 which was stronger than other candidates, as the figure was a mere 12% for Bush and 4% for Perot.

However, in the last US presidential elections, on November 4, 2008, Obama Succeeded in motivating African American voters, for that reason 95% of black American voters went to the ballot for Barack Obama and only 4% for Senator John McCain of Arizona. Accordingly, Obama officially became the 44<sup>th</sup> president of the United States of America and the first African American to be elected to that office<sup>(4)</sup>. Other scholars argue that campaigns play a little role in voting decision as the vast majority of voters base their opinions and preferences on social context. However, only few voters change their decision when they reevaluate themselves in the political context (Green et al., 2002).

Campbell in his study of American presidential campaigns studied the potential effect for unpredictable and unsystematic factors. He reached to the conclusion that "of the thirty-three presidential elections since 1868, an estimated four to six were likely decided by unsystematic factors. His conclusion echoes Holbrook's: "perhaps the best characterization of campaign effects is that they are neither large nor minimal in absolute sense, but sometimes large enough to be politically important" (Henry et al., 2006).

Analyzing recent trends in congressional elections and discussing some important questions -in regard to the impact of electoral campaigns- such as: "Why do people in the USA vote the way they do? Why they vote at all? What goes in campaigns? How is money raised and spent -and what differences does it make," Jacobson, in his book "*The Politics of Congressional Elections*" paid particular attention to the

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(3) "Toni Morrison endorses Obama for president " Associated Press in USA Today. January 1, 2008.. Retrieved 2009-01-20. "The woman who famously labeled Bill Clinton as the "first black president" backed Barack Obama to be the second."

(4) Claire Cohen, "Breakdown of demographics reveals how black voters swept Obama into White House" in Mail News online, at <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/worldnews/article-1083335/Breakdown-demographics-reveals-black-voters-swept-Obama-White-House.html>

role of money in politics in general and congressional elections in particular. He argued that lack of money matters. Candidates lose most of their time if they do not spend significant funds. Their chances of winning go up as they spend more. Therefore, money cannot buy victory; lack of money 'buys' defeat (Jacobson, 2009).

### 3.6 Electoral Campaign in Arab Countries (Kuwait)

Kuwait has one of the most democratic political systems in the Gulf region where the Kuwaiti parliament, established in 1963 as part of the country's first post-independence constitution, is seen as the oldest and most powerful institution of its kind in the Gulf Arab countries. It is in fact considered one of the most sustained democratic experiments in the Arab world.

Kuwait had its first elected legislative council *majlis al-tashri'i* in June 1938, and then elections were held again in December 1938, after a campaign by influential merchants. The ruling family dissolved the second Council in 1939. Following independence in 1961 Kuwait's first National Assembly, known as the *Majlis Al-Umma* (House of the Nation)<sup>(5)</sup>, was elected in 1963. Subsequently, Kuwait has had regular parliamentary elections since 1963. The parliament was suspended twice (1976-1981 and 1986-1992), but elections afterwards were held in 1992, 1996, 1999, 2003, 2006, 2008, 2009 and 2012<sup>(6)</sup>.

Most of the campaigning during parliamentary elections in Kuwait is done through the tradition of the *diwaniyya* (an evening session held weekly by each family, where men get together and discuss issues of the day). During election campaigns, these gatherings are held in large open-air tents (campaign tent), which serve as campaign headquarters. The first and the most influential factor that dominates Kuwait's election campaigns is tribalism. Historically, tribalism significantly affects all Kuwaiti elections, particularly those of the National Assembly. One of the slogans that has been raised in 2003 election campaigns is "Bedouins are coming". Accordingly, candidates who were backed by Bedouin clans won 28 of 50 seats in the 2003 parliament. Moreover, the election results revealed that the tribal candidates showed the extent of their influence in

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<sup>(5)</sup> Fifty members of unicameral parliament, the National Assembly (*Majlis al-Umma*) are elected to four-year terms.

<sup>(6)</sup> <http://www.kna.kw/clt/run.asp?id=334> at 10:30 pm

a number of other polling stations. In fact, more than 60% of the candidates enjoyed tribal backgrounds to the extent that in a tribe, 11 candidates were nominated to the 2003 elections<sup>(7)</sup>.

In 2006, the National Assembly passed legislation to divide Kuwait to electoral districts, which was a major issue in the preceding election campaign. Accordingly, the voter was entitled to cast four votes, and in each district the highest ten candidates earn seats. These amendments aimed at making vote buying more difficult, decrease the importance of tribe, family and sect in elections, and give women candidates a better chance to be elected. However, these amendments came with unanticipated results in 2008 elections as mentioned in DRI and KTS report: "the new system had some unanticipated 'side effects' e.g. because each voter has four votes, some political blocs 'traded' votes with each other, a practice that is facilitated by the existence of close social networks (families, clans and tribes). This allows candidates to have a good idea of their co-support, enabling them to 'trade' one or two votes of the four available to voters with other candidates in exchange for the votes from the other candidate's core support"<sup>(8)</sup>.

