

**Reforming Family Law Program Freedom House
Kuwaiti Parliamentary Elections Survey Report
June 29, 2006 - Kuwait**



This Survey Report was conducted by the Women Cultural Social Society in Kuwait in partnership with Freedom House and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Arab States Regional Office.

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PREAMBLE

This survey document captures a historic moment: Kuwaiti women in particular and Arab women in general exercising their political and democratic rights for the first time. Arab activists working for democratic reform are bringing women's rights to the forefront of academic and public debate.

Family law issues in Arab countries are often regarded as private matters defined by religion and culture. Today this taboo is gradually giving way to an environment that permits discreet public discussion of women's rights and family law. The Women's Cultural and Social Society in Kuwait, in collaboration with Freedom House and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Arab States Regional Office, undertook a survey among all strata of the Kuwaiti population to examine public opinion on women's rights and family law at the time of the parliamentary elections. This was the only nationwide survey conducted on the eve of the Kuwaiti elections. The remarkable initial findings, released just before the voting, showed that Kuwaitis are disposed to vote on the basis of candidates' political platforms rather than their gender.¹ Two major local Kuwaiti newspapers, *Al Qabas* and *Al Rai Alaam*, reported the initial findings, which mark a milestone in the progress of Kuwaiti women toward human rights and civil liberties.

This survey report provides qualitative and quantitative analysis of data and findings resulting from 1,376 questionnaires disseminated in all 25 electoral districts during campaigns in the run-up to the election. The report examines a number of variables that reflect the demographic makeup of Kuwaiti society, including age, education, sex, and profession. The findings reveal a politicized society that voted for candidates on the basis of political rather than women's issues.

This survey is part of Freedom House's "Reforming Family Law Program" in the Persian Gulf. Through this program, Freedom House is conducting an in-depth study on family and personal status law within Shari'a (Islamic law) by consulting current Sunni and Shiite rulings and practices as well as international law and conventions.

The program plans to publish a resource guide for women's rights advocacy that documents the efforts made and lessons learned from these advocacy efforts, strategies for effective advocacy, local and international laws and instruments related to women's rights, legal and religious arguments that support women's rights in Shiite and Sunni societies, and recommendations for those advocating reform of local family laws. This survey report will be referenced in the resource guide, which will be a tool for developing effective advocacy strategies in the region.

1 - See Appendix 2.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Freedom House and UNIFEM extend their deep appreciation to the members of the Kuwaiti Women's Cultural and Social Society for their diligent work and cooperation in making this survey possible. A special note of thanks must be given to Alanoud Alsharekh, Ph.D., an expert in Kuwaiti gender politics, and to Amal Kharouf, Ph.D., an expert in socioeconomics, for preparing the survey report.

CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS, BY DR. AMAL KHAROUF

In 1999, the emir issued a decree granting women's suffrage in Kuwait. But it was not until 2005, following a 44-year struggle by women's rights activists and liberal members of parliament (MPs) that the Kuwaiti government passed legislation to amend Election Law No. 35 of 1962² to allow women to participate as voters and candidates for parliament.

There were other pressing circumstances surrounding this particular election that must be taken into account. These elections occurred amid escalating tensions between the government and parliament over whether to reduce the number of electoral districts from 25 to five that led to the sudden dissolution of parliament, giving candidates only a month in which to campaign for political office. The timing impacted women in particular, having just gained the right to practice their political freedom a year before.

Campaigns meant to take place over a year to raise both women's awareness and candidates' political profiles had to be activated hastily within the one-month period. Many female candidates who would have had a serious chance of being elected were caught off guard by the sudden dissolution and opted not to run. They were just beginning to build grassroots movements and voter bases and to raise their profiles within their districts to improve their chances against the more established male MPs for the 2007 elections when they were shortchanged by the shift in timing. (This may also explain the somewhat disappointing turnout of female voters on election day. However, a broader, historical perspective would note that the first elections in France and the United States, for example, in which women cast ballots also had disappointing turnouts of female voters).

Some political analysts in Kuwait believe that many women did not have the resources or experience necessary to win seats in this election.³ However, if the electoral system were reformed so that more candidates could be elected from each of fewer districts, some women candidates might be able to garner enough support throughout the enlarged electoral districts to win. None of the women who mounted election campaigns in haste were expected to win a seat, even though a majority of registered voters (57 percent of 340,000), were women. In a country like Kuwait, where kinship ties

2 - Kuwait Electoral Law, 1962 [Arabic]: Law No. 35, adopted November 12, 1962, <http://www.arab-ipu.org/pdb/RelatedArticlesGvnSPName.asp?SPName=CHRN&StructuredIndexCode=&LawBookID=021020013848281&Year1=&Year2=&YearGorH=>.

3 - See article by Dr. Ibtihal al Tahir, *Al Qabbas*, June 27, 2006.

still dominate most political transactions, women were expected to vote according to the political affiliation of their family, rather than by gender.⁴ Even liberal women who might want to vote purely out of female solidarity realize this would not be wise politically, since it might mean taking a vote away from a liberal male candidate who faced an Islamist opponent.

The atmosphere leading to the dissolution of parliament was shaped by mostly young Kuwaitis demanding electoral reform, either through staged protests outside of parliament, also organized and visibly supported by “reformist” MPs, or through anonymous political postings in blogs and websites⁵ independent of the state-controlled media. Kuwaitis who were frustrated and disappointed both with the government’s lack of transparency and the increasingly corrupt politics in the last few elections, including the overt “buying” of votes, made the five-districts amendment their main focus at the polls and voted accordingly. As a result, all other concerns, including those of women’s rights and reforms and legislative biases against women, were downgraded. It did not mean, however, that the entrance of women into the political arena went unnoticed or that their issues were not highlighted in a new and unprecedented fashion in the campaigns and rhetoric of both new and established political figures.

PURPOSE OF THE REPORT

This survey report examines the findings of a nationwide survey conducted among 1,376 eligible Kuwaiti men and women voters from all 25 electoral districts by the Women’s Cultural and Social Society in Kuwait on the eve of the 2006 parliamentary elections. The survey aimed to:

- i - Evaluate voters’ opinions on the importance of personal status laws and the issues they address.
- ii - Determine whether women’s rights and family law were being addressed in candidates’ platforms and campaigns as a result of women’s participation in the Kuwaiti elections as both voters and candidates.

4 - On kinship policies and female solidarity, see Haya al-Mughni, *Women in Kuwait: The Politics of Gender*, 2nd ed. (London: Saqi Books, 2000), 20.

5 - See Saht al Safat Blog, http://kuwaitjunior.blogspot.com/2006_05_01_archive.html, and Kuwait Unplugged Blog, http://kuwait-unplugged.com/archives/2006_05_01_archive.html.

SURVEY OBJECTIVES

- i - To identify male and female voters' willingness to elect either a female or male candidate.
- ii - To identify common family law trends and issues regarded by voters as essential for parliamentary discussion and debate.
- iii - To identify common family law trends and issues regarded as essential in a candidate's platform.
- iv - To identify voter preferences on candidates' essential qualifications and skills.

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE⁶

- i - Would you elect a female or male?
- ii - If Kuwaiti women enter the parliament, what are the topics you feel are important for discussion by parliament?
- iii - Which of the following topics would you like to see in a candidate's campaign platform?
- iv - Which of the following traits and personal skills would you like to see displayed in the candidate's campaign platform?

PRE-ELECTION MILIEU: DISPLACING DIWANNIYA PROTOCOL, BY DR. AL ANOUD SHAREKH

With the official motto of many candidates being “Bint li Kuwait Bitsawit”⁷ (roughly translated as “the daughter of Kuwait will be voting”), there were visible and obvious indicators that this election was going to have a different character than previous ones, owing to the women's vote. Many assumed the women's vote would directly reflect women's issues that in the past had been ignored or dealt with sporadically due to women's lack of representation. All available media outlets were quickly transformed into outreach forums, calling out to the Kuwaiti female to get involved, to exercise her right to choose, and most importantly, to get to the voting booth on election day.

6 - See Appendix 1 for original survey questionnaire (Arabic) and translated questionnaire (English).

7 - Official campaign of Kuwait's Ministry of Information, printed on billboards all across Kuwait and accompanied by a TV campaign.

These campaigns were numerous and necessary because women in Kuwait have been overly apathetic about politics due to the marginalization they faced for more than forty years, ignorance of the impact a single vote can make, and a largely conservative frame of mind that still questions the legitimacy of female political participation in terms of Islamic Shari'a. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), governmental institutions, and candidates themselves poured money into billboards, TV ads, and leaflets, all in the hope of ensuring female participation in the election.

The actual physical presence of women voters also meant that the conduct of politics had to change. Traditionally, MPs would network mainly by visiting the major diwaniyyahs (all-male gatherings) of the influential families in their respective districts and attempt to discuss issues and win voters over primarily through that medium. Campaign tents and other headquarters were mainly for show, either to hold a large conference or two during campaign time or to give voters a place to congregate and to hammer out alliances.

This time, the diwaniyyahs were still playing their traditional role, but as they could not be used to reach female voters, they were superseded in importance by campaign tents and headquarters that were accessible to all voters, regardless of gender, friendships, or familial ties. This gave a much more egalitarian feel to the proceedings, and candidates had to ensure that their locations were female-friendly or that separate venues were available solely for female constituents in their districts. They also had to collaborate with women's committees to ensure that female voters would attend their conferences, indicating that there had to be a completely different kind of networking. Every candidate, including those who were conservative, tribal or Islamist—usually the least sympathetic to legislative reforms in women's rights—were forced to take these issues into consideration and include them in one form or another (under the less obvious "family rights" banner, for example) in their conferences and platforms.

The physical presence of women in this election also came in the form of the introduction of the first-ever Kuwaiti female candidates; 28 women (originally, there were 31, but three withdrew before the actual campaign) out of a total of 249 candidates. The female candidates represented an interesting mix of backgrounds, including professors, business owners, women's rights activists, and civil service employees, who, for the most part, were associated with what is loosely called the "liberal" (best defined as nontribal, non-conservative) bloc. During their campaigns, these women had to overcome inexperience, psychological resistance to recognizing females in positions of authority, vote-buying by richer opponents, and even in some cases vandalism and threats from their own constituents. All this changed the face of traditional politics and political issues.⁸ As women, they were hardly welcome in the diwaniyyahs, and those who ventured into some of the more liberal all-

8 - See Faiza Saleh Ambah, "For Women in Kuwait, a Landmark Election," *The Washington Post*, June 29, 2006, Section A, page A20.

men social clubs found that it tended to cost them more than it was worth, in that it further distanced them from what the majority of Kuwaitis saw as acceptable behavior for women.

In the face of all of this, several women candidates chose to take a new, uniquely “feminine” approach to politics. For example, Hind al Shaykh⁹ set up her campaign headquarters in her own backyard, an approach that many women candidates took for financial reasons, and there were posters seeking a vote for “Mama Hind” in children’s handwriting, which brought a maternal, more family-oriented feel to the electoral process.¹⁰ At candidate Nabila al Anjari’s¹¹ tent, her twenty-year-old daughter spoke and introduced her, while a sign language interpreter stood at her side, bringing the disabled into her campaign. She said that she was in favor of the five-district reform and was pro-Kuwait. She stressed her background in tourism, as women tended to focus on proving what qualified them to serve as an MP and issued statements on how their years of service in the sector in which they were working would be brought to their role as a parliamentarian. She spoke of her vision to create 50,000 jobs through a new tourism policy that she would introduce in parliament. She stressed how the “family” in Kuwait suffers as a whole due to an economy that forces mothers to leave the home to work and the lack of job security.¹²

A fuller democracy was attained in Kuwait with the introduction of women candidates, who put an emphasis on women’s needs and aspirations that were invariably tied to reform. All candidates were jumping on the anticorruption bandwagon, especially women who, because they were political newcomers, could claim the moral high ground. For the first time in Kuwait’s political history, male candidates discussed women’s nationality and citizenship rights as well as amendments to existing housing laws, all of which were part and parcel of marriage and divorce issues. Some, such as Basel al Rashid (district 10), Dr. Saad bin Tifla (district 8), and Ali al Rashid (district 5), went so far as to openly address the personal status laws in their discussions with female constituents about necessary reforms.¹³ The fact that women candidates introduced specific, highly tailored platforms to go with their campaigns forced male candidates to do the same, which meant that candidates of both sexes had to delineate their stances on women’s issues, especially if they were to appeal to the female majority among eligible voters. It was in this atmosphere that the survey was conducted and the issues it raised concerning reform of the country’s Personal Status Law discussed.

9 - A lawyer and law firm principal running in district 10.

10 - Recorded at the campaign inauguration rally, Hind al Shaykh’s Adayyiliya headquarters, June 17, 2006.

11 - Candidate running in district 10.

12 - Recorded at the campaign inauguration rally, Nabila al Anjari’s Jabriyya headquarters, June 15, 2006.

13 - Recorded from open night question and answer sessions at the women’s tents of the respective candidates, June 17 and June 23, 2006.

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Population of the study: Men and women over the age of 19 in the 25 electoral districts in Kuwait.

