

<http://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz>

University of Auckland Research Repository, ResearchSpace

Copyright Statement

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

This thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of this thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from their thesis.

General copyright and disclaimer

In addition to the above conditions, authors give their consent for the digital copy of their work to be used subject to the conditions specified on the [Library Thesis Consent Form](#) and [Deposit Licence](#).

Women's Civil Society Organisations and Women's Political Participation in Jordan

Tharwat Al-Amro

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Politics and International Relations,
The University of Auckland, 2015**

ABSTRACT

Women's civil society organisations (WCSOs) in Jordan have become a vital means of advocating and supporting the participation of women in politics. Through the provision of services and political mobilisation, WCSOs offer women the chance to participate in politics and public affairs. This study investigates how the participation of women in politics is advocated and supported by these organisations and under what conditions it has been effective. This study will utilise the existing literature and theories on WCSOs and women's movements to explain the changing nature of women's political participation representation in Jordan. In particular, I analyse a range of descriptive data in order to identify and analyse how women's organisations have worked to improve the status of women over time in Jordan. The study also includes material gained from 46 detailed interviews with women who have been involved in women's organisations and formal politics across Jordan since the transition to democracy. The objective of the study is to analyse the work that is done by WCSOs in Jordan whose aims are to increase the participation of women in politics and advocate for women gaining greater political status. This thesis argues that WCSOs have been, and continue to be essential to encouraging women to participate in politics by: (i) assisting women to increase their ability by improving their skills and understanding their rights; (ii) mobilising to lobby politicians to grant assistance to women candidates to run for office; (iii) implementing the quota system; (iv) building a number of groups of women by improving their skills and knowledge, to take a leadership role to facilitate pre-designed women's organisations' activities; and (v) contributing their own strategies to enhance and shape women's political participation outcome. This case study of Jordan highlights the significance of numerous forms of context-dependent knowledge, and provides a useful example for Arabic countries where women's organisations continue to promote women's representation. This research also contributes to the scholarly debate on the importance of taking into account the role of women's organisations in promoting women's representation.

DEDICATION

To my father Salameh who passed away a week before I submitted this thesis for examination. Also to my younger brother Rai'd Al-Amro who passed three weeks after I submitted this thesis. This was also their dream and I would like to dedicate my work and advocacy for women to his memory.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My deepest appreciation and gratitude goes to Associate Professor Jennifer Curtin. This thesis would not have been completed without her insights, guidance and vigorous supervision. It has been a life-changing opportunity for me to carry out my research and work with her support. Thanks Jennifer for all your patience and care during these four years, you have positively influenced my research and life. I would also like to express warm appreciation to the members of the Department of Politics and International Relations in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Auckland.

I would like to thank God who guided and protected me, especially during the time I have been away from my family. He gave me the strength to complete my dream. Special sentiments of gratitude go to my loving parents who have had the courage to send me overseas to complete my study. My love and appreciation go to my brothers Samir, Fawuz and Nabeel whose words of encouragement helped me during this journey. You all have been my greatest cheerleaders. There are also innumerable people and organisations I must thank for their intellectual and financial support, in particular, the University of Auckland, for funding my field work. I am heartily grateful to the women's organisations in Jordan, who have given me the opportunity to meet with their staff and members. A special thanks goes also to the women in the different Jordanian provinces who shared with me their viewpoints and experiences and provided important insights for this research. My completion of this project could not have been accomplished without the support of my close friends, therefore special thanks goes to my amazing friend Dr Lina M. Gonzalez. She has always been willing to help and provide feedback. I would have been lonely without her.

My gratitude also goes to Corey Wallace, who provided me with invaluable comments and suggestions while conducting the editing of my thesis in the final stage. Finally, I want to extend my warmest appreciation to my friends and colleagues: Mysti Al-Amro, Agkillah Maniam, Annie, Dr Nazli Aziz, Dr Tim Fadgen, Dr Emma Blomkap, Dr Xiang Gao, Nusrat Chowdhury, Guillermo Merelo, Hossein Aghapouri, Latiff, Suzanne Loughlim, WieQun Qi, Jianglin Qin, Shahzad Akhtar, Phyllis Anscombe, Walter Lee and Lyndon Burford.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	II
DEDICATION.....	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	IV
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	V
LIST OF TABLES.....	VIII
LIST OF ACRONYMS	IX
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Research Question	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Significance of the Study.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Research Design and Thesis Outline	Error! Bookmark not defined.
CHAPTER ONE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN’S CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS.....	17
The Concept of Civil Society.....	18
The Women’s Movement	23
Framework for Analysis	33
Conclusion	40
CHAPTER TWO: STUDY DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	42
Qualitative Research Methods	42

Feminist Research Methods	44
Methodological Framework: Single-Country Case Study	46
Methods of Data Collection: In-depth Interviews	47
Data Analysis	53
CHAPTER THREE: WOMEN’S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN JORDAN.....	56
Participation in Local Government: Municipalities.....	57
Participation at the National Level: Jordanian National Assembly (<i>Majlis al-Umma</i>).....	59
Women’s Representation in Government - The Executive Council of Ministers	66
Women’s Participation in Political Parties	68
Institutional Change and Women’s Political Participation.....	73
Conclusion	77
CHAPTER FOUR: FIRST AND SECOND PHASES OF THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT: WOMEN’S ORGANISATIONS BEFORE THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY.....	80
The First Phase of the Women’s Movement (1940s-1960s)	82
The Second Phase of the Women’s Movement (1970s-1980s).....	88
Discussion and Analysis of the Activism of Women’s Organisations	94
Conclusion	96
CHAPTER FIVE: THIRD PHASE OF THE WOMEN’S MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPACT (1990S–2000S)	97
The Emergence of the Women’s Movement and the Transition to Democracy.....	97
Women and the Public Arena	105
The Growth of Women’s Organisations in 1990s	108
Conclusion	119

CHAPTER SIX: MACRO AND MICRO-LEVEL FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN’S REPRESENTATION	121
Formal Institutional Rules.....	122
Informal Rules and Institutional Norms	127
Discussion and Analysis	135
CHAPTER SEVEN: WOMEN’S ORGANISATIONS AND THE PROMOTION OF WOMEN’S POLITICAL REPRESENTATION.....	138
Empowering Women Economically.....	139
Supporting Women’s Election Campaigns.....	141
Changing Social Culture	146
Raising Awareness among Women	148
Discussion and Analysis	154
CHAPTER EIGHT: WOMEN’S NETWORKS AND WOMEN’S CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS.....	158
Women’s Networks	159
Successes and the Influence of Women’s Networks	175
Discussion and Analysis	181
Conclusion	183
CONCLUSION	185
Addressing the Research Questions.....	187
Support offered by Women’s Organisations.....	190
Women’s Organisations and Women’s Political Participation: A Summary	192
Contributions, Caveats and Conclusions	194
BIBLIOGRAPHY	201
APPENDICES.....	244

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Female participants' experience and level of education.....	52
Table 2. Female representation in municipal councils: Local elections 1982-2013.....	58
Table 3. Key institutional rule changes.....	60
Table 4. General electoral law changes (1989-2013)	60
Table 5. Women's representation in house of representatives from 1974-2013	63
Table 6. Female senators from 1989-2010	65
Table 7. Women representation in the Executive Council of Ministers (1979-2011).....	67
Table 8. Women's representation by political parties (1989-2013)	72
Table 9. Key events relating to women's political participation	82
Table 10. Key legal developments related to the establishment of women's organisations	82
Table 11. Women's organisations during the First Phase (1940s-1960s)	85
Table 12. Women's organisations during the Second Phase (1970s-1980s).....	91
Table 13. Changes to legal obstacles and women's status.....	111
Table 14. Women's civil society organisations (1990s-2000s).....	115
Table 15. Types of election support from DWCSOs.....	143
Table 16. Role of WCSOs in raising women's awareness for political rights	149
Table 17. The aim of women's networks to improve women's organisations	162
Table 18. The impact of women's networks in term of women's representation	178

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AWS	Association for Women’s Solidarity
AWU	Arabic Women Union
BV	Block Vote Plurality Voting
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CLS	Closed-List System
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DWCSOs	Domestic Women Civil Society Organisations
HI	Historical Institutionalists
HR	House of Representatives
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IRI	International Republican Institute
IWCSOs	International Women Civil Society Organisations
IWNs	International Women’s Networks
JNCW	Jordanian National Committee for Women
JNFW	Jordan National Forum for Women
JWU	Jordanian Women’s Union
NAC	National Advisory Council
NDI	National Democracy Institutions
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
SNTV	Single Non-Transferable Vote
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WCOSs	Women’s Civil Society Organisations
WDN	Women’s Democracy Network

WHW	Women Helping Women
WID	Women's International Democratic Federation
WLP	Women's Learning Partnership
WNs	Women's Networks

INTRODUCTION

Women's participation in political life is of interest to both scholars and feminist activists as it is an important issue at both the domestic and international level of political analysis. Over the past two decades, we have seen civil society organisations increasingly engaging with issues related to women's political equality in new and developing democracies. In several Arab nations, civil society activity has been restored, and Arab women's assemblies have been established in Jordan in particular, with the aim of increasing the level of women's participation in the Jordanian political, cultural, economic and social sphere. Jordan's Arab neighbours have been pre-occupied with their own political and social issues, which has had a significant impact upon Jordan's own political stability which has been, and continues to be one of the most important challenges for the country

Since 1970, Jordanian women have struggled for political and social rights but often in the context of wider political struggles. Historically, Jordanian women were not able to take part in most aspects of public life. Jordanian society is formed on the basis of traditional customs relating to family and tribal control. It took many decades before society began to accept women's participation in the women's movement, and recognise women as having the right to take part as dynamic members of women's organisations. Even the work of these organisations was initially limited to charitable and social issues. Women's organisations have sought to improve women's status throughout society despite these constraints and have been critical to advancing women's political mobilisation. My objective is to reveal how women's political participation has continued despite, and in resistance to these factors.

More specifically, the purpose of this research is to explore and examine the various ways Jordanian WCSOs have worked to promote women's representation before and during the transition to democracy. The research and its implications will be explained in this introductory chapter, which contains the following sections: the background; the significance and the aim of the research and a brief discussion of the main research findings.

Background

Jordan is generally considered to have a traditional culture. Much of society is still influenced by traditional rules such as, tribalism and clans, referred to as "bedun" or "Al

ashera'a" in Arabic (Al-Atiyat, 2003). This culture is reflected in the lives of women in their quest to gain prominence and their struggles to take part in public life and in politics. There is a certain bias in society that prescribes the need for men to hold the most important political roles. There have been two major early phases of the Jordanian women's movement where this bias was contested. The first phase lasted from 1940 to 1960, and the second phase from 1970 to 1980. During the first phase from 1940 to 1960, the role of women's organisations was focused on expanding compulsory education for all girls, whilst women's political participation was a secondary issue. In the second phase from 1970 to 1989, Jordanian women organised themselves through women's civil society organisations to be more active in public life, even though they were not explicitly interested in political participation. These organisations began following a range of initiatives to improve women's lives and their participation in public life in general. During the second phase in 1974, women won the right to vote and run for elected office, but they were also involved in activities aimed at improving women's social and economic rights. Before 1989, and the transition to democracy in Jordan, the focus of most civil society organisations was on issues related to human rights and women's political participation was not considered essential to this work.

In 1974, Jordanian women organised the National Women's Assembly of Jordan to celebrate the UN Women's Year. The Arab Women's Union (AWU) organisation, along with the Arabic Women Assembly in Jordan, began pursuing an agenda to enhance women's rights, to the annoyance of the Ministry of Interior (Miqdad, 2006). During this time, women's civil society organisations re-established themselves in several other Arab nations. Their aims were to increase levels of participation and encourage women to be more active in political, economic and social spheres. International concern for women and their political rights became more prominent around 1975 and coincided with when the Jordanian women's movement became more open to the international civil society organisations. This 10 year period between 1975 and 1985 saw a number of developments take place in parallel with the intellectual and organisational growth of national organisations in Jordan. In 1981, a number of Jordanian women formed domestic women's organisations that became the centre of the women's movement in the Jordanian community (Jardaneh, 2003). Women's civil society organisations that were working in human development, prior to the transition to democratisation in Jordan, seldom specifically focused their activities on women's political participation.

In 1989, during the time of the transition to democracy and the start of the third phase of the Jordanian women's movement, Jordanian women's civil society organisations began working on policies related to increasing the level of women's political involvement. The transition to democracy can be seen as "a juncture period" in this regard - facilitating the mobilisation of women by these organisations. Their work consisted of the provision of strategic support to raise the issue of improving women's status, as well as lobbying to change the laws to include a gender quota to boost women's political participation.

The concept of women's political representation in Jordan began to take hold as a salient issue around 1989 during the time of the transition to democracy. During this time women took up the opportunity to run for election, and to advocate for equal participation, by electing more women (Phillips, 1993). This thesis is interested primarily in regarding women's political representation this refers to taking part in political spheres to engage in political action. It is concerned with examining the range of opportunities that open up for women's participation in political decision-making, in political activities at different levels, and running for different political positions. For instance, the increase in women's representation in parliament has further enabled women to support and promote women's issues in local campaigns and national elections. The appointment of women to ministerial positions and senatorial roles has also enhanced women's political participation in political decision-making.

Women's representation in connection with the mechanism of the women's quota shows that they still, nevertheless, require institutional support to make women's representation a natural and essential part of the political process in Jordan. A quota system was implemented in 2003 to improve the number of female candidates yet there continues to be a number of challenges and barriers to women running and winning political office.

Women's participation in politics in Jordan has been limited and the number of women elected was relatively low in the 1990s through until the beginning of 2000s. It was not until 2003 that women in Jordan were able to run for election to parliament. This was the same year that the reserved seats quota was introduced, enabling women to serve in parliament as representatives. Since then, the number of women in various political positions has increased. For instance, the number of women who were elected to government institutions has increased from six women in 2003 to 13 women in 2010. This

research will show the how women's organisations have worked to support the election of these women and the political participation of women more generally.

In 2008, I took up an opportunity to be a trainer and volunteer with some international and domestic women's organisations to advance women's political participation. This allowed me to have direct contact with women from Jordan and women from other countries in the region who were interested in these issues. My own experiences as a former MP from a Bedouin area also made me interested in women's political participation. I come from a tribal family where women have less education and fewer opportunities to be in public life. I faced many hurdles when I decided to stand as a candidate for election to Parliament, but my connections with women's organisations helped me to overcome a number of these difficulties. As a result, I became interested in how women's civil society organisations could help to improve women's political participation, and I thought more studies were necessary to understand the role of women's organisation in improving women political participation.

Research Question

My guiding hypothesis is that women's organisations, particularly those dedicated to the political advancement of women, are necessary and important mechanisms in the adoption of gender equality norms, rules, and policies regarding equality in transitional democracies. This study empirically examines women's participation and the representation of women in Jordan in the periods prior to, and during, the transition to democracy. It assesses the roles played by women actors, both inside and outside the conventional political arena, to place women's issues on the political agenda and to advance women's rights.

Several key questions guide this research: First, what roles have women's civil society organisations played in improving women's political participation in Jordan over time? In particular, focus will be placed upon how women's civil society organisations have worked towards increasing women's political involvement between the periods of non-democratic rule and elections that brought democracy to the state of Jordan. Second, how do international and domestic women's civil society organisations interact in order to promote women's democratic participation in Jordan in supporting domestic activists?

Thus, this thesis will also address a secondary question about the extent to which women's civil society organisations can influence particular institutional outcomes on behalf of

women in times of institutional change, and during the transition to democracy. What does this tell us about how women's organisations have been able to utilise the window of opportunity provided by the process of democratic transition? What institutional changes have taken place that has been beneficial to women? How significant is it that women's organisations have shifted from traditional roles to more eclectic modes of operating which include idea-sharing and international networking?

These questions, in conjunction with ideas drawn from the scholarship on democratic transition and women's representation (reviewed later) inform several research hypotheses that guide the empirical analysis that follows. The first and the main hypothesis posits that the activities of women's civil society organisations during the first and second phases of the women's movement before the transition to democracy were inactive with regard to improving women's political participation and the focus on women's issues. The second hypothesis is that, as women's organisations have become more established (during the third phase women's movement) they have played an increasingly political role in terms of mobilising women to call for their rights during the transition to democracy to change the overall status and condition of women. The third hypothesis is that implementing of the quota reserved seats has enabled women to run for elected office and has affected significant change on women's political representation. The fourth hypothesis is that the growth of women's networks reflects a significant change in how women's organisations and their participants inform and translate their demands and create awareness throughout society with respect to the significance of women's participation in politics. Finally, the fifth hypothesis is that women's organisations are capable of undermining barriers that affect women's participation.

In order to answer the research questions and evaluate the hypotheses, and to identify how, when and why these various forms of women's organising have impacted on political change and the political participation of women, I chose to use the analytical approach most commonly labelled historical institutionalism. This thesis draws on Historical Institutionalism (HI) as an analytical approach, "to explain gendered institutional outcomes" (Kenny, 2013, p.55) at different levels of women's political participation. Historical Institutionalism is an approach that demands attention to history – it states that history matters, and historical events and the context they take place within shapes the various rules and norms that have shaped women's political representation over time

(Wyche, Sengers, & Grinter, 2006), through the concept of path dependence (Torfing, 2009). HI also enables us to understand the issues within different time spans. Kenny (2013) argues that

The Historical Institutionalists and feminist political scientists have frequently argued that in-depth single case study and small to medium-n comparison are an optimal research study. While institutions have distinctly gendered cultures, and are involved in processes of producing and reproducing gender (p.56).

The feminist historical institutionalist approach to an analysis of formal and informal women's organisations and strategies offers us opportunities to understand what it takes to shift the gendered dimensions of institutional power, and the changing of the political process over time. Using HI as a framework in the Jordanian context helps us to understand how women's organisations can change women's political representation and to identify the causal mechanisms that lie behind particular processes in improving and enhancing the status of women in political life.

This research also focuses on the outcomes fostered by women's organisations in creating women's networks by placing emphasis on networking women's organisations programmes. This network building was undertaken in order for women to gain more experience about women's issues through the sharing of skills and experiences through cooperation. This is relevant for domestic and international women's organisations, as such forms of interaction through states (from local to national), and civil societies (likewise from global to local), help with the sharing of ideas about policies and opportunities for institutional change and have proven critical to women's organisational activism in recent decades.

This thesis builds on Waylen's research, which explored the idea of gender equality and the processes of the transitions to the democratisation, as well as utilising the HI analytical framework (Waylen, 1994, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010). Using Historical Institutionalism (HI) as an analytical framework offers the opportunity to analyse the improvements and the changes in the status of women in politics over the decades through a focus on the gendered dimensions of institutional change (Waylen, 2009, p.245). As such, this research differs from previous studies in that it seeks to understand the significance of institutional change (formal and informal) to the political situation of Jordanian women, before and during the transition to democracy, and to make explicit the role of women's civil society

organisations in increasing the participation of women in politics and affecting institutional change.

Furthermore, Waylen (1994) focuses on the women's movement as one of the key actors operating in civil society outside the political arena enabling a focus on many gendered issues during the period of transition to democracy, including women's rights, the impact of democratisation on gender, and the improvements in women's political representation. In Jordan, as will be demonstrated below, it was women's organisations that lobbied the government, successfully, to include six quota reserved seats in 2003, and to increase the number of quota reserved seats to twelve seats in 2010.

As such, this research defines women's civil society organisations (WSCO) as organisations seeking to increase women's political representation and influence in all sectors of society. The organisations included in this study have as their main objective to promote the acceptance of women's political participating in public life at the grassroots level through to the national level. They support women with their campaigns, and support the promotion of democracy and political participation through their connections with both the state and society. These organisations share culturally-based norms (beliefs about changing women's reality by improving their political status), and more formal rules (the published guidelines and strategies adopted to improve women's status) to achieve goals such as changes in the electoral system to increase the number of women as candidates. Jordanian women's organisations have sought to improve and expand their activities over time and have continued to build their networks. As this research describes, the latter acts as a crucial channel for sharing information by developing activities between individual actors involved within women's organisations nationally and internationally.

Civil society organisations have played an important role in lobbying for policy change in order to promote the development of human rights for the well-being of the citizens in general (Zuidberg, 2004; Schwedler, 1995; World Economic Forum, 2013). Civil society organisations have also fostered incremental changes to improve society and the community life through the action of volunteers and charity groups (Al-hamarneh, 1995; Hammad, 1999; Abu-zayd, 2002). Moreover, civil society organisations are known to be crucial in promoting democracy by encouraging and mobilising their members to support the democratic process as noted by Bratton (1994) and Sajoo (2002). The transition to democracy in Jordan reflects the effectiveness of civil society organisations' actions in

improving change incrementally rather than by revolution (Al-Nawaisheh, 2011; Al Akash, 2006).

WCSOs aim to improve women's lives in different ways across economic, social, cultural and political arenas so that people throughout the country might become more accepting of women in political leadership roles. The third phase of women's movement in the 1990s in particular has been credited with the growth of the intellectual dimension of the women's movement along with the growing presence of the various national organisations. Over the last four decades, since the early seventies until the 2000s, WCSOs have been active in almost every important sector; social, educational, financial, and political (Jad, 2007; Ferree & Martin 1995). Moreover, it is evident that WCSOs have had an important role in increasing women's representation and pushing for greater gender equality during the process of the transition to democracy. This reflects the argument put forward by Bratton (1994), McIlwaine (2009), and Lauti and Fraenkel (2006) who have conceptualised civil society organisations as being critical mechanisms for mobilising women to demand their social and political rights. What this thesis demonstrates is that Jordanian WCSOs, through their focus on both formal institutional change and informal norms and individual strategies, have helped women to improve their self-confidence, their ability, and ultimately their participation in public life.

To date, there has been limited systematic research on the ways these organisations took up this challenge, and the extent to which they have succeeded. In response, this research examines the work of local women's organisations as well as their links to international organisations, and the extent to which the transfer of knowledge, information and resources has shaped and supported the process of building up women's political participation during the process of democratisation. This research builds on Waylen's research, which has been influential in the case of Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe in examining the role women's movements play in the transition to democratic rule, the impact they have on a return to competitive electoral politics and the effect they have had on women and women's movements. More specifically, this study examines the role that women's organisations in Jordan play and have played before and during the transition to democratic rule. It also seeks to understand how women's civil society organisations have worked towards enhancing women's political involvement between the periods of non-democratic rule and the elections that brought democracy to the state of Jordan. It is notable that the

activists associated with women's organisations since the 1990s played a critical role in this crucial juncture in Jordanian history.

The findings presented here demonstrate that women's civil society organisations have been important mechanisms in terms of improving the political participation and representation of women. The participation of women within their communities has increased and this is linked to improvements in the quality of life for many Jordanian women, as they have started to gain access to decision-making positions at almost all levels, by winning elections or through appointments.

Significance of the Study

This thesis demonstrates that women's civil society organisations¹ have been an important mechanism for increasing women's participation in political life, and by extension, changing the political status of women in Jordan. The importance of this study is that it examines and explores the progress and the evolution of the role of women's civil society organisations in improving women's political representation and equality opportunities before and during the transition to democracy in Jordan. While studies exist of other countries in the region, there has been limited research addressing women's issues in the Jordanian context. Whereas previous research has focused on the general situation faced

¹ A critical women's organisation in my study was the Jordanian National Committee for Women, which operates as an umbrella for different women's organisations. This umbrella organisation is sponsored by Princess Basma Bit Talal and includes, for example, the twelve provinces in the Jordan National Forum for Women that made up a critical part of my case study. The Jordan National Forum for Women is also sponsored by Princess Basma Bit Talal. There are also other examples, but these do not feature as part of this research, nor are they sponsored by Princess Basma Bit Tala. They include organisations such as Etihad Al-Marra' Al-Urduneh, Etihad Al-Nissai Al-Urduni. Also included are women's networks such as Candle Network, and Al-Nashmiyyat Network. WCSOs became better organised in part because of the presence of the umbrella organisations such as the JNCW. It has also made connections with women's committees in different ministerial offices and government institutions. Since 1992, the leader of JNCW, Princess Basma, has pursued a vision and aspired to achieving goals in line with key interests of Jordanian women. The JNCW also attempts to create public awareness relating to the importance of women's public roles, and strives to increase women's participation in social development activities and enhance job opportunities for women in the public and private sectors (Al-Atyiat, 2003).

by Jordanian women, as well as the ways in which civil society has developed to date in Jordan, up until now there has been little systematic analysis that evaluates the development of women's organisations' claims for political representation during these significant periods of institutional change. Moreover, this thesis builds an understanding of the way women's activism in civil society intersects with the processes of institutional change to promote the political representation of women.

Hence, the importance of this study is in its scholarly and practical contribution to our knowledge of how best to enhance the level of women's representation in politics in Jordan, and how increased representation is intimately tied to improving the participation of women in their communities and in women's organisations. Moreover, the thesis reveals that WSCOs are both, theoretically and in reality, significant in the promotion of women's representation. It provides an analytical examination of the factors that constrain Jordanian women's participation in politics and how WSCOs have sought to undermine these and circumvent them in ways that politically empower women. This study fills a significant gap in the sub-field that focuses on the role of women's organisations in promoting women's political representation before and during the transitional phase to democracy.

The study also focuses on understanding the interests of Jordanian women in becoming more engaged in the different networks that have been created via domestic and international organisations, and the role of women's networks in improving women's status, particularly in political life. This research reveals how these organisations help women to share experiences and discuss pressing issues with the aim of facilitating greater political involvement.