Additionally, The candidates for Kuwaiti parliamentary elections depends on different ways in their election campaigns to attract votes, one of the most attractive is the set up and services offered in the campaign headquarters. In Kuwait News Agency Boshahri noted that candidates tend to attract the eyes of the voter rather than their minds. Therefore, they race to set up campaign headquarters that display luxury through high quality decoration, flooring, furniture, and other five-star services in addition to rich and varied buffets<sup>(9)</sup>.

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<sup>(7)</sup> Al-dhahri, Amir. "Competing clans and urban dominated the Kuwaiti elections and threatens the influence of Islamists and liberals" Middle East Newspaper 13 July 2003, No. 8993

<sup>(8)</sup> Assessment of the Electoral Framework (Final Report) by Democracy Reporting International (DRI) and the Kuwait Transparency Society (KTS), Berlin/Kuwait, November 2008 at (accessed at 15/04/2013)

<sup>(9)</sup> Boshahri, Maryam. Kuwait News Agency (KUNA), Luxury aspects in election headquarters to attract voters (Mazaher Altaraffee Almaqar al-Entekhabia Lejazb Alnakheb), 16/04/2008 at <http://www.kuna.net/kw/ArticlePrintPage.aspx?id=1899843&language=ar>

### 3.7 Previous Studies in Jordan

There are a few studies that simultaneously assess voting behavior in Jordanian elections. In one 1995 study by Al-Qadi entitled "Electoral propaganda-Theoretical and Practical study", the author discussed the main features of electoral propaganda in Jordan and reviewed the scientific methods used to formulate the electoral propaganda. He concluded that electoral propaganda had an effect on the hearts and minds of voters. He further confirmed that traditional electoral methods are more preferable to voters than other methods. Accordingly, he arranged means of communication in term of importance to voters as follows: (1) headquarters and conferences; (2) brochures; (3) banners (slogans and themes); (4) newspapers; (5) TV and radio ads.

The second study by Helmi is entitled "The impact of Communication Modes on voting behavior: An Analytical Study in the Sociology of Communication in Jordanian Society". The author argued that direct personal communication models are more effective in public opinion and voting behavior than traditional media such as newspapers, TV, radio etc. Moreover, he argued that religious and social factors are more prominent and effective factors in directing voting behavior than personal qualifications of candidates or their political and ideological affiliation. Additionally, he declared that the impact of social and tribal factor is the most effective and influential factor in Bedouin and rural societies, while the religious and political factors are the more effective in urban societies.

Another study about voting behavior was conducted by Tayseer Faris, who discussed the main electoral propaganda techniques and argued that there are many obstacles to electoral propaganda in Jordan as a result of continuing government intervention in the electoral process. The study concluded that electoral propaganda had no important effect on the elections' outcome. He concluded that tribal affiliation and being from the same town remain the most often cited reasons for voting for district candidates in addition to services provided by the candidate. Furthermore, he argued that electoral propaganda still depends on traditional techniques.

In a recent study entitled "The Impact of Elections Propaganda on Voting Behavior of the Jordanian Voter (The elections of the fifteenth parliament in Jordan 2007)" by Alnoaimi, the author investigated voters'

political behavior in the 2007 elections in order to examine the nature of the electoral propaganda and the scope of impact on directing voters' decisions. The study's findings, which were similar to previous studies, concluded that propaganda did not affect voters' decisions, and traditional voting propaganda, i.e., brochures, signs, posters, were the most effective means of campaigning.

However, the findings of the current study do not necessarily support all of the previous researches' findings, particularly because it is the first study to look into the impact of electoral campaigns on voters' behavior after the 'Arab Spring, which is expected to have a positive effect on voting behavior. In addition, some argued that the Arab Spring has had a significant impact on the electoral campaigns and voting behavior alike.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

Based on previous studies, it can be concluded that there are five dominant factors which explain voting behavior:

- 1 - Candidates' traits, attributes, and personal characteristics such as credibility, reliability, competence.
- 2 - Party identification is a central element in the evaluation of political candidates.
- 3 - The marketing campaign process i.e.- use of the media to regulate political advertising, messaging, and having an organized set of communication activities to generate specific outcomes in a large number of individuals and in a specified period of time.
- 4 - Economic and political conditions.
- 5 - Social and demographic factors.

### **4.0 Jordan (Case Study)**

Since the return of electoral politics to Jordan in 1989, the Kingdom has held seven parliamentary elections, in 1989, 1993, 1997, 2003, 2007, 2012 and 2013. These polls have established clear indicators to measure Jordanians' priorities and concerns, voter attitudes and electoral culture. The parliamentary season has come to be filled with excitement and interest for the Jordanian society, particularly for those groups who are interested in participating in elections, such as tribes and parties. These elections have established various practices and types of ritual in relation

to the election process, creating a new type of electoral culture and campaign practices.