Sample of the study: A partly random sample of 1,376 people (51.5 percent were female and 48.5 percent were male) was selected from the population for the study. This sample was drawn from the membership of various NGOs, such as the Graduate Society and the National Alliance Organization, and through random selection at private homes and workplaces. The sex of the sample is shown in the following table:

Table (1) Survey Sample by Sex and District

District	Female		Male		Total
	Number	%	Number	%	
District 1	30	49.2	31	50.8	61
District 2	32	54.2	27	45.8	59
District 3	27	52.9	24	47.1	51
District 4	27	54.0	23	46.0	50
District 5	25	53.2	22	46.8	47
District 6	25	41.7	35	58.3	60
District 7	24	50.0	24	50.0	48
District 8	32	58.2	23	41.8	55
District 9	33	63.5	19	36.5	52
District 10	26	50.0	26	50.0	52
District 11	30	56.6	23	43.4	53
District 12	31	63.3	18	36.7	49
District 13	39	53.4	34	46.6	73
District 14	22	44.9	27	55.1	49
District 15	26	54.2	22	45.8	48
District 16	28	56.0	22	44.0	50
District 17	26	43.3	34	56.7	60
District 18	36	58.1	26	41.9	62
District 19	30	50.0	30	50.0	60
District 20	23	51.1	22	48.9	45
District 21	34	54.0	29	46.0	63
District 22	20	33.3	40	66.7	60
District 23	32	48.5	34	51.5	66
District 24	29	50.9	28	49.1	57
District 25	22	47.8	24	52.2	46
Total	709	51.5	667	48.5	1376

As shown above (Table 1), the questions posed by the survey were asked of an almost equal number of men and women when all districts are considered. The highest percentages of females were in the 9th and 12th districts (63.5 percent and 63.3 percent, respectively), whereas the lowest percentage of women participants was recorded in district 22 (33.3 percent).

Figure (1): Survey Sample by Sex and Age Group

Figure (1) shows that the bulk of the survey's participants, regardless of gender, were less than 40 years old (62.5 percent female, 61.4 percent male).

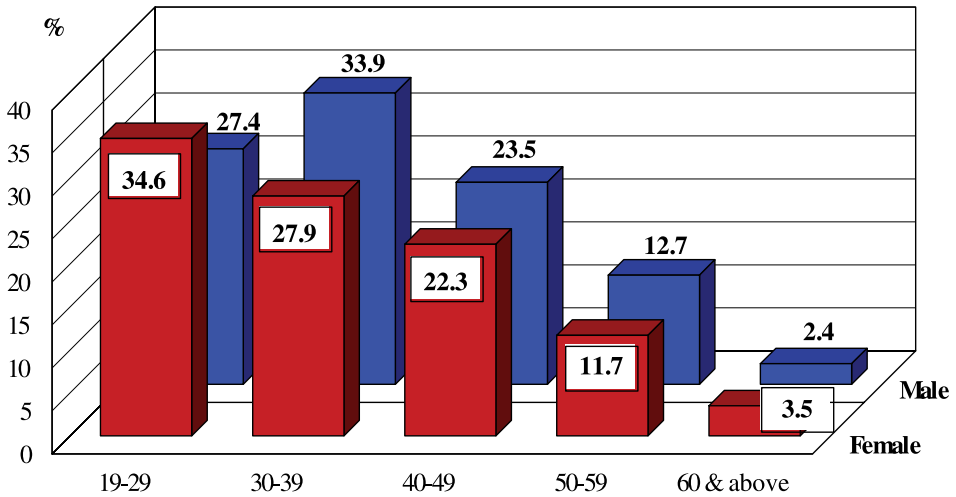


Figure (2): Survey Sample by Sex and Educational Level

As shown in Figure (2), a majority of males in the sample population held a bachelor's degree (51.7 percent), as did 49.0 percent of females.

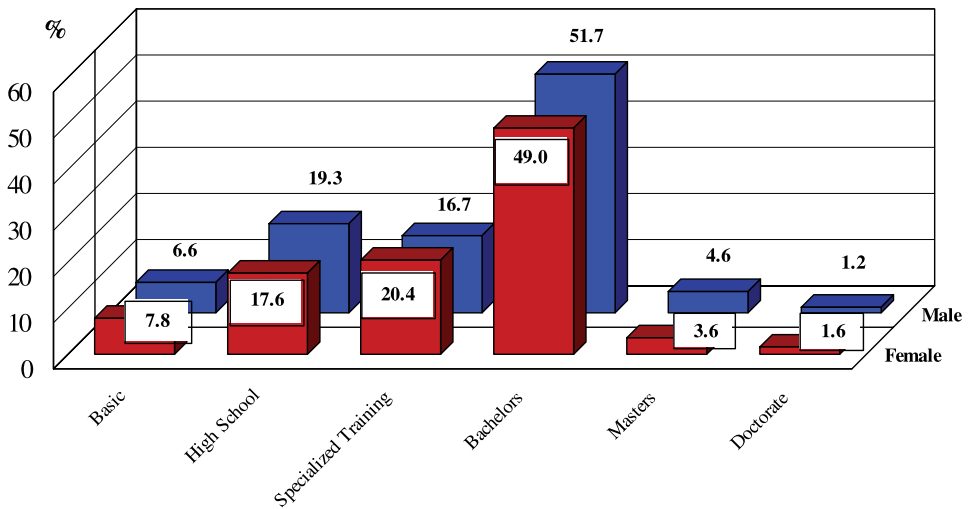


Figure (3): Survey Sample by Sex and Marital Status

Figure (3) indicates that a considerable proportion of both male and female respondents were married (54.9 percent of females and 60.2 percent of males).

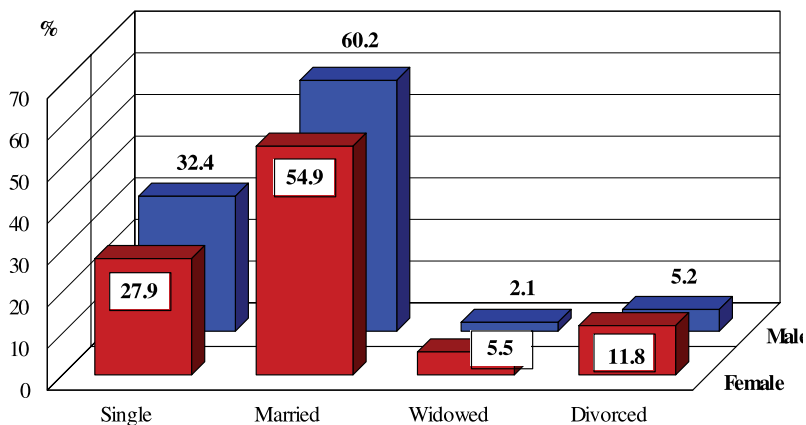


Figure (4): Survey Sample by Sex and Monthly Salary

Figure (4) shows that the monthly income of the largest group (38.8 percent) of the women surveyed ranged from 500 to 1,000 KD. Whereas 37.5 percent of those surveyed earned between 200 and 500 dinars, those earning over 1,000 KD made up less than a sixth of the participants (15.2 percent), and only 8.5 percent of the women questioned earned fewer than 200 dinars.

By comparison, the highest proportion of males surveyed also had salaries ranging between 500 and 1,000 dinars (37.6 percent), followed by those with salaries above 1,000 KD (28.6 percent). Lesser percentages of men earned 200500- dinars and fewer than 200 dinars (25.8 percent and 8.1 percent, respectively).

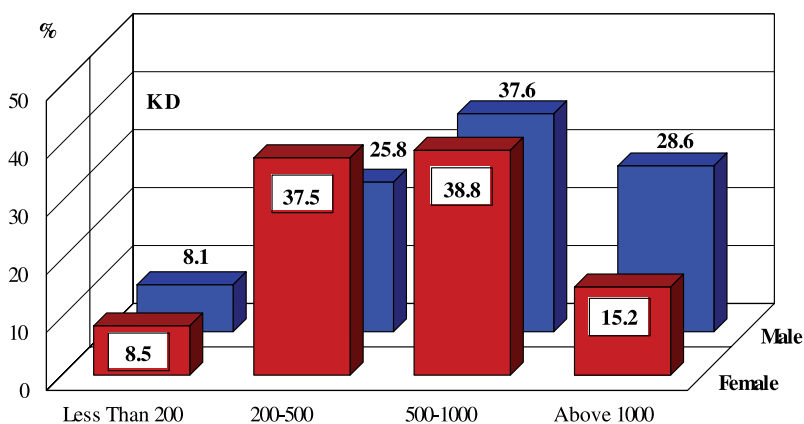
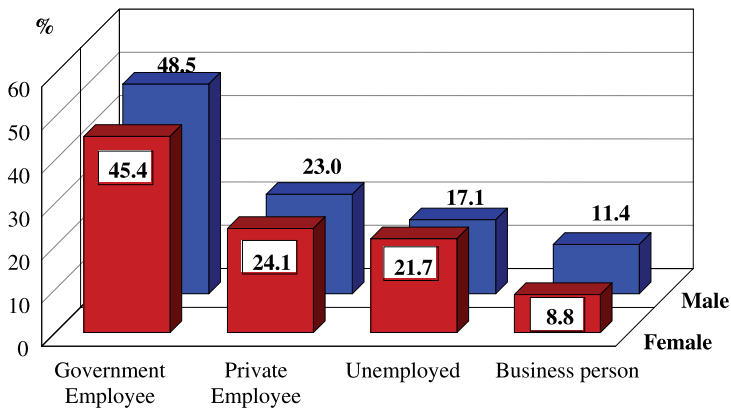


Figure (5): Survey Sample by Sex and Profession

As shown in Figure (5), most of the survey's participants were government employees (45.4 percent of females, 48.5 percent of males). The sector with the lowest representation in the survey was business (8.8 percent of females and 11.4 percent of males).



Study Tools: The questionnaire, which was expressly compiled for this study, consists of four parts as follows:

The first part contains questions seeking demographic information (sex, age, educational level, marital status, district, income, and profession).

The second part contains questions concerning attitudes in Kuwaiti society towards electing women and the choice of important subjects that should be discussed in parliament if women were elected (women's rights in education, marriage, divorce, custody, inheritance, nationality, labor, movement and travel).

The third part deals with women's rights issues and candidate's election platforms (implementing legislation, laws, recommendations for amending the Personal Status Law to eliminate discrimination, raising awareness about women's rights, submitting work plans to expedite the Shari'a courts procedures and training judges on women's rights, representation of women judges in Shari'a court, and developing programs to teach university students about women's rights).

The fourth and last part relates to the skills required of a candidate: knowledge of the personal status law and legislation; the ability to plan, negotiate and debate; the ability to both present positions and recommendations regarding women's rights and to lobby for them in parliament; the art of public speaking and dealing with the media in advocating for women's rights under the Personal Status Law; and the ability to build coalitions and work with other MPs.

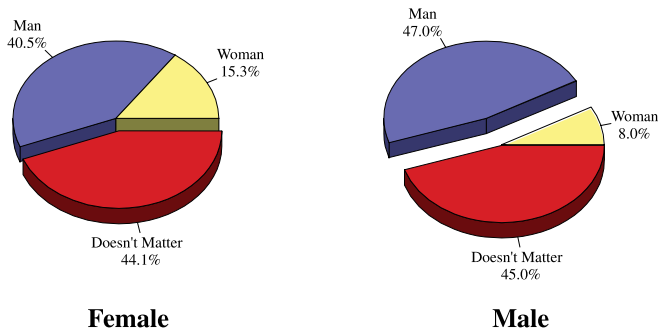
Statistical Analysis: Frequency tables will be used to explain the results of the survey. These tables will be analyzed with the demographic information as well as contextually based on the situation in Kuwait throughout the pre-election period.

SURVEY RESULTS

Qualitative analysis provided by Al Anoud Sharekh, an expert in Kuwaiti gender politics and quantitative analysis provided by Amal Kharouf, an expert in Socio-Economics.

The first question in the survey was whether the voters in the 2006 elections would vote for a female candidate, a male candidate, or would simply vote on the issues presented by the candidate and his or her electoral platform, regardless of gender.

Figure (6): Candidate Selection by Sex

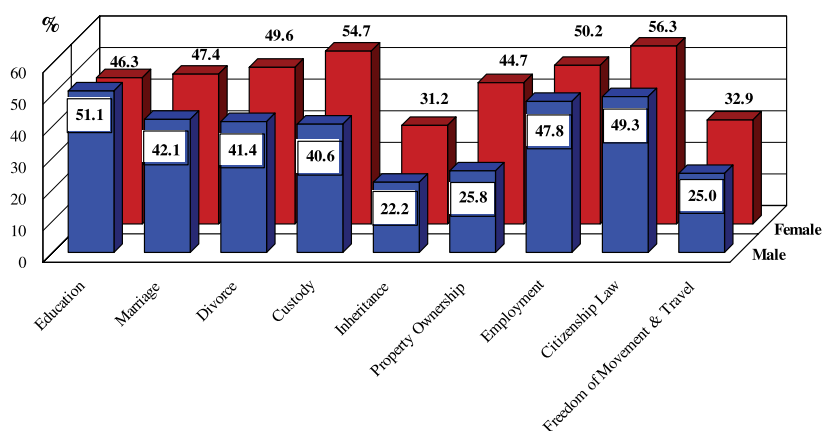


The fact that a large number of the women and men surveyed (42.8 percent; see Annex 11) answered that they would (only) vote for a male candidate is consistent with the sentiments of the majority of Kuwaitis. Before the 2005 amendment to the election law, both men and women surveyed about this matter stated that they did not believe that a woman should run for office. Some even went as far as to state that women should neither run for office nor vote. It is indicative of the level of political maturity of the people of Kuwait, however, that an equal number answered, as Figure 6 shows, that they would vote for a candidate on the basis of his or her political standing not gender (44.1 percent of females and 45. percent of males). This was especially true in places like district 11, where there was a choice of male and female candidates (gender did not matter to 66.7 percent of females and 60.9 percent of males; see Annex 12).

The response to this question also suggested that those female candidates who were hoping for a sympathy vote from women voters were going to be disappointed. This was indeed the sentiment many of them voiced after the election results came in, especially in places like district 24 where there was a 100 percent choice of male candidates by women voters (See Annex 12). This meant many female voters had voted for the very candidates who opposed them gaining this right, or, at the very least, opposed their presence in parliament as MPs.

This phenomenon reflects a trend revealed in the survey, namely, choosing the male candidate irrespective of his stance on women's rights, but it is also tied closely to the "five districts" debate and the anticorruption mandate that was the overwhelming concern of the majority of voters. Whereas the question of voting for MPs who had opposed women's entrance into parliament may have had a greater impact on some female voters under normal election circumstances, in this election anticorruption issues overrode those of women's rights. Even liberal-minded female voters opted for an MP with a proven stance in the five-district debate prior to the parliament's dissolution and who was likely to maintain his position, such as Dr. Nasser al Sanae from district 9, Adel al Saraawi from district 7, and Mohammad al Muttair from district 2, a well-known liberal enclave.

