



**Regional report**  
**Surveys on the State of the Parliament**  
**In Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Morocco.**  
**Draft**

## I- Methodology overview

ACRLI developed a set of principles aimed to assess the state of the parliament (SOP) in Arab countries. This set of principles was translated into a questionnaire targeting expert users in four Arab countries: Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Morocco. A public opinion survey was also conducted to assess the public's perception of the SOP.

The expert questionnaire tapped into 4 dimensions (Representation and participation, independence, integrity-impartiality, and performance) and contained 61 question items, 44 of which asked participants about their evaluation of specific aspects of the parliament, and 17 asked about the reforms that are needed.

Two questionnaires were developed separately, one for the general public, and one targeting experts (members of parliament, parliament employees, and counsellors<sup>1</sup>). Sample selection and population parameters for the expert survey and public opinion survey are outlined in the tables below:

Expert survey:

	Egypt		Jordan		Lebanon		Morocco <sup>2</sup>	
	Population	Sample	Population	Sample	Population	Sample	Population	sample
<b>Parliamentarians</b>	454	25	110	35	128	25	325	25
<b>Employees</b>	N/A	25	N/A	25	105	25	160	10
<b>Moustachar/ counsellors</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0	270	15
<b>Refusal rate %</b>	26.5		16.7		15.3		59	

Note: it is important to note that the “Muslim Brotherhood” members of parliament refused to participate in the expert survey.

Public survey:

	Egypt	Jordan	Lebanon	Morocco
<b>Location</b>	Cairo, Alexandria	Amman	Greater Beirut	Rabat, Casablanca, Marakesh
<b>Sample size</b>	800	400	400	800
<b>Immediate Refusal rate</b>	11%	27.2%	negligible	18.3%
<b>Gender ratio ♂-♀ %</b>	58 – 42	52-48	50-50	50-50
<b>Average age of participants</b>	35	35	33	36

<sup>1</sup> Only the Moroccan parliament employs this specific category

<sup>2</sup> Locations surveyed in Morocco: Rabat, Marrakech, Casablanca



## II- Expert and public opinion findings

Employees had significantly more grievances than parliamentarians in Morocco, Lebanon and Egypt, while parliamentarians had more grievances than employees in Jordan. In Morocco, parliamentarians and Counselors had the same number of negative evaluations, seven of which are common to both. See table below for details<sup>3</sup>.

	Parliamentarians	Employees	Moustachars / Counselors
<b>Jordan</b>	16	11	0
<b>Egypt</b>	8	15	0
<b>Morocco</b>	9	11	9
<b>Lebanon</b>	7	16	0

Note: total number of items = 36

Jordanian members of parliament had the highest level of complaints (44.4%), followed by Morocco (25%), Egypt (22.2%) and Lebanon (20%). Interestingly, the order is reversed when employees are asked about the SOP, with Lebanon (44.4%), Egypt (41.6%), Jordan and Morocco (25%). *This reversal of perspective (anti image) between members of parliament and employees is worth some attention and analysis.*

### Dimension analysis<sup>4</sup>:

When items are clustered together to measure a state of the parliament principle, a broader evaluation of the SOP is made possible. The table below summarises the main grievances by parliamentarians, employees and counsellors in each of the four countries:

		Jordan		Egypt		Morocco		Lebanon		
		P	E	P	E	P	E	M	P	E
<b>Representation and Participation</b>	Free and fair elections							x		x
	Equal opportunities		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Participation	x	x		x					x
<b>Independence</b>	Protection							x	x	
	Independence in fulfilling mandates				x		x			
<b>Performance</b>	Efficiency in the legislative process									
	Effective oversight of public finance				x					
	Effective oversight of the executive	x	x			x				x
	Efficiency of parliamentary committees									
	Performance of parliamentarians according to internal parliamentary rules							x		

<sup>3</sup> Please refer to individual country profiles and appendices for detail on the top five most negatively rated items.

<sup>4</sup> Excluding items 5 to 9 and 18 to 20. Refer to frequency section for analysis of these items.