#### **4.1 The 2013 Parliamentary Elections (What's New?)**

The political situation in Jordan is no different from that of other Arab countries which have experienced protests and demonstrations over the past two years. Since early January 2011, Jordan has witnessed waves of demonstrations led by the Muslim Brotherhood and other opposition groups demanding comprehensive political and social reforms. These reforms include amendments to the constitution, a fairer electoral law, a reduction in the powers granted to the King particularly his powers to appoint and dismiss the Prime Minister, and effective anti-corruption efforts. They also demand an end to the security services' interference in political life.

In response, King Abdullah II dissolved parliament and called early elections and dismissed his cabinet and prime minister. In addition to that, he established a National Dialogue Committee tasked with drafting a new electoral law, and a Royal Committee on Constitutional Review. The King announced the recommendations of the Commission for the revision of the constitution, including amendments to 42 central articles (over a third of the constitution), the establishment of a constitutional court as well as an independent commission to monitor elections.

Thus, the 2013 parliamentary elections were Jordan's first parliamentary elections since the eruption of the Arab Spring two years before. Moreover, for the first time, Jordan's proposed new electoral law provides for a mixed electoral system, in which voters will cast two votes; the first vote will go to representatives in their multi-member electoral districts (SNTV), while the second vote is for a closed national list of 27 seats (18% of the total seats).

In addition, the parliament has expanded from 120 to 150 representatives, including 15 seats to be allotted as part of the "women's quota" to enhance the presence of women and their involvement in the legislative branch. This presents an increase from the previous 12 seats. By contrast, the opposition, which includes the country's largest and most influential opposition party, the Islamic Action Front (IAF), several leftist and pan-Arab groups, and the newly emerging youth

movements - have rejected the new electoral law and boycotted the elections.

Jordanians showed little enthusiasm for the 2013 elections from the beginning with low registration rates and an even lower voter turnout- of 40% as a result of insufficient political reforms initiated by the government. Moreover, unsurprisingly, the result showed little change for the 17th Jordanian parliament (Jordan's first parliament since the Arab Spring) as it was almost similar to the unpopular 16th parliament.

## **4.2 Analysis and Discussion of the Research Questions.**

### **4.2.1 Participation in 2013 Jordanian parliamentary elections**

According to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) report, 1,288,043 Jordanians went to the polls, representing 56.6% of registered voter. In addition, the voter turnout according to the report was higher in rural districts and lower in urban districts. However, according to the study findings, the participation rate in Al-wistya district- a rural district- was a high 68.4% (203) of the population. Given the fact that (74.4%) of the respondents had a Bachelor degree or higher, the cited figures confirm Tessler et.al's argument that the "better educated individuals are more likely than the less educated individuals to participate in the electoral system. They are more likely to (a) vote, and (b) attend campaign rallies" (Tessler, et al, 2008).

Question 11 of the questionnaire asked respondents who voted, to identify the main reason for their selection of one candidate over another. The respondents were given eight options:

- A - The candidate's personal qualities such as honesty, integrity, leadership and efficiency.
- B - The political culture and educational level of the candidate.
- C - Kinship or family ties.
- D - Service dimension (the candidate performs a service for you personally or one of your relatives)
- E - The previous positions of the candidate on the national issues.
- F - Party affiliation of the candidate.
- G - Other reasons (please specify).

As figure 4.1 shows, the personal attributes of candidates such as experience, honesty, morality, compassion, competence, and leadership ability received considerable attention from voters and comprised 51% of

reasons given (A&B), while kinship or family ties came in second place with 19%.

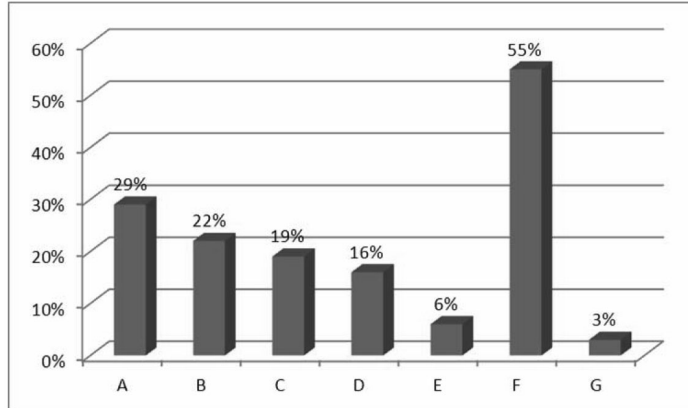


Figure 4.1: Primary Reason for Voting for a Candidate Over Others.

On the other hand, 31.6% (94) boycotted the elections, of whom 28% belonged to political parties, which may suggest that their decision to boycott elections was the party's decision. Meanwhile, the Muslim Brotherhood had announced earlier that it was their intention to boycott parliamentary elections and had urged voters to boycott it. Consequently, their decision was in line with what the study results revealed, namely that the political attitude of the majority of respondents is Islamic as figure 4.2 shows.