Finally, this research intends to fill the gap in studies of Jordan, and provide resources that can help Jordanian women to understand their issues and move towards improving their political position. The research findings will be made available to civil society organisations who are engaged in working for women's issues and to domestic and international organisations, to assist their understanding of how to improve the political lives of women in ways that will work for Jordanian women. It will also provide important information on the impact of the transition to democracy with regards to gender equality in different institutions of the government; specifically, the contributions of the women's movement on changing and enhancing the political position of women in Jordan.

The findings presented in this research are drawn from the insights provided by 46 participants, 38 of whom were from women's organisations, domestic and international, and the remaining 8 were made up of women parliamentarians, candidates, party members, and female ministers. This range gave me insights into what women activists thought were important and what women already working in politics thought was necessary to improve their status and position. In addition, 29 of these participants were from the provinces, to balance the opinions of the female politicians. This included the leaders of the twelve branches of women's organisations in the provinces, and women who have been working in different projects. The sample of interviewees also included other actors such as coordinators in the main offices of the international and domestic women's organisations. The fieldwork focused on four women's organisations located in the city centre of Amman, and twelve branches located in the twelve provinces in the north/east, middle and south. The branches in the north and the south ensure the inclusion of the women in the area of Clans, Bedouin.

What becomes apparent is that women's organisations through their training programmes and other strategies have had active roles in promoting women's political participation both in municipalities and the national parliament. This was achieved through raising awareness regarding the importance of women's participation in public and political life. Nevertheless, the role of women's civil society organisation has been to positively affect the status of elite women; that is women MPs, women members of parties, women ministers and women candidates, more than women from the provinces. In short, in the Jordanian context, women's organisations have played an important role in assisting women to increase their ability to participate politically by improving their skills and understanding of their rights to take up roles in public and political life, as well as supporting their participation in national and international conferences.

Research Design and Thesis Outline

As already mentioned, this qualitative case study draws on the HI approach, which has been utilised to document the history of the role of women's organisations, focusing on an explanation of women's challenges to traditional political institutions prior to and during the transition to democratisation. I employ a feminist-inspired research methodology, integrating interviews to understand women's issues, especially those related to women's political participation. My background, experience and personal history, having worked

with women's organisations in Jordan, grants me insights that were used to guide my field work as it allowed me more precision and awareness of gender relationships and power dynamics. Data collection methods focusing on primary research via interviews, reports, and newspapers, allowed me to more adequately describe the relationship between domestic and international women's organisations and women's political participation.

The research consisted of three stages. The first stage was the literature review which provides an overview of prior research that is relevant to the thesis topic. The second stage involved the collection, description and analysis of data, followed by the third and final stage of drawing up conclusions and recommendations. A detailed chapter breakdown develops the content of these stages.

First, this thesis investigates the strategy of Jordanian women's organisations in relation to increase the number of women who are taking part in decision-making, and the way the government is going about improving the country's electoral laws. With respect to this research, it will address the history of women's representation. It will discuss the formal and informal barriers women face in their quest to create the necessary change in government policy and institutions so that their issues can be addressed and laws updated and reformed that pertain to women's issues. The history of the women's movement and the way in which women have organised their organisations is also discussed.

Second, this research examines the precise role of women's organisations in assisting women to participate in public life and politics. By recognising the issues and how they affect women's representation, this research uses the narratives of the members of the twelve branches of a women's organisation in the provinces. This allows for an analysis of the idea that the impact of the women's organisation has not yet significantly improved the status of women in the provinces, but it has helped advance the participation of elite women. The empirical data collected as part of this research from interviews with women participants, elite women, members and staff of women's organisation, and relevant literature in the field, to obtain a clear perspective from political women about their experience and views on political life and what is needed for more women to participate in politics.

Third, as Cook and Fonow (2007) argue, feminist methodology focuses on women's issues, and it also aims to change male-controlled social institutions through research by requiring

contributions to social change via the collection and specification of strategic suggestions relating to women's issues (pp.17-18). This research has been conducted to identify and explain women's issues from a gender-related perspective and the role of women's civil society organisations in the modernisation of women's lives in ways that are considered appropriate by the women concerned, which sometimes involves retaining important traditions.

Fourth, in examining the role of women's organisations in promoting women's representation, this research considers the role of women's organisations at both the international and domestic level. The United Nations and other international women's organisations have promoted increased connections between women globally over time, and the extent to which these connections facilitate knowledge transfer is examined in this thesis.

As such, the thesis comprises eight chapters. Chapter One includes a review of scholars whose work relates to this research and from which the research questions outlined above are derived. Specifically, Chapter One discusses the development and the concept of civil society, the growth of civil society organisations and women's movement. Furthermore, this chapter focuses on the application of Waylen's framework in order to investigate the gendered institutional dynamics in the development of political reforms in Jordan before and during the transition to democratisation (Waylen, 2007, 1994).

Chapter Two clarifies the study design and methodology that underpins this research. The first part summarises briefly the qualitative case study and feminist approach employed and justifies my choice in this regard. The chapter also includes discussions of the sampling and the experience of the respondents, transcription, translation, and ethical considerations. It also defines the data collection and analysis process, and discusses the trustworthiness and transferability of the findings of this investigation to other contexts.

Chapter Three examines the changing nature of women's political participation in Jordan and looks closely at the representation of women during the transition to democracy. It focuses on the level of women's political representation, and the situation with regard to women's status after the electoral laws were reformed to include women at the national level in the House of Representatives, and in the local Municipalities. Moreover, it reviews women's participation in the Jordanian National Assembly (Senate), and in various

political parties, to understand the changes in women's representation and participation over time. This material sets the scene for the more detailed material on the women's movement and its organisations that follows.

The sequences that constitute the historical phases of the women's movement have been highlighted by other scholars that focus on the women's movement in Jordan including Abu Rumi, (1995), Al-Atiyat (2003), and Al-Tal (2013). Chapter Four explores the history of the activities of the women's civil society organisations prior to the transition to democracy by focusing on the aforementioned first phase (1940-1960) and second phase (1970-1980) of the women's movement in Jordan. In regards to political participation and the focus on women's political rights, I argue that the activities of women's civil society organisations during the first and second phase of the women's movement, before the transition to democracy, were latent.

Chapter Five focuses on the ways in which the women's movement and the activities and organisations that resulted from it have evolved during the third phase from the 1990s until 2012, and the various influences that influenced these changes. To answer the questions regarding the role of women's civil society organisations during the transition to democracy, this chapter includes discussion with women in public arenas who have sought to advance and promote gender equality during this time. It also explores the impact of the third phase of the women's movement, in terms of mobilising women to call for their rights during the transitions to democracy. I argue that women's organisations, during the third and current phase, of the women's movement, had and still have an important political role to play.

Chapter Six examines the macro-level formal institutional rules, such as the role of the government, electoral system, the organisation of political parties, and how these institutional arrangements shape and influence political opportunities to achieve the goal of further increasing the representation of women and to ensure greater political participation of women at national and local level. This focus will allow a greater understanding of how both formal and informal institutional rules and norms interact and influence the political representation of women. I argue that women's political representation has been affected at different junctures of time, for example in 1957, when the educated class of women were granted the opportunity to vote during the first phase of the women's movement. Then in 1974, during the second phase of the women's movement,

all women were granted the right to vote and to run for elected office. In the 1990s, during the third phase, women started to run for elected office. In 2003, a gender quota was implemented in order to help women increase their political representation and create more opportunities for women to participate in the public sphere.

Chapter Seven examines the goals and strategies employed by women's organisations that support and promote women's political representation, in addition to discussing the formal rule changes noted above. This involves investigating four women's civil society organisations nationally and internationally. In order to answer the question regarding the role women's civil society organisations have played and continue to play in improving women's political participation in Jordan in particular, I review the way these women's civil society organisations have worked to increase the awareness of women's rights, and train women with different skills to have the ability and capability to work towards increasing women's political involvement. This chapter argues that women's organisations have been able to have a significant influence in increasing women's political participation between the periods of non-democratic rule and the elections that brought democracy to the state of Jordan.

Chapter Eight focuses on the outcomes achieved by women's organisations in the way women's networks coordinate and transfer information and enable women to become more actively involved. This includes a focus on those who participate in a variety of activities that women's organisations sponsor in relation to key issues of concern for these women. It discusses the aim and the role of women's networks, during the transition to democracy, and gives specific examples of the work of women's networks, local, national, regional, and international. What becomes apparent is that these networks contribute to addressing and sharing ideas about women's issues. Furthermore, how international and domestic civil society organisations cooperate to assist local women is analysed. I argue that women's networks have played a significant role in influencing the role of the women's organisations and their participants to inform and translate their concerns, matters and issues to the public.

In Chapters Seven and Eight, the focus is on the outcome of the women's organisations and the creation of women's networks to transfer the knowledge and information necessary for women to understand their issues. In conclusion, I argue there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that women's organisations have played an important part in influencing the government to update laws specifically related to women's lives, in order to improve

gender equality. Women's organisations have been effective because the transition to democracy has allowed women's organisations more opportunities to organise and influence institutional arrangements. Specifically, the emergence of women's organisation demonstrate that issues relating to women's political representation have gained increasing importance in Jordan's traditional culture and that fundamental change in gender relations is beginning to take place in Jordan, although progress is slow. These organisations have played a critical role in engaging both the public and the government on these issues. Understanding how they have done this can therefore shed light on pre-transition politics and on the process of transition itself.

CHAPTER ONE: The Development of Women's Civil Society Organisations

This chapter investigates the development of civil society organisations and explores the women's movement in the context of the evolution of women's civil society organisations in particular. In addition, it will provide a discussion of Historical Institutionalism (HI), which will be the framework for analysis used for understanding how Jordanian women's role in politics has developed over time through collaboration with women's groups. Furthermore, by taking cues from the research conducted by Waylen (2007) on Latin America, this chapter will analyse how activities before the transition to democracy phase affected the transition period itself. Waylen's study tracks the development of women's organisations in Latin America and women's movements during the transition to democracy in order to illustrate how gender equity informs the advent of democratic processes. This insight appears to apply to the Jordanian case and will be used to frame the discussion of the various phases of the Jordanian women's movement discussed in later chapters.

Based on the definition offered by Bunbongkarn (2004), civil society organisations (CSOs) can be social, religious, educational and civic rights groups that are either formal NGOs or informal associations. According to Biglang-awa and Bestari (2011), CSOs have acquired significant power in recent years and now have the ability to unite society and encourage all citizens to pursue a common goal in changing attitudes toward many different social phenomena. However, the effectiveness of these groups varies widely and is largely dependent on each group's expertise, network and organisational competency (Biglang-awa & Bestari, 2011).

According to Al-Hourani (2009), civil society organisations in Jordan, many of which grew out of women's societies or groups, first began to greatly influence Jordanian life in a salient way in 1995. It was at this time that these groups began to undertake development and political work as opposed to volunteer work, which had been their main focus for the previous 50 years. In addition, these groups began to address sensitive issues directly, particularly in relation to women's rights, human rights and Jordanian citizenship. These groups gained credibility and became accepted as mainstream features in Jordanian society and were accepted by the majority of Jordanian people (Shteivi & Hourani, 1996). Following Waylen (2007) then, this thesis gives consideration to how the activities of women's organisations in Jordan have positively influenced political gender equality during the democratic transition.

The extent to which women participate in society is a fundamental aspect of public participation as many women's groups have traditionally not been encouraged or even accepted to operate within the nation's political framework. Civil society organisations in Jordan have nevertheless begun to influence and guide public policy changes in recent years as their impact on society continues to grow and Jordanian civil society as a sphere for policy debate distinct from the government evolves (Jarrah, 2009). The growth in number and the development of the capacity of civil society organisations (CSOs) in Jordan has also been facilitated by increased cross-border collaboration (World Bank, 2005).

The Concept of Civil Society

The concept of civil society has been understood in different ways depending on the theoretical perspective, context and historical time period studied. Understood as being made up of tangible organisations, Diamond (1994) argues that civil society includes both formal and informal organisations, and includes ethnic associations or networks as well as groups such as unions and women's organisations. When described in theoretical terms, civil society can be understood as "the realm of organised social life that is open, voluntarily bound by a legal order or set of shared rules" (Diamond, 1999, p.221). Kohler-Koch and Quittkat (2009) argue that civil society articulates and represents the interests of the public and operates within a sphere of social networks (p.1). Arendt (1958), and Cohen and Arato (1994), argue that civil society is comprised of both public and social life. The concept of civil society has also been conceptualised as a societal sphere which encourages voluntary association within social networks for the purpose of organising political interest groups (Habermas, 1989). Diamond (1994) sees civil society as an intermediary entity or space between private and government spheres where citizens come together to influence economic, social, and political life. As such, civil society is an arena in which citizens communicate with each other and construct a social frame that helps people to achieve their goals in changing policy, regardless of the issues or how they define them, or whether the organisation is a group, syndicate, or religion (Walzer, 1992).

Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2002) have drawn a distinction between the formal and informal institutions that make up civil society. They note that formal institutions included ministry buildings, the legislature and sittings of parliament, public events such as elections, city council meetings and legal proceedings, while informal institutions are based on implicit and less clearly articulated socio-cultural norms, and the impact of

socioeconomic factors on political behaviour (Brinkerhoff & Goldsmith, 2002, p.1). The focus on civil society organisations as the site for informal political practices places great emphasis on personal network building and highlights the interplay “between formal and informal political institutions” (Bjarnegard, 2013, p.29). Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2002) found the informal institutions are key contributors to political participation, the rule of law, and support networks which will be difficult to identify and to remove.

Thus, we can take civil society in the contemporary era as comprised of various networks of individuals, communities, non-government organisations that share information and communicate in order to assist in opening up the space of power, with a view to influencing new configurations of actors (World Economic Forum, 2013). A strong civil society endeavours to build and shape organisations to influence the state in order to create institutional change. Zuidberg (2004) argues for creating a strong civil society by building organisations, networking, and pro-actively lobbying for policy change as a means of influencing positive change to enhance everyday life for citizens throughout society at all levels. Civil society actors argue that institutions are one of the most important mechanisms for enhancing life and humanity throughout the world (Keyman and Icduygu, 2003).

With respect to the relationship between democracy and civil society, Mahmoud (2011) argues that civil society enhances democracy by promoting citizenship rights and also plays a role in shaping economic reforms and relations within a democracy. Jaber (2011) asserts that in order to develop the necessary institutions desirable to nurture and support the democratic process, it is necessary for the civil society of a country to maintain the infrastructure of democracy in a manner that suits the specific cultural and socio-economic features of a given society. Moreover, Bjarnegard (2013) argues that with regard to institutional strength “it is important to employ the definition of democracy as a political system, such as free and fair elections, associational rights such as the right to vote, as these confirm people’s participation in and influence over the political process”(p.56).

Civil society’s value can also be identified in its propensity to increase the networking, coalition building and collaboration of social associations, for example unions, charities, community groups, and so forth. Other scholars argue that civil society should help with the process of building the framework of democracy, as institutions within civil society often supplement formal processes such as voting, and thus help citizens shape their culture and politics (John, 2012). Scholars have also argued that the purpose of civil society is to “serve as a space to referee between the individual and the state” (Mahajan, 1999, p. 3471).

These insights and definitions, will guide this study's research hypothesis with a view to better understanding the changing role of women's organisations during the transition to democracy and the various strategies they have employed to enhance women's political participation. It also explores how women's organisations have sought to change women's access to formal political institutions advance more female-friendly informal practices, networks and communication strategies in order to create institutional change.

Civil society organisations

Civil society organisations with their own objectives and motivations are key actors in advancing social change. CSOs consciously attempt to change private and government spheres of society as well as the functioning of society itself through social development (Al-hamarneh, 1995). In this sense, they are not simply organisations that passively facilitate societal discussion of important social issues. Rather, the growth of civil society organisations represents a key to understanding the interactions between various social networks directly linked to knowledge generation. These organisations also increasingly play a role in the transformation of national and international spaces and venues, and so it is important to understand how NGOs take advantage of new national and transnational circumstances (Bach & Stark, 2002).

In the case of Jordan, the period of political instability that was evident from 1940s to 1970s affected the development of civil society organisations, as well as the capabilities and resources of CSOs. Such resources that could be used to improve the political participation of its citizens were limited during this period as they were mostly directed towards humanitarian and volunteer activities focused on helping citizens as well as refugees². Bint Talal (2004) found that the political circumstances surrounding the region of Jordan hindered the growth and expansion efforts of local civil society organisations. Other challenges include the issue that CSOs have not been able to attract media attention to their issues of interest. This reflects Poskitt and Dufranc (2011), who argue that the space for CSOs to operate and influence change has decreased over time. In their report the World

² The various wars in the regions surrounding Jordan, such as the wars in Palestine in 1948, and 1967, and the exodus of refugees from Palestine have affected and changed the goals of Jordanian civil society organisations from being directly engaged in politics to focusing on helping the refugees to find a stable life in Jordan.

Alliance for Citizen Participation,³ Poskitt and Dufranc tried to answer the question of what CSOs supporters can do to limit the effects of weak governance. They found that civil society organisations face challenges in terms of building their ability in the context of divided societies, particularly at times of conflict while media relations were a key factor enabling and informing their work on critical issues (BCSDN, 2007). Poskitt and Dufranc (2011) also found that even though civil society creates space for activism during times of instability, CSOs in Jordan have not been able to capitalise or take advantage of the opportunity to take the necessary action required to improve political representation, and help change the lives of citizens for the better.

In the mid-1990s, civil society organisations became a notable force in Jordan and built a relationship between civil society and other political actors, including state organised religious groups and foreign donors (Al-Hourani, 2009). Jordanian civil society organisations pursued three general strategies and goals with regard to shaping government institutions during the transition period. First, the role of CSOs was seen as encouraging an interest in politics, as noted by Bratton (1994). Second, as civil society organisations worked with the governments on the legislative issues, they were able to build capacity via public awareness programmes and education as well as monitoring government institutions (Touq, 2006). Third, in order to strengthen civil society, the growth of civil society organisations required democratisation (Fowler, 2008).

As noted above, civil society organisations play a role in promoting democracy by encouraging different groups in society to support the rules of democratic competition (Bratton, 1994; Sajoo, 2002). Sydow (2013) and Keyman and Icduygu (2003) argue that civil society organisations are an essential ingredient in the process of democratisation. CSOs have been involved in the fundamental work of building a wider community that supports active citizenship and participation (Sydow, 2013). The emergence of civil society organisations involves more than the possibility of democratisation, as democratic systems assert a certain kind of positive pressure on authority and influence outcomes relating to various political decisions.

³ World Alliance for Citizen Participation: presents critical findings on the dynamics of conflict and challenges to the development and performance of civil society organisations. It combines desk-based research; three in-country consultations; and an online survey in 46 countries. Through dialogue with civil society organisations and contains the testimonies of over 200 activists working in situations of conflict across the global.

Civil society organisations can serve to improve the performance of democratic policies by expressing the concerns of inhabitants from different sectors (Luckham & White, 1996). The relationship between civil society organisations and democracy as it relates to Arab countries depends on the power of the civil society organisations as noted by Sa'd El Den (1998). In Jordan, this applies to the issue of the monopolisation of state institutions versus nascent civil societies that have yet to make a big impact upon society, such as tribalism. With regard to democracy in predominantly Arab nations, Mahmoud (2011) in her case study of Arabic countries explains that CSOs could assist in reforming the electoral system, and democratise political parties. In Jordan, Al Akash (2006) highlighted that CSOs also could enhance the process of democratization and found the spread of CSOs affected the progress of the transition to democracy in Jordan, as CSOs promoting the concept of democracy played a role in Jordan adopting greater democracy in practice. Setiyono (2010) argues that CSOs do offer significant roles in structure and strengthening a democratic political culture and a tradition of public liability.

By examining the goals and objectives of the civil society organisations in Arabic countries, Rishmawi and Morris (2007) found that civil society organisations did have some influence in promoting civic and community interests. They found CSOs have increased greatly in number in Arab World, and that CSOs have been active on a range of different issues. Firstly, CSOs have engaged with new themes in their actions such as “human rights, women’s rights, good governance, and democratisation” (Rishmawi & Morris, 2007, p.13). Norton (1993) argues that Jordanian civil society “certainly found its voice during the 1990-1991 Gulf crises ⁴ as illustrated by their activities in organising congresses” (p.210). Second, the importance of establishing female-focused CSOs is to develop women as leaders and build up support for issues of gender equality as well as the concept of empowerment of women. The latter objective tends to be one that women’s civil society organisations (WSCOs) in recent decades have been concerned with.

Of importance to this thesis is the role of civil society organisations in promoting women’s political participation. Civil society organisations are linked to political participation, and are important in regards to their role specifically in the preservation and advancement of civil rights and freedoms (Bunbongkarn, 2004). Second, civil society organisations have

⁴ Civil societies; for example the professional associations “they were very active in organising congresses and demonstrated against the allies’ actual goals of dominating the Arabian Gulf and of destroying Iraq on the one hand, and in collecting donation to help Iraqis to face the blockade imposed over them on the other hand” (Odhibat,1992, p.18).

played a role as a fundamental instrument supporting political participation and mobilisation (Schwedler, 1995). Bunbongkarn (2004) argues that civil society organisations have been active in inspiring political awareness and encouraging people's political participation and mobilisation. Ghosh (2009) also examined NGOs as political institutions and noted that they worked in political areas such as human rights, politics, and have contributed to improvements in the quality of participation. Ghosh did note, however, that they have not had as much success in promoting democratic practices in institutions in developing countries. Nevertheless Wiktorowicz (2002) found that most of the research on NGOs views formal grassroots associationalism⁵ as a mechanism of collective empowerment and promoting political development that facilitate political participation.

The development of civil society organisations can extend beyond the dimensions of social activities to allow them to function even more effectively as they continue to pursue social, economic and political development. In Jordan, the number of CSOs doubled during the political reform (transition to democracy) period from 1989 onwards, even though these CSOs were not considered to have significant influence over either the policy or the political sphere at that particular time (Jarrah, 2009). Overall, in relation to the role of civil society organisations in promoting democracy in Jordan, expectations should be tempered. Nevertheless, they have proved to be important to the growth and development of women's political participation.

The Women's Movement

Scholars have defined the women's movement as a type of social movement with distinctive features. First, Hourigan (2001) notes that the development of the women's movement and increase in the profile of associated activities occurred concurrently with the emergence of sociology as an academic discipline in the 1950s and 1960s. A second feature is the evolution of a stance where "social change [is achieved] even by individuals or groups who share collective identity developed on the basis of common opposition to dominant norms" (Sawer and Grey 2008, p.5). Third, as Abu Rumi (1995) argues women's movements have incorporated a variety of measures comprised of women's collective and individual actions, and through women's organisations that seek rights and reforms, both

⁵ According to Kaufman (1999) associationalism is "vital component of political life and that it poses" (p. 1297), and it "may increase public awareness and provide an effective counterbalance to passive reliance on the state" (p.1303).

civil and political for women (p.22). Fourth, the women's movement as a tool for mobilisation has focused amongst other things, on demanding the vote for women in order to include them in politics. The women's movement thus can be seen as an instrument that places emphasis on creating social and political opportunities to change structures to promote gender equality and women's rights (Derichs, 2014; Kuttab, 2012; Molyneux, 2002; Al-Atiyat, 2003). Fifth, the women's movement aims to achieve women's rights by removing the inequality between men and women in (but not limited to) the political, social and economic sphere (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006, pp.1,6). Krolokke and Sorensen (2006) argue that the women's movement often provides a platform that enables women to utilise their skills and creativity to efficiently contribute to society.

Further, the aim of activists in the women's movement has been to inspire collective behaviour so that women can, as a group, express their ideas and change public attitudes and opinion about women's roles, whereas individuals, or as an organisation (McBride & Mazur, 2010). The aim of activists in the women's movement has often been to address issues related to gender awareness, gender equality and to support women's rights (Outshoorn, 2010; Kuttab, 2012). Rochon and Mazmanian (1993) have argued that the women's movement has succeeded in three areas: gaining access to the policy process, changing policy, and changing social values. As such, Rochon and Mazmanian have suggested that the most effective path to having an impact on policy outcomes is where the authorities and organisations are included in the political process.

Berger (2006) noted in her research that democratisation has led to the institutionalisation of the women's movement and has encouraged it to turn from protest politics to policy work and to helping the state implement a gender equality agenda and complementary strategies. The women's movement has similarly had important long-term effects on the democratic political system by helping to change social values to influence governmental institutions to change policies. This has changed the reality of women's experience and had the effect of initiating and promoting debates related to women's political representation, which can help prioritise women's interests to be more active in public life (Berger, 2006, p. 1).

More generally, scholars have argued that the women's movement form that strategy is necessarily influenced by "the ways in which gender ideologies and identities are embedded in the framing and in the construction process of the social movement's identity" (Kuumba, 2002, p.517). To be more specific, Kuumba (2002) stated that a lack of gender

equality has encouraged the development of women's organisations whereby women often focused their activism more at the grassroots level rather than targeting community leaders (p.509).