Figure (7): Female and Male Ratings of Important Subjects for Parliament to Address



The second major focus of the survey addressed which issues would become important after women came into office. The responses to this set of questions (Figure 7) revealed that the majority of Kuwaitis felt that if Kuwaiti women were elected to parliament, the subjects most important for them to address would be the rights of women in regards to the citizenship law (56.3 percent of female respondents and 49.3 percent of male respondents), education (46.3 percent of females, 51.1 percent of males), and employment (50.2 percent of females and 47.8 percent of males). The latter two subjects came closest numerically to equal responses from men and women and also represented the least controversial options presented in the survey. Moreover, there are few restrictions on women in those two sectors, though women are excluded from military and judicial duty. Large percentages (56 percent of women and 49 percent of men) consider citizenship laws to be the highest priority, a choice seen in many candidates' platforms, both male and female. From a legal perspective, today (under Article 2 of the Nationality Law number 15 of 1959), only those born to a Kuwaiti father are recognized as Kuwaiti citizens. It is remarkable that this issue was second in importance only to education as far as Kuwaiti men were concerned, since it is an advantage they have over women.

Nevertheless, there were issues on which men and women's views differed to a considerable degree. For example, 23 percent of women identified property and housing laws as major issues for parliamentarians to address, while only 12.5 percent of men (who benefit most from Kuwait's discriminatory housing laws) considered this important. Housing care legislation in Kuwait is discriminatory in that women are not entitled to government-provided housing without husbands or male heirs, whereas single men are entitled to housing funds. Furthermore, in direct relation to personal status laws, a wife's name can be removed from the deed of government-allocated housing in divorce cases and simply replaced with the new wife's name, since its allocation is attached to the male spouse.

Personal status issues were obviously important to women, who benefited less from them, but such issues were also important to a fair number of men. The survey showed that 47 percent of women and 42 percent of men felt that women's rights in marriage should be a priority for parliament, 50 percent of women and 41 percent of men believe that divorce laws should be a priority, and 55 percent of women and 41 percent of men regarded custody as a priority.

The two least important issues for elected MPs to focus on were inheritance laws (31.2 percent of women and 22.2 percent of men) and freedom of travel (32.9 percent of women and 25.0 percent of men). Inheritance laws gained the lowest numbers from both men and women, perhaps because many feel that the division of inherited property (mirath) is a Shari'a matter and so should not be tampered with lightly. The Sunni interpretation of the Qur'an holds that a male sibling inherits twice what a female sibling should, and few women would oppose this since the conservative majority of Kuwaitis would consider that to be a breach of the divine code.

In the case of freedom of movement and travel, the low numbers indicate that many women and men do not see this as a priority, presumably because they believe there are very few restrictions on women's freedom and travel. Such uninformed assumptions underlie much of the apathy that Kuwaitis, both men and women, feel toward many women's issues. As one male angrily scrawled on his answer sheet under this section, "I believe that women in Kuwait have already gained more than their fair share." Such a statement ignores the reality of de jure laws on the books which, if applied, would prevent women's freedom of movement. For example, Article 15 of the Passport Act number 11 of 1962,¹⁴ states that a wife may not obtain or renew a separate passport without her husband's consent. Since all married women in Kuwait have their husbands' names printed on their passports, in effect entitling the husbands to be their legal representatives, divorce and separation cases may be handled unfairly.

14 - See Haya al-Mughni, "Kuwait Country Report," in Sameena Nazir and Leigh Tomppert, eds., *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Citizenship and Justice* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005), 129.

Table (2): Female and Male Rating of Important Subjects for Candidates to Address

Important Subjects	Female		Male		No Response	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
The implementation of personal status laws & legislation	516	73	480	34.9	380	27.6
Submit work plan to expedite shari'a court procedures	467	33.9	419	30.5	490	35.6
Submit awareness programs for university students on women's rights under personal status law	451	32.8	416	30.2	509	37.0
Submit draft amendments to personal status laws to ensure women's human rights	431	31.3	381	27.7	564	41.0
Submit work plan to increase awareness on women's rights under personal status laws	421	30.6	364	26.5	591	43.0
Discrimination against women under personal status law	414	58	333	24.2	629	45.7
Submit work plan to train shari'a judges on women's right under personal law	412	29.9	338	24.6	626	45.5
Representation of female judges in shari'a courts	356	25.9	265	19.3	755	54.9

Note on Table (2), Female and Male Rating of Important Subjects for Candidates to Address: Column two shows the percentage of all women surveyed (709), column four the percentage of all men surveyed (667), and the final column the percentage of nonrespondents among all men and women (1,376).

The third part of the survey dealt with issues related to women's rights and personal status law amendments that voters would like to see presented in their candidates' electoral platforms. Seventy-two percent of the 1,376 people surveyed (with women, as expected, agreeing with the notion at a slightly higher rate than men) considered the implementation of personal status laws and legislation a top priority (72.8 percent of women, 72.0 percent of men), suggesting that most felt that the laws in existence were fairly just and required little or no amendment. This suggestion is reinforced by the second most popular matter for both men and women, which is the submission of a work plan to expedite Shari'a court procedures (65.9 percent of women, 62.9 percent of men). This again seems to suggest that while legislative reforms may be needed, the current priority is correct application and due process of the law.

However, the survey also reveals that reform in personal status laws is an important issue for many, given that more than half of respondents stated that discrimination against women under personal status laws and the submission of draft amendments to these laws to ensure women's human rights are issues they would like to see in candidates' electoral platforms (60.8 percent of women, 57.1 percent of men).

This slightly confused response may stem from the fact that many assume that these laws are based on Shari'a and are thus likely to be fair towards women. This would also explain why the second least

popular issue on candidates' electoral platforms was the submission of a work plan to train Shari'a judges in women's rights under personal status law (58.1 percent of women and 50.7 percent of men). However, that is not always the case in the Kuwaiti legal system, since there are many clauses and articles in personal status laws that are not based on Shari'a but which favor men over women through unnecessary elements of patriarchal control. Articles 30 and 149, for example are in violation of universally accepted women's rights.

The unfortunate escalation of divorce rates in Kuwait over the past 10 years to well over 40 percent of total marriages may explain why there is such an avid interest in seeing personal status laws, whether in how they are applied or how they should be reformed, gain a central place in the political rhetoric of candidates and thus move the issue from its strictly private domain to a public one. This leads to the idea of raising awareness, which elicited a popular response among men and women alike, in the form of submitting work plans to increase awareness of women's rights under personal status laws in general and among university students in particular. Equal status before the law and nondiscrimination are the foundations of all democratic principles, and any distinction on the basis of gender, even in personal status laws, violates these principles. Gender-biased legislation also violates Article 29 of the Kuwaiti Constitution, which states that "All persons are equal in regards to human dignity and equal before the law in regards to their public rights and obligations, without distinctions based on sex, origin, language or religion." But it is perhaps the exclusion of the concept of "public rights" from personal status laws, since the latter deal with what is generally viewed as a private matter in conservative countries such as Kuwait, which perpetuates discrimination against women in the courts, especially when families and kinship ties weigh heavily on each decision.

However, since Kuwait has signed both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW),¹⁵ it can no longer have personal status laws that liken the condition of being female to that of being mentally incompetent (Article 29). The existence of such obviously discriminatory laws was also due to the very absence of women from the arena of politics, legislation and law-making from the outset, and their dependence on a handful of sympathetic male representatives (who had to take care not to upset the male voters who put them into office) to communicate the need to amend these laws. As much as the political scene has now changed, women are still isolated from the executive arm of the legal authority since they are barred from posts in the judiciary, public prosecutions department, police force, and the military.

This trend seems unlikely to change if the results of the survey reflect the mood of Kuwaiti voters, considering that the representation of female judges in Shari'a courts was the least popular choice in this section of the survey for men and women alike. Only 621 respondents – 356 women and 265 men – would like to see the introduction of female judges in Shari'a courts as part of their candidates'

15 - Kuwait ratified the CEDAW on September 2, 1994, with reservations on Article 9, paragraph 2 of the Nationality Act and Article 16f on Shari'a conflict provisions. See United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, "Declarations, Reservations and Objections to CEDAW," <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reservations-country.htm>.

platforms. This issue, like the argument many of the conservative Islamists use to justify their continued opposition to women in parliament, involves the concept of *willaya* (authority over others), which cannot be given to a woman since it implies a leadership role that women, because they cannot lead in prayer, cannot perform in secular life either. The issue of women's legitimacy in leadership and positions of authority remains controversial, and though it has been overcome in many Muslim states, such as the Palestinian Authority, Bangladesh and Pakistan, people in Kuwait seem to prefer to err on the side of caution rather than resisting the populist and religious dogma.

Table (3): Female and Male Ratings of Skills and Traits Desirable in Candidates

Skills and traits required	Female		Male		No Response	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Knowledge of personal status laws & legislation	496	36.0	430	31.25	450	32.7
Art of public speaking and dealing with media	485	35.2	472	34.3	419	30.5
Ability to communicate, build coalitions & work together with other Members of Parliament on women's rights under personal status laws	485	35.2	400	29.1	491	35.7
The ability to plan, negotiate & debate	473	34.4	486	35.3	417	30.3
Ability to advocate & lobby for women's rights under personal status laws	438	31.8	392	28.5	546	39.7
Ability to present positions & suggestions that assure women's rights & lobby for them in the parliament	420	30.5	370	26.9	586	42.6

Note on Table (3), Female and Male Ratings of Skills and Traits Desirable in Candidates: Column two shows the percentage of all women surveyed (709), column four the percentage of all men surveyed (667), and column six the percentage of nonrespondents among all men and women (1,376).

The final part of the survey addressed the skills that voters considered important for candidates representing them in parliament. In this area, men and women were in agreement on the two abilities that were most important and which, interestingly, did not touch upon a gender bias or affect one sex more than the other. Those two abilities include the art of public speaking and dealing with media (68.4 percent of women and 70.8 percent of men) and the ability to plan, negotiate and debate (66.7 percent of women and 72.9 percent of men).

All other traits were directly related to personal status laws, which may explain why there were responses from a higher portion of women voters than men. The results of the survey showed that both men and women considered a candidate's knowledge of personal status laws and legislation an important attribute, which they would like to see displayed. For women, it was the most important trait, with 496 choosing it as compared to 430 men, a total of 67 percent of those surveyed. Second in importance for women voters was that the candidate possess the ability to communicate, build coalitions and work together with other members of parliament on women's rights under the personal status laws, with nearly 500 women (68.4 percent) choosing this response. Men voters, however, were less convinced of its importance, as just 400 of them (60.0 percent) chose that response.

The ability to advocate and lobby for women's rights under personal status laws was the second least popular trait in importance for both women and men (61.7 percent and 58.8 percent respectively), followed by the ability to present positions and suggestions that assure women's rights and to lobby for them in the parliament (59.2 percent of women, 55.4 percent of men). This would suggest that the majority of Kuwaitis seem to believe that getting personal status laws noticed in parliament and winning their reform requires a group effort, as do all legislative changes in Kuwait, which require a majority vote for passage. Thus, it is more important for a candidate to be skilled in coalition building and networking with other MPs on the issues than simply a sole advocate for them.

ELECTION RESULTS

The results of the election reflected the national obsession with the five-districts debate.¹⁶ “Reformist” MPs obtained a majority with 33 seats out of 50 elected MPs and 15 cabinet posts (which are primarily appointed but automatic members of the Assembly) meaning that their numbers went up by four from the previous parliament, in which they held a majority of 29 seats.

These “reformists” are a coalition of different groups, including Islamists, liberals, and others. Their main goal is to make the appointed cabinet more accountable, fight corruption and, importantly, reduce the number of legislative districts from the current 25. Kuwaiti elections, although free and fair in the sense that there is no tampering with votes, have been marred by widespread vote buying (in some districts a single vote reportedly goes for upwards of \$3,000 USD). Vote buying has been especially prevalent in district 10, where, ironically, the largest number of female candidates (seven) were running. Although it seems that reducing the number of districts would make vote buying more difficult, it is hard to predict the fallout of this kind of reform. Bibi al Marzook, the editor of *Al-Anbaa* newspaper and a vocal advocate of women’s suffrage, pointed out a disturbing reason behind the Islamists’ insistence on reducing the number of electoral districts: the new set-up would give even greater weight to conservative Islamist MPs—who now, with 18 representatives in the National Assembly, control the largest single bloc—because the demographics of the five-district configuration ensure a steady voter base for the conservative Salafi MPs.¹⁷ In the long run, this may prove detrimental for women candidates and liberal-leaning voters, all of whom openly supported the five-district reform.

The other important aspect of this election was the participation of women, both as voters and candidates, for the first time. Although there was a high turnout—65 percent of eligible voters—women voted at a much lower rate, 35 percent. This number is disappointing since women constitute as much as two-thirds of the eligible voters in some districts, yet understandable in light of the many obstacles that women faced in this election in particular, and in all elections held in such a conservative climate. Many women candidates were hindered by their lack of experience, and they were put at a further disadvantage by the fact that the elections were early. Even before the election, many female candidates were quoted as saying that they thought they would not win this election, but were building toward future races.¹⁸

16 - Kuwait’s newly elected parliament approved a major electoral reform on July 17, 2006, reducing the number of electoral constituencies/districts from 25 to 5. See “Kuwait Passes Election Reform Law,” BBC News, July 17, 2006, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/5187422.stm.

17 - Bibi al Marzook, interview by the author, June 25, 2006.

18 - *Al Watan* newspaper article on women candidates, June 10, 2006.