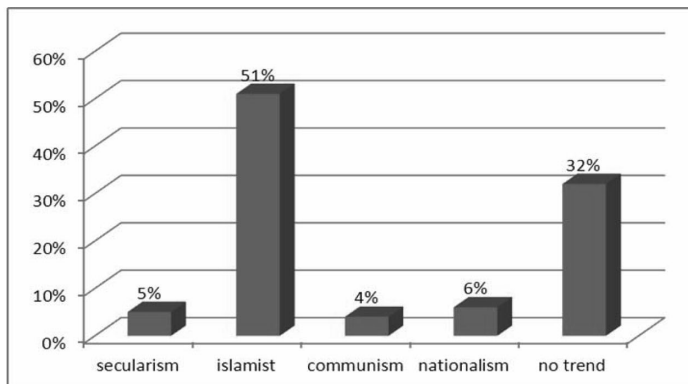


Figure 4.2: Political Attitudes of Respondents

**4.2.2 Boycott of the 2013 Parliamentary Elections (the main causes)**

Despite a number of political activist groups, including most prominently the Muslim Brotherhood and protest movements calling for a boycott of 2013 parliamentary elections, voter turnout according to official statement was one of the highest in Jordan’s history. However, out of 2.27 million registered voters, 43.4 %, i.e. about 1.35 million boycotted the last elections. Accordingly, in order to explore the main reasons for the election boycott, question 13 of the questionnaire asked respondents who did not participate in the last elections about the main reason for their decision not to vote. The respondents were given six options:

- 1 - I am not satisfied with the abilities of the Parliamentary councils.
- 2 - I doubt the integrity of the election process.
- 3 - I am not satisfied with the candidates available in my district.
- 4 - Distrust in the electoral system.
- 5 - I am not interested in the election.
- 6 - Other reasons (please specify).

35.10% of respondents said that they did not participate because they distrusted the electoral system, while 21.28% of respondents declared that they did not have confidence in the integrity of the electoral process, as shown in table 4.1.

**Table 4.1 Respondents’ Reasons for Non-Participation in the 2013 Elections**

Reason	Percentage
Distrust in the electoral system.	35.10%
I doubt the integrity of the election process.	21.28%
I am not satisfied with the ability of the Parliamentary councils	16%
I am not satisfied with the available candidates.	12.7%
I am not interested in the election.	9.6%
Other reasons	5.32%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>

Several previous studies have concluded that voter turnout in countries that have adopted SNTV is lower in comparison with other electoral systems, as voters are generally less enthusiastic about

participation as figure 4.3 shows. Jordan is one of only two countries (along with Vanuatu) using the SNTV system and they both have voter turnouts of only 54%. This indicates that the electoral system type has interactive effects on overall turnout rates (Alazzam, 2008).

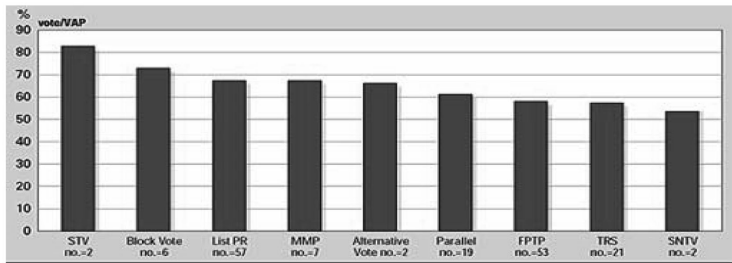


Figure 4.3 Voter Turnout Categorized by Electoral System Type.

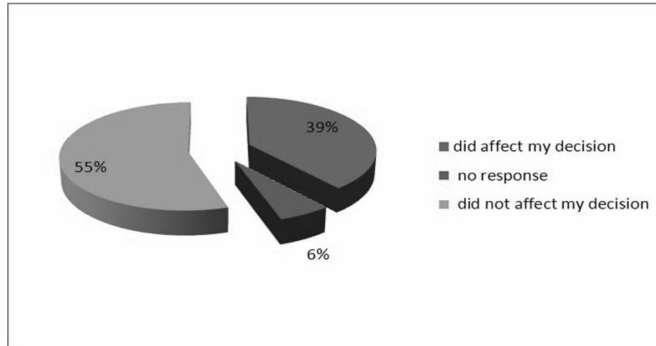
Source: Alazzam, A. A. (2008). Political participation in Jordan: the impact of party and tribal loyalties since 1989. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.P. 262.

#### 4.2.3 Electoral Campaigns and Voters' Behavior (How do voters decide?).

In order to reach a decision, a voter needs to have relevant information about the candidates who are running in their district. Then, voters need to reach a decision based on a mechanism known as "the decision making process". To achieve this objective it is necessary that all candidates should be able to set out their strategies for tackling the prevailing political issues and to propose their strategic solutions to the electorate as part of the electoral campaign. It is true that all voters engage in the same act of voting but they are often thinking about different things when they mark the ballot paper. Understanding why and how people decide which candidate to vote for, remains one of the key questions in political science.

Although (55%) of the study sample claimed that the electoral campaign did not affect their decision and that the voters had made their decision even before the start of the election campaign (see figure 4.4), (39%) were opposed to the idea that there was no impact on their decisions due to the electoral campaign. The question that presents itself is how do electoral campaigns have an effect on voters? What elements of campaigning affect voting decisions? To answer this, the following sections will shed light on the key elements of Jordanian election campaigns (according to Newman and Sheth's model of voter behavior)

that have affected voters, with a view to understanding how they will affect the general election.