The women's movement has also utilised human rights discourses to promote the achievement of women's rights in the interrelated areas of political, social and cultural activities. It has been common to see women's organisations making demands regarding the rights of women to take part in public debate and in policy arenas by focusing on gender differences as a crucial point (Outshoorn, 2010; Molyneux, 2002). This reflects the argument put forward by Peters and Wolper (1995) who have suggested that women within the women's movement have recognised the importance of moving on from an exclusive focus on the elaboration of alternative programs within women's organisations to placing women's issues on the mainstream agenda.

In Arab countries, women's movements generally share similar histories and issues related to politics. Most of the organisations lived through the challenges of the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli war, and 1990-1991 Gulf War (Abu Rumi, 1995; Al-Ali, 2002; Chatelard, 2010). During the period of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the tensions between secular and religious tendencies created different visions for transforming the existing gender order (Al-Ali, 2002). However, Alrenfeldt and Golley (2012) argue that in some cases "different religious discourses were invisible, and some groups continue to claim a monopoly on religious interpretation that seeks to justify existing inequalities" (p. 29). The first and second phases of the women's movement in Jordan took place during the historical period from the 1940s to the 1980s. During this period, women's organisations helped women to focus their attention on the effects of gender inequalities and pointed to the need for gradual institutional change (Findlay, 2012). There were some successes in Jordan as in 1957 educated women gained the right to vote, and then later in 1974, all women gained the right to vote and be elected to parliament.

In the first and second phases of the women's movement Arab women have played crucial roles in political demonstrations by discussing political issues in meetings, conferences and forums, both informally and formally. As many Arab countries obtained their independence, they created new national identities, and modernised their states (Albanane, 2005). As an example, the women's movements in Tunisia and Egypt have been a consistent voice speaking out and calling for democracy. In Lebanon, Palestine, Yemen and Syria, the women's movements have been active and organised despite the challenges

affecting their country (Regan, 2012). In Jordan, the early women's movement and its constituent organisations were dedicated primarily to issues related to refugees as the state had been critically affected by outside Arab nations, which suffered many losses, and also due to the Palestinian refugees who were expatriated to other Arab countries after the 1967 war (Chatelard, 2010). The women's movement established the Arab Women's Union in the 1950s (Regan, 2012), and in order to help the refugees who participated in efforts to achieve national aspirations for their respective countries' independence. Consequently the overall issues that were addressed by the women's movement in the Arabic region in areas such as education, health, and job creation were similar in Jordan and in Iraq and Syria (Alrenfeldt & Golley, 2012; Vinson & Golley, 2012).

The impact of the women's movement can be seen through the activities of groups of women who have been trying to create women's civil society organisations (WSCOs) in order to achieve their goals of improving women's status and improving the laws that affect women's lives. Alrenfeldt and Golley (2012) focus on women's movements throughout the Arab world, highlighting the beliefs held and activists involved with women's organisations and informal women's groups across a range of Arab countries. Their volume includes contributions by women from Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, Egypt, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Yemen, and the Arab diaspora in the United States. Alrenfeldt and Golley (2012) note however, that they found it challenging to find full discussion and descriptions of the women's movement in Jordan and Syria. It seems that there is a notable gap in the literature related to the women's movements in some parts of the Arab world, and Jordan and Syria in particular. This research study is an attempt to fill this gap and in this sense provides an investigation of the women's movement in Jordan. It will investigate and detail the impact of women's groups that are trying to organise themselves into viable civil society organisations that will focus on furthering women's representation.

Jad (2007) and Ferree and Martin (1995) argue that the development of women's organisations has enabled significant progress in women's lives in relation to health, education, and rights' advocacy, in that they have worked to change laws at the local and national level. A women's movement exists not just because societal attitudes are changing but because women organisations are working to meet the needs of women and providing outlets for women to voice for calls for change. Gilman (2007) also found that the women's movement is characterised by women's organisations exchanging information and sharing

knowledge to enhance their sense of community through the continued sharing of ideas, values, and beliefs.

The women's movement and women's organisations in Jordan

With regard to the development of the women's movement in Jordan, as this study will describe in greater detail, there have been incremental changes in the position of Jordanian women over time. Abu Rumi (1995) focuses on attempts to unite the activities of the women's movement, and found that the women's movement has played an important role in Jordan and has made some progress in improving the status of women in Jordanian society with regard to women's social life, work, and education. Abu Rumi indicated, however, that women's organisations still lacked cooperation and collaboration between them in relation to women's issues. Nevertheless, as the women's movement evolved along with the development of Jordanian civil society organisations, government policy, and the legislative process, there has been increased consideration of women's issues and a heightened awareness of human rights (Al-Tal, 1985).

The study of women's movements at different periods in time is significant for understanding the way it has led to the creation of a range of women's organisations, which in turn have sought to direct the energy of the women's movement and sought to assist women in claiming a range of rights. Al-Tal (2013) and Abu Rumi (1995), in their discussions of the Jordanian women's movement at different historical stages, note the institutional context has itself affected the way the women's movement has dealt with different political, social and cultural issues, from the time of independence to the contemporary period.

The first phase of the women's movement lasted from the 1940s to the 1960s, when the first women's organisations were established. Al-Rawashdeh, Al Arab and Al-shboul (2012) and Al-Tal (2013) document the creation of women's organisations, the first of which was created as early as 1944. Since the 1940s, a range of women's civil society organisations that originally were started by women from the elite class or ruling families became increasingly prominent and was involved in independent public work (Al-Tal, 1989). Al-Atiyat (2012) notes, however, that prior to the 1960s these organisations focused was primarily on families and on women performing perceived traditional women's roles in education and health. In this sense, the activities of the women's movement in Jordan were mostly voluntary in nature rather than activist and the idea of an emancipatory

women's movement was not salient as the role of women was confined to charitable work with women's civil society organisations working primarily as charitable organisations. Nevertheless, this was the first time women were gathering for political mobilisation (Sahliyah, 2005). Then, in the 1960s, Al-Attiyat, Shteivi and Sweiss (2005) argue that women's organisations became subsumed by the pan-Arab nationalist struggle, and demonstrations by women were organised. The organisers of these demonstrations did not focus exclusively on women-specific issues and did not raise women's issues and concerns as a primary component of their work. Nevertheless, there had been a shift from a focus solely on volunteerism to one that was increasingly activist.

The second phase was from 1970s to 1980s, where activists within the women's movement started asserting themselves through women's organisations. In this second phase, the rebuilding of an independent national state was critical to further development (Al-Tal, 2013). In the 1970s, the trend characterising the activities of women's organisations was stronger focus on women and women's rights, most notably the desire to have the opportunity to be elected and run for office, and the opportunity to engage with government in policy making (Al-Ali, 2002). In the early years of the 1970s, women's activities also began to look more intentionally organised. Al-Ali (2002) highlights that an international agenda appeared to induce a kind of a domino effect on the Arab women's movement. For example, the United Nations declared the year of 1975 to be the "International Women's Year".

During this second phase, as Jordanian women participated in the International Women's Year in 1974, Al-Tal (2013) highlights an increased tempo in activities related to women's issues and women's rights, particularly in Jordan. International and domestic sentiment encouraged the government to re-establish the women organisations that had previously been dissolved. These women's organisations had been dissolved because of the political issues that surrounded Jordan particularly the War in Palestine. Members of these early women's organisations were from both Jordan and Palestine, so the objective was to have Jordan-specific organisations, and these re-commenced their activities capitalising on the political openness brought on in 1974, where women obtained the right to vote and to run for office for the National Advisory Council.

In order to participate in the First UN Women's Conference in 1975, women's organisations adopted every possible means to highlight women's rights and issues and gain prominence. This reflects what the report of the United Nations (UNDP, AFESD &

AGPUNDO, 2006) noted in that the purpose of developing contact with other international women, intellectuals, and political authorities has been to create and organise dialogue channels with a number of prominent political figures and to make development and women's issues mainstream topics for discussion in countries like Jordan. The main achievement of 1975 was the re-establishment of the Jordanian Women's Union, "*Ithad Al-Mara Al Ourduni*", which was concerned primarily with highlighting the reality of Jordanian women's lives, and the limitations that prevented women from enjoying their rights. This demonstrated a changing phase in the Jordanian organisations as a number of branches across Jordan were established. They situated their offices in the major cities of Jordan (UNDP, AFESD & AGPUNDO, 2006) and they held seminars to raise awareness among women. They organised media campaigns to record their protest against discrimination. Also they organised and held conferences to highlight issues of violence against Arab women (Al-Tal, 2013).

In the third phase of the women's movement with the transition to democracy during the 1990s, the development and evolution of a new emancipatory concept characterised the movement (Sahliyeh, 2005). There was a rise in awareness of issues of particular interest to women throughout society with support and inspiration from the international community in relation to women's liberation. The movement addressed the issues of empowerment and integration of women into Jordanian society. Women's civil society organisations became a public space wherein women could assemble, debate and formulate diverse opinions that ultimately form what could be called a public opinion about women's issues. In this context, during the third phase of the women's movement, women's civil society organisations and women in general had more interest in the deeper dynamics that shape the political and social life of Jordan. Touaf and Boutkhil (2008) specified that women's civil society became a "public space where gender equality can best be measured in a given society" (p. X). They argued that a discrete public space for women's civil society organisations in Jordan would help encourage people to share their ideas. This Jordan-specific finding reflects the arguments made by Castells (2008) who argues that women's civil society is about using "the public sphere as a space" (p. 78) of communicating and presenting emerging social theories and projects to the decision makers.

Thus, women's organisations became an important mechanism enabling them to act as political agents for empowering the political mobilisation of more women, and in challenging the responsibility of state and society in relation to gender equality in

representative governance (Nzomo, 2011). Okello (2010) argues that women's organisations have functioned in order to increase women's general participation in the process by proposing laws and regulation that help women throughout society achieve their goals, and also to work towards preventing discrimination against women. This reflects the argument put forward by Weldon (2002) and Rochon and Mazmanian (1993) who identified that women's organisations were the necessary first step in defining strategies and undertaking activities that might assist more women to gain access to the policy process and affect female-friendly legislative outcomes.

According to Hammad (1999), the goals of Jordanian women's organisations were first and foremost to serve the community, at least in the early 1990s. Hammad identified that they also aimed to enhance women's opportunities in society, economically and socially, and to give women a greater chance to become upwardly mobile, gain a profession, and to fulfil their ambition to enter a career related to their skills and interest through training. These organisations also attempted to raise the political awareness of women. This was in addition to the goals of finding more opportunities for women to work, increasing their education, promoting greater access to health programs, and implementing programs to enable women to achieve equal opportunity in relation to all of their rights, political, economic and social. As such, the remit of women's organisations was broad in scope and, in recent decades at least, has sought to advance gender equality across all spheres of women's lives.

Jordanian women's organisations have both formal and informal strategies in their pursuit of the creation of more gender equality in both government institutions and public policy (Jordanian National Commission for Women Report, 2011). In terms of formal strategies, women's organisations attempted to create an environment that offers equal opportunities for everyone, and also attempted to influence the government to work toward instituting a quota system to enhance the level of women's political participation (JNCW, 2008). With respect to their informal strategies, women's organisations have implemented a variety of intensive education programs that serve to connect them to influential authorities (including the legislature and the executive) that have the power to substantively improve women's rights and change the status of women. WCSO's role as service delivery agents has given them greater credibility with the government and assisted in making them appear to be mainstream organisations.

The Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW) has been notable in this sense for their activities and strategies. The JNCW's organisational mission has been to lobby for women's campaigns and to create public awareness of the increased opportunities for women to become educated regarding their rights by offering training (JNCW, 2008). It has also been beneficially important for women's organisations to maintain contact with various media in order to build a public focus on women's organisations. The JNCW played a critical role in supporting gender-equality through improving the status of women and enhancing their role in national development, increasing and encouraging the participation of women in the economy, as well as in politics and decision-making (JNCW, 2008). Also, the JNCW has lobbied to improve laws related to women's participation and to strengthen and enhance the status of women in the family and society (Al-Tal, 2013). More generally, women's organisations have collaborated to codify public policies for women in all areas, participating in developing national plans and programmes that positively affect women, and they have represented their country at conferences and meetings related to women's issues, locally, regionally, and internationally (JNCW, 2008).

Al-Suyoufi (2007) notes that women's civil society organisations (she studied seven) that have worked with the JNCW have been able to effect changes in the reality of women. She found that women's organisations have worked to empower women economically, socially, legally (in regard to their legal rights) and politically through the provision of training programs, whilst individual women were more interested in attending sessions specifically related to improving their situation financially and economically. As indicated by the findings in this thesis, women mentioned that if they want to have more options, for example, to run for politics, they are aware they must learn to be financially independent and learn how to effectively fund-raise for elections. The programs of the organisations studied in this thesis are also aimed at empowering women to take up leadership roles in different programs, as they recognise leadership skills are one of the essential influential factors that can effect necessary change for improving women's lives and their social reality. This diversity in strategy reflects Mahmoud's (2011) research, which highlights the role of civil society organisations in advancing political reform through the empowerment of local women, as members and individuals.

Thus, the importance of civil society organisations is that they constitute a sphere that encourages voluntary action that has played and continues to play an essential role in sharing information in order to assist in opening up the space of power, and effect new

structures to improve the lives of citizens. The literature above reveals that women's civil society organisations are channels that facilitate opportunities for society to expand women's participation in order to promote success in a certain area of identified political importance. With regard to activists in women's organisations, it is important for them to have access to powerful institutions. Even though critical actors can initiate necessary change, it cannot be achieved in isolation as non-feminist and feminist actors have important strategic positions in the policy making community.

Civil society organisations have played an important role in interacting with the government prior to the transition to democracy, but they have continued to play a prominent role during and subsequent to the transition. This is reflected in the development of women's organisations during the period of the transition to democracy in Jordan, and helps to explain why women's organisations in the transition to democracy came increasingly to focus on structural and cultural women's issues as opposed to issues related to caring and voluntary work. The wide reach of women's organisations and the democratic movement in Jordan demonstrates that the empowerment of women continues to be an important goal of women's organisations even after the implementation of democratic reforms.

As the JNCW (2011) reports with regard to the activism of women's organisations in Jordan, one of the main strategies is continuing to lobby to influence policy outcomes to take women's issues into account by increasing public awareness. First of all, women's organisations discuss cultural issues that affect women's participation. Second, women's organisations organise activities in order to inform and influence the government regarding the issue of gender in institutions to gain more equal representation. Thirdly, they provide input into women's public discourse in everyday politics and attempt to change behaviour related to legal matters, through everyday activities.

Alongside these lobbying and representational activities, WCSO's are supportive organisations within the women's movement which allow women to meet and discuss women's issues in detail. The responsibility of women in leadership positions who claim to represent women on women's issues is to gain the opportunity to discuss achievements in terms of progress of women's goals with governmental leaders. Public spaces, according to Stone (2008), allow for deliberation and the evaluation of creative responses that have increasingly been sought in association with non-state actors in Africa and elsewhere. This is relevant for both domestic and international women's organisations. Such forms of

interaction (from local to national) and between civil society organisations (also local to global), reflects the argument put forward by Stone and Maxwell (2005) that the interaction between domestic and international organisations helps in the sharing of ideas about policies and opportunities for institutional change, which in turn have proved critical to women's activism in recent decades. The goals and the objectives of women's organisations have evolved through the activities of the women's movement. The women's movement has been successful in building women's organisations, and it has worked to support their objectives and strategies in order to achieve their aims of improving gender equality and the status of women. How this process has developed in Jordan will be discussed in the next section.

Framework for Analysis

Waylen's research (1994, 2007) on the opportunities provided to women during transitions to democracy provides useful insights for this research. In her case study of Latin America, Waylen (2007) found that actors in the women's movements and organisations shape and are shaped by historical factors; that the role that women's movements have historically played, impacts on the role they continue to play in the transition to democracy. She analysed "one key variable the role played by women's movements which is a necessary but insufficient focus for any gendered analysis of transitions" (p.2). She found "women did play an important part in the activities that helped to bring an end to non-democratic rule. And many women activists were keen to ensure that women's claims were taken seriously in the post-transition phase" (p.2).

In the Jordanian context, Waylen's work will assist me to analysis the importance of the transition to democracy and the activism of women's organisations to transfer their focus onto women's social and political issues compared to the pre- transition period when they were unable to focus on women's issues. This analysis can be employed to assess the level of women's participation in political life during the transition to democracy and during the time after women won the quota system in 2003; both were times of transition and change. It is notable that women's involvement in societies' transition to democracy both furthers and runs concurrently to their own progress. Reading off Waylen's findings then, we might expect that the role of women in the transition process, both in Jordan and more broadly, could have a positive impact on the democratisation of gender relations and societal relations more generally.

In particular, Waylen (2007) argues that women's movements played an important role in process of the transition to democracy. She explores gender issues and the opportunities provided by the processes of democratisation, and conversely, the constraints, as they sought to take on a more prominent social role and become a mainstream element of political life. She shows that during such a transition it is important to affect a significant level of women's participation especially in political life. Waylen does, however, note that the impact of that transition toward democracy, especially as it pertains to gender institutions, might nevertheless pose difficulties for achieving women's rights. It can be easier, nevertheless, to achieve fairer outcomes for women during the transition to democracy, than to pursue direct change by confronting powerful and entrenched institutions. In the case of Jordanian women, the research will analyse the role of women's civil society organisations in affecting political change in Jordan measured here as the impact on women's representation in politics prior to and after the transition to democracy. This is similar to the focus taken in Waylen's study, where she identified women's organisations taking on more prominent social welfare roles before the transition to democracy during early women's movements. Focusing on the periods before the transition to democracy helps to gain an understanding of the role played by women's civil society organisations in advancing political equality and institutional change, and the extent to which recent political reforms (1989-2003) have facilitated the substantive representation of women.

Second, Waylen (1994) examined why women chose to organise or not organise in different contexts in Latin America and Eastern Europe. She found that the women's movement was active within the process of transition (p.335), and that "these movements have included both groups made up primarily of women and groups of women organising specifically as women". Waylen further notes that they "made different demands on the state, and have influenced and been influenced by the transition" (1994, p.335). Women's organisations have organised around both practical and strategic gender interests, and different forms of connected groups became active, such as human rights groups (Waylen, 1994, p335). In the Jordanian context, Waylen's argument assists me in understanding the way in which the women's movements have established women's organisations in Jordan, and how and why these women's organisations have promoted the need for women to demand women's rights so that they can influence Jordanian policy and enhance women's political participation within the political process.

Finally, Waylen (2007b) explored how women mobilised and the conditions and results of their mobilisation in the process of the transition to democracy, and the impact of democratic transition on gender relations. She found the conditions allowing women to mobilise depended on the relationship between different women's organisations and the state. Mobilisation also depends on women's movements focusing on gender issues rather than just social welfare and whether they are able to place their goals on the government agenda and therefore achieve better gender outcomes. Waylen (2007b) focused on the conditions of mobilisation in order to explore the relationships of the transition movement and gender institutions, such as "political parties and the state during various stages of transitions" (p.3). She analysed the "the ways in which the politics and policies instituted in the post-transition phase of democratisation are gendered (measured for example in terms of the numbers of women in representative institutions, gender policies, the role of women activists, and political parties) (Waylen, 2007b, p.3). In the case of Jordan, Waylen's contributions guided me to focus on the conditions of women's mobilisation and what prompted women's organisations to generate a specific interest in gender issues. Based on the insights of Waylen's work, it will be important to consider how Jordanian women's organisations have sought to transfer these issues to the government agenda in order to achieve and enhance women's political participation and representation.

This research will also examine the challenges faced by women in contemporary Jordan, and will seek to analyse key variables, that is, the role played by women's organisations in building a political presence and their strategies to undermine economic, social and legal barriers to women's political participation. It does this by focusing on the period prior to the transition to democracy and the contemporary process of the transition to democracy. In particular, I will examine the non-democratisation period before 1989, and the subsequent period of democratisation, and focus on the role played by the women's movement and women's organisations both prior to and during the transition to democracy, formally and informally. In doing so, I will explore how the transition influenced, and was influenced by women's civil society organisations. Finally, the analysis will bring deeper understanding of how women mobilised at different stages both before and during the transition to democracy in order to advance women's political participation. A more detailed discussion of Waylen's approach now follows.

Waylen (2009) found that Historical Institutionalism was an approach that enabled the creation of knowledge that focused on the nature of institutional change and how this might

be utilised to advance successful outcomes for women. It considers to what extent there are opportunities for institutional change and policy reform at key moments that may be exogenously or internally created; during a period of democratic transition, for example. Such a critical juncture took place in 1989 in Jordan. HI in this case allows for a focus on the history of women's political organisations and their constituent parts, which have their origins and outcomes in increasing women's political participation, and the development of these over time. The HI framework provides an understanding of how societal institutions such as governments and political parties have shaped and influenced the role of women as actors in women's civil society organisations, when they seek to implement certain goals during periods of transition (Waylen, 2009). The HI framework also recognises that formal institutions are influenced by the actions of interest groups; thus there are co-constitutive effects. Women as actors in women's civil society organisations, and their attempts to achieve certain goals during the transitional period, have been analysed through this framework with a view to understanding whether particular institutional changes might result that advance gender equality (Waylen, 2009).

Kenny (2013) says that for Historical Institutionalists, in-depth single case studies are the optimal research strategy. Several other scholars have found historical approaches to institutional analysis that examine the configuration of constellations of elements over time. They are particularly well-equipped to deal with the empirical complexities of gender institutions and the political processes over time (Waylen, 2009, 2011; Mackay, 2009). Findlay (2012) observed that Historical Institutionalism as an approach sheds light on the effectiveness of women's groups in promoting societal gender equality as well as women's participation in political institutions. Such an approach gives insight as to why certain trends and practices have evolved within women's organisations and whether these in turn have impacted on formal institutional rules.

As such, it facilitates the analysis of the development of women's organisations and how their changing strategies can have an impact on government institutions due to the actions and activities of their members and the relative strengths and positions of various groups and institutions, in this case in Jordanian society. Such changes come about through various initiatives that have focused on creating both institutional change and social change at a local level. This reflects the argument put forward by scholars, Freidenvall and Krook (2010), who found that changing norms and supporting concomitant actions to select women's candidates, would positively impact equality in politics and the practices that

shape formal and informal institutions.

This HI approach is considered to be a useful tool for an exploration of the role of women's organisations in Jordan over time, and the extent to which their activities have advanced women's political participation and representation. During the periods of historical change between the first and second phases of the women's movement, the establishment of women's organisations in the second phase (1970s) helped women to focus on the impact of including women and encouraging them to take part in the various institutions of government. First, HI will be useful to identify the sequence and developmental pathways with respect to women's civil society organisations as they occurred during the period of study. It is also necessary to examine how successful women's civil society organisations were in increasing female political participation over time. In this case, the success of women's organisations is measured in terms of the increasing number of women's organisations, and the number of the members of these organisations. Second, the role of women's organisations during the period of non-democratisation before 1989 will be analysed as well as the activities of women's organisations during the transition to democracy that began with the first elections in 1989. Finally, the thesis will analyse and explore the Jordanian women's movement in order to consider the extent Jordanian women have become more active in political participation, and whether or not more women are represented in political life as a result of path-dependent processes during the transition to democracy.

Analysing the periods before and during the transition to democracy helps to further our understanding of the role played by women's civil society organisations in advancing political equality and institutional change. It also highlights whether the political reform in 1989 has increased the political representation of women. In this way, the thesis seeks to extend Waylen's analysis to the Middle East, where significant cultural and political differences will enable us to explore the applicability of her approach to women's political participation in Arabic countries.

Sequencing the development of the changes chronologically is important for analysing social outcomes, timing, and unintended consequences. According to Pierson (2004c), breaking down the process in this manner can be valuable to understand the wider outcomes. Waylen (2009) has also argued that, by focusing both on formal and informal institutions, the Historical Institutionalist approach can be useful in examining historical

change in the transitions to democracy and how the outcome of this change affected the gendered nature of government institutions.

Guy Peters argues that a single case study can be “one of the more theory-driven forms of comparative analysis” (Peters, 2013, p.65). As such, with an N of 1, in this case Jordan, the objective is not necessarily to suggest it is representative of other, larger countries, but the argument and findings may nevertheless inform the study of other countries that share similar issues. Thus, this single case study analyses changes in women’s political participation and representation by analysing the importance of historical changes, in order to understand the dimensions of specific cases (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991). According to Pierson (2004c), the intensive investigation of temporal issues is critical to understanding the social process that brings about change. So in this case I am interested in examining the processes that have led to changes in women’s political representation, and the extent to which an increase in women’s political participation in civil society has been critical to this process of change. In addition, using a single case study provides scope for analysing conventional wisdom about certain aspects of political history. Examining historical changes over time affords greater understanding of the influence of political and social context during a given time period.

An analysis of critical junctures provides a useful starting point for comparative history with regard to the periods both before and during the transition to democracy. It also helps with understanding the basis for institutional change in 1989, when Jordanian women started to run for elected office. Another significant change took place in 2003 when the electoral law was changed to include quotas to improve women’s participation. This reflects the argument put forward by Ruth and David Collier (1991) who define a critical juncture as “a period of significant change, which typically occurs in distinct ways in different countries (or in other units of analysis), and is hypothesised to produce distinct legacies” (p.29).

This historical approach has included an important examination of all three phases of the women’s movement to highlight their unique significance in modelling the Jordanian reforms. This reflects the argument put forward by Meriwether and Tucker (1999) whose findings illustrate that historically, the women’s movement has been a national struggle connected to anti-colonial independence movements and has thus developed more slowly

in the Middle East due to these connections as women's movements have not been able to break away and assert societal independence.