If one considers the districts that vote based on essentially illegal tribal agreement—such as districts 12, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24 and 25, where tribes will not put forward women candidates—and then takes into account the 18 parliamentary seats that went to Islamist MPs in this election, who have the organizational structure most closely resembling a political party and whose political mandates do not allow for women to assume leadership positions, it is clear that circumstances confine female candidates to a small space within which they can compete. In addition, women themselves were not the strongest supporters of the female candidates. As in many other elections, women tended to vote for conservative candidates (this is true of the Christian right in the United States, Hamas in Palestine, and Hindu nationalists in India, for instance). The female candidate who received the most votes, 1,539—only 17 percent in her constituency—was Rola Dashti, a 42-year-old economics professor, who lost to an opposition candidate.

The high turnout and the large number of women who registered to vote did not change voting patterns, which was pleasing to conservatives. There is hope that the situation will change in the future and that getting women to the polling stations will be more successful next time if reforms such as redistricting are achieved. Furthermore, democratic awareness is growing, encouraging women to vote independently of their male relatives. Reem al Sabah, a volunteer at Jassim al Khorafi's women's committee in district 3, spoke of this problem with women voters and their complete oblivion to even the most basic mechanisms of political discourse. Female constituents in the district, she said, made unreasonable demands, such as outlawing the marriage of Kuwaiti men to foreigners and finding a way to resolve the problem of unwed single females in Kuwait. Women, she added, also seemed less in touch with general political concerns, such as the impact of the escalating nuclear tensions with Iran or the issue of involving foreign companies in developing the country's northern oil fields, and instead tended to focus on immediate problems in their particular districts.¹⁹

In spite of the many negative features of the 2006 elections, it is clear that MPs from today onwards, regardless of their political views, will have to seek new ways to engage women in future elections. Yet as the tribal and Islamist votes demonstrated, women's issues are not taken seriously in some districts, and it is feared this situation will continue if more women do not go to the polls. Women need both greater awareness and preparation, including perhaps training in how to lobby and promote effective change. Women's participation will also be determined by how women's political issues are presented and addressed by the first parliament elected in part by women.

19 - Interview with female volunteers at Jassim al Khorafi's Al Shamiyya campaign headquarters, women's section, interview by author June 27, 2006.

CONCLUSION AND KEY STRATEGIES

This survey report records public opinion through a nationwide representative sample of Kuwaiti voters' in all 25 electoral districts. It also includes contextual and political analysis by experts in Kuwaiti politics, gender, and socio-economics, as well as interviews and articles depicting the election environment. The purpose was to learn lessons about how to influence both public opinion and political leaders on women's rights and family law reform.

The survey demonstrated how the dynamics of Kuwaiti parliamentary elections, deeply rooted in tribe and kinship, were radically changed by the introduction of the female vote and women candidates. For the first time, campaigns were launched outside the bounds of the diwaniyyah, platforms were drawn up, and candidates spoke of issues rather than pride and kinship. In addition, women's rights and family law issues that had not been addressed in previous elections surfaced and gained unprecedented importance in platforms, along with candidates promising reforms in conditions affecting youth and civil society. An anticorruption movement swept through Kuwaiti streets, and the debate over reforms spread across the news media and blogs. All this resulted in a newly elected parliament in which reformers won seats next to Islamists.

This survey and the election results compliment this expert analysis. The survey data and the report analyses point to the following key strategies for achieving the political aims of women candidates:

Networking and Coalition Building: Female candidates were business owners, professors, women's rights activists and civil servants, and networking and collaborating with other committees of women were the key strategies they used to reach female voters. They networked by means of tents much like the men employed diwaniyyahs in their campaigns. **Networking and coalition building are key strategies for family law reform.**

Media and Funding: Media tools played a critical role in raising awareness about issues and encouraging women voters to participate in the elections. Low-cost tools, such as blogs and leaflets, played a vital role in reaching civil society. At the same time, issue campaigns attracted a wider range of donors to the candidate than just individuals and families. Thus, NGOs, governmental institutions, corporations, and banks, as well as candidates themselves poured money into billboards, TV ads, and leaflets to highlight issues and rights and to spur female participation. **Media and issue-based campaigns are key strategies for funding and civil society outreach.**

Male Candidate Discussion of Women's Issues: For the first time in Kuwait's political history, male candidates discussed the reform of women's rights under nationality, citizenship and housing laws, all of which are derived from and legally linked to marriage and divorce laws. **Engaging men from different backgrounds and positions in society (lawyers, religious personnel, MPs and other politicians, activists, and reformers) in family law discussion and debate is a key strategy for reform.**

Attention to Family Law Issues: Women's rights, nationality and citizenship laws, in addition to housing laws and amendments to such laws (as mentioned above), were highlighted issues throughout the elections. Other family laws and closely related laws frequently discussed were education, employment, and custody. **Awareness raising and advocacy efforts to raise the issues of amending citizenship and housing laws on the policy agenda are vital to possible legislative reform.**

Other Family Law Issues: The survey showed that issues of inheritance and freedom of movement and travel had the lowest responses, presumably due to their link to Shari'a. **Raising awareness of family law and rights among religious leaders is a key strategy for reform.**

Family Law Court and Procedure: The survey showed that the election campaign made Kuwaitis more aware of the importance of amending and implementing personal status law and legislation. Most notably, voters recognized the importance of expediting Shari'a court procedures. Women are reluctant to proceed with issues in family law courts due to the lengthy procedures and adjudication. Raising public awareness of family law procedure, training judges and court personnel on proper and effective legislative implementation, promoting accountability, and amendment of family law and court procedure provisions are all essential for reform. **Therefore, raising awareness of family law court adjudication and procedure as well as training on implementation is a key strategy for women's rights reform.**

Female Judges to Personal Status Courts: The survey found that voters attached little importance to promoting female judges onto personal status courts (Shari'a courts). Thus, raising awareness of the importance of having a female judge is essential. Introducing qualified female judges to the personal status court would introduce balance into the Shari'a court system and adjudication. **Raising public awareness of the importance of having female Shari'a judges and training female Shari'a judges are keys to implementing family law reform.**

Negotiation, Advocacy, and Lobbying Skills: The survey led to mixed responses on candidates' essential skills and qualifications. It disclosed less concern for negotiating skills and the ability to advocate and lobby before parliament, but greater concern for candidates' knowledge of personal status law and legislation; facility in public speaking and dealing with the media; ability to communicate, build coalitions and work together; and ability to plan, negotiate, and debate. **Conducting a series of trainings and seminars on negotiation, advocacy, public speaking, and lobbying skills is a key strategy for capacity building and family law legislative reform.**

The annexes that follow show the preferences on issues and candidate characteristics of those Kuwaitis who took part in a nationwide survey. Their responses are broken down along demographic lines by electoral district.

Annex (1): Survey Sample by Sex, Age Group, and District

District	Female						Male					
	19-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 & above	Total	19-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 & above	Total
District 1	16	10	4	0	0	30	13	9	7	2	0	31
District 2	5	7	8	9	3	32	14	4	5	4	0	27
District 3	14	4	5	4	0	27	7	8	7	2	0	24
District 4	14	3	7	3	0	27	9	6	4	4	0	23
District 5	8	7	8	2	0	25	5	8	9	0	0	22
District 6	5	12	7	1	0	25	9	9	8	9	0	35
District 7	4	5	4	8	3	24	5	10	9	0	0	24
District 8	5	7	8	9	3	32	9	11	0	2	1	23
District 9	18	5	9	1	0	33	5	5	5	4	0	19
District 10	4	8	12	1	1	26	2	8	7	8	1	26
District 11	12	8	9	1	0	30	6	11	5	1	0	23
District 12	14	3	5	9	0	31	4	6	5	2	1	18
District 13	5	15	14	4	1	39	11	11	9	3	0	34
District 14	4	5	2	8	3	22	8	10	8	1	0	27
District 15	7	7	4	5	3	26	8	6	4	3	1	22
District 16	11	8	6	3	0	28	5	7	7	2	1	22
District 17	18	8	0	0	0	26	10	8	10	3	3	34
District 18	22	5	3	3	3	36	7	8	5	5	1	26
District 19	18	11	0	1	0	30	7	12	6	5	0	30
District 20	7	7	4	5	0	23	2	8	8	2	2	22
District 21	3	17	12	1	1	34	2	8	8	9	2	29
District 22	9	5	3	2	1	20	16	14	5	5	0	40
District 23	10	7	14	1	0	32	10	8	10	3	3	34
District 24	7	20	2	0	0	29	5	20	0	3	0	28
District 25	5	4	8	2	3	22	4	11	6	3	0	24
Total	245	198	158	83	25	709	183	226	157	85	16	667

Annex (2): Percentages of the Survey Sample by Sex, Age Group, and District

District	Female						Male					
	19-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 & above	Total	19-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 & above	Total
District 1	53.3	33.3	13.3	0.0	0.0	100.0	41.9	29.0	22.6	6.5	0.0	100.0
District 2	15.6	21.9	25.0	28.1	9.4	100.0	51.9	14.8	18.5	14.8	0.0	100.0
District 3	51.9	14.8	18.5	14.8	0.0	100.0	29.2	33.3	29.2	8.3	0.0	100.0
District 4	51.9	11.1	25.9	11.1	0.0	100.0	39.1	26.1	17.4	17.4	0.0	100.0
District 5	32.0	28.0	32.0	8.0	0.0	100.0	22.7	36.4	40.9	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 6	20.0	48.0	28.0	4.0	0.0	100.0	25.7	25.7	22.9	25.7	0.0	100.0
District 7	16.7	20.8	16.7	33.3	12.5	100.0	20.8	41.7	37.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 8	15.6	21.9	25.0	28.1	9.4	100.0	39.1	47.8	0.0	8.7	4.3	100.0
District 9	54.5	15.2	27.3	3.0	0.0	100.0	26.3	26.3	26.3	21.1	0.0	100.0
District 10	15.4	30.8	46.2	3.8	3.8	100.0	7.7	30.8	26.9	30.8	3.8	100.0
District 11	40.0	26.7	30.0	3.3	0.0	100.0	26.1	47.8	21.7	4.3	0.0	100.0
District 12	45.2	9.7	16.1	29.0	0.0	100.0	22.2	33.3	27.8	11.1	5.6	100.0
District 13	12.8	38.5	35.9	10.3	2.6	100.0	32.4	32.4	26.5	8.8	0.0	100.0
District 14	18.2	22.7	9.1	36.4	13.6	100.0	29.6	37.0	29.6	3.7	0.0	100.0
District 15	26.9	26.9	15.4	19.2	11.5	100.0	36.4	27.3	18.2	13.6	4.5	100.0
District 16	39.3	28.6	21.4	10.7	0.0	100.0	22.7	31.8	31.8	9.1	4.5	100.0
District 17	69.2	30.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	29.4	23.5	29.4	8.8	8.8	100.0
District 18	61.1	13.9	8.3	8.3	8.3	100.0	26.9	30.8	19.2	19.2	3.8	100.0
District 19	60.0	36.7	0.0	3.3	0.0	100.0	23.3	40.0	20.0	16.7	0.0	100.0
District 20	30.4	30.4	17.4	21.7	0.0	100.0	9.1	36.4	36.4	9.1	9.1	100.0
District 21	8.8	50.0	35.3	2.9	2.9	100.0	6.9	27.6	27.6	31.0	6.9	100.0
District 22	45.0	25.0	15.0	10.0	5.0	100.0	40.0	35.0	12.5	12.5	0.0	100.0
District 23	31.3	21.9	43.8	3.1	0.0	100.0	29.4	23.5	29.4	8.8	8.8	100.0
District 24	24.1	69.0	6.9	0.0	0.0	100.0	17.9	71.4	0.0	10.7	0.0	100.0
District 25	22.7	18.2	36.4	9.1	13.6	100.0	16.7	45.8	25.0	12.5	0.0	100.0
Total	34.6	27.9	22.3	11.7	3.5	100.0	27.4	33.9	23.5	12.7	2.4	100.0

Annex (3): Survey Sample by Sex, Educational Level, and District

District	Female							Male						
	Basic	High sch.	Spec. Train.	B.A.	Ma	Ph.D.	Total	Basic	High sch.	Spec. Train.	B.A.	Ma	Ph.D.	Total
District 1	0	4	4	20	1	0	29	0	7	2	19	3	0	31
District 2	1	2	2	13	4	1	23	1	3	0	20	3	0	27
District 3	1	3	0	20	3	0	27	1	6	7	7	1	0	22
District 4	1	3	11	11	1	0	27	0	5	3	15	0	0	23
District 5	1	3	8	12	0	1	25	0	5	5	12	0	0	22
District 6	2	2	4	13	2	2	25	0	5	3	18	2	0	28
District 7	3	9	2	9	0	1	24	2	7	5	10	0	0	24
District 8	3	1	2	22	4	1	33	2	4	3	13	1	1	24
District 9	5	7	3	11	5	2	33	0	2	2	15	1	1	21
District 10	2	4	6	12	0	0	24	1	5	2	17	1	0	26
District 11	0	2	11	17	0	0	30	0	4	6	12	1	0	23
District 12	1	3	6	19	2	0	31	2	4	6	8	0	0	20
District 13	2	12	1	22	1	0	38	0	7	2	25	1	0	35
District 14	2	9	2	9	0	0	22	0	3	5	17	2	0	27
District 15	4	4	4	13	0	0	25	4	2	3	12	1	0	22
District 16	1	3	11	10	0	0	25	3	4	11	4	0	0	22
District 17	0	4	14	8	0	0	26	7	7	8	10	1	1	34
District 18	6	7	12	9	1	1	36	2	3	4	15	3	0	27
District 19	6	4	8	11	0	1	30	2	4	5	17	2	0	30
District 20	4	4	1	13	0	0	22	1	5	2	14	0	0	22
District 21	2	2	10	20	1	0	35	1	5	2	18	1	1	28
District 22	1	6	7	6	0	0	20	5	14	2	5	4	0	30
District 23	1	10	5	16	0	0	32	7	7	8	10	1	1	34
District 24	4	12	5	10	0	0	31	1	6	7	10	1	3	28
District 25	1	2	2	13	0	1	19	1	2	6	15	0	0	24
Total	54	122	141	339	25	11	692	43	126	109	338	30	8	654