**Figure 4.4: The Impact of the Electoral Campaign on Voters' Decisions**

#### **4.2.3.1 Campaign Communications and the Decision Making Process**

Candidates have always been concerned with how to attract voters and how to reach the public. Therefore, one of the main strategic elements of the campaign necessary to achieve this, is the communications strategy, which is an attempt, through using media, messaging, and an organized set of communications to shape voters' behaviors towards desirable outcomes. The electoral campaign period should normally be well defined and should commence after the valid nomination of parties and candidates, ending one or two days before polling. Moreover, there should be no unreasonable restrictions on the right to freedom of expression, and every candidate should have equal access to the media to undertake their campaign. However, the questions remain: do election campaigns in Jordan provide voters with the necessary information to make their decision? Do candidates have suitable channels and tools with which to communicate with and influence voters? And what is the most effective campaign communication tool for attracting Jordanian voters?

The study results revealed that the majority of respondents (58.6%) believe that the electoral campaigns do not provide voters with information needed to make a decision, whilst 32.3% believe the opposite, and 9.1% did not give an opinion. Regarding the most attractive communication tool to voters, question 14 of the questionnaire asked respondents to indicate how they get the information they need to

make their decision. It is clear from figure 4.5 that voters prefer to read articles or view programs about their preferred candidate (selective exposure) through electronic websites or TV ads as 73.4% considered these two mechanisms the most preferred means of following electoral campaigns, while electoral headquarters were least popular, as only 21.9% of voters follow election campaigns in this way. This finding is contrary to the findings of a previous study, conducted in 2007, which concluded that 40.8% preferred the electoral headquarters, while TV ads were ranked seventh at 21.7% (Orakat, 2007). These changes came about as a result of the growing dominance of electronic media in the "new media" era more than in the recent past.

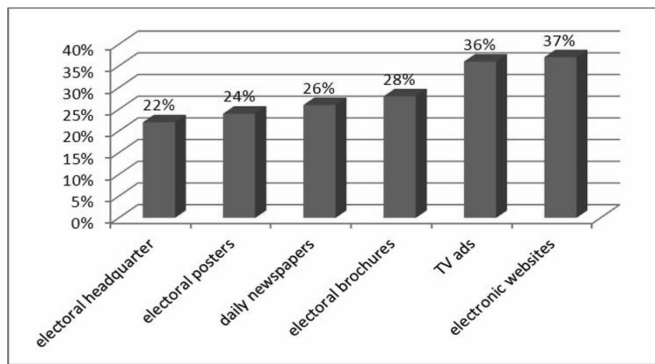


Figure 4.5: The Most Preferred Means following Election Campaigns.

#### 4.2.3.2 Political Speech and Electoral Competition

Public speaking skills and the addressing of various social spectra are necessary in order to run a good campaign and play a prominent role in voters' decision-making processes. For example, some argue that one of the most important factors behind Barack Obama's election as President in the 2008 US presidential elections were his speechmaking skills. Pilkington argued in *The Guardian* that "To a large degree, the success of Obama's presidential run so far has been built on his skills as a speechmaker". The situation with Jordanian elections is no different from that in other elections in other countries according to the study findings.

The majority of respondents, 57.3%, agreed that the speechmaking skills of the candidates play a vital role in their decision to vote for any candidate over another. Accordingly, this indicates that these skills play

an important role in judging the cultural and educational background of the candidate. However, these findings are in line with what was concluded in section 4.2.1 of this study that the political culture and educational level of the candidate were in second place as the main reason for voters' decisions.

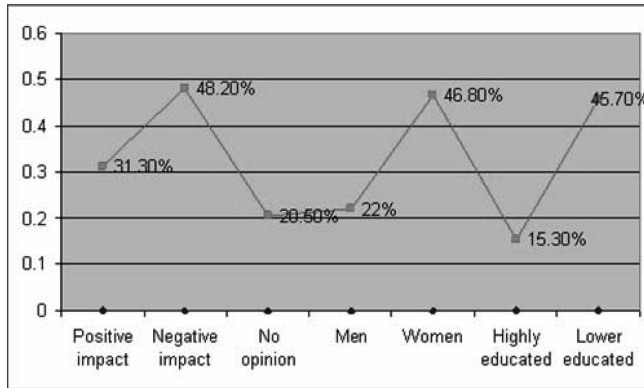
#### **4.2.3.4 The Impact of Candidate Appearance on Voting Behavior**

The aim of this section of the study is to explore whether the candidates' physical appearance based on their photos play a role in the eyes of the voters and accordingly has an effect on evaluations of political candidates. Several recent studies indicate that candidates who appeared more attractive are more likely to win in elections (Berggren, Jordahl, and Poutvaara 2010; Lawson et al., 2010; Hall et al., 2009; Rosar, Klein, & Beckers 2008). For instance, Rosenberg and his colleagues argued that, "a photograph provides voters with a clear image of the candidate's character and fitness for office and this, in turn, importantly influences the electoral choices they make" (Rosenberg et al, 1986).