In order to adjust the gender power structures of institutions, women's interaction needs to be persistent and long-term, collective rather than individual, and target various interlinked institutions at the same time. This interaction with political institutions can cause both major and minor changes to the institution (Waylen, 2009, p.245), and can be either formal or informal. Incremental achievements can be made through continuous campaigning and mobilisation. By revealing the political opportunities available to women, my evaluation of the activities of women's organisations will assess the extent to which they have been able to have a major or incremental impact.

This analysis of women's organisations focuses on their mission, goals, and values, as well as the ways they work (formally and informally). It is expected that as they become institutionalised, organisations strategic goals are developed while engaging with other purpose-focused institutions (Pierson & Skocpol, 2002). Wyche, Sengers, and Grinter (2006) argue that historical enquiry attempts to uncover how new ideas and concepts come to emerge, and how these influence both institutional and policy reform (see also Waylen 2009; Torfing, 2009). In this way, past traditions and ideas will necessarily impact on the strategies and behaviours deemed suitable or workable by women's organisations. For example, this study examines the role of Jordanian women's organisations, particularly those that advocate for gender equality in the policy sphere. It seeks to narrow the gap between the formal acknowledgement of women's rights that took place in 2003 and the role that the substantial involvement of women has had in advancing women's political participation.

To summarise, using HI as a framework to analyse the case of women in Jordan provides explanations about the historical issues that women's civil society organisations have worked on to improve female political involvement. HI can help identify the causal mechanisms that lie behind particular processes in improving and enhancing the status of women in political life, such as the electoral system and how the mobilisation and the activism of women's organisations improves women's political participation over time. For example, the improvement of the electoral law to give the right to vote to educated women in 1956, which then included the right for women to vote in 1974, and implementing quota reserved seats in 2003, are all important historical developments. An overview of the chronology of changes in women's political status can also provide evidence of how

women's organisations successfully improved women's political participation before and during the transition to democracy. In Historical Institutionalism, political process is not just considered to be the combination of decisions made by individuals, but also a result of numerous variables pertaining to the role of women's organisations in the transition to democracy and the interlinking effects of these variables in enhancing the level of women's participation. HI studies how institutions develop and emphasises path dependence and unintended consequences (Hall & Taylor 1996). Moreover, path dependence characterises historical sequences that consist of contingent events. As path dependence has deterministic properties that set institutional patterns in motion, a focus on developments at key moments in history highlights how events can have contingent occurrences that cannot be explained by earlier historical conditions. Consequently, using HI allows examination of different time periods and the political changes that happened during each era. Specifically, this research is focused on determining the extent of the activities of the Jordanian women's movement in enhancing women's organisations' defence and advocacy of women's rights in recent decades. The HI approach is an appropriate method of analysing political changes in Jordan during the transition to democracy, with a particular focus on women's political participation.

Conclusion

The level of research into how CSOs influence politics in the Middle East is continuing to grow. Thus, the present study aims to facilitate this growth by investigating the impact of domestic and international women's organisations in order to evaluate how they provide a platform upon which women's issues can be discussed and facilitate an increasing level of female participation in the political arena over time. In the past, domestic women's groups were not focused on debating women's issues with the public. In addition, this study also aims to explore the challenges faced by these groups and to determine whether these issues have been adequately resolved. However, there is currently a limited amount of research data available on this topic in relation to Jordanian women's organisations at both levels, national and international. Thus, this study aims to analyse the role played by women's networks in expanding the power and scope of women's organisations.

Generally speaking, the primary purpose of this study is to examine the development of women's organisations during the transition to democracy and to investigate the power of these groups in stimulating change in collaboration with other women's networks.

Furthermore, this study aims to analyse the significance of actions taken by women's networks in Jordan and internationally to establish the extent to which there is a correlation between these actions and the development of women's organisations based in Jordan. The findings of this study will also provide an alternative viewpoint on women's issues in Jordan and will highlight how Jordanian women can unite in the pursuit of social development through collaboration with women's organisation and an increased knowledge of the challenges faced by women in contemporary society.

More specifically, this study investigates the impact of women's organisations on the role played by women organisations in the political arena and will analyse their contribution to gender equality and the implementation of more equitable policies, particularly during the transition to democracy. As these groups only began to acquire a public voice once the transition was underway, this study examines how these organisations have encouraged women to assert their rights to play a more active role in public life over time, and whether these organisations have assisted women in overcoming the barriers that they have faced. In effect, this study seeks to substantiate or refute the hypothesis that women's civil organisations have increased the extent to which women take part in political activities since the democratic transition.

CHAPTER TWO: Study Design and Methodology

As discussed in previous chapter, Historical Institutionalism (HI) as a theoretical framework enables a focus on the conditions of the institutional past that might then help us to explain changes in women's representation. Used in the context of a qualitative case study, HI allows an understanding of the actions and initiatives of women's organisations and their work involved in realising women's political participation in the context of the broader political institutional arrangements. The choice of this approach necessarily informs the research design and the choice of methods used in this thesis, and these will be now discussed. Methodology is defined as "a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence" (Robson, 1993, p. 146). The conduct of the interviews and the analytical approach to analysing the data collected from the interviews make up the key methodological components of this case study. As a qualitative case study, it seeks to incorporate in-depth and detailed descriptions into the analysis.

Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative research attempts to facilitate a deep understanding of the emotional and social aspects of the subjects of study, and is concerned with opinions, experiences and feelings of individuals (Hancock, 1998). The perspective of the participants is central to qualitative research. By identifying the importance and relevance of the actors, social and human behaviour, and the reasons behind this behaviour, a thorough understanding of the case study can be acquired (Stroh, 2000; Hoy, 2010c). According to Mack, Woodson, Macqueen, Gust, and Namey (2005), qualitative research is defined by its ability to provide complex descriptions of the ways individual experiences may contribute to the understanding of the research subject. Words are often used in lieu of numbers for data analysis in order to achieve the goals of the research (Patton & Cochran, 2002). Engel and Schutt (2005), and Hoy (2010c) further testify that qualitative methods are most beneficial in exploring new issues by favouring the inductive development of ideas to understand the social context. Gerring (2004) also supports that claim with his view that qualitative research is well suited to a case study, as it can be used to examine both individuals and groups alike (see also Simons, 2009, p.5).

From this viewpoint, the qualitative approach is appropriate for this study of the role of women's civil society organisations in improving the political participation of women in Jordan. This approach enables me to organise and to present a description of the behaviour and values of a group of women in society committed to women's political participation (see Bentz and Shapiro, 1998). As such, I focus on individual female participants while analysing the broader, more encompassing theme of women's organisations and political representation in Jordan. Qualitative data collection combined with in-depth interviewing methods allows for a deeper understanding of the strategies used by Jordanian women's organisations to engage with powerful actors and address current issues. In addition, qualitative methods with a reliance on in-depth interviews bear more resemblance to conversations than to formal events (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). During conversations, I was able to obtain considerable detail with regards to the lives and political involvement of the individuals in the study. I also gained access to original information and knowledge that aided in the understanding of women's positions with regards the policies of the state over four decades (before and during the transition to democracy).

Data generated by the qualitative method is usually rich and detailed, and facilitates a thorough understanding of the relationship between the variables in the study. In this research, two variables have been identified: the role of women's civil society organisations in Jordan (the independent variable), and women's representation in politics (dependent variable). I hypothesised that there a range of mechanisms that inform the relationship between these two variables (internal strategies and networks, as well as exogenous shocks or junctures such as the opportunities and institutional changes provided by democratic transition). Data drawn from interviews and other primary and secondary research sources in both English and Arabic have allowed me to investigate the connections between the changing nature and shape of women's organisations and the political representation of women.

The data collated in this research is, in the process of analysis, reconfigured and then displayed in charts and tables. This will allow an examination of the responses provided and a greater understand of the themes of this research. It will also show clearly necessary primary data such as the number of women who have been in politics and hold positions such as MPs and ministers in Jordan. The number of women's organisations that have become prominent in the period before and during the transition to democracy, as well as the interaction of organisations related to the women's movement at the domestic and

international level, is also documented. This will provide a greater understanding the changing levels of political interest and engagement with society of women's organisations' in Jordan.

Feminist Research Methods

Williams (1991) argues that the use of qualitative methods among feminist theorists has contributed to the growth and development of the field of women's issues (p.240). Subsequently, feminist researchers have accepted the use of qualitative methods as a way to develop and guide their research and achieve a clear vision on women's issues (Sarantakos, 2012, p.70). Reinharz (1992, p.6), and Sarantakos (2012) argue that the feminist research method is employed in research centred on women by researchers who identify themselves as being feminist. Feminist research can contribute to social change through the data collected and plays a part in the formulation of strategic actions with regards to women's issues (Reinharz, 1992). Scholars Reinharz (1992) and Cook and Fonow (2007) argue that feminist methodology focuses on empowering women and not just studying them as objects of research (see also Landman, 2006). According to Hesse-Biber (2011), feminist research attempts to establish social research instead of emulating examples from traditional research. Traditional models have focussed their research on the society of men and their areas of interest rather than that of women. Feminist research, meanwhile, attempts to incorporate women's lives, experiences, issues and rights. Hesse-Biber (2011), argues that feminist research helps resolve women's issues by bringing the knowledge and experiences of women into public view where before it has been invisible or otherwise synthesized from a male perspective.

Feminist research is thus distinctive in that it aims to aid in the transformation of patriarchal social institutions through research by committing to make a contribution to social change. It does this through the collection of relevant and original information that can be used to create strategic suggestions on the basis of this information, which will in turn empower women's organisations and assist in identifying and addressing pressing women's issues. Feminist research is thus built on and grounded upon women's experiences and recognises both emotions and the importance of social equality in its approach to collecting research information.

Through this feminist methodology, female subjects are given the chance to express their viewpoints on gender issues, and, by giving prominence to these voices, it is hoped that

this may encourage the public to think about social change (Sarantakos, 2012). Sarantakos (2012) also notes that feminist research takes account of the fact that differences in the social status of men and women exist and may lead to differing views of life and society. Feminist research perceives gender to be an important organising principle which acts to shape the conditions of women's lives, skills, and institutions in addition to addressing imbalances of power and privilege between men and women. That knowledge is essential in achieving results pertaining to social life - specific personal experiences (Lather, 1988; Landman, 2006; Kirby, Greave & Reid, 2006; Cook & Fonow, 2007). Therefore, employing a feminist methodology will enable me to identify with and comprehend the experiences of women of different generations.

During my fieldwork⁶, I believed that I shared the same circumstances of those women especially those from the provinces. I come from a rural province in Jordan and I have a similar background and have faced similar issues as a number of the women from the provinces including in this study. I have also participated in women's organisations and have been elected as a member of parliament. I have experienced some of the difficulties and barriers I uncover in this research, in particular, the invisible issues often faced by women and the reasons behind their very limited presence in formal politics. According to Simons (2009) the importance of examining the "self" in case study research is that the researcher's beliefs, whether consciously or unconsciously, shape to a certain extent the situations and interpretation of information in the case study. The researcher is central to the process of enquiry as their personality and preferences can shape the research (Simons, 2009, p.82). From this perspective then, my personal experience cannot be separated from the research. Indeed, some of the interviewees made direct mention of me in their quotes. I did, nevertheless, try to avoid pressuring the interviewees to conform to my opinions during the interviews and was careful to listen to their opinions without intervention. During my analysis, I was careful to avoid interpreting the meaning of the information too quickly in line with my own personal assumptions and reflected upon the data. Ultimately, the responses from the women participants was personally as well as intellectually helpful as they taught me new things and gave me a better and deeper understanding of women's

⁶ The fieldwork was carried out in Jordan between December 2011 and September 2012. I would categorise myself as a feminist with a belief that women organisations could help solve women's issues with a particular focus on improving laws and increasing women's awareness of their rights.

roles in women's civil society organisations. The interviewees left an impression on me and gave me the opportunity to learn about women's social experiences.

Methodological Framework: Single-Country Case Study

In this research, the single case study (known as N=1) of Jordan, examines “the effect on Y (women's representation) of a given change in X (women's organisations)” (Gerring, 2004, p.343). This single case study focuses on the effect of the role and the changing role and tactics of women's organisations in promoting women's political participation and representation. According to Stake (1995), this involves the study “of the particularity of single cases, in order to attain an understanding of its activity within larger, more inclusive circumstances” (p.xi). It also “allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events such as individual life cycles, small group behaviour in organisational and managerial processes” (Yin, 2003, p. 5).

This case study of Jordan draws on the country's history with a specific focus on the growth and development of the women's movement over time. The qualitative nature of the study requires a combined deductive and inductive approach to make explicit the development roles of women's organisations by comparison with each other. Deductive processes involved the use of second order literature to identify what patterns of behaviours might be likely to appear. Once in the field, and during the post-fieldwork interviews, more inductively-focused processes ensured that the data provided by the women themselves, through interviews, was not forced to fit existing theory. As such this research seeks to be both exploratory and empirical, with a view to helping others to further build theory on the promotion of women's political participation.

In terms of the case studies analysed within the HI framework, it is important to recognise how historical processes and institutional arrangements constrain and facilitate women's organisations' strategies and roles (Bucheli, & Wadhvani, 2014, p.118). The HI framework acknowledges the fact that institutions are founded within evolving cultures. The type of case study employed within this research is the deep exploratory case study with rich description methods, which helps in interpreting and describing both the research and the results thereof (Babbie, 2010c, p309). According to Lim (2006), case studies help the researcher advance toward stronger and more coherent explanations, which is the goal of this analysis. In offering a thick descriptive analysis of the role of women's organisations in Jordan over time (Engel and Schutt, 2005) this research seeks to identify a series of

possible explanations and factors that matter to women's political representation and political participation. For it is evident that women's participation has increased, albeit incrementally, but it will be useful to understand the extent to which women's organisations can claim credit for this outcome.

Why use Jordan as a case study?

The development of feminist issues initiated by women's movements in regions around Jordan has been particularly notable in the Middle East. Furthermore, determining the relationship between women's organisations and the women's movements is important to an analysis of the role of women in Arabic region (Al-Ali, 2003). While scholarship on civil society organisations has focused largely on the range of organisations concerned with public matters (Bunbongkarn, 2004; Biglang-awa and Bestari, 2011), this case study adds an important regional dimension by offering insights into the ways in which women's organisations provide opportunities to increase women's representation. Jordanian women's organisations mushroomed much later than similar organisations within the region. Women in Egypt and Palestine were actively building their organisations during the 1920s, but Jordanian women only established the first women's organisation in 1944 (inspired in part by the work of women in their two countries; see Al-Ali, 2002; Al-Tal, 2013).

The HI-informed case study approach requires attention to institutional change, social and political context and key historical circumstances. As such, this research takes into account key events and issues faced by women's organisations in Jordan including the war between Palestine and Israel, the norms associated with the traditional social culture, and economic development issues. Exploring how women's organisations responded to the external challenges will help to explain the degree of progress made in terms of women's political participation and representation. More specifically my exploratory study will help to explain the changing status of Jordanian women in politics over time and the issues faced by these women in their political lives.

Methods of Data Collection: In-depth Interviews

The case study approach is flexible and gives researchers the opportunity to select topics and produce diverse research outcomes. As such the case study "can be used in various ways from within different research perspectives using a variety of data collection and

analysis methods” (Darke, Shanks and Broadbent, 1998, p. 278). The main data collection techniques used in this study were semi-structured, face-to-face interviews and analysis of extant literature. In this case, I also consulted Jordanian newspapers and press releases as a form of primary research. Information was also collected from women’s organisations’ reports, which were easily accessible from their respective websites. Nevertheless, the purpose of the qualitative research interview is to understand the themes of daily life “from the subject’s own perspectives” (Kvale, 1996c, p.27) and so the interview data will be a key part of the analysis undertaken in this research.

Holstein and Gubrium (2004) argue that using “[an] active interview [approach] transforms the view of the subject behind participants; the respondent is transformed from a repository of opinions and [knowledge]” (p150). Face-to-face individual interviews were used to obtain information from women of various standings in society, and to comprehend their opinions with regards to the subject of political participation. Driscoll (2011) argues that one of the key strengths of face-to-face interviews is that the interviewer “can ask follow-up questions” (p.165). This leads to stronger communication with the participants, allowing some of them to express their opinions more freely. In my investigation, the interviewees were asked to describe the roles of their organisations and their own personal involvement in how the organisations promoted women’s representation. The interviews utilised follow-up questions and were designed to target three major groups of women, such as international organisations, domestic organisations, and women politicians, and candidates (see Appendix 1).

Waller (2005) notes that interview methods offer the most direct observation of feminist values and beliefs. In this research, interview questions were drawn from the theory on civil society organisations and women’s movements as discussed in Chapter One. The independent variable is the role of women’s civil society organisations in assisting women to improve their public and political standing (and the range of strategies employed to achieve this), while the dependent variable is women’s participation in politics and the ability of female representatives to run for offices at both the local and national levels. This research examines the role of women’s organisations in enhancing the level of women’s representation in politics before and during the transition to democracy. This serves as an intermediate variable, and as such, the thesis explores the way it guides or shapes the impact of the work of women’s civil society organisations over time.

The method of recording interviews with a digital voice recording machine provides a unique opportunity for analysing the interaction between individuals in an interview (Kvale, 1996c; Simons, 2009). When I conducted the interviews during my fieldwork, I gave the women respondents my full attention by keeping eye contact when they were speaking both as a sign of respect and to gain their trust, as successful interviewers must have a warm personality in order to facilitate an open conversation (Oakley, 1981, pp. 32, 33). Trust encourages participants to speak openly and honestly about their experiences. Simons (2009) stated that researchers should establish and develop trust-based relationships with the participants (p. 97). When I first interviewed the women using a sound recorder, I was concerned as to whether they would allow me to record their voice due to cultural issues, as it was important that trust was established during the interviews. As the interviews included discussion of sensitive cultural issues, I needed the women to trust that their information would not be shared with a third party. Information about the role of the domestic women's organisations in the provinces was also treated sensitively. I explained how the information they shared would be protected, by giving them anonymity and keeping the materials secure.

Many interviewees preferred to be interviewed in their slang words, and also adopted a more colloquial language style⁷. My background - sharing a similar culture and language - helped to establish rapport and conversation flow, which helped in my data collection (see also Westmarland, 2001; Johl and Renganathan, 2010). As I was brought up in a community that embraced an Arabic culture which is based on tribal traditional values and customs, I am familiar with the cultural norms of Jordanian women whose autonomy is restricted by tribalism. As such, I was able to gain the trust of the interviewees who would reveal information without any hesitation and I could effectively understand and interpret the politics of the particular region where the interviews were taking place. All the participants agreed to have the interview recorded; some of the interviewees expressed their views openly, while others were a little reserved. I believe myself to be a feminist with a familiar grasp on issues that plagued the interviewees in getting involved in public life and could both understand and empathise with the interviewees' troubles. I retained a clear

⁷ I transcribed the interviews by listening to and typing the exact words of the interviewees, including slang words. The slang Arabic words are sometimes hard to translate perfectly into English.

vision of the goals of this research, and managed to forge good relationships with the interviewees which enabled me to access important insights.

Research Sample

In my research, my positionality and experience,⁸ particularly at the national level in Jordan, allowed me to access women holding parliamentary positions, minister and other female politicians. This reflects the argument put forward by Herod (1999) who found the positionality and experience of the researcher may significantly influence their access to information. Thus my feminist positioning and my political experience enabled me to go directly to women's organisations that label themselves as such, and gave me a clearer focus in terms of the data to be collected and the methods by which the data collected might be best organised and subsequently analysed.

In this research, over 46 participants were selected from three different groups.

A. Women's civil society organisations (38 participants):

- Two domestic women's civil society organisations (3 participants);
- Two international women's civil society organisations (6 participants);
- Members of domestic women's civil society organisations from twelve provinces (29 participants).

B. Female politicians (4 parliamentarians, 1 minister and 1 party member).

C. Female candidates who have run for political office (2 participants).

The WSCO participants were chosen from the two main domestic women's organisations that have considerable experience in advocating on behalf of women and coordinating activities targeted at women. These were the Jordanian National Commission for Women and the Jordanian National Forum for Women. Both organisations have been working on creating greater awareness of women's issues. Discussion of the work of these two prominent and important organisations will come in later chapters, where I will consider their expertise in women's rights and their contributions to Jordanian civil society. The

⁸ My experience as former MPs and worked with women's organisations will influence the results of this research to a certain degree as I support certain viewpoints. As I was raised in the same background and have faced similar issues, I have similar views and expertise as the women from the provinces. Women's issues are central to this study; therefore, I uncovered and examined the invisible issues faced by women and the reasons behind women's negligible presence in politics. I tried to focus on the participants' perspective and responses, to shape the research from their experiences and as much as possible did not impose my own views on them. The participants expressed gratitude that I had been a Member of Parliament of Jordan, and that I had conducted several programmes in training women for political participation.

participants from international women's organisations, meanwhile, worked as programme coordinators, organised different projects for women's organisations and were experts in Jordanian women's issues. To interview women of different standings in society, I contacted one of the women's organisations which had branches in twelve provinces (Appendix 2). The participants had different type of jobs in these branches, and were in close contact with women in their provinces, in addition to being experts in training programs and coordinating the abovementioned programs.

Female parliamentarians, female candidates, and females who were members of political parties who shared the same cultural background provided descriptive narrative responses that supported statements made by members of women's civil society organisations. These samples demonstrate the power of interviews as women's issues could be understood in terms of the personal experiences of women who took part in this research (Mittman, 2001). Interactions with these women provided me with valuable information about the social experiences of these women. This allowed me to arrive at an understanding of the roles of women's civil society organisations in different provinces. Focusing on women's experiences is a crucial step in understanding the reality of women in Jordan from their own perspective.

Women's experiences were explored by reference to their work in women's organisations. This moves women to the centre stage alongside men (Bentz & Shapiro, 1998). Waller (2005) once noted that participants reveal their stories and experiences when trust and friendship is built during the research process. According to Nielsen (1990), oral interviews not only allow women to articulate their own experiences, but also to reflect upon those experiences (p.102). When I did the transcriptions after the interviews, I realised that most of the women were willing to share their experiences and knowledge to a degree that more than answered the interview questions. This in turn motivated me to focus on the participants' experiences and how it brought change to their lives.

The impact of implementing this method is that it may help in the acquisition of previously inaccessible information on issues faced by women. Women who are experts in their field are often better positioned to provide more information, and thus interviewing them would allow an in-depth understanding of the status of Jordanian women. They are also more articulate in explaining the issues and struggles faced by women. This gives me a clear idea about the important issues that those women have dealt with in order to improve their status and position. The level of education of the members of provincial women organisations are

relatively high, with 2 of 29 members having a PhD (doctorate), 14 having a bachelor degree, four having a diploma and the nine remaining members having finished high school. Meanwhile, of the 4 women from the main organisations, one held a PhD (doctorate), two held a Master’s degree, and one had a bachelor degree (see Table 1)

Table 1. Female participants’ experience and level of education

Categories	No. of interviewees	Highest Academic Degree ⁹					Women’s Work Experience
		H	D	B	M	PhD	
1-Two international organisations	6			3	2	1	1-5 years
2- Two domestic organisations	3			1	2		1-9 years
3 – Female Politicians¹⁰	6	1		4		1	3-45 years
4- Female candidates	2			2			10-17 years
5- Members DSCWOs	29	9	4	14		2	1–17 years
TOTAL	46	10	4	24	4	4	

Source: Data from the author based on information from interviewees who participated in this research during the fieldwork (December 2011 – September 2012).

Through the interviews,¹¹ the women were open about the way they valued their positions, their needs, and their relative importance. This was often dependent on their respective social locations and occupations. The background data enabled me to contextualise the issues raised by the participants and the importance of gender equality in both social life and politics. As shown in Table 1 that the women I interviewed attained a high level of education and were rich in experiences that had hitherto been neglected by the public. This was especially true of those women who lived and worked in the provinces.

Transcription is the process of translating recorded material (usually in the form of audio) to text. Transcription was necessary to enable a deep analysis of their words and checking back on common themes (Kvale, 1996; Simons, 2009). I transcribed the interviews by

⁹ Highest Academic Degree: H (High School), D (Diploma), B (Bachelor), M (Master), PhD (Doctorate).

¹⁰ Female MPs, Ministries, member of political parties.

¹¹ The women who I interviewed clearly identified themselves and their organisations, some of them were happy that their names would be included. I highlighted to all my interviewees that maintaining anonymity was necessary and that none of the participants would be identified (see appendix 3). Therefore, I gave the participants the Participant’s Information Sheet (PIS) (see appendix 4) and explained that the data was not going to be shared with third parties, and that electronic data and transcripts would be kept in a locked cabinet in the Department of Politics and Public Relations at The University of Auckland in New Zealand. All of this data will be deleted, shredded, or destroyed six years after this project has concluded.

listening to and typing the exact words of the interviewees, including slang words, as this was a form of analysis in itself. Transcribing the interview as I conducted the research allowed me the opportunity to update my information immediately, based on the information provided by the interviewees. As the interviews were conducted in Arabic and English, the process of transcription included the translation of Arabic to English, with each word being scrutinised thoroughly so that its meaning was not missed (Heritage, 1984). This research was given an ethics approval by the department of Human Participation Ethics Committees on 21st October 2011 and has the reference number 7726.¹²

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. It is a messy, ambiguous, time consuming, creative, and fascinating process. Qualitative data analysis in particular is a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 154). After the interviews were conducted, I placed respondents into categories and used numbers to further identify the participants. For example, the participants were categorized in terms of whether they were from a domestic women's organisations (JNCW, and JNFW), or were female politicians (MPs1, PWs- minister, party members). For members of provincial organisations, their answers were clearly identified by both the provinces that they were from (JNFW, prov1).