Annex (4): Percentages of Survey Sample by Sex, Educational Level, and District

District	Female							Male						
	Basic	High sch.	Spec. Train.	B.A.	Ma	Ph.D.	Total	Basic	High sch.	Spec. Train.	B.A.	Ma	Ph.D.	Total
District 1	0.0	13.8	13.8	69.0	3.4	0.0	100.0	0.0	22.6	6.5	61.3	9.7	0.0	100.0
District 2	4.3	8.7	8.7	56.5	17.4	4.3	100.0	3.7	11.1	0.0	74.1	11.1	0.0	100.0
District 3	3.7	11.1	0.0	74.1	11.1	0.0	100.0	4.5	27.3	31.8	31.8	4.5	0.0	100.0
District 4	3.7	11.1	40.7	40.7	3.7	0.0	100.0	0.0	21.7	13.0	65.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 5	4.0	12.0	32.0	48.0	0.0	4.0	100.0	0.0	22.7	22.7	54.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 6	8.0	8.0	16.0	52.0	8.0	8.0	100.0	0.0	17.9	10.7	64.3	7.1	0.0	100.0
District 7	12.5	37.5	8.3	37.5	0.0	4.2	100.0	8.3	29.2	20.8	41.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 8	9.1	3.0	6.1	66.7	12.1	3.0	100.0	8.3	16.7	12.5	54.2	4.2	4.2	100.0
District 9	15.2	21.2	9.1	33.3	15.2	6.1	100.0	0.0	9.5	9.5	71.4	4.8	4.8	100.0
District 10	8.3	16.7	25.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	3.8	19.2	7.7	65.4	3.8	0.0	100.0
District 11	0.0	6.7	36.7	56.7	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	17.4	26.1	52.2	4.3	0.0	100.0
District 12	3.2	9.7	19.4	61.3	6.5	0.0	100.0	10.0	20.0	30.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 13	5.3	31.6	2.6	57.9	2.6	0.0	100.0	0.0	20.0	5.7	71.4	2.9	0.0	100.0
District 14	9.1	40.9	9.1	40.9	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	11.1	18.5	63.0	7.4	0.0	100.0
District 15	16.0	16.0	16.0	52.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	18.2	9.1	13.6	54.5	4.5	0.0	100.0
District 16	4.0	12.0	44.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	13.6	18.2	50.0	18.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 17	0.0	15.4	53.8	30.8	0.0	0.0	100.0	20.6	20.6	23.5	29.4	2.9	2.9	100.0
District 18	16.7	19.4	33.3	25.0	2.8	2.8	100.0	7.4	11.1	14.8	55.6	11.1	0.0	100.0
District 19	20.0	13.3	26.7	36.7	0.0	3.3	100.0	6.7	13.3	16.7	56.7	6.7	0.0	100.0
District 20	18.2	18.2	4.5	59.1	0.0	0.0	100.0	4.5	22.7	9.1	63.6	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 21	5.7	5.7	28.6	57.1	2.9	0.0	100.0	3.6	17.9	7.1	64.3	3.6	3.6	100.0
District 22	5.0	30.0	35.0	30.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	16.7	46.7	6.7	16.7	13.3	0.0	100.0
District 23	3.1	31.3	15.6	50.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	20.6	20.6	23.5	29.4	2.9	2.9	100.0
District 24	12.9	38.7	16.1	32.3	0.0	0.0	100.0	3.6	21.4	25.0	35.7	3.6	10.7	100.0
District 25	5.3	10.5	10.5	68.4	0.0	5.3	100.0	4.2	8.3	25.0	62.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	7.8	17.6	20.4	49.0	3.6	1.6	100.0	6.6	19.3	16.7	51.7	4.6	1.2	100.0

Annex (5): Survey Sample by Sex, Marital Status, and District

District	Female					Male				
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Total
District 1	5	22	0	1	28	5	23	0	0	28
District 2	5	12	3	3	23	14	11	2	2	29
District 3	13	11	2	2	28	8	13	0	1	22
District 4	8	12	2	5	27	11	12	0	0	23
District 5	8	15	1	1	25	10	12	0	0	22
District 6	9	13	1	1	24	11	15	1	1	28
District 7	9	9	2	4	24	10	12	0	2	24
District 8	11	18	3	1	33	16	8	0	0	24
District 9	6	13	4	10	33	15	12	2	1	30
District 10	7	12	0	5	24	5	20	1	0	26
District 11	10	11	2	7	30	8	14	0	1	23
District 12	16	11	2	2	31	17	10	0	0	27
District 13	2	33	0	2	37	12	21	0	0	33
District 14	9	9	0	4	22	8	16	0	3	27
District 15	8	13	2	2	25	4	17	1	2	24
District 16	6	13	1	5	25	6	14	0	2	22
District 17	7	17	1	1	26	11	13	2	8	34
District 18	10	14	5	7	36	5	19	0	2	26
District 19	10	11	2	7	30	6	24	0	0	30
District 20	4	13	3	2	22	5	17	0	0	22
District 21	1	32	0	2	35	5	23	1	0	29
District 22	11	8	0	1	20	7	21	1	1	30
District 23	11	16	1	5	33	11	13	2	8	34
District 24	1	28	0	0	29	4	24	0	0	28
District 25	5	12	1	1	19	3	19	1	1	24
Total	192	378	38	81	689	217	403	14	35	669

Annex (6): Percentages of the Survey Sample by Sex, Marital Status, and District

District	Female					Male				
	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Total
District 1	17.9	78.6	0.0	3.6	100.0	17.9	82.1	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 2	21.7	52.2	13.0	13.0	100.0	48.3	37.9	6.9	6.9	100.0
District 3	46.4	39.3	7.1	7.1	100.0	36.4	59.1	0.0	4.5	100.0
District 4	29.6	44.4	7.4	18.5	100.0	47.8	52.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 5	32.0	60.0	4.0	4.0	100.0	45.5	54.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 6	37.5	54.2	4.2	4.2	100.0	39.3	53.6	3.6	3.6	100.0
District 7	37.5	37.5	8.3	16.7	100.0	41.7	50.0	0.0	8.3	100.0
District 8	33.3	54.5	9.1	3.0	100.0	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 9	18.2	39.4	12.1	30.3	100.0	50.0	40.0	6.7	3.3	100.0
District 10	29.2	50.0	0.0	20.8	100.0	19.2	76.9	3.8	0.0	100.0
District 11	33.3	36.7	6.7	23.3	100.0	34.8	60.9	0.0	4.3	100.0
District 12	51.6	35.5	6.5	6.5	100.0	63.0	37.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 13	5.4	89.2	0.0	5.4	100.0	36.4	63.6	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 14	40.9	40.9	0.0	18.2	100.0	29.6	59.3	0.0	11.1	100.0
District 15	32.0	52.0	8.0	8.0	100.0	16.7	70.8	4.2	8.3	100.0
District 16	24.0	52.0	4.0	20.0	100.0	27.3	63.6	0.0	9.1	100.0
District 17	26.9	65.4	3.8	3.8	100.0	32.4	38.2	5.9	23.5	100.0
District 18	27.8	38.9	13.9	19.4	100.0	19.2	73.1	0.0	7.7	100.0
District 19	33.3	36.7	6.7	23.3	100.0	20.0	80.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 20	18.2	59.1	13.6	9.1	100.0	22.7	77.3	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 21	2.9	91.4	0.0	5.7	100.0	17.2	79.3	3.4	0.0	100.0
District 22	55.0	40.0	0.0	5.0	100.0	23.3	70.0	3.3	3.3	100.0
District 23	33.3	48.5	3.0	15.2	100.0	32.4	38.2	5.9	23.5	100.0
District 24	3.4	96.6	0.0	0.0	100.0	14.3	85.7	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 25	26.3	63.2	5.3	5.3	100.0	12.5	79.2	4.2	4.2	100.0
Total	27.9	54.9	5.5	11.8	100.0	32.4	60.2	2.1	5.2	100.0

Annex (7): Survey Sample by Sex, Monthly Income, and District

District	Female					Male				
	Less Than 200 KD	200-500 KD	500-1000 KD	Above 1000 KD	Total	Less Than 200 KD	200-500 KD	500-1000 KD	Above 1000 KD	Total
District 1	0	9	21	0	30	0	7	11	11	29
District 2	1	3	6	13	23	4	8	8	7	27
District 3	4	8	8	7	27	0	9	7	4	20
District 4	5	5	15	2	27	0	5	11	7	23
District 5	0	5	14	6	25	2	3	11	6	22
District 6	0	6	10	9	25	0	5	11	12	28
District 7	0	13	5	6	24	3	7	12	2	24
District 8	1	6	9	17	33	0	3	12	9	24
District 9	7	11	11	4	33	3	12	12	3	30
District 10	1	12	8	3	24	1	4	6	15	26
District 11	3	14	10	3	30	0	4	10	9	23
District 12	4	11	15	3	33	0	5	9	4	18
District 13	2	15	21	0	38	5	5	20	6	36
District 14	0	13	5	4	22	3	6	11	7	27
District 15	1	10	10	2	23	2	6	9	5	22
District 16	3	14	7	1	25	1	15	5	1	22
District 17	3	12	11	0	26	8	16	8	5	37
District 18	10	14	10	2	36	3	4	9	19	35
District 19	3	14	10	3	30	4	6	15	5	30
District 20	1	7	10	4	22	1	6	6	9	22
District 21	1	14	20	0	35	1	4	6	18	29
District 22	4	8	5	3	20	3	8	20	9	40
District 23	2	15	6	9	32	8	16	8	5	37
District 24	2	12	15	0	29	0	5	7	16	28
District 25	1	8	6	4	19	3	7	13	1	24
Total	59	259	268	105	691	55	176	257	195	683

Annex (8): Percentages of the Survey Sample by Sex, Monthly Income, and District

District	Female					Male				
	Less Than 200 KD	200-500 KD	500-1000 KD	Above 1000 KD	Total	Less Than 200 KD	200-500 KD	500-1000 KD	Above 1000 KD	Total
District 1	0.0	30.0	70.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	24.1	37.9	37.9	100.0
District 2	4.3	13.0	26.1	56.5	100.0	14.8	29.6	29.6	25.9	100.0
District 3	14.8	29.6	29.6	25.9	100.0	0.0	45.0	35.0	20.0	100.0
District 4	18.5	18.5	55.6	7.4	100.0	0.0	21.7	47.8	30.4	100.0
District 5	0.0	20.0	56.0	24.0	100.0	9.1	13.6	50.0	27.3	100.0
District 6	0.0	24.0	40.0	36.0	100.0	0.0	17.9	39.3	42.9	100.0
District 7	0.0	54.2	20.8	25.0	100.0	12.5	29.2	50.0	8.3	100.0
District 8	3.0	18.2	27.3	51.5	100.0	0.0	12.5	50.0	37.5	100.0
District 9	21.2	33.3	33.3	12.1	100.0	10.0	40.0	40.0	10.0	100.0
District 10	4.2	50.0	33.3	12.5	100.0	3.8	15.4	23.1	57.7	100.0
District 11	10.0	46.7	33.3	10.0	100.0	0.0	17.4	43.5	39.1	100.0
District 12	12.1	33.3	45.5	9.1	100.0	0.0	27.8	50.0	22.2	100.0
District 13	5.3	39.5	55.3	0.0	100.0	13.9	13.9	55.6	16.7	100.0
District 14	0.0	59.1	22.7	18.2	100.0	11.1	22.2	40.7	25.9	100.0
District 15	4.3	43.5	43.5	8.7	100.0	9.1	27.3	40.9	22.7	100.0
District 16	12.0	56.0	28.0	4.0	100.0	4.5	68.2	22.7	4.5	100.0
District 17	11.5	46.2	42.3	0.0	100.0	21.6	43.2	21.6	13.5	100.0
District 18	27.8	38.9	27.8	5.6	100.0	8.6	11.4	25.7	54.3	100.0
District 19	10.0	46.7	33.3	10.0	100.0	13.3	20.0	50.0	16.7	100.0
District 20	4.5	31.8	45.5	18.2	100.0	4.5	27.3	27.3	40.9	100.0
District 21	2.9	40.0	57.1	0.0	100.0	3.4	13.8	20.7	62.1	100.0
District 22	20.0	40.0	25.0	15.0	100.0	7.5	20.0	50.0	22.5	100.0
District 23	6.3	46.9	18.8	28.1	100.0	21.6	43.2	21.6	13.5	100.0
District 24	6.9	41.4	51.7	0.0	100.0	0.0	17.9	25.0	57.1	100.0
District 25	5.3	42.1	31.6	21.1	100.0	12.5	29.2	54.2	4.2	100.0
Total	8.5	37.5	38.8	15.2	100.0	8.1	25.8	37.6	28.6	100.0

Annex (9): Survey Sample by Sex, Profession, and District

District	Female					Male				
	Gov. emp.	Priv. Emp.	Unemp.	Bus. Pers.	Total	Gov. emp.	Priv. Emp.	Unemp.	Bus. Pers.	Total
District 1	13	16	0	0	29	20	9	0	1	30
District 2	10	6	4	3	23	16	1	6	3	26
District 3	16	2	6	3	27	8	3	7	2	20
District 4	11	6	9	1	27	6	11	2	3	22
District 5	8	9	3	5	25	8	8	1	5	22
District 6	7	13	1	4	25	8	14	2	4	28
District 7	7	4	7	6	24	11	7	4	2	24
District 8	14	6	7	6	33	14	6	4	0	24
District 9	12	11	8	2	33	13	13	4	0	30
District 10	10	12	2	0	24	14	5	6	1	26
District 11	16	6	6	2	30	5	10	2	6	23
District 12	12	12	5	2	31	6	8	3	1	18
District 13	19	9	8	0	36	12	9	7	4	32
District 14	7	4	7	4	22	12	2	10	3	27
District 15	10	4	10	1	25	17	1	3	1	22
District 16	15	4	4	2	25	13	6	2	1	22
District 17	12	2	8	2	24	9	9	10	6	34
District 18	19	8	6	3	36	10	3	4	9	26
District 19	16	6	6	2	30	16	2	5	7	30
District 20	10	4	7	1	22	13	3	4	2	22
District 21	21	10	7	7	45	16	5	6	2	29
District 22	9	5	5	1	20	21	7	6	3	37
District 23	20	0	10	2	32	9	9	10	6	34
District 24	12	3	12	2	29	28	0	0	0	28
District 25	10	6	3	0	19	15	1	5	3	24
Total	316	168	151	61	696	320	152	113	75	660