A study conducted by a Princeton University reached to the same conclusion when the researchers argued that they could accurately predict the winners in approximately 70 percent of the races for U.S. Senate and gubernatorial races held in 2006 elections, based solely on appearances, and the faces of the candidates. Moreover, through their study they added that most people judge a political candidate's competency within seconds of seeing their face. Period, stance and issues did not matter. Even in the American presidential elections some argue that the competition has recently turned into a kind of 'beauty contest'. The candidates' physical appearance and their 'personal narrative' are playing an ever increasing role in the eyes of the voters in which the majority, about three-fifth, are not familiar with the candidates' political programs.

The present study reveals (as figure 4.6 shows) that 31.3% of the study sample believe that the candidates' appearance is a key factor influencing them as voters, whilst 48.2% declared that physical appearance is relatively irrelevant in candidate evaluation. To explain this issue in more details two important questions should be answered; which types of voters are most influenced by candidate appearance, and why? The study findings reveal that the tendency to be influenced by the

looks of political candidates is most prevalent among low-information voters or voters with a lower level of education who declared that they were not familiar with the candidates' political programs. This indicates that voters can compensate for a lack of adequate information by using cognitive shortcuts in voting decisions. Photographs of candidates have been identified as a cognitive shortcut in a number of studies.



**Figure 4.6: The Impact of Candidate Appearance in General, by Gender and by Level of Education.**

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that there is a positive correlation between the gender of voters and the impact of candidates' appearance on voting behavior as (46.8%) of those who declared that the candidates' appearance affects voting behavior were women, while only 22% were men (see figure 4.6). This result is also supported by several previous studies that concluded that women, on average, tend to be more concerned with physical appearance than men.

**4.2.3.5 The Campaign Headquarters (set up and services offered in the campaign headquarters).**

Once candidates have decided to run in an election, they begin to work hard to ensure that they keep their name in the public eye. Thus, they generally start campaigning by preparing for the establishment of their election headquarters, which usually begin one month prior to the elections. Candidates then start working to make their headquarters the most distinguished in the district, in order to attract voters. However, some voters argue that the candidate who cares about the shape and

services offered in their campaign headquarters aims to attract the eyes of the voters rather than their minds, whilst other voters argue that offering various services in the headquarters is evidence of political weight and ability to satisfy the voters.

It was concluded in section 4.2.3.1 that electoral headquarters are the least preferred means of following electoral campaigns as only 21.9% of voters prefer this mechanism. However, 44.4% stated that they prefer election headquarters as a means to get information about candidates, and believe that dazzling, and aspects of luxury of campaign headquarters, affects voters' decisions.

#### **4.2.3.6 Electoral Slogans (Reality and Credibility of Electoral Slogans among Jordanian Voters)**

Political slogans are essential for any campaign and one of the most versatile communication tools in an election. One of the key purposes of these slogans is to attract voters' attention and stimulate them to want to vote for the candidate. There are many elements for the candidate to consider when preparing appropriate slogans. The issues, location and personality of the candidate should be taken into account in the choice of slogan in order for it to remain in voters' minds during the election season.

However, campaign themes and slogans in Jordan vary from one place to another, and differ according to the voters' cultural, economic, political, and educational circumstances. Moreover, election campaigns reveal the complex political atmosphere within Jordan in addition to the attitudes and priorities of candidates and voters alike. Therefore, some of the slogans tend to be tribal and resemble the Jordanian Jordanians, and others address the people living in camps, i.e. Palestinian Jordanians. Accordingly, the candidates in Amman and other major cities produce slogans that include reform promises, such as constitutional and political reforms and freedoms in various forms that meet the demands of these areas' voters.

In districts that have a large population of Palestinian origins, candidates raise slogans such as 'no to normalization with Jews', 'yes to the right of return and supporting of Palestinian issue' and 'liberation of Al-Aqsa Mosque'. However, in areas that include people of both origins, candidates focus on national unity, such as 'yes to national unity', and 'all Jordanians have equal rights and duties'. In terms of Islamist slogans

candidates are committed to their traditional slogans such as “Islam is the solution”, and “The Quran is our constitution”.

As the 2013 parliamentary elections are the first elections in the post-Arab Spring period, some have argued that such elections should have slogans and campaign promises that inspire hope for the future and for political change. However, the reality was somewhat different and some observers and politicians argued that the impact of the Arab spring on the campaign slogans was not clear. This is supported by these study findings in which the vast majority of respondents (62.7%) declared that the slogans employed did not tackle the major issues that face the country its citizens, let alone provide any practical solutions to their problems and challenges. In terms of the credibility of campaign slogans in previous elections, a majority of the survey’s respondents (68.6%) claimed that slogans are inapplicable or meaningless, or that they are used just to be catchy. In fact, this result is inevitable and interrelated with the previous result. It is clear that voters no longer believe in slogans because they regard them as impractical and accordingly do not trust them. Hence, it is clear from figure 4.7 below that there is a positive correlation between the reality of a campaign slogan and its credibility.