The next step involved classifying the relevant information in terms of overlapping and common themes. Related information from the transcripts was classified by joining the relevant words, sentences, and ideas. The purpose of processing data into categories is to understand "what is happening" (Strauss & Glaser, 1967, p. 2). Coding is about developing conceptual categories (see Appendix 5) to build on each conceptual category upon which the research is structured. Marshall and Rossman (2006) argued that the "coding of data is a formal representation of analytical thinking" (p.212). In this study, participant categories are used, such as DWCSOs (JNCW, JNFW), and IWCSOs (IWCSOs A, IWCSOs B). The information was classified using an analytical framework guided by theoretical and

¹² I obtained ethics clearance by considering the ethical aspects of my project in detail and including the risks that might be faced during the research in relation to cultural sensitivity, confidentiality and anonymity of participants. In accordance to the requirements of this research, before the interview, each participant was given a participant information sheet (PTS) see appendix 3&4.

empirical interests that assisted in obtaining a novel understanding of the main ideas of the research topic.

The main analytical techniques of the qualitative case study process involve triangulation and respondent validation, evaluation and understanding things from different perspectives (Simons, 2009). In this research, triangulation is achieved by checking the perspective of women of different standings who were working in the main organisations, against the views of members in the provinces, women who had been female candidates, elite female politicians, MPs, ministers and party members. This triangulation was in order to validate, generate and strengthen evidence in support of key claims. It often allowed more viewpoints to be obtained in support of a particular idea. Triangulation methods allow for the identification of significant similarities in data collected via different methods, drawing information from different responses to attain an understanding of the issues faced by women (Simons, 2009). Included in the narrative and analysis is my own voice as well as my perception of the standings of women and this represents a reflexive position. According to Zeeman, Poggenpoel, Myburch, and Linde (2002) meaning is also produced via a process of reflexivity. Simons (2009) also notes to be reflexive is to think about “how your action, value, beliefs, influences the research outcome” (p.91).

I strongly believe that women should have the opportunity to be involved in politics, and that work should be done to increase the number of women holding highly-paid positions. During the fieldwork, I empathised with the circumstances of those women I interviewed, especially those from the provinces, as I had a similar upbringing. My method is feminist in that when I was a former MP of Jordan I wanted to create an awareness of women’s issues for future generations. I have used my connections with women’s organisations to further propagate the need for women’s rights and gender equality by offering lectures about women’s rights and the opportunities for training women within international organisations (NDI). Simons (2009) argues that the primary consequence of gathering data, interviewing and interacting with people in the field (p.81) is influencing the researcher’s observations and, subsequently, the declaration of the manner of the interactions. Thus it is evident that my own experiences and normative positions enabled me to create a good working relationship with women’s organisations in Jordan that I hope will be of benefit to them (through furthering their awareness and understanding of their own capacities and achievements, through the findings of this research which I have begun to share with them,

and through the additional sense of motivation their input has given me to pursue further mobilisation and change on my return to Jordan).

Transferability: The results of qualitative case study research are seldom generalisable, but the findings could be redefined and transferred to other contexts; used to investigate another set of circumstances. Transferability in qualitative case study research provides researchers with the option of applying results to contexts beyond that of the original research, although precise generalisability is fundamentally impossible (Sinkovics, Penz, & Ghauri, 2008). Thus the researcher should acquire as much detail as possible about a particular case study in order to enable others to gauge whether the methods and findings are transferable. As such, a single case study (N-1) in this case Jordan, is not necessarily representative of other, larger countries, but the concept and the research topic may be used in the study of other countries that share similar issues, as noted by Sinkovics, Penz, and Ghauri (2008).

To summarize, this chapter has described my research design as being a qualitative case study that uses a feminist approach in order to investigate Jordanian women's civil society organisations. I explained the choices of methods that would allow me to answer the research questions drawn from previous scholarship. The feminist approach gives an opportunity to comprehend the contribution of women's organisations to political and social change in regards to women's issues and their political representation. In terms of qualitative case study and HI framework, these methods and approach guide my analysis of "how and why institutional change occurs" and to "understand how positive gender change" (Waylen, 2009, p.245) over time in gendering institution. By exploring the role of the women's organisations in different women's movement phases over time the HI approach "take[s] history seriously" (Waylen, 2009, p.246). This historically-focused approach is complemented by my contemporary fieldwork findings, thereby offering an analysis that reveals the relative importance of institutional arrangements and critical junctures to the development and growth of women's participation and representation in politics.

CHAPTER THREE: Women's Political Representation in Jordan

This chapter provides a description of women's political representation as the dependent variable in this study. It focuses in women's political representation at the local level in the form of local municipalities, and at the national level in the form of the Jordanian National Assembly (*Majlis al-Umma*), which is comprised of the House of Representatives, (*Majlis al-Nuwaab*), and the House of Senate (*Majlis al-Aayan*). The analysis of Jordanian national politics will also include a description of the extent of women's political representation on the executive council of government. This will provide a basis for understanding the political conditions with women's civil society organisations (WCSOs) have had to deal in their own efforts to enhance political participation of women and the status of women in Jordanian society. By understanding how the implementation of the reserved seats or quota system, and the importance of political parties in increasing women's political participation and candidacy as intermediate variables, we can determine the degree of influence that can be attributed to women's civil society organisations and the relative importance of their work. This chapter will conclude with a summary of how institutional changes have improved women's political participation.

The impact of recently-adopted policies supporting the appointment of women and implementing quotas to reserved seats for female politicians is that it serves as a mechanism to increase the number of women political representatives. These policies have been implemented at both the local and national level. The quota system has proved to be a particularly important amendment to the current legislation and to efforts to improve women's political representation and attempts to raise the status of women in public life. Various modifications to local and national electoral laws in Jordan have been made over the last two decades in the form of reserved seats to increase women's political participation. The modifications have helped to increase the number of women standing for office. Women's enhanced political involvement gives them greater power to shape public policy, although decisions ultimately remain with the government.

Ism'iel (2005) argues that women's political participation can be thought to be equivalent to political empowerment, and entails the removal of all obstacles, social norms and institutions that prevent or hinder women's involvement in politics. Tremblay (2008) argues that an evaluation of formal political representation involves paying attention to institutional rules and procedures by which representatives are designated, including electoral regulation and the voting system. As such, an investigation of the formal and

informal rules in the political system, and how they have changed over time helps to explain the effects of the Jordanian monarchical framework and how the current regime helps or hinders women's representation (Lucas, 2005c). It is these formal and informal rules that women's organisations have needed to target in order to advance women's political participation and representation in local, national and executive politics.

Participation in Local Government: Municipalities

Female representation in municipal elections is a critical form of political participation that women have achieved in Jordan. At the level of municipal elections, women in Jordan could be elected or appointed to hold reserved quota seats. Collet, Tauch, and Beck (2010) note that participation at the local level exposes ordinary citizens to the process of decision-making, which in turn helps them to prepare for positions at the national level. This reflects the report of the Jordanian National Commission for Women (2011) which emphasises the significance of women holding positions in municipal councils. The findings of JNCW report revealed that this will instil an awareness of the importance of female participation in both public and political life. It is argued that being successful at the local level will provide women with many opportunities which will likely pave the way towards taking up parliamentary roles. Involvement at this level includes winning roles in municipal councils, which are determined by elections once every two years (IDEA & ANND, 2005).

The first municipal election in 1995 came after a difficult period in Jordan, which was the sixth year of political liberalisation that began after the transition to democracy in 1989 (NDI, 1995). Princess Basma bint Talal¹³ aided efforts by offering to appoint women as members of municipal councils throughout Jordan (NDI, 1995; JNCW, 2011). This offer further encouraged women to participate in elections as evidenced by the fact that 19 women ran for the elections in 1995. One of them was elected mayor, and nine others obtained roles as members in various municipalities (see Table 2).

¹³ Princess Basma's involvement in and formation of women's organisations has been done through her leading the main domestic women's organisations in Jordan (JNCW, JNFW). She has been pushing the government to improve the status of women and to change election laws, and she has in turn received support from the members of these organisations.

Table 2. Female representation in municipal councils: Local elections 1982-2013

Election Year	Number of female candidates	Number of women elected	Number of women appointed	Winner by quota	Total of selected women
1982	2	0	0	0	0
1986	0	0	1	0	1
1995 ¹⁴	19	10 (1 mayor)	23	0	33
1996	0	0	20	0	20
1999	43	8	25	0	33
2003 ¹⁵	46	5	99 (1 mayor)	0	104
2007 ¹⁶	380	20	7	211	238
2013 ¹⁷	481	56	12	270	338
TOTAL					767

Source: Data from Jordanian National Commission for Women (2011), Haddadin(2014), IDEA & ANND (2005), Jordanian legislation(2007).

Table 2 above shows the number of women's representation in municipalities in the years from 1982 to 2013, that is, from the first municipal election that enabled the voting by and election of women. Prior to the 1982 election, two women were elected even though the circumstances did not favour women, whereas between 1982 and 1995, no women won seats. The number of women who were appointed in different municipalities increased from 23 in 1995 to 99 in 2003, with 98 members and one mayor being appointed. After the implementation of a reserved seats quota for women, as noted in the Jordanian National Commission for Women report (2011), women's participation rose to 20 percent in 2003 and then increased to approximately 30 percent of the total number elected in 2013. Women's participation at the local level has therefore been particularly notable. For instance, the number of hopeful candidates increased from 19 in 1995 to 481 in 2013, whilst

¹⁴In 1995: At the municipality level, women have started to be appointed on seats that come by the quota system served seats at the local level.

¹⁵ In 2003: At the municipality level, the highest number of women was appointed (99 in total).

¹⁶ In 2007: The number of women candidate after the implementation of the quota reserved seated system, 374 candidates as member of the municipality, and 6 candidates as mayors. The result was 339 elected; 211 under the quota system, and 7 women have appointed, where 20 member selected as 19 members in different municipalities, and one member as Mayor.

¹⁷ In 2013: The number of women candidate in 2013 was 481 candidates; 473 candidates as member of the municipality, and eight candidates as mayors. The result was 338 women elected; 270 won as members under the quota system 56 members have been selected, and 12 have appointed.

the total number of women who were successful by appointment and election increased from 33 in 1995 to 338 in 2013. This significant increase highlights the importance of the reserved seats quota to women's participation in local government politics.

Participation at the National Level: Jordanian National Assembly (*Majlis al-Umma*)

Jordanian women were granted the right to stand for national office in 1974. They nevertheless did not participate actively in the elections until 1989 as direct elections to national government did not take place for either gender until this point, which marked the beginning of the transition to democracy period. Jordanian women began to enter as parliamentarians by appointment¹⁸ in the 1970s. The National Assembly structure in Jordan is divided into two houses, with the House of Representatives being one, and the House of Senate being the other. The members of the House of Representatives are elected by citizens and retain their membership for four years (Jordanian National Assembly, 2014). The speaker of the House of Representatives (HR) is elected by members of the HR at the beginning of each ordinary session to hold the post for a year (Parliament of Jordan Web, 2014). Senate members are on the other hand appointed by the King via a Royal Decree under the terms of the constitution, and the number of the members of the House of Senate (including the Speaker) should not exceed by half the number of the members of the House of Representatives.

Although Senate membership lasts four years, members who have reached the end of their term can be reappointed. Senate meetings take place concurrently with the meetings of the House of Representatives and sessions for both Houses are held at the same location. In the event that the House of Representatives is dissolved, the Senate meetings are suspended. In Jordan the House of Senate has the final word on legislation and the King of Jordan has the independent ability to dissolve and to extend the term of the House of Representatives (Husseini, 2010). The King also has the right to appoint senators without considering the opinions of the elected political leaders. Thus, as with the municipalities, there are two means by which women can enter national politics in Jordan – through election or through appointment to the Senate.

¹⁸The appointed was recommending it through the monarchy.

The House of Representatives (MPs)

Before the discussion of women’s political participation in the House of Representatives, the following tables (3 & 4) set out the key institutional and rule changes that are pertinent to women and to the political system generally. As can be seen, 1989 is a key critical juncture in the changing of the level of women’s political participation. Law changes have continued during the transition to democracy, and have resulted in further increases in the number of women participating politically in the Jordanian political system.

Table 3. Key institutional rule changes

Year	Key Event
1989	The transition to democracy and universal suffrage
2003	The implementation of quota reserved seats (six seats)
2010	Increase in the number of quota reserved seats (twelve seats)
2013	Increase in the number of quota reserved seats (fifteen seats)

Table 4. General Electoral Law changes (1989-2013)

Year	The type of electoral system	Electoral Law	Number of women candidates	Number of women elected
1989	Block Vote Plurality Voting (BV) System	Act No. 22 1986 and its amendment in 1989	12	0
1993	Single Non-Transferable Electoral System	Temporary Act No. 15 of 1993	3	1
1997	Single Non-Transferable	Act No. 15 of 1993	17	0
2003 ¹⁹	Single Non-Transferable with implementation of quota seats	Act No. 34 of 2001	54	6
2007	Single Non-Transferable	Act No. 34 of 2001	199	6
2010	Single Non-Transferable	Act No. 9 of 2010	134	13
2013	Mixture of the Single Non-Transferable Vote System and Closed-List System	Act No. 25 of 2012	217	17

¹⁹ The Electoral Law of 2001 states that “women candidates are ranked according to their share as a percentage of the total votes cast in their respective constituencies, and those with highest winning percentages are declared to be elected under the quota system” (Act 34/45/2001).

Women obtained the right to vote and to run for office for the National Advisory Council in 1974, but there were many informal barriers to their election or receiving candidacy nominations, such as social cultural and economic barriers as will be discussed in Chapter Six. In 1978, the National Advisory Council, which is called the House of Representatives today, had no women successful in being elected. They nevertheless participated in this National Advisory Council through appointment by the King. Three women were appointed in the first session, which approximated 4.9 percent of the total parliament. In the second session, held in 1980, the number of female appointments increased from three to four, with the corresponding percentage proportion of the number of parliamentary members increasing from 4.9 percent to 6.7 percent. In the third session in 1981, the number of women appointed remained at four (Abu Ghazaleh, 2007).

The Constitution of Jordan, written in 1965, and amended in 2011, mandates equality for all citizens. Article No. 6 is most notable in that it states that all of the people in Jordan are equal, to not be discriminated in terms of rights and duties (The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 2011). Despite this, due to the unusual political conditions in Jordan during the period between 1981 and 1989, citizens were not able to enjoy their implied rights to be elected to the House of Representatives as direct elections were not held prior to 1989. Political participation was not realised until the transition to democracy was initiated in 1989, when the first election was held under a block vote Plurality Voting (BV) system. This system allowed for the voting for more than one candidate in a district to parliament. 12 women were selected for the popular ballot, but none won enough votes to enter parliament

In 1993,²⁰ new elections for the 12th House of Representatives under the Single Non-Transferable electoral system were held on 8 November after the dissolution of parliament in accordance with the Temporary Election Law Act No. 15 of 1993. This law stipulated that every citizen could only vote for one nominee (Studies and Research Centre, 1993). In that year, three women were elected as members of parliament from a total of 534 candidates. Two women ran for the same seat (it was part of an ethnic quota for Circassians and Chechens), with one emerging as the winner (IDEA & ANND, 2005; Joint Working, 2008). The unexpected success in the 1993 election of the aforementioned woman encouraged a number of other women to stand for seats at the next election in 1997, where

²⁰ The election in 1993 was held on the basis of one person, one vote. Previously in 1989 it had been under the block election system.

17 women ran for election, although none of them was successful (IDEA & ANND, 2005; Joint Working, 2008). Although the 13th HR in 1997 elections ran under the same law Single Non-Transferable vote law and electoral conditions as the 1993 elections, the political parties boycotted this election, in which each voter could cast their vote for one individual candidate in multi-member districts, returning six candidates per district.

For the 14th HR in 2003 election, under Electoral Act No. 34 of 2001 (Single Non-Transferable Law), the electoral system was modified to reserve six electoral seats for women, up from zero in the previous election (Tahboub, 2011). The total number of seats in the House of Representatives increased from 80 to 110. In the subsequent elections, the number of female participants showed a marked increase, a fact that can be attributed to the modification of the electoral system that introduced a gender quota. The number of female candidates that stood for the six reserved seats increased from three in 1997 to 54 in 2003 (IDEA & ANND, 2005). The election for the 15th parliament was conducted in 2007, but this parliament was then dissolved by a royal order in November, 2009. A year later, Jordan underwent new elections for the 16th parliament.²¹

In 2010, under electoral Act No. 9 of 2010 Single Non-Transferable law, a further amendment to the quota system was implemented, and 12 seats were reserved for women (one seat for each province). One woman was also elected for a general seat independent of the quota system, resulting in 13 women holding positions in the House of Representatives (Tahboub, 2011). Interestingly, three candidates who had been elected at the local level were subsequently nominated as potential candidates for the House of Representatives, and in 2010 one of them was elected to the House of Representatives. Moreover, in 2013, two woman members of HR had previously held positions in their respective municipalities. This suggests that there may be a link between women's political participation at the local and national levels, enhanced in part by the establishment of the quota law. However, it is important to note that Jordan is still in the process of the transition to democracy and is not yet a fully established democracy, with incremental law changes used to manage and control the evolution of the electoral process.

The numbers outlined above indicate that the changes to the Jordanian electoral system helped to markedly increase the number of women elected for parliamentary positions between 2003 and 2013. The increasing participation of Jordanian women in the

²¹The election in 2010 was held on the Single Non-Transferable, Jordanian legislators amended laws Act No. 9 of 2010 which increased the number of women seats from 6 seats to 12 seats.

parliamentary elections occurred in stages; due to law changes and amendments to the number of reserved seats for women. Specifically, the reserved quota seats have led to increases in the number of women who were nominated and also elected as members of parliament. Table 5 below illustrates the number of women present in the HR, the number of reserved seats at the national level between 1974 and 2013 and the change over time.

Table 5. Women’s representation in House of Representatives from 1974-2013

Year	No. of MPs	No. of candidates	No. of reserved seats	No. of female candidates	No. of female elected	Female candidates (%)	Female selected (%)
1974	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0
1978	3	61	0		3		4.9
1980	4	61	0		4		6.7
1981	4	75	0		4		5.3
1989 ²²	80	647	0	12	0	1.8	0.0
1993	80	534	0	3	1	0.56	1.25
1997	80	574	0	17	0	2.96	0.0
2003 ²³	110	819	6	54	6	6.5	5.45
2007	110	885	6	199	7 ²⁴	22.4	6.36
2010	120	763	12	134	13 ²⁵	17.5	10.83
2013	150	1484	15	213	17 ²⁶	14.8	11.3
TOTAL					55		

Source: Data from the Jordanian National Commission for Women, 2011; Jordan Parliament Monitor, 2010, http://www.jpm.jo/index.php?type=news&id=873&_print; European Union, 2013.

From 1974, the year in which women obtained the right to vote and to run for election, up until 2013 the total number of women who have been elected or appointed stood at 55. The implementation of the quota system has been crucial in assisting women to make these gains. As shown from the table above, prior to the transition to democracy, women did not succeed in electoral contests. In the years 1978-1981, the government appointed women to serve on the National Advisory Council. In 2003, six seats were reserved for women through the quota system. The inclusion of these seats changed the situation in Jordan by improving the chances for women to run for office and win elected office. The 2003 election was the first election run under the new quota system, and 54 (6.5 percent) women

²² In 1989, it was the beginning of the transition to democracy.

²³ In 2003, the quota system was implemented.

²⁴ One candidate selected without quota.

²⁵ One member of the parliament previously held positions in their respective municipals.

²⁶ Fifteen members selected to the parliament by quota system. One member selected without quota, and one member selected by the closed-list system. Two members of the parliament previously held positions in their respective municipals.

vied for seats in this election from a grand total of 819 candidates. The 6 quota seats made up 5.4 percent of parliament at that time. In 2010, there was a further increase, and the seats allocated for women doubled from 6 to 12 seats. In Jordan, the implementation of the quota rule meant that women candidates who received the highest percentage of votes from all areas in Jordan would be qualified to serve their seats as a Member of Parliament (Krook, 2005, 11). The reserved seats were “offered” by King Abdullah of Jordan in a royal decree in 2003 that reserved six seats for women in the House of Representatives (Husseini, 2003). In 2007, there were 199 female candidates, seven candidates were elected as members of Parliament. This represented a threefold increase from the 54 candidates who had participated in the previous election. However, the most significant milestone in this election was that a woman won a seat through competition without assistance from the quota system.

According to Table 5, the number increased from 7 to 13 Members of HR and the percentage of female representation increased to 10.8 percent in 2010 from 6.4 percent in 2007. From the perspective of Jordanian women, this was considered an important achievement (JNCW, 2011). A newly enacted law effectively doubled the number of seats reserved for women. For example, the number of female candidates in 2010 was lower than in 2007, 134 out of a total of 763 (17.5 percent). Even so, the new law ensured 13 women were able to win seats in parliament, 12 won through the quota system and one via election outright. In 2013, under a newly adopted election law Act No. 25 of 2012, which was a mixture of the Single Non-Transferable vote (SNTV) system and the closed-list system (CLS), the quota reserved seats increased to 15, 12 quota seats for 12 provinces and also one seat each for the three Bedouin areas. It can be surmised that, during the last four elections, the quota system has proven to be an effective measure to help raise the political representation of women. While it is not close to equality, this is still a significant achievement in the development of the operation of the Jordanian House of Representatives.

House of Senate (Senators)

The 1989 elections that allowed for the election of the members of the 11th House of Representatives represented a new stage of political reform, even though the members of the Senate were still appointed by the King of Jordan. During the transition to democracy in 1989, the King of Jordan appointed one female senator to take part in decision-making

(Jordanian National Assembly, 2014). Even though senators, female or otherwise, do not need to run for office, as they receive appointment, the level of women's participation in the Senate was less than ten percent until 2003 (Table 6).

Table 6. Female senators from 1989-2010

Year	Number of senators	Number of female senators	Women in the House of the Senate (%)
1989	40	1	2.5
1993	40	2	5.0
1997	40	3	7.5
2003- 2005²⁷	55	6	10.9
2005-2007	55	7	12.7
2010	60	9	15.0
2013	75	9	12.0

Source: Data from Jordanian National Commission for Women, 2011; Abu Ghazaleh, 2007

As Table 6 above shows, the total number of Senators in 1989 was 40, with only one woman appointed. In 1993, the number of women in the Senate increased to two, raising the percentage to 5 percent. The trend continued in 1997 and the number increased to three. The percentage of women's representation increased to 10.9 percent in the years between 2003 and 2005, where the number of women Senators was six. The increase in size is due to the expansion of the House of Representatives to 110 members, which resulted in the number of members of the Senate, which is half of the number in the House of Representatives, to increase to 55 senators during this period. Between 2005 and 2007, seven women were appointed (12.7 percent of total seats). In 2010, the number of members of parliament increased to 120 seats, with a corresponding increase in the number of senators to 60 members. Nine women were appointed, raising the percentage of women representatives to a new high of 15 percent. Nine women were again appointed in 2013, but as the size of the Senate had again increased (to 75 members) the proportion of women appointed decreased. Nevertheless the presence of women in the Senate remains important because this is the chamber where committee work is done for final decisions on the laws that came from the committees of the House of Representatives. These appointments demonstrate that the King considers the representation of women to be of some importance. The women who were appointed had political positions and ministerial experience, or had actively worked in women's organisations. Most of the women appointed were from the city of Amman, and came from a political family. It is the case that the women's

²⁷ The period 2003-2005 saw an increase in women's political participation due to the implementation of quota reserved seats.

organisations reviewed in this thesis were likely to have been involved in the process and influenced these appointments.

Women's Representation in Government - The Executive Council of Ministers

The political system in Jordan has been traditionally a monarchy. The system of the government is parliamentary with a hereditary monarchy with an important constitutional role. The highest power is vested in the King of Jordan as the head of the country (Al-Urdun Al-Jadid, 1997). The King appoints the prime minister²⁸, who then forms the government and chooses his (or her) ministers from both the houses (IDEA & ANND, 2005; Library of Congress, 2006). The government, as the executive branch, has the responsibility to develop strategies and policies in order to assist the citizens. The participation of women in the government as executives in the Council of Ministers is considered by one Jordanian NGO to be the main gateway to ensure equality between men and women (JNCW, 2011). They argue the presence and performance of female ministers has helped change the stereotypical image of women and their role in society (JNCW, 2011), which has in turn led to positive changes in society's perception of women, their skills and abilities. The participation of women as ministers has been relatively uncommon over time. The first appointment was made prior to the transition to democracy, with one woman appointed in 1979, and another in 1984 (Naqshabandi & Makhadmeh, 2000; JNCW, 2011). Table 7 shows the number of female members in the Council of Ministers over time.

²⁸ The prime minister is chosen by the king, and usually the prime minister is not related to any political party because in Jordan the political parties have generally not been active until now.