Annex (10): Percentages of the Survey Sample by Sex, Profession, and District

District	Female					Male				
	Gov. emp.	Priv. Emp.	Unemp.	Bus. Pers.	Total	Gov. emp.	Priv. Emp.	Unemp.	Bus. Pers.	Total
District 1	44.8	55.2	0.0	0.0	100.0	66.7	30.0	0.0	3.3	100.0
District 2	43.5	26.1	17.4	13.0	100.0	61.5	3.8	23.1	11.5	100.0
District 3	59.3	7.4	22.2	11.1	100.0	40.0	15.0	35.0	10.0	100.0
District 4	40.7	22.2	33.3	3.7	100.0	27.3	50.0	9.1	13.6	100.0
District 5	32.0	36.0	12.0	20.0	100.0	36.4	36.4	4.5	22.7	100.0
District 6	28.0	52.0	4.0	16.0	100.0	28.6	50.0	7.1	14.3	100.0
District 7	29.2	16.7	29.2	25.0	100.0	45.8	29.2	16.7	8.3	100.0
District 8	42.4	18.2	21.2	18.2	100.0	58.3	25.0	16.7	0.0	100.0
District 9	36.4	33.3	24.2	6.1	100.0	43.3	43.3	13.3	0.0	100.0
District 10	41.7	50.0	8.3	0.0	100.0	53.8	19.2	23.1	3.8	100.0
District 11	53.3	20.0	20.0	6.7	100.0	21.7	43.5	8.7	26.1	100.0
District 12	38.7	38.7	16.1	6.5	100.0	33.3	44.4	16.7	5.6	100.0
District 13	52.8	25.0	22.2	0.0	100.0	37.5	28.1	21.9	12.5	100.0
District 14	31.8	18.2	31.8	18.2	100.0	44.4	7.4	37.0	11.1	100.0
District 15	40.0	16.0	40.0	4.0	100.0	77.3	4.5	13.6	4.5	100.0
District 16	60.0	16.0	16.0	8.0	100.0	59.1	27.3	9.1	4.5	100.0
District 17	50.0	8.3	33.3	8.3	100.0	26.5	26.5	29.4	17.6	100.0
District 18	52.8	22.2	16.7	8.3	100.0	38.5	11.5	15.4	34.6	100.0
District 19	53.3	20.0	20.0	6.7	100.0	53.3	6.7	16.7	23.3	100.0
District 20	45.5	18.2	31.8	4.5	100.0	59.1	13.6	18.2	9.1	100.0
District 21	46.7	22.2	15.6	15.6	100.0	55.2	17.2	20.7	6.9	100.0
District 22	45.0	25.0	25.0	5.0	100.0	56.8	18.9	16.2	8.1	100.0
District 23	62.5	0.0	31.3	6.3	100.0	26.5	26.5	29.4	17.6	100.0
District 24	41.4	10.3	41.4	6.9	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
District 25	52.6	31.6	15.8	0.0	100.0	62.5	4.2	20.8	12.5	100.0
Total	45.4	24.1	21.7	8.8	100.0	48.5	23.0	17.1	11.4	100.0

Annex (11): Candidate Selection by Sex and District

District	Female				Male			
	Woman	Men	no matter	Total	Woman	Men	no matter	Total
District 1	8	10	10	28	0	12	18	30
District 2	4	6	13	23	1	18	8	27
District 3	1	8	18	27	2	12	8	22
District 4	5	10	12	27	1	5	17	23
District 5	5	5	15	25	2	6	14	22
District 6	2	2	21	25	2	6	20	28
District 7	2	6	16	24	1	12	11	24
District 8	1	9	23	33	0	9	15	24
District 9	7	14	12	33	3	4	13	20
District 10	7	7	10	24	2	10	14	26
District 11	4	6	20	30	2	7	14	23
District 12	7	10	14	31	0	8	10	18
District 13	11	17	9	37	1	34	1	36
District 14	2	6	14	22	1	8	18	27
District 15	3	12	10	25	0	13	9	22
District 16	1	18	6	25	1	19	2	22
District 17	2	14	10	26	10	12	12	34
District 18	9	18	9	36	2	9	15	26
District 19	4	20	6	30	1	15	14	30
District 20	3	11	8	22	1	15	6	22
District 21	12	16	17	45	2	10	17	29
District 22	4	5	11	20	5	8	17	30
District 23	0	21	11	32	10	12	12	34
District 24	0	29	0	29	0	28	0	28
District 25	3	3	13	19	2	14	8	24
Total	107	283	308	698	52	306	293	651

Annex (12): Candidate Selection Percentages by Sex and District

District	Female				Male			
	Woman	Men	no matter	Total	Woman	Men	no matter	Total
District 1	28.6	35.7	35.7	100.0	0.0	40.0	60.0	100.0
District 2	17.4	26.1	56.5	100.0	3.7	66.7	29.6	100.0
District 3	3.7	29.6	66.7	100.0	9.1	54.5	36.4	100.0
District 4	18.5	37.0	44.4	100.0	4.3	21.7	73.9	100.0
District 5	20.0	20.0	60.0	100.0	9.1	27.3	63.6	100.0
District 6	8.0	8.0	84.0	100.0	7.1	21.4	71.4	100.0
District 7	8.3	25.0	66.7	100.0	4.2	50.0	45.8	100.0
District 8	3.0	27.3	69.7	100.0	0.0	37.5	62.5	100.0
District 9	21.2	42.4	36.4	100.0	15.0	20.0	65.0	100.0
District 10	29.2	29.2	41.7	100.0	7.7	38.5	53.8	100.0
District 11	13.3	20.0	66.7	100.0	8.7	30.4	60.9	100.0
District 12	22.6	32.3	45.2	100.0	0.0	44.4	55.6	100.0
District 13	29.7	45.9	24.3	100.0	2.8	94.4	2.8	100.0
District 14	9.1	27.3	63.6	100.0	3.7	29.6	66.7	100.0
District 15	12.0	48.0	40.0	100.0	0.0	59.1	40.9	100.0
District 16	4.0	72.0	24.0	100.0	4.5	86.4	9.1	100.0
District 17	7.7	53.8	38.5	100.0	29.4	35.3	35.3	100.0
District 18	25.0	50.0	25.0	100.0	7.7	34.6	57.7	100.0
District 19	13.3	66.7	20.0	100.0	3.3	50.0	46.7	100.0
District 20	13.6	50.0	36.4	100.0	4.5	68.2	27.3	100.0
District 21	26.7	35.6	37.8	100.0	6.9	34.5	58.6	100.0
District 22	20.0	25.0	55.0	100.0	16.7	26.7	56.7	100.0
District 23	0.0	65.6	34.4	100.0	29.4	35.3	35.3	100.0
District 24	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
District 25	15.8	15.8	68.4	100.0	8.3	58.3	33.3	100.0
Total	15.3	40.5	44.1	100.0	8.0	47.0	45.0	100.0

Annex (13): Female Rating of Subjects Important for Parliament to Address by District
Female & Districts

District	Female								
	Edu- cation	Marriage	Divorce	Custody	Inheritance	Property	Employ- ment	Citizenship Law	Freedom of Movmt.
District 1	18	8	3	9	3	10	11	7	9
District 2	14	16	18	15	11	19	12	16	13
District 3	11	7	11	8	3	6	13	10	6
District 4	17	20	17	21	13	19	18	23	13
District 5	12	14	17	16	11	14	15	14	12
District 6	18	22	22	23	18	17	18	21	21
District 7	13	15	18	16	12	15	17	16	12
District 8	13	11	16	21	13	14	19	17	5
District 9	10	22	22	23	10	11	11	21	12
District 10	12	12	11	13	4	13	11	12	3
District 11	17	12	14	22	19	22	25	27	14
District 12	16	17	21	18	13	17	23	20	16
District 13	18	8	18	15	6	10	18	17	1
District 14	13	15	13	16	10	15	17	16	12
District 15	15	18	10	16	10	12	14	15	14
District 16	11	12	11	12	3	13	11	15	3
District 17	12	19	12	18	7	8	12	19	5
District 18	15	27	20	27	12	13	19	25	14
District 19	17	12	14	22	19	22	25	27	14
District 20	5	8	10	6	4	2	4	5	4
District 21	18	10	18	18	4	9	12	19	11
District 22	7	7	6	8	3	4	4	5	3
District 23	12	8	12	10	2	13	15	16	3
District 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
District 25	14	16	18	15	11	19	12	16	13
Total	328	336	352	388	221	317	356	399	233

**Annex (14): Percentage of Females Who Rate a Subject Important for Parliament to
Address by District**

District	Female								
	Edu- cation	Marriage	Divorce	Custody	Inher- itance	Property	Employ- ment	Citizenship Law	Freedom of Movmt.
District 1	60.0	26.7	10.0	30.0	10.0	33.3	36.7	23.3	30.0
District 2	43.8	50.0	56.3	46.9	34.4	59.4	37.5	50.0	40.6
District 3	40.7	25.9	40.7	29.6	11.1	22.2	48.1	37.0	22.2
District 4	63.0	74.1	63.0	77.8	48.1	70.4	66.7	85.2	48.1
District 5	48.0	56.0	68.0	64.0	44.0	56.0	60.0	56.0	48.0
District 6	72.0	88.0	88.0	92.0	72.0	68.0	72.0	84.0	84.0
District 7	54.2	62.5	75.0	66.7	50.0	62.5	70.8	66.7	50.0
District 8	40.6	34.4	50.0	65.6	40.6	43.8	59.4	53.1	15.6
District 9	30.3	66.7	66.7	69.7	30.3	33.3	33.3	63.6	36.4
District 10	46.2	46.2	42.3	50.0	15.4	50.0	42.3	46.2	11.5
District 11	56.7	40.0	46.7	73.3	63.3	73.3	83.3	90.0	46.7
District 12	51.6	54.8	67.7	58.1	41.9	54.8	74.2	64.5	51.6
District 13	46.2	20.5	46.2	38.5	15.4	25.6	46.2	43.6	2.6
District 14	59.1	68.2	59.1	72.7	45.5	68.2	77.3	72.7	54.5
District 15	57.7	69.2	38.5	61.5	38.5	46.2	53.8	57.7	53.8
District 16	39.3	42.9	39.3	42.9	10.7	46.4	39.3	53.6	10.7
District 17	46.2	73.1	46.2	69.2	26.9	30.8	46.2	73.1	19.2
District 18	41.7	75.0	55.6	75.0	33.3	36.1	52.8	69.4	38.9
District 19	56.7	40.0	46.7	73.3	63.3	73.3	83.3	90.0	46.7
District 20	21.7	34.8	43.5	26.1	17.4	8.7	17.4	21.7	17.4
District 21	52.9	29.4	52.9	52.9	11.8	26.5	35.3	55.9	32.4
District 22	35.0	35.0	30.0	40.0	15.0	20.0	20.0	25.0	15.0
District 23	37.5	25.0	37.5	31.3	6.3	40.6	46.9	50.0	9.4
District 24	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
District 25	63.6	72.7	81.8	68.2	50.0	86.4	54.5	72.7	59.1
Total	46.3	47.4	49.6	54.7	31.2	44.7	50.2	56.3	32.9

**Annex (15): Male Rating of Subjects Important for Parliament to Address by District
Male & Districts**

District	Female								
	Edu- cation	Marriage	Divorce	Custody	Inher- itance	Property	Employ- ment	Citizenship Law	Freedom of Movmt.
District 1	12	12	4	7	2	4	9	6	0
District 2	12	8	12	9	4	7	14	11	7
District 3	7	4	1	3	0	3	4	7	1
District 4	12	11	10	10	7	11	17	11	10
District 5	12	10	9	9	7	7	10	16	9
District 6	11	10	9	9	6	10	18	10	9
District 7	14	11	8	12	5	6	12	14	8
District 8	6	8	11	8	0	4	13	14	1
District 9	4	0	6	4	0	0	4	4	0
District 10	20	13	12	12	7	7	10	15	10
District 11	16	12	12	14	9	12	18	14	12
District 12	16	10	10	12	4	4	9	16	10
District 13	9	9	13	7	3	10	11	18	4
District 14	16	15	14	14	11	9	23	15	10
District 15	18	15	14	16	9	9	18	18	8
District 16	12	15	11	11	11	0	11	11	0
District 17	9	8	10	6	5	5	8	6	10
District 18	25	23	24	23	11	13	25	22	10
District 19	29	26	26	27	16	17	28	25	14
District 20	12	7	7	12	4	6	10	17	2
District 21	20	15	12	9	7	7	10	13	10
District 22	17	11	11	10	5	5	7	21	4
District 23	9	8	10	6	5	5	8	6	10
District 24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
District 25	23	20	20	21	10	11	22	19	8
Total	341	281	276	271	148	172	319	329	167