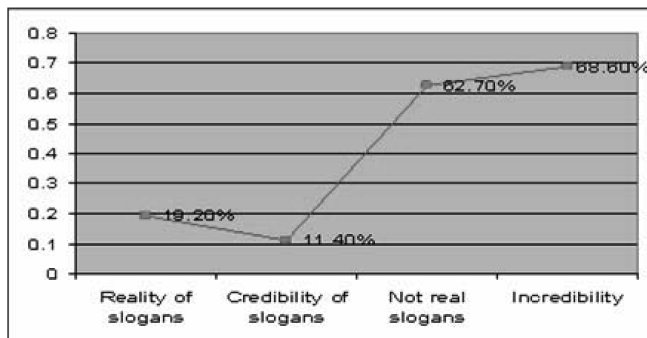


Figure 4.7: The Reality and Credibility of Campaign Slogans

### 5.0 Conclusions

- Generally, electoral campaigns play the role of an intermediary between candidates and voters. Candidates present their issues and agendas. The voters, in turn, select their preferred candidates according to the information provided during the campaigns. Political

campaigns spend millions in each voting cycle on persuading voters. At the same time, campaigning for 1425 candidates lasted for just one month (from 22 December 2012 to 22 January 2013). Taking into consideration that the country is complaining of growing unemployment and poverty as more than 900,000 people are living under poverty line, and with an unemployment rate of more than 13%, Jordan's national debt is JD20.8 billion (\$29.3 billion) constituting 83% of GDP. The reality in Jordan, however, is that this political spending plays only a limited role in influencing voters' behavior and attitudes in choosing candidates, particularly in rural and tribal areas.

- The present study also concludes that slogans are no more than hackneyed clichés, emptied of political content to the extent that many believe that there are no real and credible slogans, thus creating voter fatigue. The situation in tribal areas is getting worse as tribal candidates from large tribes are more likely to win a seat for their district seat. Moreover, tribes now conduct internal votes to choose their candidates for parliament, and most candidates have a clear idea of how many votes they will get because this is expected to be the same as the size of their tribe in the district.
- The study also argued that individuals with higher levels of education are more likely to participate in elections and are more influenced by electoral campaigns than those with lower levels of education.
- Young people are the group most likely to use electronic media, stay apprised of issues, register to vote, and turn out on election day. Therefore, websites and electronic media offer new opportunities to enhance citizen participation and accordingly play a more effective role than television and other campaigning methods.
- Finally, regarding a candidates' appearance and its effect on voting behavior, it is concluded that appearance of candidates has a significant effect and may be considered one of the most important political heuristics relied upon widely by uninformed voters.

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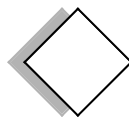
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## Appendix A

### الملحق أ

استطلاع رأي الناخبين في لواء الوسطية حول أثر الحملة الانتخابية  
على قرار الناخب في الانتخابات البرلمانية ٢٠١٣

#### القسم الأول – المعلومات الشخصية:

س(1) العمر:

30 – 18     40 – 31     50 – 41     60 – 51     61 فأكثر

س(2) الجنس:

ذكر     أنثى

س(3) الدين:

مسلم     مسيحي     غير ذلك

س(4) مكان الولادة:

المدينة     القرية     البادية

س(5) التعليم:

ثانوي أو أقل     دبلوم

بكالوريوس     ماجستير     دكتوراه

#### القسم الثاني – الانتماء السياسي والمشاركة في الانتخابات:

س(6) هل أنت منتسب إلى حزب سياسي؟

نعم (انتقل إلى سؤال 10)     لا

س(7) هل تنوي الانتساب مستقبلاً إلى أي حزب سياسي؟

نعم     لا

س (8) إذا كنت لا تنوي الانتساب إلى أي حزب سياسي ما السبب الرئيس

وراء ذلك؟  
-----  
-----

س(9) إلى أي تيار تميل آراؤك السياسية ؟

1. العلماني / الليبرالي

2. الإسلامي

3. الشيوعي

4. الاشتراكي

5. لا تميل إلى أي تيار

6. أخرى

س(10) هل شاركت في الانتخابات النيابية (2013)؟

نعم  لا انتقل إلى سؤال 13

س(11) ما السبب الرئيس وراء قرارك في المشاركة في التصويت

1. واجب وطني وحق دستوري

2. العشائرية والعلاقات الاجتماعية

3. لوضع الرجل المناسب في المكان المناسب

4. تعزيز مسيرة الديمقراطية

5. أسباب أخرى (حدد)

س(12) ما هو السبب الرئيس الذي كان وراء اختيارك للمرشح الذي قمت

بانتخابه؟

1. الثقافة السياسية أو الدرجة العلمية للمرشح

2. الانتماء الحزبي للمرشح

3. صلة القرابة بالمرشح (أحد أفراد العائلة أو العشيرة)