Table 7. Women representation in the Executive Council of Ministers (1979-2011)

Year	Number of members of the Council of Ministers	Number of women in the Council of Ministers	Percentage of female representation
1979	22	1	4.5
1981	21	1	4.7
1984	20	1	5
1993	27	1	3.7
1996	30	1	3.3
1999	23	1	4.3
2000	29	1	3.4
2002	27	1	3.7
2003	21	3	14.2
2005	26	4	15.3
2005	24	1	4.1
2007	28	4	14.2
2009	29	2	6.8
2010	31	3	9.6
2011	27	2	7.4
2011	30	2	6.6
2012	30	1	3.3
2012	21	0	0
2013	19	1	5.2
2013	21	2	9.2

Source: Data from, Jordanian National Commission for Women, 2011

The year 2003 represented a critical juncture in the history of Jordanian women, with a significant increase in the percentage of women's representation, initially from one minister (3.7 percent) to 3 ministers (14.2 percent). In addition to having a positive symbolic effect, the presence of women in executive positions also made it easier for other women to become involved in development plans, policies and government initiated programs. This is important because when women are provided with the opportunity to take up government positions, they have the opportunity to improve government policy related to women while at the same time increasing further the range of opportunities for other women to be involved in decision-making positions. Over time this may decrease the gap in women's representation. For example, in 2009 when four women were ministers, a woman was appointed to the position of governor. However, the numbers of female ministerial representatives decreased after 2009, which the JNCW (2011) attributes to the decision of the prime minister, as he has the sole right to decide on appointments to his cabinet. And 2012 the only year since 1979 that there were no women in the executive council of ministers. This was clarified by a parliamentary member, as she noted:

The government does not help women to increase the level of women's representation in Jordan, the government will not help us and we hope His Royal Majesty will draw on the government to support women at this stage (WP1, 2012).

More generally, the government has been described as being relatively weak in supporting women. For example, in 2012 the prime minister did not include women in his government, therefore, that year women were not represented. Even though the King has shown support towards increasing women's representation by approving the implementation of the quota system, the support the King provided was less than the expectations held by many women.

In short, women's political representation has increased at all levels of the political system in Jordan, but these increases have been incremental rather than dramatic and also fluctuating over time. The changes in representation can be categorised as appearing in three venues. The first is localised, namely election for municipal office. Women have been appointed at this level since 1982. This served as a measure to accord women's participation in public life until the modification of laws in 1995 enabled them to run for elected office at the local level "municipal". Second, at the national level, increases in women's representation continued in part as a result of the modification of the electoral laws that led to an increase in the number of reserved seats allocated to women. Alongside this there has been incremental growth in the appointment of women as Senators. The third form of formal political representation is the appointment of women to ministerial positions in the executive branch. The explanation for the increase is in part related to two key mediating factors that I explore in the sections that follow. The first is the role of political parties as organisations that support the election of candidates through their selection processes (formal and informal). The second factor is the adoption of new formal gender quota rules. Both of these institutional arrangements are relevant to the work of women's organisations seeking to develop and promote an increase in women's political participation and representation.

Women's Participation in Political Parties

Henig and Henig (2000) argue that political parties are central to political systems (p. 43). Parties are the key gatekeepers to political office as they effectively determine the candidates that will be allowed to run in elections with a realistic chance of winning (Kenny, 2013; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). According to Kenny (2013), the attitudes and

ideology of political parties are key factors that act as gatekeepers to political recruitment, indirectly determining political representation. Political parties have not, however, been historically active participants in the political system of Jordan, although they have made proposals to the government in order to modify the laws in Jordan (JNCW1, 2012). For example, the 1997 election was held without the participation of any political party, as the changes in the election laws had effectively disadvantaged political parties.

In Jordan, political parties are formed for the purpose of participating in political life to achieve specific goals concerned with political, economic, and social affairs (Ben Tala, 1996). In 1989, political openness was expanded to include both political and social participation. This influenced political life in Jordan which entered a new phase, and the partisan currents of Jordan became more varied both intellectually and ideologically. In 1992, after customary law²⁹ was lifted, the Jordanian government reformed the political parties (Ministry of Interior Jordan, 1992; Ottaway & Choucair, 2008). By merging the ideological political parties, for example, the members of the Arab nationalist, the Leftist and the Islamist parties, political parties could receive more support and take advantage of the single vote electoral system. However, even during the transition to democracy, political participation was limited as the Jordanian government continued to discourage people from joining political parties. For example, some party members were refused jobs in the government; others were interviewed by government officials about their political activities (JNCW, 2011, p102).

Waylen (1994) has argued that during the transition to democracy political parties will often resume their core activities in order to work “towards more conventional forms of institutional politics” (p.339). However, this has not been the case in Jordan. Rather, the combination of government suppression of party activity and the laws governing parties and elections have been such that the development of the former has not been particularly robust. The government has either disregarded or not taken enough notice of political parties when they have made requests for certain law changes. In addition, the boycott by political parties at various times has threatened the progress of political reform (Da'jah,

²⁹ According to Article 3, Law No. 32 (1992): A party “is every political organisation which is formed by a group of Jordanians in according with the constitution and the provisions of the Law, for the purpose of participating in political life and achieving specific goals concerning political, economic and social affairs, which works through legitimate and peaceful means” (Ben Tala, 1996, p.294).

1996); as a result, the political parties are less actively involved in the political process, which has in turn affected the pace of political reform in Jordan.

The electoral system also influences the way parties operate and campaign within the political system (Electoral Knowledge Network, 2012). For example, when the Block Plurality Voting system changed to the Single Non-Transferable electoral system, it affected the candidates affiliated with political parties because the new system made it considerably more difficult for political parties to get their candidates elected. This is because voters tended to give their single vote to the prominent tribal candidates. As a result, in 1993, the parties requested that the government change the electoral system to replace the SNTV with a mixed system in which every citizen is given two votes, one vote for the national party and one vote for individual candidates (Ottaway & Choucair-Vizoso, 2008). However, this amendment did not succeed. Ottaway and Choucair-Vizoso (2008) argue that the proponents of political reform recognized that serious electoral reform was unlikely because it was too contentious and they expected only superficial modifications to the law (p.55).

The weak development of political parties has impacted on women's political participation within them. For example, after the Union between the East and West Banks, the Jordanian Communist Party was the only party that had a woman member, who joined in 1954 (PW1, 2012). It appears that she was the only Jordanian woman to join a political party until the 1970s, when the Jordanian Communist Party recruited 5 females to its ranks. Several women interviewed for this research have argued that the weakness of political parties has limited women's participation as successful candidates:

Political parties are analogous to a school in which to learn politics, economics, and sociology and to deepen the loyalty of the people. However, political parties should not overshadow the role of the media [...] unfortunately, political parties do not give women enough time and resources in order to explain the issues that women face within the parties (PW1, 2012).

Political parties do not support candidates to be elected (PW2, 2012).

The impact of political parties in Jordan is not strong. Political parties are weak and include low participation of women (JNFW1, 2012).

It remained rare to see women joining political parties in these early years. Women became more connected to political parties³⁰ after the lifting of the customary law in 1992 and the reformation of the political parties by the Jordanian government (Al-quds Center, 2007). The Jordanian National Commission for Women (2011) argues that political parties have become more open to the notion of equality between men and women, in that the number of female party members is used to increase the number of the parties approved and registered at the Ministry of Internal Affairs (parties require at least 500 members). However, despite increased membership, women are only given a marginal role within the party and the level of female participation is still well below that of men.

A JNCW report (2011) found that there was still significant discrimination towards women in political parties, and women were given less opportunity to take up decision-making positions within the parties. This reflects an ongoing weakness in the participation levels of women in politics and in the parties, even if there have been incremental changes. The low level of participation by women in political parties has in turn affected the progress of changes in policy toward the development of women's political participation in Jordan (JNCW, 2011). Htun (2005) argues that political parties are shareholders that control women's progress to power and are able to increase the number of women holding leadership positions that would eventually result in women becoming successful candidates in elections. The data on women's position in Jordanian political parties is outlined below (Table 8).

³⁰ Appendix 7 contains a list of the parties established after 1992, and the percentage of women's participation within these parties. Table 8 displays the extent of women's participation in these parties during the last two decades.

Table 8. Women's representation by political parties (1989-2013)

Year	Number of female candidates	Political Parties	No. of female member of the parties (A)	Females candidates by parties	Females elected by parties	% of female elected as a proportion of (A)
1989	12	-	-	-	-	-
1993	3	-	-	-	-	-
1997	17	The Communist Party of Jordan	161	1	-	-
2003	54	The Islamic Action Front Party	64	1	1	1.56
2007	199	The Islamic Action Front Party	64	1	-	-
		National Current Party	*	1	1	*
2010	134	The Jordanian People's Democratic Party	282	1	1	0.35
		National Current Party	*	1	1	*
2013	217	The Jordanian People's Democratic Party	282	1	-	-
		National Current Party	*	2	2	*
		The Islamic Wasat Party	79	1	1	1.26

(*) No information available / Source: Data from Ministry of Interior Jordan, 2012; Jordanian National Commission for Women, 2011; Abo Elbeh, 2013.

Through the political reform undertaken in 1989 at the time of the transition to democracy, the number of female members of political parties has increased, from 64 members in 1992, to 300 members in 2012, while the corresponding percentages were 7.7 in 1992, and 30 percent in 2012 (see appendix 7). Table 8 also indicates the extent of the female representation in political parties for elections between the years 1989 and 2013. In 1997, the number of women in The Communist Party of Jordan stood at 161, yet only one woman from this party was elected in Amman. In 2003, only one woman was elected from a total of 54 candidates. She was a member of the Islamic Action Front Party³¹.

In the 2007 election, two women were elected from National Trend Party, while two gained seats via the quota reserved seats, but they did not hold the seats as members of party. During the elections between 1989 and 2013, ten women were elected who were members of political parties, which is only 3.6 percent from total instances of women winning seats. Seven women won through the quota reserved seats, but did not hold the seats as party representatives. This indicates a low level of participation of women. Abo Elbeh (2013)

³¹ Female member of political parties who were elected to quota seats, despite running on the ticket of a political party, often emphasised women's and popular public issues rather than represented their political parties' ideology or supported the political parties' strategies

notes that in Jordan only four women have been selected by their parties and put in charge of chairing the programs of their political parties during elections. Of these four, in 1997, one woman did not win despite leading the policy programs for the party. Two women won election in 2003, and one in 2010. Other women who have been elected under the party banner did not actively participate in drawing up the parties' policy programs.

From the previous discussion and from the analysis of the outcome of the elections, the success of the women in political parties appears to be mainly due to the implementation of the quota system. Thus, it is evident that modifications to the electoral system, particularly the implementation of a quota, is an important component permitting women's presence in elected office, whilst opportunities provided to females by political parties are still somewhat limited. This will serve as a guide to understanding the period of the transition to democracy in order to answer the question: to what extent has the institutional change worked towards promoting female representation?

Institutional Change and Women's Political Participation

In Jordan, women's political participation has been affected by the various institutional changes that have accompanied democratic transition. As noted above, during this period there have been a number of changes made to the electoral system some of which aim to support and promote changes to the level of participation by women. Perhaps the most significant of these was the adoption of a new quota rule designating a number of seats to be reserved for women.

Transition to democracy and the advent of a gender quota

The adoption and implementation of the quota system is considered by many scholars to be amongst the most important contributing factors in increasing women's representation (Krook 2008; 2009). In Jordan, before the transition to democracy, women did not have the ability to run for office, even though they had the right to be appointed. The concept of women's political representation first entered Jordanian governmental policy around the late 1980s; however, it was not until the early 1990s that the quota was actually implemented. Waylen (2007b) states that for women "the transition from non-democratic to democratic rule has been one of the most important global political developments" (p. 1). This is echoed by Lowrance (1998) in the Jordanian case, who argues that democracy

in Jordan has benefitted women by helping them attain more freedom and increasing their roles in society, including in politics.

Women's political participation was not revolutionised overnight in Jordan. However, the incremental institutional changes that have occurred over time provided opportunities for women to get involved in politics and gave them a new perspective of the possibility of political participation (Wiktorowicz, 2002). As Jordanian women became more aware of their political rights, they were able to take up more positions both nationally and locally. Furthermore, the transition to democracy has helped Jordanian women influence governmental policy which in itself has expanded their roles in political life through changes to national laws³² that affect women's affairs (Lowrance, 1998). As a result of the transition to democracy, twelve female candidates vied for seats in 1989, although none were successful at that time (IDEA & ANND, 2005). Prior to the implementation of the quota system in 2003, there had been some small increases in women's representation at the national level. In 1993 one was selected under the ethnic quota for Chechens and Circassians. After the success of these women, it appears that more women felt encouraged to run for office and there was an increase in the number elected in 1997 (from three to 17).

The adoption of a reserved seats gender quota in 2003, constituted a significant institutional change in potentially advancing women's political representation. In Jordan, the quota system allows for a certain number of seats to be reserved for female representatives and this reservation is enforced in the constitution (Dahlerup & Freidenvalla, 2005). The reserved seats are awarded to female candidates who have received the highest percentage of the total number of votes in their respective districts, thus electing them to parliament (Shvedova, 2005; Dahlerup & Freidenvalla, 2005). As a result of the quota, the first decade of the 2000s witnessed an increasing presence of women's representation in the national House of Representatives (Al Zubi, 2005; Prime Minister, 2002). The quota system and how it benefitted women was later analysed by the government's law committee (Al-Doqme, 2008). This committee was organised by Jordanian National Commission for Women, and included different groups, women's organisations, representatives of ministries, and representatives from civil society. Its main focus has been to discuss how

³² National laws such as Labour Law No 8/1996 and Personal Status Law No 36/2010 introduced changes to family rights which included increasing the age of marriage for girl to 18 years, and amending property and inheritance laws.

women can reach the parliament. A report was written up and passed to the government during their meeting (Al-Tal, 2013).

At the national level, a change in the electoral law in 2001 introduced the quota system, and ensured the reservation of six seats for women out of total of 110. The number of seats also increased from 80 seats from the previous election to 110 as part of the political reform to increase opportunity of other geographic areas to be represented in the House of Representatives (Beck & Collet, 2010). Al-Doqme (2008) and Hussainy (2014) have shown that the Jordanian quota system has had some influence in battling against discrimination on the basis of sex in general, and also has slowly influenced the discourse surrounding parliamentary elections making it more inclusive of women. As such, the quota system compensates women for limitations that previously prohibited their political participation.

The most significant goal of the quota system was to increase women's participation by adding temporary amendments to the electoral law at the national and local levels. In 2003, six MPs female were drawn from 110 Parliament members. By 2007, seven members were drawn from 110 candidates. This change has increased the number of women elected, and reflects the method of appointing women as shown in Table 5. The number of women candidates increased from 17 in 1997 to 54 in 2003, and two women who were members of political parties, one from the Islamic Action Front Party, and the second from the Communist party of Jordan, were directly elected. During the 2010 election, the electoral law changed, raising the quota of reserved seats from six to 12, one seat for each province (Beck & Collet, 2010). The number of allocated seats then increased to 15 in 2013. At this point, each province had a reserved seat for a woman, and the area of the Bedouin had three seats under the electoral mixture of the Single Non-Transferable vote (SNTV) system and Closed-List System CLS (European Union Election Observation Mission Final Report, 2013).

In addition to increasing the numbers of women elected to the Jordanian national parliament, there have been other benefits gained as a result of the quota. First, it has encouraged women who have been elected to take a stance on issues related to gender and equal rights for women (Miqdad, 2006, p.317). The quota system has had an immediate impact in allowing women to participate in the political decision-making process, but over time, it may also result in policy changes that impact on women's socio-political standing.

The allocation of quota seats can directly affect the nomination practice and recruitment policies and encourage political parties and government bodies to change their informal practice of ignoring women that had previously been the norm. Finally, quotas can lead to cultural and behavioural shifts amongst the citizenry, and result in demands for greater representation of women, despite the resistance of more traditional politicians (UN, 2007). This reflects the claims by Pettygrove, Nasser and Fauss (2006) that the quota system gave Jordanian society the opportunity to accept the idea of new gender roles for women in politics and society. Even though the traditional predisposition towards women does not see women excelling in politics, if women do succeed, there is the potential to see the status of women raised drastically as a result of the demonstration effect (Ryan, 2002; Al-Attiyat et al., 2005).

The quota system in Jordan can be seen as a form of compensation for the variety of barriers that prevent women from fairly competing in the political arena (Jamal, 2012). If “implement[ed] properly [the quota can] overcome the most critical obstacles to women’s equal political representation, such as male succession patterns, [and] women’s lack of power in the parties, especially in the nomination processes” (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2005, p.42). Women are also free to compete with men throughout the country for other seats, whether locally or nationally (Abu Rumman, 2007).

However, as Dahlerup (2005) reminds us, a reserved seats quota system tends to enable only a very few women to hold office (Dahlerup, 2005), and it is therefore an insufficient mechanism. In the case of Jordan, Beck and Collet (2010) have found that it is women who come from small communities and from tribal families who are most likely to win parliamentary seats. Women who won their seats by quota system attained the higher percentages of votes, and the women who have got the highest levels were usually from the tribal regions and clans gathered around Jordan, because their population is less than the cities. Jamal (2012) argues that despite its limitations, the quota system is nevertheless seen as an effective means to achieve the beginnings of real equality for women. In addition to giving women a more equal footing with men in terms of representation, it also allows women to present issues to Parliament (HR) from their unique perspective (Pettygrove, Nasser & Fauss, 2006).

Electoral system change

Al-Attiyat, Shutaywi and Sweiss (2005) argue that certain electoral systems have the potential to enhance the political participation of women and facilitate the use of gender quotas. In the case in Jordan, the 2001 electoral law change led to a municipal level quota for female representation and this had significant benefits for women (Act 34/45/2001). In 2003, through Electoral Act Amendment No. 11, six seats were allocated for women by the quota system within the single non-transferable vote (SNTV) electoral system at the national and local levels (Al-Doqme, 2008; Beck & Collet, 2010; Al Zubi, 2005).

In 2013, a new trend began to emerge in which a different system of proportional representation was introduced to replace the previous SNTV system with the mixed system of the Single Non-Transferable vote (SNTV) system and Closed-List System CLS. Each voter was given two votes, one for district-level candidates and another for national candidates. This proved to be an effective measure in combating tribalism (Al-Khasawneh, 2013). The SNTV method, where voters have just one vote, usually leads to voters preferring to vote for the candidates from their tribe. The mixed system of the Single Non-Transferable vote (SNTV) system and the Closed-List System CLS mean that voters have the opportunity to vote for two candidates, usually one from their tribe, but a further opportunity to vote for candidates from other regions. The mixed system is likely to result in a marked increase in the percentage of elected female candidates as women believe that they can get more votes when the voters have opportunity to vote for two candidates. Indeed, the number of women candidates increased from 134 in 2010, to 213 candidates in 2013. The adoption of a mixture of the Single Non-Transferable vote (SNTV) system and Closed-List System CLS allowed women to gain more parliamentary seats as 17 members have selected. Fifteen candidates gained seat through the quota system, one was directly selected by the electorate, and one was selected from the Closed- List.

Conclusion

Women's election to political office in Jordan has gained more acceptance since the early days of political reform in the 1980s. Although some women were appointed prior to the transition to democracy, and in 1989, female candidates took part in the elections; the early results fell short of expectations. During the transition period, however, the number of female candidates standing for election and selection at different levels of the political

system has increased. The municipal level has the highest number of total women elected over this period (767)³³ whereas there have been 55 women elected nationally over the same period. Both of these results can be attributed to the implementation of the reserved seats quota. By contrast, there have only been 37 women senators over the past ten years, suggesting that appointment is less likely to lead to improvements for women's political representation in Jordan. Unless there is a possibility of lobbying to increase the number of women appointed as well. Moreover, there is still much to be done in terms of reforming political parties and enabling them to become more inclusive of women as party members and as candidates for elected office. Although there is still a long way to go before parity is reached, possibilities to institutionalise gender equality have been opened, and women's representation continues to matter to the public agenda and to the government (JNCW, 2011).

It is evident that a range of institutional changes undertaken during and subsequent to the transition to democracy have assisted in increasing women's representation in Jordan. This aligns with the arguments of Waylen (2009) and Torfing (2009) who have argued that analysing women's participation during the transition to democracy helps to understand the dynamics of gendered institutional change over time. For instance, in Jordan, the incremental but dynamic changing of the electoral laws and implementation of the quota system during the transition to democracy has increased the level of women's representation, and women's organisations have been active in programmes related to women's issues. That said, the change has been notable but not necessarily rapid or socially destabilizing, which aligns somewhat with the arguments of Findlay (2012) that women's organisations helped women to focus on the effects of gender and the possibility of gradual institutional change. However, as the women and politics literature has shown, it is not just about "demand"; it is also about the supply of women (Norris and Lovenduski, 1995). It is not enough for example for parties and the government to demand more women as candidates for selection; it is also necessary for individual women to put themselves forward as candidates. Thus the increased representation of women may have an additional impact in that it leads more women to believe they can supply themselves as candidates and stand for election and selection. The question addressed later in the thesis is how

³³ The degree of women's representation at the local level municipality was higher number than at the national level. This is because, first, there are more seats and more council (venues), which gives women more opportunities to engage. Moreover, women are increasingly appointed and elected as this level.

relevant women's organisations are to this corollary affect; that is, to what extent is the supply of women as candidates and political participants dependent on the work undertaken by women's organisations in civil society in Jordan.

In conclusion, women's political participation has been affected and influenced by institutional changes that took place as part of the transition to democracy – specifically the resultant implementation of a gender quota. However, these institutional changes did not happen in a vacuum. As such it is important to understand the extent to which women organised themselves, and mobilised around the issue of women's political participation in order to explain the advent of the gender quota, and the consequential increase in women's political participation. This is the subject of the next chapter. Specifically, it examines how women's civil society institutions have worked towards improving women's political involvement between the periods of non-democratic rule, and how women's organisations sought to implement changes that have enhanced women's ability to take part in public and political life prior to the transition to democracy.

CHAPTER FOUR: First and Second Phases of the Women's Movement: Women's Organisations before the Transition to Democracy

This chapter explores the history of the activities undertaken by women's civil society organisations in Jordan. It will focus on the first and second phases of the women's movement before the transition to democracy. Historical review is necessary in order to provide a background context for understanding change and to demonstrate the way women's organisations have organised in the context of the women's movement in earlier periods. Initially in Jordan, women were not provided with their basic rights through law. They were not allowed to undertake education, paid work, or any other activity that men of that time were able to do. Women were not even provided with the basic right to vote. The study of each phase is therefore important for understanding the evolution of the women's movement and how women's organisations during each phase approached the issue of women's social rights and integration into society in a different way. The role of the women's movement in Jordan has over time been significant in changing women's social realities in Jordan, and the movement can be seen as an important factor in allowing justice to be attained by the women living in Jordan and highlighting the need for women to gain greater social rights.

This chapter first examines the activities of women's organisations in Jordan by describing how and why women have chosen to organise their work and activities in the way they have, and what has changed over time. Focus will be placed on their role in seeking institutional and political status changes related to women's rights, laws for women, and changes to electoral laws. The chapter also deliberates on how the mobilisation of women has improved the status of women, and has assisted them in becoming increasingly accepted as participants in public life in Jordan. Ghosh (2009) observes that civil society organisations, such as NGOs, are political institutions that facilitate the discussion of how their work can help to improve the quality of political participation, mobilise political actors, and potentially influence the government to change laws. What becomes evident here is that the activities of women's organisations in Jordan have progressed in an incremental way for the purpose of increasing women's participation in public life within their communities.

It is important to note that women's organisations originally grew out of activities pursued by women from the elite and political class. These organisations have included members of the Jordanian royal family, and their leadership. In these early phases, women's organisations worked on social activities, voluntary work and charity, and seldom focused on the political sphere until the transition to democracy in 1989. Internally, Jordanian society did not allow women to take part in any public role in public life, which were traditionally reserved for men. Externally, the political issues surrounding Jordan, such as the wars related to Palestine and Israel in 1948 and 1967, affected the work of women organisations namely by increasing the number of external refugees in Jordan, which women's organisations sought to care for. Due to the external developments and slowly changing societal attitudes, some progress for women was seen during the pre-transition period, as women started to play an important role in providing social welfare to their communities. This in turn would later lead to women having greater opportunities to be active in public life. Women's organisations, nevertheless, continued to bear responsibility for articulating the problems with unjust discrimination against women in Jordan, especially with regards to employment or education when compared to men.

The first and second phases of the women's movement did, nevertheless, lay the groundwork for women to begin to focus on political participation to continue institutional change and to change the life situation for women (Findlay, 2012). The first women's movement began in the 1940s. This was when women started to organise themselves by creating the first women's organisations. The second women's movement phase took place during the 1970s and 1980s. This was when women's organisations started to work to improve the political status of women by deliberating on the right of women to vote and be elected to parliament and other important political roles. Table 9 and Table 10, show the key events in the evolution of women's political participation in Jordanian politics by reference to the modification of women's organisational and electoral laws. Appendix 8 provides a greater description of the key moments for women during the first and second phases of women's movement.

Table 9. Key events relating to women’s political participation

Year	Events
1955³⁴	Electoral Law Act Number 29 for the municipality.
1957³⁵	Educated women got the right to vote for parliament, but not run for election.
1966³⁶	Demand made to the 1957 Law to include non-educated women to vote, and have the right to run for office.
1974³⁷	Electoral Law Act Number 8. All women got both the right to vote and run for election.