**Annex (16): Percentage of Males Who Rate a Subject Important for Parliament to Address
by District**

District	Female								
	Edu- cation	Marriage	Divorce	Custody	Inher- itance	Property	Employ- ment	Citizenship Law	Freedom of Movmt.
District 1	38.7	38.7	12.9	22.6	6.5	12.9	29.0	19.4	0.0
District 2	44.4	29.6	44.4	33.3	14.8	25.9	51.9	40.7	25.9
District 3	29.2	16.7	4.2	12.5	0.0	12.5	16.7	29.2	4.2
District 4	52.2	47.8	43.5	43.5	30.4	47.8	73.9	47.8	43.5
District 5	54.5	45.5	40.9	40.9	31.8	31.8	45.5	72.7	40.9
District 6	31.4	28.6	25.7	25.7	17.1	28.6	51.4	28.6	25.7
District 7	58.3	45.8	33.3	50.0	20.8	25.0	50.0	58.3	33.3
District 8	26.1	34.8	47.8	34.8	0.0	17.4	56.5	60.9	4.3
District 9	21.1	0.0	31.6	21.1	0.0	0.0	21.1	21.1	0.0
District 10	76.9	50.0	46.2	46.2	26.9	26.9	38.5	57.7	38.5
District 11	69.6	52.2	52.2	60.9	39.1	52.2	78.3	60.9	52.2
District 12	88.9	55.6	55.6	66.7	22.2	22.2	50.0	88.9	55.6
District 13	26.5	26.5	38.2	20.6	8.8	29.4	32.4	52.9	11.8
District 14	59.3	55.6	51.9	51.9	40.7	33.3	85.2	55.6	37.0
District 15	81.8	68.2	63.6	72.7	40.9	40.9	81.8	81.8	36.4
District 16	54.5	68.2	50.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0
District 17	26.5	23.5	29.4	17.6	14.7	14.7	23.5	17.6	29.4
District 18	96.2	88.5	92.3	88.5	42.3	50.0	96.2	84.6	38.5
District 19	96.7	86.7	86.7	90.0	53.3	56.7	93.3	83.3	46.7
District 20	54.5	31.8	31.8	54.5	18.2	27.3	45.5	77.3	9.1
District 21	69.0	51.7	41.4	31.0	24.1	24.1	34.5	44.8	34.5
District 22	42.5	27.5	27.5	25.0	12.5	12.5	17.5	52.5	10.0
District 23	26.5	23.5	29.4	17.6	14.7	14.7	23.5	17.6	29.4
District 24	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
District 25	95.8	83.3	83.3	87.5	41.7	45.8	91.7	79.2	33.3
Total	51.1	42.1	41.4	40.6	22.2	25.8	47.8	49.3	25.0

Annex (17): Female Rating of Subjects Important for Candidates to Address by District

District	Female							
	Implemen.	Discrimin.	Amend.	Awareness	Expedite	Judicial Training	Female Judges	University Awareness
District 1	31	30	30	30	29	29	29	30
District 2	16	13	14	14	15	13	10	13
District 3	16	20	19	17	13	18	14	11
District 4	21	17	19	22	21	19	14	24
District 5	21	20	21	20	20	19	15	19
District 6	21	24	23	22	23	21	22	24
District 7	18	17	19	19	19	18	19	22
District 8	24	20	23	23	24	21	19	25
District 9	21	24	23	22	32	21	22	24
District 10	15	13	15	16	15	14	14	15
District 11	25	19	19	19	23	18	17	21
District 12	19	23	22	20	16	21	17	14
District 13	33	3	7	6	12	13	12	21
District 14	18	17	19	19	19	18	19	18
District 15	16	16	15	15	11	12	13	15
District 16	14	13	14	15	14	13	14	14
District 17	14	12	10	11	9	11	9	12
District 18	26	23	20	21	25	17	18	21
District 19	25	19	19	19	23	18	17	21
District 20	16	16	15	15	11	12	13	15
District 21	31	22	16	14	23	21	4	21
District 22	9	9	9	5	7	10	8	12
District 23	29	11	26	22	24	22	7	26
District 24	21	0	0	1	24	0	0	0
District 25	16	13	14	14	15	13	10	13
Total	516	414	431	421	467	412	356	451

**Annex (18): Percentage of Females Who Rate a Subject Important for Candidates to
Address by District**

District	Female							
	Implemen.	Discrimin.	Amend.	Awareness	Expedite	Judicial Training	Female Judges	University Awareness
District 1	50.8	49.2	49.2	49.2	47.5	47.5	47.5	49.2
District 2	27.1	22.0	23.7	23.7	25.4	22.0	16.9	22.0
District 3	31.4	39.2	37.3	33.3	25.5	35.3	27.5	21.6
District 4	42.0	34.0	38.0	44.0	42.0	38.0	28.0	48.0
District 5	44.7	42.6	44.7	42.6	42.6	40.4	31.9	40.4
District 6	35.0	40.0	38.3	36.7	38.3	35.0	36.7	40.0
District 7	37.5	35.4	39.6	39.6	39.6	37.5	39.6	45.8
District 8	43.6	36.4	41.8	41.8	43.6	38.2	34.5	45.5
District 9	40.4	46.2	44.2	42.3	61.5	40.4	42.3	46.2
District 10	28.8	25.0	28.8	30.8	28.8	26.9	26.9	28.8
District 11	47.2	35.8	35.8	35.8	43.4	34.0	32.1	39.6
District 12	38.8	46.9	44.9	40.8	32.7	42.9	34.7	28.6
District 13	45.2	4.1	9.6	8.2	16.4	17.8	16.4	28.8
District 14	36.7	34.7	38.8	38.8	38.8	36.7	38.8	36.7
District 15	33.3	33.3	31.3	31.3	22.9	25.0	27.1	31.3
District 16	28.0	26.0	28.0	30.0	28.0	26.0	28.0	28.0
District 17	23.3	20.0	16.7	18.3	15.0	18.3	15.0	20.0
District 18	41.9	37.1	32.3	33.9	40.3	27.4	29.0	33.9
District 19	41.7	31.7	31.7	31.7	38.3	30.0	28.3	35.0
District 20	35.6	35.6	33.3	33.3	24.4	26.7	28.9	33.3
District 21	49.2	34.9	25.4	22.2	36.5	33.3	6.3	33.3
District 22	15.0	15.0	15.0	8.3	11.7	16.7	13.3	20.0
District 23	43.9	16.7	39.4	33.3	36.4	33.3	10.6	39.4
District 24	36.8	0.0	0.0	1.8	42.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
District 25	34.8	28.3	30.4	30.4	32.6	28.3	21.7	28.3
Total	37.5	30.1	31.3	30.6	33.9	29.9	25.9	32.8

Annex (19): Male Rating of Subjects Important for Candidates to Address by District

District	Male							
	Implemen.	Discrimin.	Amend.	Awareness	Expedite	Judicial Training	Female Judges	University Awareness
District 1	29	23	28	27	19	21	18	25
District 2	17	21	20	18	14	19	15	12
District 3	11	4	9	7	7	10	8	12
District 4	18	8	13	11	15	12	9	18
District 5	16	7	12	9	13	10	7	16
District 6	21	12	16	14	18	15	12	23
District 7	12	7	14	8	15	8	7	18
District 8	13	12	13	16	19	11	11	15
District 9	6	3	5	4	7	0	0	2
District 10	13	13	10	12	10	9	9	12
District 11	17	7	12	10	13	11	7	17
District 12	12	10	10	12	12	8	8	16
District 13	27	8	11	8	12	12	16	15
District 14	26	17	21	19	23	20	14	25
District 15	20	18	19	16	18	17	9	15
District 16	16	11	15	15	15	15	12	16
District 17	20	17	16	18	17	11	13	14
District 18	25	22	24	23	23	20	11	21
District 19	29	26	25	27	27	24	17	25
District 20	12	7	12	8	13	12	5	12
District 21	23	23	20	22	20	19	19	22
District 22	27	20	21	21	23	25	14	32
District 23	20	17	16	18	17	11	13	14
District 24	27	0	0	0	28	0	0	0
District 25	23	20	19	21	21	18	11	19
Total	480	333	381	364	419	338	265	416

**Annex (20): Percentage of Males Who Rate a Subject Important for Candidates to Address
by District**

District	Male							
	Implemen.	Discrimin.	Amend.	Awareness	Expedite	Judicial Training	Female Judges	University Awareness
District 1	47.5	37.7	45.9	44.3	31.1	34.4	29.5	41.0
District 2	28.8	35.6	33.9	30.5	23.7	32.2	25.4	20.3
District 3	21.6	7.8	17.6	13.7	13.7	19.6	15.7	23.5
District 4	36.0	16.0	26.0	22.0	30.0	24.0	18.0	36.0
District 5	34.0	14.9	25.5	19.1	27.7	21.3	14.9	34.0
District 6	35.0	20.0	26.7	23.3	30.0	25.0	20.0	38.3
District 7	25.0	14.6	29.2	16.7	31.3	16.7	14.6	37.5
District 8	23.6	21.8	23.6	29.1	34.5	20.0	20.0	27.3
District 9	11.5	5.8	9.6	7.7	13.5	0.0	0.0	3.8
District 10	25.0	25.0	19.2	23.1	19.2	17.3	17.3	23.1
District 11	32.1	13.2	22.6	18.9	24.5	20.8	13.2	32.1
District 12	24.5	20.4	20.4	24.5	24.5	16.3	16.3	32.7
District 13	37.0	11.0	15.1	11.0	16.4	16.4	21.9	20.5
District 14	53.1	34.7	42.9	38.8	46.9	40.8	28.6	51.0
District 15	41.7	37.5	39.6	33.3	37.5	35.4	18.8	31.3
District 16	32.0	22.0	30.0	30.0	30.0	30.0	24.0	32.0
District 17	33.3	28.3	26.7	30.0	28.3	18.3	21.7	23.3
District 18	40.3	35.5	38.7	37.1	37.1	32.3	17.7	33.9
District 19	48.3	43.3	41.7	45.0	45.0	40.0	28.3	41.7
District 20	26.7	15.6	26.7	17.8	28.9	26.7	11.1	26.7
District 21	36.5	36.5	31.7	34.9	31.7	30.2	30.2	34.9
District 22	45.0	33.3	35.0	35.0	38.3	41.7	23.3	53.3
District 23	30.3	25.8	24.2	27.3	25.8	16.7	19.7	21.2
District 24	47.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	49.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
District 25	50.0	43.5	41.3	45.7	45.7	39.1	23.9	41.3
Total	34.9	24.2	27.7	26.5	30.5	24.6	19.3	30.2

Annex (21): Female Rating of Skills and Traits Desirable in Candidates by District

District	Female					
	Knowledge	Plan	Position	Public Speaking	Advocacy	Communication
District 1	28	28	29	29	29	29
District 2	18	18	16	15	15	16
District 3	22	18	13	18	15	24
District 4	24	24	20	17	17	19
District 5	21	21	21	20	20	20
District 6	24	24	24	23	24	24
District 7	19	19	20	18	21	21
District 8	27	27	26	23	26	27
District 9	24	24	24	32	24	24
District 10	17	16	17	15	16	17
District 11	25	17	23	21	13	22
District 12	20	17	20	17	14	22
District 13	20	14	8	26	25	31
District 14	19	19	19	17	18	18
District 15	15	17	16	17	15	15
District 16	15	15	14	13	16	14
District 17	11	11	10	11	10	11
District 18	17	19	17	24	19	19
District 19	25	17	23	21	13	22
District 20	15	17	16	17	15	15
District 21	19	12	6	23	27	29
District 22	11	10	7	8	11	11
District 23	28	28	19	26	22	23
District 24	20	24	0	19	0	0
District 25	12	17	12	15	13	12
Total	496	473	420	485	438	485

Annex (22): Percentage of Females Ratings of Skills and Traits: Desirable in Candidates by District

District	Female					
	Knowledge	Plan	Position	Public Speaking	Advocacy	Communication
District 1	45.9	45.9	47.5	47.5	47.5	47.5
District 2	30.5	30.5	27.1	25.4	25.4	27.1
District 3	43.1	35.3	25.5	35.3	29.4	47.1
District 4	48.0	48.0	40.0	34.0	34.0	38.0
District 5	44.7	44.7	44.7	42.6	42.6	42.6
District 6	40.0	40.0	40.0	38.3	40.0	40.0
District 7	39.6	39.6	41.7	37.5	43.8	43.8
District 8	49.1	49.1	47.3	41.8	47.3	49.1
District 9	46.2	46.2	46.2	61.5	46.2	46.2
District 10	32.7	30.8	32.7	28.8	30.8	32.7
District 11	47.2	32.1	43.4	39.6	24.5	41.5
District 12	40.8	34.7	40.8	34.7	28.6	44.9
District 13	27.4	19.2	11.0	35.6	34.2	42.5
District 14	38.8	38.8	38.8	34.7	36.7	36.7
District 15	31.3	35.4	33.3	35.4	31.3	31.3
District 16	30.0	30.0	28.0	26.0	32.0	28.0
District 17	18.3	18.3	16.7	18.3	16.7	18.3
District 18	27.4	30.6	27.4	38.7	30.6	30.6
District 19	41.7	28.3	38.3	35.0	21.7	36.7
District 20	33.3	37.8	35.6	37.8	33.3	33.3
District 21	30.2	19.0	9.5	36.5	42.9	46.0
District 22	18.3	16.7	11.7	13.3	18.3	18.3
District 23	42.4	42.4	28.8	39.4	33.3	34.8
District 24	35.1	42.1	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.0
District 25	26.1	37.0	26.1	32.6	28.3	26.1
Total	36.0	34.4	30.5	35.2	31.8	35.2

Annex (23): Male Rating of Skills and Traits Desirable in: Candidates by District

District	Male					
	Knowledge	Plan	Position	Public Speaking	Advocacy	Communication
District 1	28	29	26	26	25	28
District 2	23	19	14	19	16	25
District 3	11	10	8	13	13	11
District 4	12	20	12	20	12	12
District 5	11	19	11	19	11	11
District 6	25	25	27	21	25	21
District 7	12	15	10	15	9	12
District 8	18	21	19	21	18	16
District 9	7	7	5	6	1	0
District 10	15	17	13	14	13	14
District 11	12	17	13	21	9	13
District 12	10	16	10	16	10	10
District 13	22	18	14	32	29	28
District 14	22	25	21	26	22	18
District 15	17	21	16	20	15	16
District 16	15	16	13	14	15	17
District 17	7	6	7	5	6	7
District 18	20	25	21	24	22	22
District 19	24	28	25	22	29	26
District 20	7	12	6	12	6	6
District 21	25	27	23	24	23	24
District 22	19	23	23	26	22	25
District 23	22	20	13	12	18	18
District 24	28	28	1	28	0	0
District 25	18	22	19	16	23	20
Total	430	486	370	472	392	400