	Efficiency of parliamentary groups	x	x						x
	Efficiency of administrative and technical bodies	x				x			
	Competence of parliamentarians	x			x				
<b>Integrity</b>	Conflict of interest	x	x	x				x	
	Political financing rules for parties and Election campaigns	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
	Transparency of parliamentary activity								

### Representation and participation:

- Members of parliament and employees in all four countries reported a lack of equal opportunities in the representation and participation dimension (with the exception of parliamentarians in Jordan, whose grievance resides in the participation principle). This common grievance is one of the strongest cross country and cross expert grievance.
- Employees in Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon voiced complaints about “participation”, while employees in Morocco (counsellors) and Lebanon voiced complaints about “free and fair elections”.

### Independence:

- Employees in Egypt and Morocco voiced complaints about “independence in fulfilling mandates”, while counsellors in Morocco and members of parliament in Lebanon complained about the lack of “protection”.

### Performance:

- There seemed to be no negative evaluation by MP and PE on the following dimensions:
  - Efficiency in the legislative process
  - Efficiency of parliamentary committees

### Members of parliament:

- Egyptian and Lebanese members of parliament voiced no grievances on any of the performance dimensions.
- Jordanian and Moroccan members of parliament voiced grievances about the lack of effective oversight of the executive, as well as the efficiency of administrative and technical bodies.
- Jordanian members of parliament further voiced grievances about the efficiency of parliamentary bodies.

### Employees and counsellors:

- Parliament employees in Jordan and Lebanon negatively rated the effective oversight of the executive as well as the efficiency of parliamentary groups.
- Parliament employees in Egypt negatively rated the effective oversight of public finance as well as the competence of parliamentarians.



- Moroccan employees did not voice any grievances, but counsellors perceived the performance of parliamentarians according to internal parliamentary rules to be deficient.

#### **Integrity:**

- Parliament members and employees in all countries (except MPs in Morocco and Lebanon) perceived the political financing rules for parties and election campaigns to negatively affect the integrity of the SOP.
- Members of parliament in Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon, as well as employees in Jordan negatively rated the application of conflict of interest rules in their respective countries.
- No grievances by members of parliament or its employees in any of the countries surveyed were voiced in terms of the transparency of parliamentary activities.

#### **Frequency analysis:**

##### **The financing of election campaigns**

According to Parliamentarians:

- Election campaigns are significantly financed by the personal funds of the candidate in Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, and Morocco. This was the only type of financial support for election campaigns that was believed to be significant in the four countries.
- Only in Morocco did members of parliament perceive that individual donations and public funds<sup>5</sup> contribute in financing election campaigns

According to Employees:

- Election campaigns are perceived to be financed by the personal funds of the candidate in Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, and Morocco and by Individual donations in Lebanon, Egypt, and Morocco.
- Only in Morocco were most types of funding (3/4) rated significantly.

##### **Influences and pressures on parliament**

According to Parliamentarians:

- Only in Jordan do parliamentarians believe that the parliament is significantly influenced/pressured by the government. No other type of pressure was mentioned in any of the countries. However, participants had neutral attitudes in Egypt on all types of pressures investigated, except in the case of non-governmental entities. In the latter instance, 50% of participants had neutral opinions regarding the extent of pressure exerted on the parliament by this entity while 50% believed that the influence is weak. This divided opinion was also present in Lebanon (36.8 neutral vs 36.8 weak and 26.3 strong)

According to Employees:

- In Jordan and Egypt, employees believe that the parliament is significantly influenced/pressured by the government. In Lebanon, the only type of pressure mentioned is

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<sup>5</sup> This item is debatable; 35% of participants believed that election campaigns are significantly financed by public funds and 35% do not believe so. The remaining 30% had a neutral opinion regarding this issue



international entities. None of the type of influences mentioned was believed to have a significant effect on the parliament.

### Reform:

When experts were asked about the needed reforms to improve the SOP, opinions differed greatly between members of parliament, employees, and countries. The confusion associated with what reforms to implement and which is important is noteworthy. The table below presents the ranking of the most needed reform by country and by type of expert. It is possible to recommend country specific recommendations rather than region wide assessments.

The most common types of reform pertained to the performance dimension. For example, employees in all four countries and parliamentarians in Egypt, Lebanon and Morocco voiced the need for specialized financial experts to assist parliamentarians in reviewing and overseeing the budget. Furthermore, parliamentarians in Jordan, Morocco and Lebanon stressed the need to improve staffing and equipment, while parliamentarians in Jordan, Egypt and Morocco, stressed the need for a greater oversight of the executive.

Lebanese parliamentarians surveyed stressed at the need for parliamentarians to consult more frequently with constituents and civil society organizations to make the parliament more representative (Representation and Participation).

On the other hand, employees in Jordan and Morocco pointed out at the necessity to improve in staffing and equipment (performance) as the most important type of reform. Employees in Egypt stressed mostly on the need to reinforce the freedom and fairness of elections (Representation and Participation). Finally, in the opinion of employees in Lebanon, the most necessary type of reform involves more frequent consultation of parliamentarians with constituents and civil society organizations to make the parliament more representative (Representation and Participation).

	Jordan		Egypt		Morocco			Lebanon	
	P	E	P	E	P	E	M	P	E
31 It is essential to have specialized financial experts assisting parliamentarians in reviewing and overseeing the budget		5	4	4	2	4	1	5	5
50 Improved staffing and equipment would strengthen the ability of parliament to function effectively	3	1		2	1	1	3	4	
34 Parliament should be more active in overseeing the executive	1	2	1		3	4			3
3 Reforms are needed to reinforce the freedom and fairness of elections	4		5	1					2
38 It is essential to assign parliamentarians to committees based on their expertise in order to increase the committees' efficiency		3			4		5	5	
10 Reforms are needed to ensure equal media and campaign funding opportunities for all candidates	5		3					3	



56 Effective enforcement of conflict of interest rules is needed to ensure the integrity of the Parliament	2					4	1	
42 Reforms of the internal parliamentary rules are needed to improve the efficiency of parliament			4	3		5		
53 More specialized, on-going training for parliamentarians would make the parliament more competent and more efficient		4				2	2	
59 Reforms of political financing rules are needed to strengthen the integrity of the Parliament			2		5			4
13 Parliamentarians should consult more frequently with constituents and civil society organizations to make the parliament more representative						3		1
61 More transparency in parliamentary activity would improve the integrity of the Parliament	3					4		
45 Encouraging the creation of parliamentary blocks would increase the efficiency of Parliament				5				

### III- Public opinion

#### A- Preliminary and background results:

Before presenting the main findings from the public opinion survey on the SOP, details from a few background questions shed some noteworthy light on the population surveyed in each country.

Of importance are the following:

- There is a high level of illiteracy in both Cairo and Alexandria; 16.5% of the sample surveyed reported being illiterates, and another 35% reported completing elementary school only.

Results of the experience of participants with the parliament are presented in the table below

		Jordan	Egypt	Morocco	Lebanon
Did you participate in the last parliamentary elections in your country?	Yes	40.8	46.4	49.8	51.3
	No	47.5	45.6	47.9	39.0
	N/A	11.8	8.0	2.4	9.8

- In Egypt, Morocco and Lebanon, most of the subjects had participated in the last parliamentary elections in their country.
- Even though a high percentage of participants in Jordan had partaken in the last parliamentary elections in their country, the majority did not

#### B- State of the Parliament:

An important finding is that the overall evaluation of the parliament and participation pillar was negatively evaluated in the four countries.



	Jordan	Egypt	Morocco	Lebanon
38. Candidates for Parliamentary seats enjoy equal competition chances	X	X	X	X
39. A limit for campaign spending is set	X	X	X	X
40. The authority that oversees elections is trusted and impartial		X	X	X
41. The parliament truly represents the social and political forces in the society	X	X	X	X
42. The parliamentarians in my district interact with their constituents	X	X	X	X
43. The parliamentarians endure illegal pressures (R)		X		X
44. Parliamentarians monitor all the actions of the ministers	X	X	X	X
45. Parliamentarians fight corruption	X	X	X	X
46. Parliament legislates effectively	X	X	X	X
47. Parliamentarians care about issues pertaining to the public	X	X	X	X
48. Parliamentarians do not misuse their posts for illegal benefits	X	X	X	X
49. The elections in my country are conducted in a free and honest way		X	X	X
50. Parliamentarians are competent	X	X	X	X
51. All citizens who meet the legal requirements are able to run for parliament				
<b>Total number of items</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>

The state of the parliament in the four countries tends to be negatively evaluated by the participants regardless of whether questions are related to corruption, abuse of position and power, competence, function, and free elections.

In Egypt and Lebanon, participants rated 13 of the 14 items negatively, while in Morocco 12 out of 14 and in Jordan 10 out of 14 were rated negatively. In other words, The most negative evaluations came in Egypt and Lebanon where 93% of items were evaluated negatively, followed by Morocco with 86% and Jordan with 71%.

This negative evaluation is striking and differs significantly from the more moderate perception of members of parliament and parliament employees.

### C- Reform questions:

Participants in all countries/cities were asked to rate/rank the priority of reforms within the parliament; results are presented in the table below:

	Jordan	Egypt	Morocco	Lebanon





52. Reforms are needed to enhance representation and participation in parliamentary elections	2	1	4	1
53. Reforms are needed to enhance the independence of the parliament	4	3	3	2
54. Reforms are needed to enhance the integrity of the parliament	3	3	1	3
55. Reforms are needed to enhance the performance of the parliament	1	2	2	4

Participants ranked reform priorities in different ways in the four countries. This differential rank ordering may warrant differential interventions in each of the four countries.

*Finally, it is important to note that the conclusions drawn above are subject to a series of limitations that threaten their validity. Some of these limitations are outlined below.*

#### **IV- Limitations**

*Refusal rate and generalisation of results:*

It is important to note that the high refusal rate and the very small sample sizes for expert samples significantly weakens the ability to generalise the results to the entire population of parliamentarians, employees and counsellors in the relevant cities surveyed. Employees, parliamentarians and counsellors constitute a special population of experts that is difficult to tap into; the busy-ness of the parliamentary corps and the sensitive topics investigated in this survey may have contributed in increasing the initial refusal rate (including the refusal by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt).

ACRLi and the contracted polling agency (Information International) were fully aware of the potential refusal rates within this population, and took several steps to increase the cooperation of the participants. Some of these steps included a careful and sustained approach to each individual participant, requesting appointments and following up with a series of visits and probes. This did not prevent some participants refusing outright to partake in the study or take weeks to fill in the questionnaire. On the other hand, the questionnaire clearly displayed a UNDP and ACRLi logo, with





transparent information about the goals of the survey and the ACRL centre. Furthermore, clearance from the authorities was sought wherever it was necessary, and this alleviated potential pressure off participants. Nonetheless, refusal rates warrant caution as to generalisation of results.

*Cities and countries:*

Both the experts' survey and the general population surveys were restricted to specific target cities in each country. As such, generalisation of the results should be confined to these cities.

*Questionnaire constraints:*

Constraints attached to survey methods impact the validity of the survey: the list of principles measuring the SOP is too long to be completely incorporated in a survey. This difficulty prevented the construction of scales to measure each principle and its components, leading to some sub-principles to be measured with only one item, or leading to some unavoidable double barrelled questions.

The complexity of the SOP principles may cause difficulty to participants from the general population. The necessity to construct a shorter and less specialised questionnaire targeting the general population prevents a direct comparison between the experts and general public.

A few items had missing data; participants did not want to, or did not know how to respond to these questions. Missing data analysis may yield interesting questions for future research.

*Response Style:*

It is possible that a difference in response styles affect(ed) the results. Though it is unlikely, it is possible that participants in the various countries surveyed express themselves with different degrees of extremism.

Furthermore, it is possible that experience with surveys and the general level of freedom in the countries surveyed may have affected the results.