4. تقديم المرشح خدمة شخصية لك أو لأحد أقاربك

5. الحملة الانتخابية والبرنامج الانتخابي للمرشح

6. الصفات الشخصية في المرشح مثل الأمانة والنزاهة والقيادة والكفاءة

7. مواقف المرشح السابقة من القضايا الوطنية المختلفة

8. لأنه شخصية معروفة وله نفوذ وتقلد مناصب حكومية

9. أسباب أخرى (حدد)

س(13) ما السبب الرئيس وراء قرارك في عدم المشاركة في التصويت (يسمح

بتعدد الإجابات)

1. عدم الثقة بالمجالس النيابية

2. عدم الثقة بنتائج الانتخابات
3. عدم الثقة بأي من المرشحين في دائرتي الانتخابية
4. عدم الثقة بالقانون الانتخابي
5. غير مهتم
6. أسباب أخرى (حدد) \_\_\_\_\_

### القسم الثالث - تقييم دور الحملات الانتخابية في الانتخابات الأردنية وأثرها على قرار الناخب:

س(14) أتابع الحملات الانتخابية للمرشحين من خلال (يسمح بتعدد الإجابات)

1. الصحف اليومية
2. المواقع الإلكترونية
3. المنشورات الانتخابية
4. الاعلانات التلفزيونية في القنوات المحلية والفضائية
5. الملصقات الانتخابية
6. المقر الانتخابي
7. وسائل أخرى: \_\_\_\_\_

أرجو أن تعطي رأيك في الحملات الانتخابية والشعارات المطروحة بوضع علامة

(✓) تحت إجابتك

موافق بشدة	موافق	لا رأي	غير موافق	غير موافق بشدة		
					قبل عملية التصويت في الانتخابات أتابع البرامج الانتخابية للمرشحين من خلال الحملات الانتخابية	س(15)
					الحملة الانتخابية تقدم للناخب معلومات كافية عن البرامج الانتخابية للمرشح وقدرته السياسية	س(16)
					قدرة المرشح الخطابية في الحملة الانتخابية تؤدي دوراً في قرار الناخب	س(17)

موافق بشدة	موافق	لا رأي	غير موافق	غير موافق بشدة		
					الحملة الانتخابية تظهر قدرة المرشح المالية أكثر من إظهار كفاءته السياسية	س(١٨)
					شكل المرشح/ المرشحة وصورته الموجودة على البرامج الانتخابية أو في الندوات أو حول المقر الانتخابي تعطي انطباعاً وتترك أثراً في نفسية الناخب	س(١٩)
					المقر الانتخابي والخدمات المقدمة فيه (وجبات وحلويات) تعطي انطباعاً وتؤدي دوراً في قرار الناخب	س(٢٠)
					الإبهار ومظاهر الترف في المقر الانتخابي تجذب الناخب وتؤثر في قراره	س(٢١)
					تمتلك الشعارات المطروحة في الحملات الانتخابية مصداقية لدى الناخب الأردني	س(٢٢)
					الشعارات الانتخابية المطروحة تقدم حلولاً عملية لمختلف المشكلات التي يعانيها الوطن والمواطن	س(٢٣)
					العامل الاقتصادي (القضاء على الفقر والبطالة ومحاربة ارتفاع الأسعار) في الحملات الانتخابية كان له دور في اختيار المرشح	س(٢٤)
					محاربة الفساد والمطالبة بالإصلاح في الحملات الانتخابية أدت دوراً في اختيار المرشح	س(٢٥)

## **أثر الحملة الانتخابية على سلوك الناخب في الانتخابات البرلمانية الأردنية ٢٠١٣ (دراسة ميدانية)**

أمين علي العزام\*

**ملخص:** كيف يتخذ الناخبون قرارهم للتصويت لمرشح بعينه أو حزب سياسي معين؟ سؤال من الأسئلة التي ما زالت بحاجة إلى إجابة، ومن القضايا التي ما تزال بحاجة للبحث في العلوم السياسية. لهذا فإن الهدف الرئيس لهذه الدراسة هو معرفة أثر الحملة الانتخابية على سلوك الناخب ومعرفة العوامل التي تؤثر على خياراته. للوصول إلى هذه النتيجة استخدمت الدراسة المنهج التحليلي والكمي؛ حيث وزعت 500 استبانة على الناخبين في لواء الوسطية. خلصت هذه الدراسة إلى أن الحملة الانتخابية لها تأثير محدود على سلوك الناخب وقراره في الاختيار، علاوة على أن أغلبية الناخبين اتخذوا قرارهم حتى قبل بدء الحملة الانتخابية. أما الذين تأثروا بالحملة الانتخابية فقد خلصت الدراسة إلى أن القدرة الخطابية للناخب إلى جانب مظهره الخارجي كان لها أثر أكبر من الشعارات والبرامج الانتخابية من بين عناصر الحملة الانتخابية.

**المصطلحات الأساسية:** السلوك السياسي، الحملة الانتخابية، الاتجاه السياسي، عملية صنع القرار، الانتخابات.

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