**Annex (24): Percentage of Males Who Rate Skills and Traits Desirable
in Candidates by District**

District	Male					
	Knowledge	Plan	Position	Public Speaking	Advocacy	Communication
District 1	45.9	47.5	42.6	42.6	41.0	45.9
District 2	39.0	32.2	23.7	32.2	27.1	42.4
District 3	21.6	19.6	15.7	25.5	25.5	21.6
District 4	24.0	40.0	24.0	40.0	24.0	24.0
District 5	23.4	40.4	23.4	40.4	23.4	23.4
District 6	41.7	41.7	45.0	35.0	41.7	35.0
District 7	25.0	31.3	20.8	31.3	18.8	25.0
District 8	32.7	38.2	34.5	38.2	32.7	29.1
District 9	13.5	13.5	9.6	11.5	1.9	0.0
District 10	28.8	32.7	25.0	26.9	25.0	26.9
District 11	22.6	32.1	24.5	39.6	17.0	24.5
District 12	20.4	32.7	20.4	32.7	20.4	20.4
District 13	30.1	24.7	19.2	43.8	39.7	38.4
District 14	44.9	51.0	42.9	53.1	44.9	36.7
District 15	35.4	43.8	33.3	41.7	31.3	33.3
District 16	30.0	32.0	26.0	28.0	30.0	34.0
District 17	11.7	10.0	11.7	8.3	10.0	11.7
District 18	32.3	40.3	33.9	38.7	35.5	35.5
District 19	40.0	46.7	41.7	36.7	48.3	43.3
District 20	15.6	26.7	13.3	26.7	13.3	13.3
District 21	39.7	42.9	36.5	38.1	36.5	38.1
District 22	31.7	38.3	38.3	43.3	36.7	41.7
District 23	33.3	30.3	19.7	18.2	27.3	27.3
District 24	49.1	49.1	1.8	49.1	0.0	0.0
District 25	39.1	47.8	41.3	34.8	50.0	43.5
Total	31.3	35.3	26.9	34.3	28.5	29.1



APPENDIX (1) TRANSLATED SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire on Parliamentarian Elections in Kuwait 2006

Sex: ☐ Female ☐ Male

Age Group: ☐ 19-24 ☐ 25-29 ☐ 30-34 ☐ 35-39
☐ 40-44 ☐ 45-49 ☐ 50-54 ☐ 55-59
☐ 60 and above

Academic Qualifications: ☐ Literate ☐ High School ☐ Vocational
☐ University ☐ Masters ☐ PhD

Social Status: ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ Widowed
☐ Divorced

Governorate:.....

Electoral District:.....

Income: ☐ less than 200 KD ☐ Between 200-500 KD ☐ Above 500 KD
☐ Above 1000 KD

Profession: ☐ Public Sector Employee ☐ Private Sector Employee ☐ Unemployed

Would you elect a female or male? ☐ Female ☐ Male
☐ Doesn't Matter, according to the candidate election Program

If Kuwaiti Women enter the parliament, what are the topics you feel are important to be discussed in the parliament:

- ☐ Women rights in education ☐ Women rights in Marriage ☐ Women rights in Divorce
☐ Women rights in custody of children ☐ Women rights in Inheritance ☐ Women rights in ownership
☐ Women rights in labour ☐ Women rights in the nationality law
☐ Women rights in free travel and transportation

Which of the following topics would you like to see in a candidate's campaign platform?

- | | | |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Degree of implementation of laws and legislations pertaining to personal status law | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 2. Existence of any discrimination in the personal status law | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 3. Presentation of amendments related to personal status law to promote women human rights | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 4. Presentation of action plan to increase awareness on women rights in the personal status law | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 5. Presentation of action plan to expedite the procedures of the religious Courts | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 6. Presentation of action plan to train religious judges on women rights within the personal status law | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 7. Women representation in the judicial religious system | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 8. Presentation of awareness programmes for university students on women rights in the personal status law | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |

Which if the following traits and personal skills would you like to see in the candidates campaign platform?

- | | | |
|--|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Knowledge of laws and legislations related to personal status law | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 2. Ability to plan, negotiate and lead debates | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 3. Ability to present ideas and amendments promoting the rights of women and debates within the parliament | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 4. Ability to speak in public and deal with media | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 5. Ability to advocate and support women rights in the personal status law | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| 6. Ability to communicate with different MPs to build coalitions and work together for women rights in the personal status law | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |

APPENDIX (2)



NATIONWIDE SURVEY BY WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION: KUWAITIS SAY THEY WILL VOTE ON THE ISSUES FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

June 29, 2006

Contact: Women Cultural Social Society Phone: 484 3397, 484 3667

Kuwait – In the only nationwide survey conducted in Kuwait on the eve of the elections, results show that most Kuwaitis will vote based on candidates' political platforms rather than gender.

“Clearly, women have come a long way in a short time,” says Shaikha Al Nusf, President of the Women Cultural Social Society, which conducted the poll. “In the one month since the Emir called for elections,” she said, “women candidates and voters have made this election about issues rather than traditional affiliations.”

In Al-Adliya, District 11, where 7 out of the 28 women running in these parliamentary elections, 64% of voters said that they will vote based on political platforms.

Surveying over 1376 voters in all 25 districts of Kuwait, the results revealed a wide spectrum of views:

Kuwaiti women, who represent 57% of registered voters, have raised concerns about women's rights:

56% of women and 49% of men consider citizenship laws the highest priority

50% of women and 41% of men say divorce laws is a priority

55% of women and 41% of women regard custody as a priority

Though women are not permitted to receive passports without permission of their husbands, only 29% of Kuwaitis identified freedom of movement and travel as a priority.

Forty-five percent of women identified property and housing laws as major issues to be addressed by parliamentarians. Only 26% of men, who benefit most from Kuwait's discriminatory housing

laws, considered this important.

Concerning what traits voters would like to see in candidates, 67% of Kuwaiti voters consider knowledge of personal status laws (family laws which affect the rights of women in marriage, divorce, inheritance, custody, etc.) to be a priority.

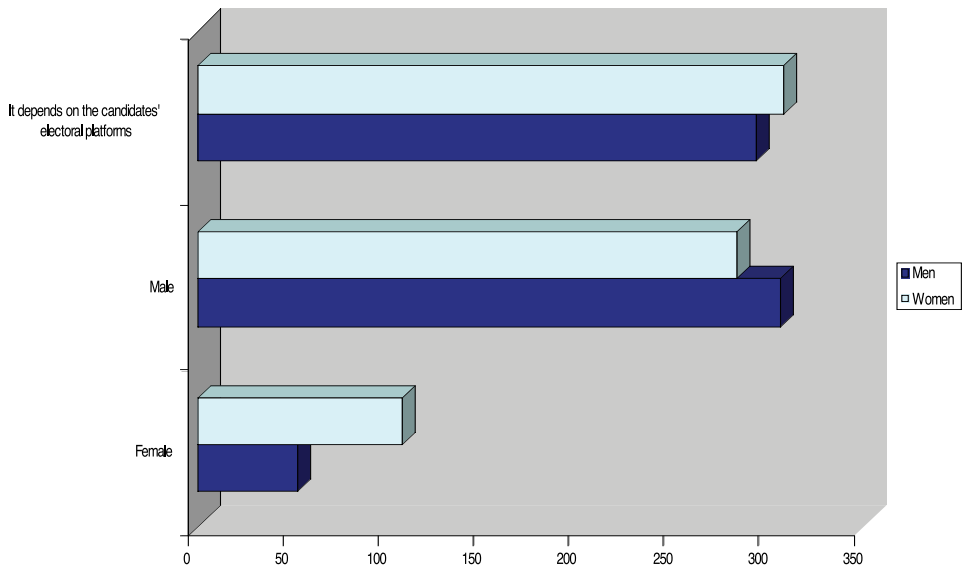
When elected, voters would like to see parliamentarians work to implement personal status laws and legislation. Seventy-two percent of women and men consider this a top priority.

Six-hundred and twenty-one respondents – including 356 women and 265 men – would like to see female judges serve in Shari'a courts. Today, there are no women judges in Kuwait, in secular or religious courts.

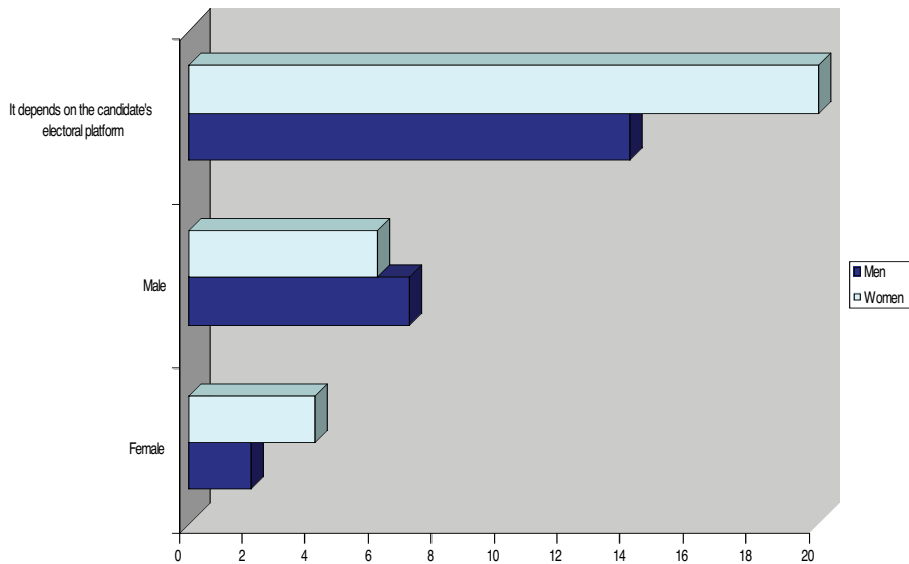
These findings are based upon a poll conducted with 1376 Kuwaiti men and women, proportional to the population, aged 19 to over 60, conducted in all 25 electoral districts of Kuwait. Respondents represented a wide spectrum of educational and income levels throughout the country.

The Women Cultural Social Society is the oldest Kuwaiti organization devoted to women's issues. The Society's main objective is to develop women in all fields, encourage their participation in community activities and increase their awareness of their rights and responsibilities. The survey was conducted by the Cultural Social Society.

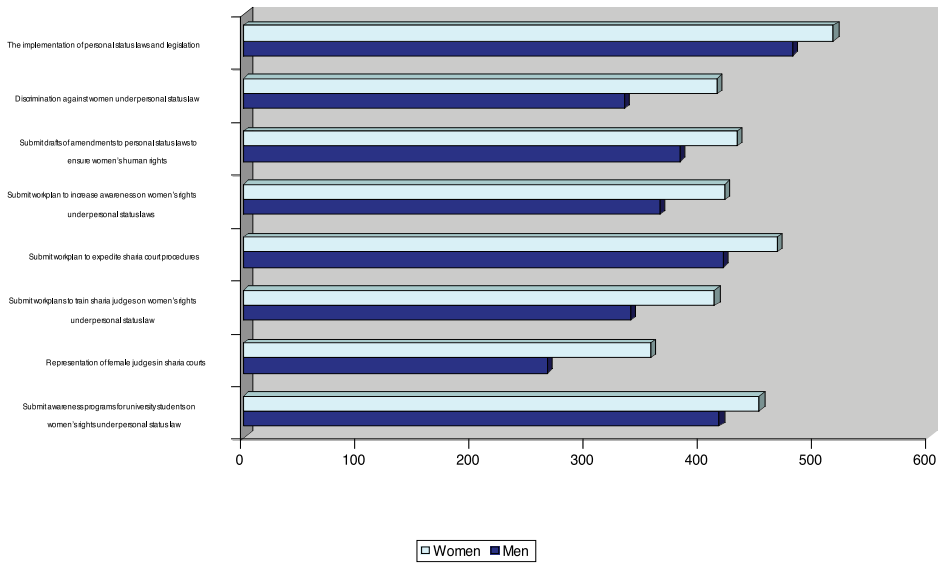
Will you vote for a female or a male candidate?



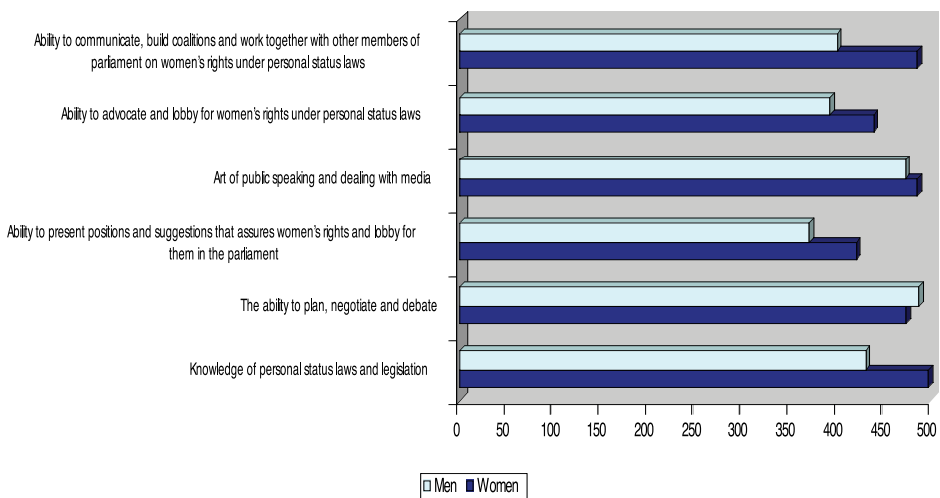
DISTRICT 11: Will you vote for a female or male candidate?



What would you like to see in candidates' electoral platforms?



What traits would you like to see in a candidate?



If Kuwaiti women are elected to parliament, what subjects are most important for them to address?

The rights of women in:

