

**POLITICAL MARKETING AND WOMEN
CANDIDATES IN THE 2014 PARLIAMENTARY
ELECTION IN THE KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN**

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ELECTION IN THE KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN**

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMA	American Marketing Association
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIO	Central Informatics Organization
DER	Directorate of Election and Referendum
GCC	Gulf Countries Cooperation
GT	Grounded Theory
IPU	International Parliament Union
KoB	Kingdom of Bahrain
KWIC	Key Word-In-Context
MOP	Market-Oriented Party
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
PEPs	Political Empowerment Programs
PMM	Political Marketing Management
PMO	Political Marketing Orientation
POP	Product-Oriented Party
PR	Public Relations
RT	Relationship Theory
SCW	Supreme Council for Women
SET	Social Exchange Theory
SOP	Sales-Oriented Party
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats

**PEMASARAN POLITIK DAN CALON WANITA DALAM PILIHAN RAYA
PARLIMEN 2014 DI BAHRAIN**

ABSTRAK

Perlembagaan Bahrain 2002 menjamin hak-hak mengundi bagi lelaki dan wanita. Oleh itu, tesis sains politik ini memberi fokus kepada strategi-strategi dan taktik-taktik pemasaran politik yang digunakan oleh calon-calon wanita untuk memenangi pilihan raya parlimen pada tahun 2014 di Bahrain. Objektif utama kajian ini adalah untuk menyiasat kesedaran dan kelakuan tentang pemasaran politik dalam kalangan calon-calon tersebut yang berasaskan budaya ‘Arab-Muslim’, dan memeriksa pendekatan yang dijalankan seterusnya mencirikan orientasi pemasaran politik berdasarkan prestasi mereka. Kajian kualitatif ini menggunakan *Grounded Theory* untuk menjana satu teori berasaskan data yang dikutip. Data dikumpul berasaskan dua sumber iaitu temubual terperinci separa berstruktur dan dokumen. Sepuluh daripada 22 calon wanita (45.45% daripada jumlah calon) telah dipilih sebagai informan dengan pelbagai bentuk kelayakan dan pengalaman berasaskan kaedah *purposive sampling* – tiga informan menang kerusi parlimen, tiga layak ke pusingan kedua dan empat kalah dalam pilihan raya tersebut. Hal ini juga menunjukkan kepelbagaian ciri-ciri demografi dan budaya informan berdasarkan kepelbagaian budaya keseluruhan daerah. Kaedah *triangulation* digunakan untuk tujuan kesahan dapatan. Pendekatan *SWOT* iaitu *Strength* (Kekuatan), *Weaknesses* (Kelemahan), *Opportunities* (Peluang) dan *Threats* (Ancaman) digunakan untuk menilai strategi-strategi yang digunakan oleh informan kajian. Dapatan penyelidikan menunjukkan bahawa kelakuan calon adalah dikawal dan dipengaruhi oleh budaya ‘Arab-Muslim’ itu sendiri terutama ciri-ciri kelelakian, tribalisme, stereotaip dan

pengelakan ketidakpastian. Para informan adalah berorientasikan hubungan dan bergantung kuat kepada hubungan dengan para pemegang kepentingan untuk mengelakkan faktor-faktor budaya tersebut dan menggunakan strategi 'bersekutu' dengan kepala keluarga dalam menjalankan aktiviti kempen melalui media tradisional dan moden. Satu kekangan penyelidikan ialah orang ramai mengelakkan daripada membincangkan hal-hal sektarian yang sensitif yang sememangnya diharamkan secara rasmi. Memandangkan pendekatan pemasaran politik dalam konteks kajian ini mengambil kira tempoh pasca pilihan raya 2010 sehingga pilihan raya 2014, kitaran sebenar tempoh pilihan raya ini tidak jelas. Aktiviti kempen calon-calon secara umumnya bermula beberapa minggu sebelum pilihan raya dijalankan dan tamat sejeurus keputusan pilihan raya diumumkan. Isu-isu berkaitan persepsi pengundi atau pemegang kepentingan dan perbandingan antara pilihan raya sebelum atau selepasnya adalah antara tajuk-tajuk yang boleh menjadi asas kajian-kajian akan datang yang berkaitan dengan kajian ini.

**POLITICAL MARKETING AND WOMEN CANDIDATES IN THE 2014
PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION IN THE KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN**

ABSTRACT

The 2002 Constitution of Bahrain guarantees electoral rights for men and women. Thus, this political science thesis focuses on the political marketing strategies and tactics used by female candidates to win the 2014 parliamentary election in the Kingdom of Bahrain. The main aims of this study are to investigate political marketing awareness and the behavior of the candidates in the light of Arab-Muslim culture, reflecting on the frameworks adopted, and the electoral orientations characterized by the performance of the female candidates. This qualitative study uses Grounded Theory to develop a theory based on collected data. Data was collected from two sources: in-depth semi-structured interviews and documents. Ten out of 22 female candidates (i.e. 45.45% of the total nominees) were selected as informants with diversity of qualification and experience from each of the four Governorates based on purposive sampling method – three informants won parliamentary seats, three qualified to the second round and four lost the 2014 Parliamentary Elections. This also reflected the informants' diverse demography and cultures considering the cultural diversity across the Governorates. To maintain validity, the findings were triangulated. To evaluate the informants' strategies, the study utilizes Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunity and Threats strategy (SWOT). The research findings show that the candidates' behavior was controlled and influenced by Arab-Muslim culture, notably masculinity, tribalism, stereotype and uncertain avoidance. Informants were relationship-oriented, deeply reliant on relationships with stakeholders to circumvent the cultural factors and used strategies of alliance

with heads of families to conduct their election campaigns through traditional and modern media. One limitation of the study includes the avoidance of discussing sensitive sectarian issues by most people which was officially banned. Since political marketing approach covers the time frame of post 2010 election to 2014 election in this research context, the illustration of the election cycle was unclear. The candidates' campaign activities generally began only a few weeks before the election and ended immediately after announcement of election results. More related studies would be needed to include the perceptions of voters or stakeholders to compare the findings with previous or subsequent elections.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Each country is distinguished from other countries by its own history, culture, and experience. Therefore, it is hard to understand and evaluate the principles of political mobilisation and its impact on the society and economy unless the culture and experience of the society are considered.

Population is a determinant of political mobilisation and community group roles in any nation's dynamics. Meanwhile, the population of women comprises almost half of the society in most countries. Thus, ignoring women to participate in a country's development incapacitates a large segment of the society. Generally, women face barriers of upward mobility, including higher managerial positions in the West, particularly positions that are dominated by males or where a high percentage of subordinates are male (Eagly *et al*, 1995).

In the Kingdom of Bahrain (KoB), women represent more than 49% of the population. Statistics also show that the total number of residents in the country in 2013 was 1,253,191 (Central Informatics Organisation, 2013). This population includes 614,830 Bahraini citizens, out of which 301,885 are women. Women in the Kingdom are also a major contributor to its development. Official statistics for 2013 showed that 31.84% of the workforces in Bahrain were women (Central Informatics Organisation, 2013). These included well-educated women with a long education history dating back to 1928 (Bahrain News Agency, 2011). Bahraini women are also highly skilled and competent to hold higher positions. Hence, they are appointed in decision-making positions such as ministers, deans of colleges and schools, ambassadors, and members of consultative councils. In addition, women

entrepreneurs run their own businesses of many types including law firms, hospitality industry, events management, imports and exports, advertising agencies, jewelleryes, education and health services.

A glance at some statistics, which explored the causes for keeping women under a ‘glass ceiling’ proved that the problem of hindering women from being elected into legislative positions is not limited to the KoB or other Arab countries. According to a 2014 annual report issued by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), the percentage of women representation across the world in parliaments was 11.3% in 1997. However, their representation increased to 21.9% in 2014 (Table 1.1). Nonetheless, this representation is still low and does not mirror their real representation in society (IPU, 2014).

Table 1.1: Women Representations in the World Parliaments, 1997-2014

Year	Percent	Year	Percent
1997	11.3	2006	16.8
1998	12.7	2007	17.7
1999	13.1	2008	18.3
2000	13.8	2009	18.8
2001	14.0	2010	19.0
2002	15.0	2011	19.5
2003	15.1	2012	20.4
2004	15.7	2013	21.4
2005	16.2	2014	21.9

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014

Furthermore, women in the Arab world have been struggling for decades to prove their worth in the workplace (Ameen, 2001), including in the legislature. The 2014 IPU statistics also showed that Arab women representation is still the lowest when compared to other countries as depicted in Table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2: Arab Women Representations in Arab Countries Parliaments, 1997-2014

Year	Percent	Year	Percent
1997	3.4	2006	8.6
1998	3.3	2007	9
1999	3.4	2008	9.1
2000	3.6	2009	9.5
2001	4.3	2010	11.7
2002	5.7	2011	10.7
2003	6.2	2012	15.3
2004	6.5	2013	15.9
2005	6.8	2014	15.3

Source: IPU, 2014

In the Gulf Countries Cooperation (GCC), which was founded in 1981 (Aljazeera.net, 2007) and consists of six Arab countries; KoB, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Oman and Qatar; women representations in legislative bodies were not better than in other Arab countries. A quick review of women representations in the GCC Parliament Councils shows that women representations in parliaments across the GCC are still low (Table 1.3).

Table 1.3: Women Representation in both Houses in the GCC 2011

Country	Lower House		Upper House	
	<i>No. of Seats</i>	<i>% Women</i>	<i>No. of Seats</i>	<i>% Women</i>
Saudi Arabia	151	19.9%	00	00
UAE	40	17.5%	00	00
Bahrain	40	10%	40	27.5%
Kuwait	50	3.1%	00	00
Oman	84	1.2%	83	18.1%
Qatar	35	0%	00	00

Source: International Parliament Union, 2011

Table 1.3 above shows that women were appointed to executive positions and to the Upper House (*Majlis Ashura*). They represent 27% of the members, whereas in

the Lower House (*Majlis Annwab*), women have only 10% representation. Bahrain was the first country within the GCC to bequeath political rights of voting and contesting elections to women. The 2002 Constitution of Bahrain guaranteed full rights for women to practice their political rights by voting and contesting for elective offices.

In fact, women participation in decision making in Bahrain is not new. They have been in the political scene for a long time. Documents show that in 1928, women participated in decision making after they selected their representatives for the Municipal elections (Plate 1.1).



Plate 1.1: Women's' participation in Bahrain municipal election in 1928
Source: *Al Wasat*, June 7, 2015, No. 4656

Nevertheless, due to the advent and development of technology, globalisation and changing socio-economic life styles at the beginning of the third millennium, Bahrain changed its political structure to suit contemporary aspirations of its people.

In 2002, Bahrain formed its constitution and organised the parliamentary election, which allowed people to participate in decision making. The Constitution guaranteed political rights of voting and contesting for elections.

1.1.1 Political Structure in the Kingdom of Bahrain

Bahrain became a Constitutional Kingdom in 2002 (Article 1) to establish a new era of democracy. In the same year, the Constitution of Bahrain was enacted. According to the Bahrain Constitution of 2002, the constitutional authority in Bahrain was subdivided into three councils; the Council of Ministries (*Majlis Al Wuzaraa*), the Legislative Council (*Al Majlis Al Watani*) and the Judicial Council (*Al Majlis Al Qadai*).

1.1.2 Political Societies

The 2002 Constitution of the KoB allowed the establishment of political societies. According to the Constitution, the term “Political Societies” in the Kingdom of Bahrain means political parties which represent various ideologies from Communist to Islamist parties in the parliament. The term “Political Society” became the official term for political parties after a long discussion between the government and political parties. It was eventually agreed that the term “Political Society” (*Jameiah Siyasi*) be used instead of Political Parties (*Hizeb Seyasy*). Therefore, political parties in Bahrain are known as political societies or political blocs.

The three most powerful, ideologically and well-organised political societies who dominate the elections in Bahrain are; *Al Asalah* Islamic Society, *Al Menbar* Islamic Society and *Al Wefaq* Islamic Society. *Al Asalah* Islamic Society is Sunni Salafi. The society has many followers in the KoB and the GCC. *Al Menbar* Islamic

Society is also a Sunni sect and a branch of ‘Muslim Brotherhood’, which has chapters across many Muslim countries and worldwide. *Al Wefaq* Islamic Society is Shi’a who believes in the theory of *Velayet il-faqih* of Imam Khomeini. However, there were many qualified women members of the political societies, but they were not nominated to represent the societies in the elections. Although the three political societies are the main competitors during elections, there are other leftist and democratic societies which have fewer followers and therefore, do not have substantial influence during the country’s elections.

1.1.3 Parliamentary Elections

The people of Bahrain have practiced their political rights to vote and contest for elections since 2002. Women voted and stood for parliamentary elections in 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2014. The participation of women candidates in the elections showed that they were aware about their roles in law-making in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Women candidates in these four elections utilised some political marketing techniques in their electoral campaigns. These are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

Table 1.4: Women representations in (*Majlis Annwab*) in Bahrain, 2002

Date of Parliamentary Elections	Female Candidates	
	No. of seats	%
2002	1	2.5%
2006	1	2.5%
2010	1	2.5%
Supplementary election 2011	3	10.0%

Source: Directorate of Election and Referendum, 2014

Table 1.4 above showed that in the first three parliamentary elections, only one female candidate got elected. In the supplementary election of 2011, three female candidates won their seats to increase female representation from 2.5% to 10% in Parliament. In 2014, the presence of women in the parliamentary election

increased. A total of 22 women candidates contested for the 2014 Parliamentary Election, but only three were successful.

During the 2014 Parliamentary Election in the Kingdom of Bahrain, there was massive mobilisation for women to participate and contest the election due to several reasons. First, women candidates received more support from the Supreme Council for Women (SCW), which organised many workshops to train women on organising election campaigns and to develop their entrepreneurial skills. Second, people were not satisfied about the political societies' performance in the 2010 legislative activities. A survey conducted in 2014 by *Al Watan* newspaper (October 4, 2014, No. 3220, p. 21) showed that 57.7% of the voters of the *Asemah* Governorate and 61% of *Shamalyeh* Governorate (*Al Watan*, October 5, 2014, No. 3221, p. 9) said they will not vote for any political society during the 2014 parliamentary elections. The voters' refusal to vote for any of the political societies was due to their weak performances in parliament.

During the 2014 Parliamentary Elections, Governorates were reduced to four instead of five, for organisational purposes, namely: Capital Governorate (*Asemah*), Muharraq Governorate, Northern Governorate (*Shamalyeh*), and Southern Governorate (*Janubeyah*). The Central Governorate (*Wusta*) was cancelled and its constituencies were merged with the *Janubeyah* Governorate. Each of the four governorates was divided into constituents based on size and population (*Al Wasat*, 2014). For the organisational process, blocks within some constituencies were merged with other constituencies (Table 1.5).

Table 1.5: Governorates and Constituencies in Bahrain, 2014

Governorates	Capital (<i>Asemah</i>)	Muharraq	Northern (<i>Al Shamalyeh</i>)	Southern (<i>Al Janubeyah</i>)
Constituencies	10	8	12	10

Source: *Al Wasat* Newspaper, 2014

Women candidates stood for elections in all the parliamentary elections from 2002 to 2014. They used political marketing in their electoral campaigns. However, they could not win any seat in *Majlis Annwab*, even though they won additional seats in the 2014 Parliamentary Election than in previous elections. Their representation increased in 2014 but fell short of their ambitions and they experienced several challenges, despite deploying diverse strategies, tactics and techniques.

1.2 Political Marketing

Political marketing became one of the focuses of academics and politicians in the last few decades. Kavanagh (1995, 1996) and Scammell (1999) argued that political marketing is a set of strategies and tools utilised to study the public opinion before, during and after the election campaign to develop political communication and to assess its impact on various audiences. Lees-Marshment (2001, p. 21) suggested a three-approach model based on the behaviour of political parties (product-oriented party (POP), sales-oriented party (SOP) and market-oriented party (MOP). The three approaches of POP, SOP and MOP of political marketing have been in many countries to find out the extent to which commercial marketing strategy, techniques and approaches are implemented in politics. Each political party in a country has its orientation according to the culture, political structure and the election process. For example, a study by Maier *et al.* (2010) in Germany revealed that German parties are more likely to be sales-oriented than market-oriented. Similarly, Stromback (2010) noted that most Swedish parties should be characterised as sales-oriented rather than as product or market-oriented. Also, Lees-Marshment (2010) in her study of political marketing in New Zealand found that the major parties moved back and forth between sales and market orientations from one to the next.

In sum, political parties in countries differ in implementing political marketing. The differences have emerged in terms of product, sales or market-orientation. Thus, this study investigates female candidates' strategies during the 2014 Parliamentary Election in Bahrain. The study investigates the awareness of women candidates about political marketing and the extent to which women candidates can be characterised in the shade of the Arab-Muslim culture. The case of women in election in Bahrain was chosen to provide empirical evidence that can be instrumental in developing an affective model to help women attain political upliftment in parliaments within the GCC and other Arab countries who share a similar culture.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Women stood for the 2014 Parliamentary Elections in the Kingdom of Bahrain, but only a few won parliamentary seats. Many studies revealed that political parties or candidates implement political marketing (Lilleker & Less-Marshment, 2005; Knuckey & Less-Marshment, 2005; Maier *et al.*, 2010; Stromback, 2010; Less-Marshment, 2010; Hughes & Dann, 2010; Knuckey, 2010; Less-Marshment & Pettitt, 2010; Kotzaivazoglou & Zotos, 2010; Kiss & Mihalyffy, 2010; Matuskova, *et al.*, 2010; Fell & Cheng, 2010; Mensah, 2010; Galindo, 2010; Hutcheson, 2010; Asano & Wakefield, 2010; Mortimore & Gill, 2010).

Meanwhile, the Kingdom of Bahrain is characteristically an Arab-Muslim country with a collectivist tribal culture. This strongly influenced the political marketing strategies that can be employed by female candidates during elections. Therefore, this study explores and explains the political marketing strategies of female candidates in a conservative cultural environment by exploring and

explaining their practices. This fills the gap in knowledge on political marketing strategies that are employed by female candidates in the GCC and Arab countries during elections using the 2014 Parliamentary Election in Bahrain. This reflects the form of political marketing implemented by Muslim women candidates. It also provides knowledge about women candidates' awareness and implementation of political marketing. This can become an appropriate model for women in the region and similar contexts on how to win elections.

In order to provide more understanding about the female candidates in election in one of Arab-Muslim countries, the study needs to investigate the behaviour of the female candidates in the 2014 Parliamentary Election in the KoB.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions for the study are:

1. What is the extent of female candidates' awareness of political marketing in the KoB?
2. What were the political marketing techniques and strategies utilised in 2014 by female candidates in the 2014 Parliamentary Election of the KoB?
3. What political marketing orientations characterised the female candidates' campaigns in the KoB?

1.5 Objectives of the Study

This study analyses marketing techniques in politics by investigating political marketing in an Arab-Muslim country to address a gap in knowledge. It chooses women candidates' campaigns in the 2014 Parliamentary Election in the KoB to provide a suitable model for winning parliamentary elections. Specifically, the study:

1. Explores female candidates' awareness about political marketing in the KoB;
2. Investigates the techniques and strategies utilised by women candidates in parliamentary elections in Bahrain;
3. Evaluates the effectiveness of political marketing on women candidates' campaigns and proposes a political marketing model for women candidates for parliamentary election campaigns.

1.6 Methodology

This study investigates the practices and strategies of female candidates during the 2014 Parliamentary Election in the KoB. To answer the research questions, the researcher considered that parliamentary election is a new event in the country and investigates the political marketing practices in the Kingdom. The qualitative approach was used to explore in depth, the behaviour of female candidates during parliamentary election. The Grounded Theory was used to construct a theory. Twenty-two female candidates stood for the 2014 Parliamentary Election in the KoB. Ten out of the 24 female candidates were selected as sample for this study. To cover the scene holistically and see the phenomena from different angles, triangulation was applied. Data were gathered from two main sources; interviews with the informants and documents (social media, newspapers, magazines, slogans, posters). Triangulating the data increased validity and reliability of the research to produce a high-quality outcome. Data were analysed using two techniques; constant comparison and keyword-in-context (KWIC). The methodological approach is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The study investigates the female practices in the parliamentary election in the KoB in 2014 to provide more understanding about the behaviour of the female candidates in the one of the human activities. Hence, the study needs to provide theoretical framework as guidance to conduct the research (Figure 1.1).

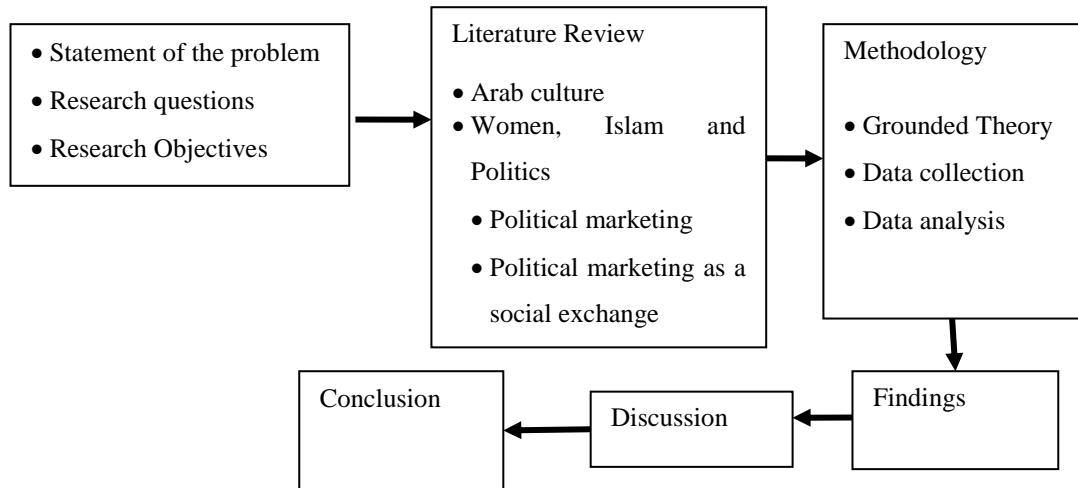


Figure 1.1: Theoretical Framework of the study.

As illustrated in Figure 1.1, the statement of the problem of the study is to provide more understanding about the behaviour of female candidates in one of Arab-Muslim countries. The research questions for the study are: 1) what is the extent of female candidates' awareness of political marketing in the KoB? 2) what were the political marketing techniques and strategies utilised in 2014 by female candidates in the 2014 Parliamentary Election of the KoB? and 3) what political marketing orientations characterised the female candidates' campaigns in the KoB?. The objectives of the study are 1) to explore female candidates' awareness about political marketing in the KoB, 2) to investigate the techniques and strategies utilised by women candidates in parliamentary elections in the KoB and 3) to evaluate the

effectiveness of political marketing on women candidates' campaigns and proposes a political marketing model for women candidates for parliamentary election campaigns.

However, political marketing is a managerial process where if candidates need to plan, implement and control their campaigns, political marketing is implemented in social context. Hence, the social exchange in the political marketing is the theory that the study focuses. The other theories of political marketing are discussed in the literature to understand the process of political marketing.

To conduct this social study, this qualitative study uses Grounded Theory is implemented to study in-depth the phenomena of political marketing of female candidates in one of Arab-Muslim country. Arab-Muslim culture influences the practice of the female candidates in election, Hence, it develop the social exchange theory in political marketing in term of using political marketing strategies that were influenced by culture.

1.8 Operational Definitions

Before proceeding, it is important to define some of the concepts and terms in the study. Each of these terms has multiple meanings and interpretations, hence defining these terms determine how these concepts will be used in this study.

The need for operational definitions of terms is to reduce conceptual construction, so they can be observed. In the literature review, the terms will be theoretically defined. To measure the terms, they need to be put in observable elements. Thus, this research measures the following concepts:

Political Marketing includes tools, techniques, and strategies that enable candidates to achieve their goals.

Political Marketing Strategy: This includes the tactics, movements, plans that the candidates implement to achieve their goals, considering the political environment, stakeholders, culture and internal strategy of the candidate.

Political Communication: This is the process of using tools, techniques, and channels to exchange information between candidates and voters, expanding political brand, political product and maintaining good reputation by the candidates.

Parliamentary Election is the process of selecting the members of the Parliament to represent the citizens in the Deputy Chamber (*Majlis Annwab*).

Legislative Authority (Al Majlis Al Watani) is the combination of Consultative (*Majlis Ashshura*) and Deputies' Council (*Majlis Annwab*) that represents the citizens.

Deputy Councils (Majlis Annwab): A chamber consisting 40 elected members in general poll to represent citizens in the legislature.

Consultative Council (Majlis Ashshura): A chamber consisting 40 appointed members that represent citizens in the legislature.

Political Marketplace is where all the groups that are interested in elections processes converge.

Political Branding is the concept of the overall candidate's image that the people feel.

Political Product is a programme or ideology that a candidate sells to voters in a targeted constituency.

Political Market Segmentation is the process of dividing the market into separate groups of voters who share same characteristics, needs, wants and interests who require separated campaign programmes.

Political Market Targeting is the process of selecting a market or more to become a desired segmented market that is aimed at the candidate.

Political Product Positioning is the process for the political product to be set in the mind of voters in the targeted political market.

Stereotype threat is a situational threat that is influenced by an individual's social identities and previous exposure to stereotypes concerning a variety of context (Steele *e. al.*, 2002).

Swing/floating/hesitant voters are electorates who are not committed to a candidate.

Political vote share is the number of votes a candidate gained in parliamentary election.

Culture: For this study, four dimensions of culture will be subjected to an investigation; tribalism, collectivism, uncertainty avoidance and *Welayat Al Maraa'*.

Tribe (qabila) is a group of people who come from the same great-grandfather. The members are descended from common ancestors and ruled by a hereditary 'chief', who share a single culture (including, language and religion) and who live in a well-defined geographic region (Appiah, 1999).

Tribalism (qabaliyah) is the attitudes and practices of harboring such a strong feeling of loyalty or bonds to one's tribe that one excludes or even demonises those 'others' who do not belong to that group (Northwehr, 2008, p. 5).

Al Khaimah Al Intekhabyeh are tents, which are used as distribution platforms, communication channels and to position political products by candidates in the GCC.

1.9 Significance of the Study

Political marketing has increasingly been discussed by academics and implemented by politicians. Several studies on political marketing have been conducted in many countries all over the world. Most of them have revealed that political parties were characterised as product-, sales- or /and market-orientated. Arab countries are new in practicing democracy. Hence, this study is unlike previous ones, which may have studied the practice of democracies in countries where democracy was practiced for decades and centuries. This differentiates its contribution to the body of knowledge in terms of the theory of political marketing in such an environment. This study also contributes methodologically by using Grounded Theory in collecting and analysing data. Grounded theory enables the researcher to build a theory from the data. The study collects data from two different sources; interviews and documents. To increase validity and trustworthiness, it utilises data triangulation. Moreover, increasing validity and reliability in social studies is a very important measurement to produce high-quality research that reflects reality of the scene.

This study empirically investigates female candidates in the 2014 Bahrain Parliamentary Election. The study investigates the female candidates' strategies in parliamentary elections and makes recommendations. The study provides more understanding of human behaviour. It provides practical recommendations and frameworks that could be useful to practitioners in the field of political marketing in general and specifically to female candidates. Importantly, the study ascertains that gaining more voters is insufficient. What is required is change in strategies to compete in elections more effectively and efficiently. Additionally, since the study is interested in political marketing, theoretically, it addresses gaps in the body of

knowledge on political marketing. It provides explanation on the behaviour of female candidates in the election within the Arab-Muslim culture.

1.10 Scope of the Study

This study examines the strategies used by women candidates in their campaigns during the 2014 Parliamentary Elections in the KoB. This means that members of Consultative Council Upper House (*Majlis Ashshura*) were not part of the study since they are appointed and not elected.

The study focuses on women candidates in the elections, including those who won and lost the elections and uncovers the strategies used by female candidates. This enables the researcher to focus on the typical and optimal strategies that should be implemented to win elections as well as those that are counter-productive. The data was collected in the period between May to July 2015.

Likewise, since the study investigates female candidates' campaigns during the 2014 Parliamentary Election in the KoB, it is not interested in the other political societies. It deals with and investigates the other parties only where they directly influence the female candidates' campaigns but does not investigate their behaviour in-depth.

1.11 Limitations of the Study

The focus of this study is on political marketing and more specifically on the 2014 Parliamentary Election in Bahrain among female candidates. Data were collected between September and December 2014. This did not allow the researcher to start earlier and may have neglected earlier trends in the electoral process. Data was also collected from two sources; interviews and documents. There was also fear from

some of the informants that personal data will be disseminated and this obstructed the researcher's communication process with informants.

Findings from the study do not also cover the entire parliamentary elections since it is restricted to the behaviour of female candidates only. Additionally, the results of the 2014 elections were announced in November 2014. Missing the election results meant some very important data were not analysed. This study used the official results announced by the government to analyse the women candidates' performance in elections. Despite that, some of the candidates from the opposition accused the government of presenting counterfeit elections results, and that the government issued the list of candidates it supported.

1.12 Organisation of the Thesis

This study is divided into 8 chapters; Chapter 1 highlights the background, the statement of the problem, questions, and objectives of the research. In Chapter 2, the study discusses the geography, history, demography, culture, and the situation of women in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Chapter 3 discusses the legitimacy of women's ruling in *Shariah* (Islamic law) and theories of political marketing. In Chapter 4, the research methodology is discussed. Chapters 5 and 6 present the findings. Chapter 7 discusses the findings. Finally, recommendations and suggestions for future research are highlighted in Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 2

THE KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN (KoB)

2.0 Introduction

This study investigates the practices of women candidates in the Kingdom of Bahrain (KoB) 2014 parliamentary election in the light of Arab-Muslim culture. To understand the situation of the female candidates, geography, history, and demography of Bahrain are discussed. This chapter also discusses the political structure, authorities and democratic issues. Finally, the chapter discusses the 2002, 2006, 2010 and the supplementary elections in 2011.

2.1 Geography of the KoB

Bahrain in Arabic is two seas which refer to the sea and ground water that is spread across Bahrain. The country is an archipelago consisting of 51 natural and 33 artificial islands (Ahmed & Basheer, 2006). Bahrain is in the middle of Arabian Gulf (Figure 2.1).



Figure 2.1: Location of the Kingdom of Bahrain
Source: www.google.com, 2017

The KoB is located between three regional powers; Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Iraq. This influences the behaviour of its people. The largest four islands are *Bahrain* (the main Island), *Muharraq*, *Sitra*, and *Umm Annasan* (Figure 2.2). Manama is the capital of Bahrain which is located at the northern part of the main Island of Bahrain. *Muharraq* is an island that is at the north-east of the island of Bahrain. Muharraq was the capital of Bahrain until the third decade of the twentieth century. Muharraq is connected to the main island of Bahrain by a causeway which was built in 1956. By 2001, there were two more causeways – the Sheikh Isa bin Salman Al Khalifa Causeway and Prince Khalifa bin Salman Al Khalifa Causeway, which were established between Muharraq Island and the main Island of Bahrain.

The total surface of Bahrain is 8,269 Km square (Central Informatics Organisation, 2013). The land area is 770 Km square and 7,499 sea area (Survey & Land Registration Bureau, Bahrain, 2012). The south of Bahrain is within the State of Qatar. On the west, it is beside the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which is linked to Bahrain by the 25 km long King Fahad Causeway.

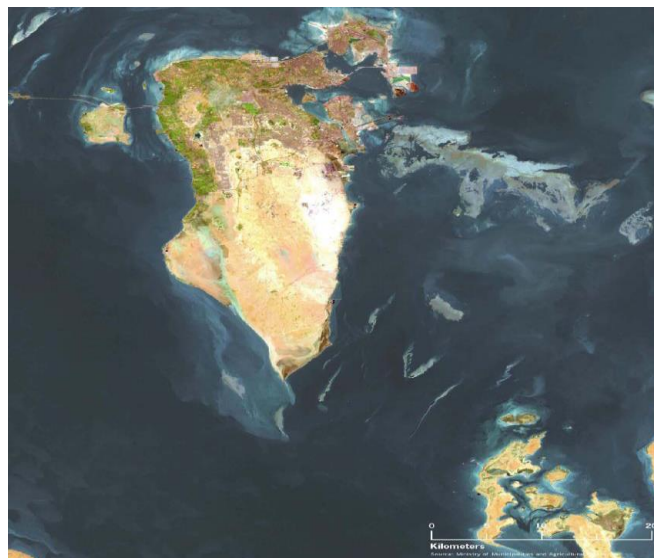


Figure 2.2: Map of the KoB, 2012
Source: Survey & Land Registration Bureau, Bahrain, 2012

In 2002 the KoB was divided into five Governorates for administrative purposes as follows: Capital Governorate (*Asemah*), Central Governorate (*Al Wusta*), Muharraq Governorate, Northern (*Shamalyeh*) and Southern Governorate (*Janubeyah*) (Figure 2.3).



Figure 2.3: Governorates of the KoB in 2002
KEY: 1 = Al- Asemah Governorates, 2 = Al Wusta Governorate, 3 = Muharraq Governorate, 4 = Al Shamalyeh Governorate, 5 = Al Janubeyah Governorate
Source: www.google.com, 2017

The climate conditions of the KoB is characterised by desert. The average temperature during the summer months is between 40 to 48 degrees Celsius. In winter months, the temperature is moderate, between 10 to 20 degrees Celsius (Central Informatics Organisation, 2013).

The location of KoB gave it an important and strategic position. The country attracted many empires since the 3rd Century BC. Thus, it is important to discuss the history of Bahrain, which influences the life of the people in this small island.

2.2 History of the KoB

The geopolitics of Bahrain influences its culture, history and economy. Bahrain is located at the middle of the Arabian Gulf at the crossroads between great civilisations.

The history of Bahrain dates to the 5000 BC. Through the history, the name Great Bahrain was used to refer to the location from Kuwait to Oman, including Qatar, UAE and *Al Ehsaa'* the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia where the name *Owal* or *Awal* was called the Island of Bahrain (Ahmad & Basheer, 2009).

Around 5000 years ago, Bahrain was home of the Bronze Age civilisation of Dilmun, which lasted some two millennia. Since then, Bahrain has been occupied alternately by Babylonians, Sumerians, Greeks, Persians, Portuguese and Turkish (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bahrain, 2015). The location of Bahrain attracted attention of many civilisations through history. Bahrain was in the middle between civilisation of Sumer in Mesopotamia and Magan in Oman down to the land of Sind (Ahmad & Basheer, 2009, p. 27). Historical sources revealed that the first appearance of Bahrain in the blogosphere was in the third millennium BC (The Land of Immortality). *Dilmun* was the name of Bahrain in 3000 years BC. Bahrain was renamed in 323 BC as *Taylos*, when Alexander the Great annexed the Persian Empire and the Arabian Gulf and vast areas of India to his control (Ahmad & Basheer, 2009). The island of Bahrain was known as (*Awal*) or (*Owal*) until 630 AC. This is relative to the idol, named *Awal/Owal*, which was worshipped in Bahrain.

Bahrain was one of the first places that embraced Islam, after *Al Munther bin Sawi* the King of Bahrain received a message from the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in 628 AC. People of Bahrain converted to Islam (Ahmad & Basheer, 2009). *Al Khawarij* rebellions movement ruled Bahrain between 686-692, *Abbasid* State (750-

1258), *Al Zing* Movement (862-883), *Al Qaramita* Movement (899-1077). Between 1232 and 1553, Bahrain was ruled by *Uynid*, *Salgharid*, *Banu Amir*, *Usfurids* and *Jubor* (Ahmad & Basheer, 2009).

The emergence of the colonial powers in the 17th Century increased the importance of securing the waterways between West and East. Portuguese ships headed to the Arabian Gulf and subjected Bahrain to the Portuguese Crown in 1521 (Ahmad & Basheer, 2009). The Portuguese traveler Tome Pires wrote thus about Bahrain: “the most important island in the Gulf is Bahrain, it is characterised by the availability of the best types of pearls which are not seen in other areas and is part of the trade of Hurmoz” (Ahmed & Basheer 2009).

Bahrain continued to be the center of the world’s pearl fishers. In a good year, the country exports pearl to the value of some two million pounds (Military Report, 1933, p.5). Portuguese forces were expelled by Persians from Bahrain in 1602, to start the rule of Safavid Empire in Bahrain through the payment of royalties. Bahrain was ruled by the Safavid until 1782, when Al Khalifah Family who came from *Najid* in the Arabian Peninsula started a new era of modern Bahrain (Ahmad & Basheer, 2009). The rule of Al Khalifah dynasty in Bahrain started with Sheikh Ahmed bin Mohammed Al Khalifah in 1782 and continued through the present day (Ahmad & Basheer, 2009).

In the first half of the 19th Century, Bahrain signed treaties with the British Empire to be protected from Iran and Ottoman Empire, who both made claims for the annexation of Bahrain. In 1821, Bahrain and Great Britain entered the Perpetual Treaty of Peace and Friendship (Ahmed & Basheer, 2009). Bahrain and Great Britain then entered into a group of treaties and agreements in 1880, 1892, 1898, 1911 and 1914 (Military Report, 1933, p.5). These treaties made Bahrain a British protectorate.

In August 1971, Bahrain declared independence from Britain. Sheikh Isa bin Salman Al Khalifah the Amir of Bahrain called associations and civic institutions to formulate the first constitution of Bahrain. In the same year Bahrain joined the United Nations (UN) and the League of Arab States to become a full member state in the two organisations (Ahmed & Basheer, 2009).

Increasing threats in the region such as the Al Khomeini revolution in Iran and the invasion of Afghanistan by Russian troops in 1979, the Iraq-Iran war in 1980 drove six of the Arabian Gulf Countries; Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates and Oman to found the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in 1981. The six countries of the Arabian Gulf are monarchies and the families of the GCC are relatives. They share the same culture and political systems. The main objective to establish GCC is to join forces to counter threats in the region.

After the death of former Amir Sheikh Isa bin Salman Al Khalifah, his son Sheikh Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifah became the Amir of Bahrain. To achieve popular participation in the reform project, the Amir formed a committee to prepare the draft of the National Charter in 2000 (Ahmad & Basheer, 2009). The committee consisted of 46 members; six of them were women representing the Bahraini society (Ahmad & Basheer, 2009). The most important of the committee's result was establishing two legislative chambers; Deputy Council (*Majlis Annwab*) and Consultative Council (*Majlis Ashshura*). In 2001, Bahraini people voted for the National Charter where 98.4% voted in favour of the Charter (The Official Gazette, 2001). In 2001, Bahrain became a Constitutional Kingdom, and its name became the Kingdom of Bahrain.

Due to the openness witnessed in the Kingdom of Bahrain, the margin of freedom increased, and this was reflected in the number of publications issued and freedom from criticism. The number of daily and weekly newspapers have also

increased from four daily newspapers in 1999; *Akhbar Al Khaleej* (the Gulf News) (1976), *Gulf Daily News* (1978) (in English), *Al Ayam* (the Days) (1989), and *Bahrain Tribune* (1997) (in English), to 14 daily and weekly newspapers in 2012. This equaled to an addition of 10 newspapers in 11 years; *Al Wasat* (the Middle) (2002), *Al Methaq* (the Charter) (2004) stopped due to financial difficulties. *Al Watan* (the Homeland) (2005), *Al Waqt* (The Time) (2006) and *Al Belad* (the Country) (2008) also stopped due to financial difficulties. There were five weekly newspapers; *Al Ahad* (The Covenant) (2003), *Al Naba* (The News) (2008), *Gulf Weekly* (2002) (in English), *Al Tejareyah* (The Commercial), and *Aswaq* (Markets) (2009) according to the Bahrain Journalists' Association (2013).

Every event in the region was influenced positively or negatively by the economic, political and social events in the KoB, which is one of the most apprehensive in the world. Those events were also influenced by its neighbours such as Saudi Arabia, Iran and Iraq. However, despite the existence of these ideological countries around the KoB, the country enjoyed some form of openness through its history. Its people were not just open-minded; they are tolerant and proud Muslims.

2.3 Demography of the KoB

According to the 2013 Census issued by Central Informatics Organization (2013), the total number of people in Bahrain is 1,253,191. Of this population, 614,830 are Bahraini citizens (49.04%) and 638,361 are expatriates (50.93%). The population of Bahraini women are 301,885 (49.10 %) of its citizens.

Majority of the people of the KoB are young. Statistics show that in 2011, children who were less than 15 years old represented 15.4% (girl), and 16.1% (boys) of the country's population. People who were between 15-64 years old represented