Table 10. Key legal developments related to the establishment of women’s organisations

Year	Laws
1952	Constitution of Jordan guaranteed the right for citizens to establish civil society organisations and political parties.
1953	Act 36: The women’s movement was able to establish a number of different organisations under the Ministry of Social Development.
1957	Martial law imposed. The government restricted Jordanian citizens’ ability to be active in political parties. Some women’s organisations disbanded.
1966	Act 33: This law gave the Minister of Interior the right of register and dissolve the organisations.
1971	Act 70, 1970 ³⁸ : Women’s organisations established under the Ministry of Social Development and Labour.

The First Phase of the Women’s Movement (1940s-1960s)

Historically, the emergence of the Jordanian women’s movement has been associated with the work of Charity Houses, which were recognised in 1912 to serve the Orthodox community. This association was similar to the Relief Poor Orthodox Society established in Palestine in 1903 (Abu Rumi, 1995; Hammad, 1999; Krias, 1985). In 1937, the Freedom Red Association was created. This organisation was not unlike its earlier counterparts.

³⁴ Even though women got the right to vote but not to be elected to local office. The participation of women in the municipality was not active until the law amended in 1982, Act 22 allowed women to vote and to be elected.

³⁵ In 1954, where all men gained the right to become active members of the National Advisory Council, women mobilised to demand the political rights for women to vote.

³⁶ Prime Minister urged to take another look at 1957 laws and demands made to give the right of voting to non-educated women and to gain the right to run for office.

³⁷ Even though women have got the right to vote and be elected to national office, the participation of women in the legislature was mainly through appointment, not election, as explained in chapter Three.

³⁸ Act 70/1970: This Act amended and cancelled the word of charity in the goal of women’s organisations, which give them more opportunity to include women interest.

These organisations emerged in order to assist women by connecting and communicating with similar organisations in Palestine and Egypt, and to support relationship building between women across states (Abu Rumi, 1995; Ashour, Ghazoul, & Reda-Mekdashi, 2008). Abu Rumi (1995) notes that women became involved in collective voluntary social work in Jordan as a consequence of political events in and around the region. The concept of voluntary social work for women was concentrated in the cities, as women from elite class families took on prominent roles. However, in the rural areas, where tribalism was a major inhibiting factor and clans' families did not allow women to participate in social work, women were restricted from being involved in social activities such as these.

Jad (2007) has noted that women's organisations have different agendas relating to women's livelihood, education, and health. At this time, Jordanians were dealing with adverse conditions, and many women had limited access to education, and suffered from poor economic outcomes (Al Shalabi & Al-Assad, 2011). The tribal nature of Jordanian society also meant women were denied an active role in politics (Nahar & Abu Humaidan, 2013). It was the combination of these conditions and the lack of universal political rights for women that prompted the Jordanian women's movement to become more active, as well as agitate for improved health and education. During the 1940s, these women's organisations took up issues that were related to women's lives, which included safety programs related to mother and child health issues (Al-Tal, 1985). Also, women's organisations called for "legal reforms to demand personal status codes" (Alrenfeldt & Golley 2012, p.17). Women's organisations at this time did not explicitly concentrate on women's political rights - political rights were not taken up until the end of this period following Jordan's independence from Britain in 1946.

Women's organisations have taken different forms and adopted different agendas depending on the conditions of women in particular countries, materially and politically. So, for example, in the case of Jordan, the war between Palestine and Israel shifted the scope of Jordanian women's organisations to assisting refugee settlement campaigns (Abo Rumi, 1995), providing charitable aid for families, and helping poor women to improve their economic life by providing direct financial assistance (Hammad, 1999). While Jordanian women's organisations wanted to intensify their efforts to gain political rights, the Palestine War in 1948 meant that Palestinian issues would become very important in Jordan (Lowrance, 1998). The war dispersed the efforts of the women's organisations,

prompting them to move their activities from focusing on rights to return to volunteering to meet the challenges pertaining to the political situation in the region (Hammad, 1999). As a result, many of these organisations joined together. In 1949, the Jordanian Women's Union (JWU) joined the Social Association for Women's Solidarity (SAWS), and created the Hashemite Women's Organisations for the purpose of being able to consolidate their work related to social affairs and women's social rights (Abu Rumi, 1995; Hammad, 1999). Indeed, during this early period the number of women's organisations established increased significantly (see Table 11).

During the 1940s, the women's movement in Jordan had already built a network with other Arab women's movements, and started networking with women of other Arabic nations, such as Egypt in 1945 and Palestine in 1948. This provided Jordanian women with the experience necessary to establish the Jordanian Women's Union JWU under the name of "*Etihad Al-Nissai Al-Urduni*" in 1945, which tasked itself with the objective of working towards improving the status of women in public life. Members of the women's movement from Egypt had visited Jordan to endorse the establishment of the JWU in 1945, which was approved by King Abdullah bin Al-Hussein I (Hammad, 1999). The primary objective of the JWU was the class status of Jordanian women. The Union used different methods compared to those of the Social Association for Women's Solidarity (SAWS) had an official building where they held their meetings and it aimed at increasing women's literacy rates (Al-Tal 1985; Al Borini & Al Hindi, 1994; Sahliyah, 2005).

Table 11. Women’s organisations during the First Phase (1940s-1960s)

Year of establishment	Women’s Organisations
1944	Social Association for Women’s Solidarity (SAWS)
1945	Jordanian Women’s Union (JWU) ³⁹ (<i>Etihad Al-Nissai Al-Urduni</i>)
1945	Hashemite Women’s Organisations
1950	Young Women’s Christian Association
1951	National Red Crescent Society
1952	Women’s Vigilance Association
1953	Jordanian Charitable Society for Development of Women
1953	Women’s Programmes Centre/ Irbid
1954	Name of JWU was changed to Arab Women’s Union (AWU) (<i>Etihad Al-Marra’ Al-Arabi</i>)
1968	Arab Women Society
1968	Jordan Forum for Business and Professional Women
TOTAL	11 organisations

Source: Data from Phoenix Center for Economic and Informatics Studies PCEIS & Friedrich Ebert Foundation FEF, 2013; Al Borini and Al Hindi, 1994; Al-Tal, 1985; Hammad, 1999.

Moving on from the 1940s up until the 1960s, we see the first women’s organisations created were dedicated to more than charity and volunteer work; they had political objectives (Al-Atiyat, 2003; Al-Tal, 1985). Jordanian women created the Social Association for Women’s Solidarity (SAWS) in 1944. This was encouraged by Princess Msubah, wife of King Abdallah I, who invited elite women for a meeting to create this association (Al-Tal, 2013). The aim of SAWS was to improve the status of poor women with limited resources and education by helping them with certain projects or money to assist them in improving their life and wellbeing (Al-Tal, 2013; Hammad, 1999). SAWS was the first organisation established in Jordan that created an awareness of the need for women to be more educated about public work. It informed women as to how they could improve their life through mastering their work in the home and raising children, and it taught women handicrafts. In this way, it did not challenge the idea that women’s work was in the home and the family, but it did encourage women to think about how they might extend this work beyond the home.

Around the early 1950s, the Jordanian women’s organisations began to shift their interest from women’s social life and families, to the right of women’s education. Education for

³⁹ Jordanian Women’s Union (JWU) (*Etihad Al-Nissai Al-Urduni*) was established in 1945, the members of this union were from Jordan. In 1954 the name of the union was changed to Arab Women’s Union (AWU) (*Etihad Al-Marra’ Al-Arabi*) due to political conditions, in order to include other women to be member in this union, such as female immigrant form Palestine.

women was seen to be of primary importance as it would be an essential development for women's suffrage (Al Shalabi & Al-Assad, 2011). Women were mobilised by the members of the Arab Women's Union (AWU) to demand political rights for women to vote. They organised meetings and submitted an agenda and a petition to the Jordanian Prime Minister "Sa'id al-Mufti" on 3/10/1955 (Al-Tal, 2013). Act number 29, for the municipality election was approved on 25/10/1955 allowing women to vote but the right to stand for local offices was not given at that time (Al-Owaimer, 2010). The petitioners also sought an amendment of the electoral law to allow women to vote and to stand for parliament election, and also sought to fully acquire the same rights to an education as men. As a result of their lobbying, the government approved the demand of the women's request, for example; they amended the electoral law, and gave only educated⁴⁰ women the right to vote in 1957 (Abu Rumi, 1995; Hammad, 1999; Al-Tal, 2013, p.144). Despite the protests, for example; illiterate women were excluded from voting by electoral law in 1957. Thus it was not possible to eliminate all legal, economic, social, and cultural barriers against women at this time.

Furthermore, the Constitution of Jordan, Acts 16 and 25 of 1952 provided the right to establish associations, and political parties. Specifically, the Constitution of Jordan in 1952 safeguarded "the right of Jordanians to hold meeting within the limits of law and establishing societies and political parties" (Abu-Karaki, 2011, p.183). In 1953, as a result of the passage of a new law for the organisations registration, (Act 36, 1953⁴¹), the women's movement was able to establish a number of different organisations. The new law facilitated the setup of legal associations to be registered under the Ministry of Social Development (Al-Tal, 2013). The AWU, reflecting a period of change in Jordanian organisations, developed a number of branches in rural areas of Jordan in order to include women from different areas. It also established offices in the major cities of Jordan in order to reach women in different cities (Al Borini & Al Hindi, 1994). In 1955, Jordanian women's groups began working towards attaining full political rights to provide illiterate women the right to vote, and to be able to stand in municipality and parliamentary elections (Al-Tal, 1985. p.127). In 1956, the Association for the Defence of Women's Rights organised a festival in Jericho, Palestine, which was attended by 800 women from the East and West Bank. They demanded the right to be elected and vote for the parliament by

⁴⁰ Educated women are counted as those who had finished primary school (Al-Tal, 1985; Kawaldeh, 2014).

⁴¹ Act 36/1953: This added a charity dimension to the goals of the nongovernmental organisations due to the instability of political conditions.

organising a celebration under the slogan “equal rights for women” (Haddadin, 2013; Naffa, 2004).

The absence of democratic freedoms and the prevailing repressive policy in the country from the 1957 until 1989 due to intermittent periods of martial law reflected negatively on the political life of Jordan. In 1957, martial law was declared in Jordan and all non-governmental organisations and political parties were dissolved (Abu Rumi, 1995). Thus, the JWU, then operating under the name AWU, was forced to disband in 1957. The outcome affected political life adversely and influenced the interest and desire of women to go into politics, except for the case of women active in banned political parties such as Jordanian Communist Party. Within political parties, as noted in the previous chapter, only the Jordanian Communist Party had women members, who joined in 1954. Women in the Communist Party began to push for political rights, and they gave speeches on the issues that surrounded the country (Naffa, 2004; Al Shalabi & Al-Assad, 2011). This was despite the fact that the political situation in Jordan at that time was not encouraging increased pluralism, and there was a bias against women having public work opportunities, as they were excluded from taking part in what was commonly a male dominant society (Dababneh, 2012).

Jordanian women had organised themselves to demand their rights and to contribute to their society despite the fact that women were prohibited from being political. After a series of demonstrations and the petition of 1954 by women pioneers, educated women gained the right to vote in 1957. This right was subsequently enshrined in the electoral laws that brought about institutional changes. Women pioneers, who were the leaders of women’s organisations and who were from the intellectual and socially prominent classes, participated in political action through different demonstrations. For example, they demanded the cancellation of the Jordan-UK Treaty. Women pioneers also demonstrated against the martial law which was affecting the establishment of women’s organisations, and the exceptional laws restricting freedoms that had been imposed to exclude women from political action. Their participation was notable in that they distributed publications about the political situation that surrounded Jordan (Al-Tal, 1985, pp. 112-115).

The political reform in Jordan was affected by the political circumstances of the region, and politics in Jordan were also affected by the instability of the country. The period of 1957 to 1968 can be understood as a period of fluctuation which would eventually affect

the structure of Jordanian women's civil society organisations. Martial law was implemented in 1957 and did not allow any political parties to be active, or for political activities to be carried out by any group in the country. Furthermore, women's organisations started to encourage women to start businesses in order to be more responsible for supporting themselves and society.

Mackay, Meehan, Bonaghy, and Brown (2002), argue that constitutional change may help the process of continuing the reform of human rights' legislation, by increasing the number of women in governmental institutions (see also Kenny, 2013). The institutional political changes and amended electoral laws in this early period led to the growth in women's activism. This has in turn assisted with the advancement of women's political rights, such as increased voting opportunities and the opportunity to stand for election in municipality and parliamentary elections by the end of the 1950s. Even educated women, who had the right to vote, were not able to stand for election until they demanded the 1957 law to be modified in 1974. However, despite the growth in interest in women's organisations, a focus on political rights is dependent in part on promoting women's economic and educational (social) rights. A repressive regime administering through martial law in 1957 limited the kinds of opportunity structures that were available for political parties and other political actors. Normally, women might organise through political parties, but this is not a window that was open to women during this early period.

The Second Phase of the Women's Movement (1970s-1980s)

During the 1970s up until the late 1980s, Jordanian women's organisations actively changed their activities and focused more on improving women's political status. Act 33 (1966) gave the Minister of the Interior the right to register and dissolve public organisations, which has affected the growth and the role of women's organisations (Al-Tal, 2013). Many women's organisations, most notably the AWU, had indeed been dissolved. The political instability of the late 1960s operated as a political window of opportunity for women activists. For example, in 1967 and the beginning of the 1970s, advocates for women's participation employed strategies that were different from earlier phases. This period was affected by the Arab-Israel war in 1967, after which many people immigrated to Jordan from Palestine. The Jordan-Israel war in 1968 (Al-Ali, 2002) resulted in the population of Jordan dramatically increasing due to the number of refugees. Women took part in mass marches in Jordan during the war with Jordan-Israel in 1968, which

reflected their ongoing efforts for equal rights, and highlighted their struggle against inequality in the unstable political situation (UNDP, AFESD& AGPUNDO, 2006). Despite Jordanian women gaining the right to vote, women's organisations again shifted from developing women's political status to assisting new migrants and continuing voluntary work. With the increase in the number of refugees, women began participating in different marches in villages, cities and Palestinian camps (Miqdad, 2006).

The lobbying of women's organisations in the 1960s helped to sway the government to give women the right to vote and to stand for office, which was extended to all women (not just educated women) in 1974. This legal change was stimulated by the advocacy work of women to the Prime Minister Wasfi al-Tal to improve Jordan's electoral laws in 1966 (Al-Hourani, 2002; Al-Tal, 2013). In 1966, King Hussain asked the Prime Minister to study the demands of all women for the right to vote and to run for office (Al-Tal, 2013). This law was eventually enacted in 1974 when all women were allowed to vote and to stand for election.

Due to political reforms undertaken during the second phase, changes in political institutions and laws have impacted upon the aims of women's organisations. These changes include the amendment of the goals of women's organisations in the 1970s, including the removal of the word "charity" from the name of organisations. This change gave women's organisations the freedom to focus on issues related to women and political rights, and not just charity. Also, the registration process of women's organisations changed with amendments made to Act 33 (1966). This 1966 Act gave the Minister of the Interior the right to dissolve women's organisations which negatively affected the growth of women's organisations. However, Act 70 (1970) then put registration under the authority of the Ministry of Social Development and Labour. The significance of this change in registering authority gave women's organisations a more stable environment in which to establish themselves (Al-Tal, 2013; Hammad, 1999), because under the Minister of the Interior, some of women's organisations had dissolved many times, and had been unable to be active within their activities.

During the second phase, connections developed between women as individuals, as well as between representatives of women's organisations (Al-Tal, 2013; Hammad, 1999). The strategies of activist women started changing from voluntary activities to activities related to pursuing institutional change, such as the change in the Electoral Law Act (no.8, 1974).

This critical 1974 law was a result of the latter stages of the first phase when women demand rights in the form of having the right to vote and to be elected. Women activists also became more experienced in speaking out about specific issues, such as women's political rights, and started to work towards achieving women's rights as voters and candidates (Al-Tal, 2013). In 1974, a delegation of activists from Jordanian women's organisations worked to re-establish the previously dissolved AWU in 1974 under the name of "JWU in Jordan" "*Eti had Al-Nasa'i in Jordan*" in Amman. It continued its activities until 1981 when, once again, it was compelled to discontinue its operations by the Minister of the Interior. After one year the Union was successful in cancelling the decision of Minister of the Interior of dissolving the Union. Women have approved the right to re-establish JWU after they gained the right from the Jordanian High Court of Justice in 1982. This was done in order to enhance the awareness of the role of women in society and politics and to communicate women's voices to the government. This meant their efforts were more effective (Hammad, 1999).

The JWU union aimed to mobilise and sensitise women to participate in parliamentary elections as voters and candidates (Encyclopaedia of Civil Society Organisations in Jordan, 2013). The participation gave women the chance to take on responsibilities involved in the decision-making processes, and women have been appointed on the National Advisory Council in 1978. In addition, the JWU aimed at eradicating illiteracy for women and responded to the various forms of discrimination against women. Therefore, the activities of women in the second phase became focused on changing the electoral laws related to women exercising their political rights and becoming active, as politically participating Jordanian citizens. Even though women combined their activities between volunteering and giving charity due to the political issues surrounding Jordan, they started focusing more explicitly on improving the level of women's political participation. Furthermore, the number of organisations grew, as seen in Table 12 below.

Table 12. Women’s organisations during the Second Phase (1970s-1980s)

Year of establishment	Women’s Organisation
1970	Arab Women Society in Jordan
1971	Jerash Ladies Charitable Society
1972	Women Society for Combating Illiteracy in Jordan
1972	Young Muslim Women’s Association
1974	AWU was re-established under the Jordanian Women’s Union JWU ⁴² (<i>Etihad Al-Nasa’I</i>)
1974	Charitable Society of Aqaba Women
1980	General Federation of Jordanian Women
1981	The Feminine Federation – Irbid
1981-1983	Five charitable women’s organisations in different cities in Jordan (Ain Jannah, Aqaba, Mastaba, Alsukneh and Shihan)
1985	Two ladies societies: Alnaser and Wadi Al-Rayan
1986	Noor Al-Hussein Foundation
1986	Jordanian Women Solidarity Institute
1987	Hayan Al-Meshref Ladies Charitable Society
1987	Air Force Women Club
1989	Six Women Programmes Centres Camps (Souf, Al Hussein, Al Wehdat, Al Baqa’a, Madaba, Jerash). The Jordanian Feminine Federation – Mafraq
TOTAL	27 organisations

Source: Data from Encyclopaedia of civil society organisations in Jordan, 2013; Al Borini and Al Hindi, 1994; Al-Tal, 1985; Hammad, 1999.

Most of the women’s organisations that had been formed and spread throughout Jordan during this period sought to promote the need to recognise the economic, social and educational rights of women. The activities of Jordanian women’s organisations were focused on organising specific training programmes to improve and enhance the political representation of women. These organisations continued to provide women with other services such as healthcare (provided by the hospitals), family care, and training and occupational rehabilitation for the purpose of assisting women to find jobs. Such organisations also raised the level of awareness of women regarding women’s political rights, and arranged a number of training programs to assist them in understanding women’s organisational goals.

During the 1980s, women created a number of women’s organisations aimed at improving women’s life which began to spread to different cities. This influenced more women to

⁴²AWU “*Etihad Al-Marra’ Al-Arabi*” has established in 1945 under the name of Jordanian Women's Union (JWU) “*Etihad Al-Nissai Al-Urduni*”. This Union has dissolved in 1957 by the martial law. In second phase in 1974 has re-established, under the of Jordanian Women's Union JWU under the name of “*Etihad Al-Nasa’i in Jordan*”.

work towards improving their position in the Jordanian government, and some were appointed to prominent political positions. For example, women were appointed as members of the National Advisory Council from 1974 to 1981, and for the first time in 1979, one woman was appointed to a ministerial role. The aim of getting women appointed to higher level positions was to show that women could play a responsible political role in government. Along with the development of plans and regulations to affect the status of women positively, regardless of their social position (Miqdad, 2006), this initiative had a symbolic effect.

In 1981, the General Federation of Jordanian Women (GFJW) was dissolved by the Ministry of the Interior. At the same time, in 1981, the Ministry of Social Development re-established the General Federation of Jordanian Women (GFJW), under the name “*Etihad Al-Nasa'i Al-Urduni*” (Miqdad, 2006, p. 307). This GFJW included women’s associations, clubs and social organisations. The GFJW was led by Her Royal Highness Princess Basma Bint Talal, the Honorary President. The aims of GFJW were to develop the abilities of women to be active in economic and social life, and to enhance their insistence on their own rights, and to increase the number of women in politics and economics professions (Miqdad, 2006).

Jordanian women’s organisations also had an international focus during the second phase; for example, they participated in the United Nations conference held in Mexico in 1975⁴³ (UN, 1975). Following the declaration of this conference, a female preparatory committee was set up to highlight and celebrate International Women’s Year in Jordan. Women participated in different conferences and seminars promoted and organised by government institutions and non-governmental organisations in collaboration with United Nations agencies (Al-Tal, 1985). By the end of the second phase, an international women’s conference was held in Nairobi in 1985⁴⁴ (UN, 1985), which showed the importance of

⁴³ The Third Women World Conference was held from 19 June to 2 July, 1975 in Mexico and contributed significantly to the removal of obstacles and improving the situation of women at national, regional and international levels. This issue was raised for the first time in terms of the acceptance of human international rights organized by each state’s parties in order to involve women in the development of communities (UN, 1975).

⁴⁴ The Nairobi strategies were confirmed in 1985. To ensure that government guarantees effective participation of women in decision-making processes, with preference for establishing a special office headed by women in government departments (Article 87/ 88). The need to promote awareness of women's political rights (Article 90).The requirement that all political parties and other organisations make efforts to increase female participation in elections and give them equal opportunity with men to join political systems of these organisations (Article 91). The last, Article 92 came as an invitation to women to chart and monitor, review and evaluate policies, issues and national and local activities relating to their rights, especially those that have

women's political participation, the importance of gaining equality between men and women, and the importance of economic independence for women. It also raised the need to advance the status of women, offering the opportunity for women to get paid employment with a view to eliminating all forms of discrimination in senior positions in executive, legislative, and judicial branches of these environments, through election and promotion.

The women's organisations have faced different internal and external challenges. At the internal level, Alrenfeldt and Golley (2012) argue that the lack of democracy in the Arab region influenced the women's organisations to focus on women's political issues, especially in terms of women's political participation. The lack of democracy caused difficulties in establishing women's organisations. As noted previously, martial law has dissolved women's organisations many times and impacted upon their activities. This reflects the inconsistency in laws that enable women's organisations to register and connect with other women in society (Abu Rumi, 1995). Also, the Jordanian women's movement and women's organisations were led by educated women and women of a high social class, which excluded women from the grassroots in the organisational process, and in terms of growing membership. In addition, the absence of political reform during the first and second phases of the women's movement in Jordan affected the ability of women's organisations to be effective in dealing with women's political rights until the end of 1970s.

At the external level, the emergence and growth of the women's organisations in Jordan was impacted by the women's movements of other nations. The WCSOs focused their efforts on solving refugee problems. Which in turn has turned the interest and capabilities of women's organisations towards focusing more on political participation for women and politics in general. In particular, building the awareness of women about their political rights helped them to vote and to stand for office after women got their right to vote, and were elected to run for the parliamentary election. The awareness of women's rights has been promoted through training programmes that women's organisations offered to enhance and educate women about electoral laws, and exercising the initial rights that they had acquired.

not applied their government's institutional procedures, and did not establish arrangements in order to involve them actively in decision-making (UN, 1985).

Discussion and Analysis of the Activism of Women's Organisations

As discussed, there was growth in women's organisations and a shift in the types of activities that they took up in Jordan up until the transition to democracy period. Part of this growth can be explained by exogenous factors, like war and regional instability. These factors offered the women's movement unforeseen opportunities to mobilise across borders. Palestine women went back and forth between Jordan and Palestine in particular. Also opportunities formed through connections and communications with similar organisations from Egypt in 1945. Alongside this, there were also shifts in the way the state viewed the role of women and slow shifts in cultural and societal attitudes.

The growth of women's organisations has been affected through institutional change. Due to internal political reforms and changes, the Constitution of Jordan in 1952 guaranteed the right for citizens to establish civil society organisations and political parties. This allowed Jordanians to legally organise political activities within this law and fostered an increased norm of pluralism and political participation. These were essential developments for women's political representation and participation to take on greater public salience. As result, women were able to establish a number of different organisations and they continued to lobby the prime minister and demanded changes to the electoral laws related to women's political rights, candidate rights, and voting rights. This lead to incremental institutional changes such as the laws that facilitated, firstly, educated women's right to vote in 1957, and then the right for all women to stand for some elected offices in 1974. These institutional developments have simultaneously been affected by and have impacted upon women's activism and WCSOs in a way that ultimately influences and increases women's political participation and representation.

Evidence of increased mobilisation can be seen in the growth in the number of women's organisations which increased from 11 organisations in the first phase to 27 organisations in the second phase. The increased number of women's organisations in the second phase was due to internal factors. One major factor was political reform related to non-governmental organisations and registration requirements. From 1932 women's organisations were registered on the understanding that their activities would be focused on charity work to serve their community. Registration requirements in Act 70 in 1970 were relaxed and the charity requirement was removed. This has assisted women's organisations in their work as they were able to include explicitly politically-orientated women's programs. This change was established in response to women's activism who

wished to focus on issues related to women and not just charity, such as enhancing their access to education, and public relations activities to educate other women in laws related to personal status codes and their legal rights. These changes in law led to women's organisations changing their goals from those that they pursued in the initial phase (Hammad, 1999; Al-Suyoufi, 2007; Al-Tal 2013). This reflects the argument of Pierson (2004c), who claims that, "institutions and policies may encourage individuals and organisations to invest in specialised skills, and deepen relations with other individuals or organisations" (p. 35).

At the same time, women's organisations worked to improve social and cultural awareness about the importance of women taking up political positions, and also tried to enhance awareness of the importance of their activities in enhancing women's political representation. Women's organisations began to include existing political activities in their goals, after having changed the electoral law to include women's rights to vote and be elected for parliament and municipality in 1974 (Al Borini & Al Hindi, 1994, Al-Tal, 1985). The goals of women's organisations moved to enhance women's rights as "women became interested in women's rights, and have been interested in terms of women's liberties" (Lowrance, 1998, p. 84).

Women before and during the first phase worked voluntarily as social workers to serve society and to help poor people and the refugee population to become settled in Jordan. Women in the second phase sought to raise Jordanian women's awareness of their roles in serving their society and to strengthen their participation in all sectors of society and eliminate all legal barriers that women faced (Al-Tal, 2013). The activities of the women's organisations have played different roles in the ongoing process of institutional change and reform. The first phase of the women's organisations secured the right of educated women to vote in 1957. In the second phase, women's organisations secured the right for all women to vote and be elected in 1974. This change gave some women the opportunity to become more active in society as the role of women became more acceptable when the government approved the electoral laws.

Pierson (2004c) asserts that the dynamics and processes underpinning institutional development help to explain institutional outcomes and shape the circumstances that affect and influence change. The institutional developments related to women's organisations' activities have created opportunities to enhance women's political rights to vote and be elected, and have led to an increase in women's political representation.

However, there remained many informal social, cultural, and economic barriers to their election or receiving candidacy nominations. Thus, no women were successful in being directly elected. Women, nevertheless, participated by appointment in this National Advisory Council, which is called the House of Representatives today. In 1978, three women were appointed, and in the second session in 1980, four women were appointed. Four women were appointed in the third session in 1981. A limited number of women got the opportunity to participate in government as governmental ministers during the first and second phases as well. One woman was appointed in 1979, another was appointed in 1981, and another in 1984. At the local municipal level, women's organisations advocated for and supported local electoral law changes that took place in 1955. In this year, women gained the right to vote but not to be elected to municipal office. In 1982, women then obtained the right to vote and run for and be appointed to municipal office. As a result, one woman was appointed to municipal office in 1982.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated how women's organisations within the women's movement played an important role before the transition to democracy. This chapter provided an examination of the interests of women within their organisations, an understanding of how they influenced the impact of governmental policy to improve the status of women, and how they affected policy change to enhance women's political participation. Waylen (2007b) found that the efforts of women's organisations at different stages, before and during the transition to democracy, have had an important impact in improving the status of women at different levels in various nations, even though sometimes changes were partial and dependent on a range of other factors including institutional and cultural changes (see also Molyneux, 2002; Krollokke and Sorensen, 2006; and Outshoorn, 2010). Similarly to Waylen, this chapter has identified the shift in the aims of the women's organisations as they moved from social activities, voluntary work and charity in the first phase of the women's movement, to enhancing the political status of women in the second phase for women and for societal well-being (see also Hammad, 1999; Al Borini & Al Hindi, 1994; Abu Rumi, 1995). However, the traditional women's movement in the first and second phases did not have enough impact to change government institutions to address the deeper barriers to women's political participation. This is why the period of the transition to democracy was important in assisting women's organisations to improve their strategies in relation to women's political representation, as will be detailed in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER FIVE: Third Phase of the Women's Movement and its impact (1990s–2000s)

This chapter discusses the emergence third phase of the women's movement and the impetus of the transition to democracy period from 1989 to the present. It looks at the emergence and the growth of women's organisations in Jordan and focuses on the importance of the public arena for the development of additional strategies for women's organisations to advocate for the enhancement of women's political status. It also looks at the importance of the Beijing Conference in 1995 in improving women's organisations strategies. To understand the influence of the third phase of women's movement, it is necessary to explain the activities of women's organisations, alongside answering the question of whether women's organisations have had an impact in terms of changing the current status and aspirations of Jordanian women. This chapter then goes on to examine the activities of women organisations and the ways that they improved women's political representation over recent decades. In particular, the third phase of the contemporary women's movement, in conjunction with the transition to democracy, has resulted in a number of developments that have facilitated the growth in women's political participation representation: has led to an increased the number of women's organisations and their activities, the creation of umbrella organisation JNCW, the involvement of Jordanian organisations at international conferences, and the establishment of women's centres.

The Emergence of the Women's Movement and the Transition to Democracy

Al-Atiyat (2012) claims that there were notable differences between the rhetoric of women's organisations in the 1990s and the previous two phases. As noted in the previous chapters, prior to the transition to democracy in 1989, civil society organisations in Jordan primarily worked on human development and rarely focused their activities specifically on increasing women's political participation. The situation changed, however, following Jordan's transition to democracy and the further advancement of political liberalisation subsequent to the first democratic elections in 1989 (Robinson, 1998). Women's civil society organisations in Jordan took advantage of the new situation and embraced a new perspective in relation to political participation for women (Wiktorowicz, 2002).

Beginning in the mid-1980s, the third phase of the Jordanian women's movement was built upon the first and the second women's movement phases. Activism during these earlier phases of the women's movement improved the role of women in public life. As already

identified, the women's movement in Jordan had been made up of organisations dedicated to voluntary participation. The movement offered opportunities for many women who began to identify themselves as leaders by assuming influential societal roles and engaging in women's civil society organisations (WCSOs), thus creating more opportunities for women to discuss issues of particular relevance to women. One consequence of this period was that Jordanian women started to develop their own, independent, organisations (Abu Rumi, 1995), and their feminist ideas increasingly focused on gender-specific issues and causes (Ray & Korteweg, 1999). During this phase, women commenced work on new objectives, such as improving women's political participation, which provided women with an opportunity to focus on the concept of gender equality (Gilley & Columnist, 2005). The changes were presented as having the potential to increase the public profile of women's interests, and provided opportunities to further acquire basic rights (Moghadam, 2007).

As a culmination of the first and second movements (Hammad, 1999; Al-Tal, 2013), the third phase movement reflected the political changes in Jordan that surrounded the transition to democracy. In particular, the shift to democracy benefitted the women's movement by allowing them more freedom in their activities. Women's organisations became able to influence government policy to allow women to become involved in political life (Lowrance, 1998). The changing political landscape allowed greater focus to be placed on gender equality at both the local and national level. As women focused more intensely on gender-based political representation, a number of changes occurred.

These changes did not occur in a vacuum. As with previous periods, the third women's movement was affected by a range of external impetuses. For example, a major external factor relevant to this phase was the political disengagement⁴⁵ between West "Jordan" and East Palestine West Bank in terms of Jordanian citizenship. Gabbay notes that:

Prior to 1988, all Palestinian refugees entering Jordan, with the exception of the 1967 refugees from Gaza, were granted full Jordanian citizenship. This designation entitled them to the rights and responsibilities enjoyed by all Jordanians. However, these

⁴⁵ Disengagement has a specific meaning in this case. Article 2 of Jordan's disengagement instructions reads "Every person residing in the West Bank before the date of 31/7/1988 will be considered as [a] Palestinian citizen and not as a Jordanian" (Human Rights Watch, 2010, p.17). This article "contains one glaring contradiction – there is no legal state of Palestine. Consequently, these former Jordanian citizens were instantly relegated to the status of stateless Palestinians under Israeli occupation, even though they continued to hold a Jordanian passport" (Human Rights Watch, 2010, p.17)

practices have since changed, and thousands of Palestinian-Jordanian people have been rendered stateless losing all civil and political rights (Gabbay, 2014, p.1).

This was accompanied by the rise of a more independent Jordanian women's movement and the separation of Palestinian women from Jordanian women's organisations.

During this critical period of transition, Jordan was surrounded by Arab neighbours with their own political and social issues, which in turn directly affected Jordan's internal politics. For example, Jordan's proximity to Palestine remains one of the country's central issues, principally because a majority of the population of Jordan originates from Palestine, Iraq, and now Syria. All of these factors continue to cause political instability, which Jordan must address. These issues have had an impact upon policies, particularly on matters relating to immigration. The influx of immigrants, often refugees, entering Jordan in search of a safe haven has put pressure on the country which does not necessarily have the resources to help. This situation has led to unstable internal security, as noted by Azzouni (2010) and Chatelard (2010), and has had a direct impact on women's organisations and their ability to implement and advance their strategies in Jordan as it diverted their resources and moved their focus from enhancing women's political participation. The Jordanian government also discouraged political activism in general during these times of instability, making focusing on refugee wellbeing issues more attractive.

The transition to democracy arguably gave a renewed internal impetus to the women's movement. At the beginning of 1989, the start of the democratic transition enabled the women's movement to move into the third phase and take up the political opportunity that was opened to them via new institution building projects being initiated in Jordan. The development of the women's movement during the transition was thus shaped by the political and social transformation processes of the time (Al-Atiyat, 2003). The improvement of the women's movement in term of the number of women's organisations, their form, structure, and activism, has transformed the movement. Indeed Al-Atiyat (2003) found that the phase after the 1989 led to changes in the level of women's political interest and activism of women's organisation. Al-Atiyat notes another critical development:

This phase has witnessed the state taking on an active role in women's issues and actions; the state's intervention during this phase was represented by the active involvement of Princess Basma, and her initiatives in the realm of women's concerns (Al-Atiyat, 2003, p.64).

The transition to democracy has given the women's movement and women's organisations greater ability to expand activities into politics, such as women being able to "send memoranda to decision makers, stage peaceful protests", and engage in other political activities (Lowrance, 1998, p.97). At the beginning of this phase, the women's movement struggled to transfer their demands to the government. As Lowrance noted, this was "because the policy-making process remains insulated from liberal reforms" (Lowrance, 1998, p.97). The women's movement started to slowly benefit and pierce the insulated political process, however. For example, it benefitted from the first elected woman member of parliament in 1993 (Toujan Faisal). She was able to introduce legislation to amend some laws that needed to be discussed, such as "the passport law and nationality law which would require men and women to be dealt with equally in these matters" (Ibid, p.98).

Throughout the transition to democracy, members of the women's movement have developed their experiences by getting involved as members of women's organisations and through active participation in public meetings. Moreover, women have had greater opportunities to enhance their level of education. This has in turn, since 2010,⁴⁶ given those women a greater chance to take up paid employment and thus achieve financial security to continue their political activities. Women have also organised different projects in the community, such as sewing clothes, ranching, and poultry farming, which assisted them financially (Al-Suyoufi, 2007).

The acceptance of their new activism by their families has aided broader societal acceptance of women's political activism. For instance, as noted by one of the interviewees, "our family's consent to be engaged within women's organisations has given us more opportunity to show the importance of the role of women in public life to our community" (JNFW2, prov 4, 2012). This acceptance has given women more freedom to participate, and has enabled them to discuss issues relevant to their gender, such as the education level, labour law, and to further provide an opportunity to agitate to make changes to the electoral law to enhance the ability of women to be part of the decision-making process. The marked change in status of women, and their increased political presence within the transition - to

⁴⁶ In 2010, the government implemented a policy to remove the gender gap between men and women. The government has seen some success in enhancing the level of women's education. For example, the number of women enrolling in university education has increased by 51.3 percent since 2010, and illiteracy has decreased from 86 percent in 1961 to 10.1 percent in 2010 (Nuser, 2013)

- democracy period, has successfully resulted in increased prominence in the political arena. As evidence of this, there has been an increase in the number of women standing for office at both the local and national levels. For example, at the national level, the number of women elected increased from zero in 1989 to 17 in 2013. This trend is also found at the local level, where the number of women elected for office has increased from zero in 1982 to 338 in 2013.

The development of the women's movement was aided by the transition to democracy, which also changed the relationship with political parties. Parties' ability to operate was enhanced by the Political Parties Law Act 32 of 1992 (Wiktorowicz, 2002). This law was one of the benefits of the period of democracy after more than 30 years of martial law. The establishment of and participation in political parties became more open, and parties themselves became less hostile to women's claims for representation as the new laws allowed significant freedom of expression. These developments have led to many women taking up political action both individually as well as part of political parties (Lowrance, 2006). The number of women members of these parties has increased in recent years and their activism has also increased as shown in Appendix 7. Most parties, registered since 1992, have a number of women as members. Moghadam (2007) suggests that having more women at all political levels is important for a range of reasons, including, as Ray & Korteweg (1999) also note, to help the status of grassroots women, and to change and enhance the conditions related to women's political participation. Women have the right to be elected at the local and national levels, and this gives them the opportunity to be part of political life since 1974.

In addition, the 1956 Constitution and the amendment of the Constitution of Jordan in 2011⁴⁷ both proclaimed that women were equal to men, namely as written in Article 6(2). Article 6(2) states that "all the people of Jordan are equal, with no discrimination as to their rights and duties, and ensure that women's work and education are within the limits of constitutional authority" (The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. 2011). While there were some incremental increases in women's representation prior to 1989, it is after the transition to democracy that the most significant increases occur. At the local level the number of

⁴⁷ Constitutional changes in 2011, namely Article 2 (22), made a difference to this effort. Article 2(22) specified that "each Jordanian citizen is deemed to have the right to hold public office", which in directly indicates that women should be able to run for office with greater ease. The article demanded that the right to hold office be based on individual qualifications and experiences, not identity (Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 2011).

women who were selected as candidates has increased from one member in 1986, to 33 members in 1995. The increase of the number of women as members of municipalities was primarily due to appointments by Princess Basma bint Talal, who is the head of the Jordanian National Forum for Women. In 1989, one woman member was appointed as a senator for the first time. At the national level, the transition to democracy has resulted in gradual political reforms including amendments to electoral laws, and this has resulted in the increasing involvement of women in politics (Ryan, 2002). Specifically, some of the changes of the electoral laws have affected women's political participation in a back and forth way. For instance, the Block Vote Plurality Voting electoral law was passed in 1989. Twelve women participated and ran, but none of them won a seat. In 1993, the electoral law was changed to a Single Non-Transferable Electoral System. Every voter has one vote, and this law affected women's participation negatively, and only three women participated in this election (none of them won).

In 1997, women continued to be encouraged to run by a number of women's organisations, and 17 women ran for office. However, only one woman gained her seat, and this was through in a seat reserved for ethnic groups in Jordan. Further electoral law changes took place in 2003, when six seats were added for women in Parliament by implementing a quota reserved seats system. Election to these seats enabled women to explicitly discuss women's issues in the parliament and to improve important laws that related to women's status as citizens and their social and political rights.⁴⁸ The participation of women continued to increase, and 54 females participated as candidates in 2003 election and six women were elected as Members of Parliament. Thus, it is evident that changes to electoral laws have influenced women's political participation over time. This insight is consolidated by the increasing number of women candidates in 2007; as shown in the previous chapter, (199 women ran as candidates). In 2013, 217 women candidates stood, as a result of further changes to the electoral law. Part of the argument put forward by civil society organisations for increasing the representation of women in politics was to implement the intentions of the Jordanian constitution, which was formulated to promote gender equality.

However, although political institutional change has emerged in Jordan, alone this is insufficient to ensure full political participation by women. Brown and Kalegaonkar (1999) have highlighted that emerging civil society organisations have often faced a number of

⁴⁸ Women MPs have discussed the divorce law, which allows a woman to divorce her husband.

different challenges depending on the political and economic context of the particular world region in which they evolved. Regional challenges have affected women's organisations in their work to support and provide a social service. This was clearly the case for women in Jordan who were members of women's organisations. One interviewee stated:

Financial resources are one of the most important obstacles facing women's organisations in Jordan. In any women's organisation, if there is no financial support alongside moral support, to complement each other, I do not think that it will succeed (JNFW1, prove 5, 2012).

The response of this interviewee supports the argument of scholars Antlov, Brinkerhoff and Rapp (2008) and Shahin (2012), who stated that economic and financial resources are amongst the most critical factors that present obstacles to the development and success of WCSOs. Such economic barriers are directly reflected in social class variations between women activists and organisation members. Economic obstacles have affected the activism of women's organisations, and a majority of the members of these organisations who engage in political activism come from intellectual and socially prominent classes (Al-Tal, 1985; Hammad, 1999).

Brown and Kalegaonkar (1999) also noted that WCSOs face challenges which emerge in response to the changing needs of civil society. Bebbington (1997) stated that, whilst in their developmental stages, the non-governmental organisations (NGOs), particularly those in rural areas, often operate in a society where certain cultural beliefs and economic instability or weakness had an impact on the NGOs' efforts to develop their programmes. Tremblay (2008) comments that cultures change slowly, a point which is reinforced by scholars Nahar and Abu Humaidan (2013), as well as Crawford (2007), who asserted that tribal influences played an important role in Jordanian politics. Culture shapes and mediates the development of changes in societal values. Norris and Inglehart (2001) maintain that traditional culture affects women's ability to become active in public life, especially in politics.

As socio-cultural norms are central to society, it is unsurprising that they significantly influence the outcomes and effects of various programmes. Several examples provided by the interviewees from the provinces demonstrated the challenges of attending women's organisations meetings and conferences:

We hope that the families embrace a kind of positive liberty to give women the chance to start working on their issues in order to succeed (JNFW2, prov 4, 2012).

The opinion of Jordanian society towards women is still relatively low in regards to their participation as members of these women's organisations, the services that women provide to civil society by presenting their views on women's issues, and in their being active in domestic organisations in local society (JNFW1, prov10, 2012).

When we participated in women's organisations there were social challenges, women were not getting out from their homes, but now this challenge is much less, and women have become active members in the civil society organisations (JNFW1, prov12, 2012).

The JNCW organisation increased awareness of women's political rights, enhancing women's participation in Bedouin areas in Jordan, and explaining and educating women in the technicalities of electoral laws; this period has especially affected Jordanian women by changing different electoral laws, particularly as related to the quota system at local and national level (JNCW2, 2012).

The responses of the interviewees support the contentions of Inglehart and Norris (2003), who have stated that traditional cultures have shaped society to either accept or reject the activism of women's organisations. Lowrance (1998), and Nahar and Abu Humaidan (2013) also claim that tribalism plays a major role in Jordan, and that the society still retains tribal values. In this research, 17 out of 32 women interviewees made direct reference to this particular characteristic of Jordan. They agreed that social factors do affect women's organisations, and that socio-cultural norms have affected their activities. It is their view that public work within tribes will weaken women's existence and progression in political fields, and that representation in a society which gives men preferential treatment will continue to present obstacles. This is in contrast with the experience of urban women who have been able to remain active in women's organisations. Their activities have become increasingly acceptable and they have been able to assume a more effective role in promoting their activism.

In summary, the emergence of the third women's movement was given impetus by the transition to democracy. It has affected their activism by allowing greater focus to be placed on women's political participation. The transition has influenced the women's movement to move into a third phase and increased political opportunities via new institutional building processes. For example, the women's movement aimed to improve the legislation for women's participation and to has increased networking connections with public and

private sectors in order to increase the employment and training opportunities for women. However, the purpose of forming women's organisations can be understood in a number of ways, including to attract candidates by increasing awareness, raising awareness about the importance of the role of women in political life and women's representation, and "so that voters, both men and women, feel more comfortable electing women" (Lowrance, 1998, p.101). The changes to electoral law also showcased the value of the quota system so women could gain greater acceptance of women candidates in the long run throughout society (Lowrance, 1998, p.101). The members of the women's organisations have also sought to promote women's issues, particularly in relation to political participation. By the time of the start of the transition of the period, women's organisations had organised different programs to train women as candidates on the electoral laws at the national and local level. This in turn enabled women to exercise their political rights and take advantage of the new legislative developments.

Women and the Public Arena

Before the transition to democracy, the first and second phases of the women's movement were influenced by key international conferences. For example, the engagement of the Jordanian women's movement in international conferences such as the Third World Conference on Women, which was held in Nairobi in 1985, helped to enhance the level of female political participation (Friedman, 1999). Participation in the conference increased the opportunity to discuss women's issues at a social and political level. Participation by Jordanian women also helped them to recognise the importance of supporting women's organisations financially, and the acceptance of the idea of women's organisations existing as part of civil society organisations. The members of the women's organisations who participated in the Third World Conference created a positive impact when they asserted that it was necessary for there to be women from Jordan present and participating in this conference (Al-Kateb, 2013).

In the early years of the third phase, women's rights were increasingly recognised by the Jordanian government. The right of women to participate in decision making was recognised in the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights'. Chapter 1, Paragraph 8 of the Jordanian National Charter (1991) points to equality between men and women and non-discrimination in rights and duties. In Chapter 5 of the Charter, women are described as being partners of men in respect of the development of Jordanian society. This would

require legal equality in education, training and employment, in order for women to be in a position to fulfil their notionally equal role in building Jordanian society. The Jordanian government endorsed and ratified numerous international conventions regarding women's rights, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which was ratified in 1992 (National Commission, 2003). CEDAW requires gender equality through a mandatory quota of public sector positions in order to provide women with a temporary positive bias in an effort to ultimately redress the inequality between women and men. CEDAW questions certain conventions which were based on culture and religion in Jordanian society.⁴⁹

At the Fourth UN World Conference on Women 1995 in Beijing, the Conference emphasised that women should be able to fully participate on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process. Only through access to power would fundamental goals of equality, development and peace be realised (UN, 1996). The Fourth UN World Conference, "brought women's issues to world attention and attempted to put them on the agenda of government, which pledged in the conference to support women's rights and implement the Beijing Plan of Action" (Lowrance, 1998, p.83). Additional objectives included removing all obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public life. Other objectives included promoting the equal participation of women, especially at the decision-making level. In stipulating these objectives, the conference initiated an international plan. Jordan reaffirmed its commitment to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and would focus on different levels.⁵⁰ It recommended that women should have the opportunity to hold at least thirty percent of the decision-making positions in the government (UN, 1996).⁵¹ These objectives gave Jordanian women's organisations more opportunity to demand the government enhance the level of women's rights.

⁴⁹ For example, Article 15 in CEDAW relates to the freedom of women to travel outside the country. Restrictions were in existence until May 2009 as it was not seen as societally or culturally acceptable for women to travel overseas by themselves. The women's movement convened to discuss this article, with a view to motivate the government to agree to the easing of restrictions.

⁵⁰ Jordan presented reports to UN about the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and clarified its desire to enhance and increase equality and opportunities for Jordanian women between the 2006 to the 2009 (JNCW, 2011).

⁵¹ Jordan did however make a declaration of reservations regarding Article 9/2 on the nationality of children upon signature, which was confirmed upon ratification (JNCW 2011).

The Beijing Conference also addressed the role of non-governmental organisations. Non-governmental organisations were encouraged to work together in coalitions based on specific themes and topics instituted by the Beijing Conference programme. Furthermore, in order to influence and gain their support, non-governmental organisations were given the opportunity to educate policy makers and decision makers on issues related to the advancement of the status of women (UN, 1996). Khalil (2009) has stated that between 2006 and 2010 Jordanian women's organisations pursued a new strategy for women which was a direct result of their participation at the Beijing conference. The organisations increased awareness of gross exploitation, social, economic, and civil differences between men and women, and the disregard of political, human and women's political rights. This was undertaken through various meetings and conferences organised to evaluate "the work plan of the 1995 Fourth International Conference on women in Beijing that affirmed the need to adopt effective policies and strategies to reflects paragraph 86⁵² of the International Strategies for Women's Progress" (Al-Attiyat, 2005, p.26).

Women's organisations were used as forums through which to review and evaluate important local gender issues, along with ongoing challenges and potential solutions (Khalil, 2009). Al-Attiyat (2005) argues that the discussions emanating from Beijing in 1995 confirmed "the need to adopt effective policies and strategy for women's progress" (p. 26). That served to persuade and influence the government and political parties towards being more open to "equal participation for women in all local, national and legislative bodies, and guarantee equality in appointment, selection and promotion to high office in the administrative, legislative and judicial apparatuses of these bodies, at local level" (Al-Attiyat, 2005, p. 26). This argument reflects and represents women's interests by making a claim for institutional changes to enhance women's participation in political institutions.

Over this period, the number of women's organisations increased, indicating a growing acceptance of this kind of advocacy in Jordan. However, even prior to this point, alternative women's organisations existed. The increasing acceptance of women's organisations was

⁵² Paragraph 86 of the International Strategies for Women's Progress noted that "the governments and political parties should intensify efforts to stimulate and ensure equality of participation by women in all national and local legislative bodies and to achieve equity in the appointment, election and promotion of women to high posts in executive, legislative and judiciary branches in these bodies. At the local level, strategies to ensure equality of women in political participation should be pragmatic, should bear a close relationship to issues of concern to women in the locality and should take into account the suitability of the proposed measures to local needs and values"(UN, 1986).

also evident through their participation in key political events, and the fact that these groups were now permitted to meet and work within the communities and to offer specific programs. For example, they worked to increase awareness women's rights in particular, in line with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), and these programs included a focus on the changing role of women within their family and society, improvements in the level of women education, and improved access to health services. Jordan's government developed alliances between women bureaucrats who were feminists trying to empower women and improve their situation in relation to their issues by giving them more opportunity to be part of political life. These women have later been appointed as senators and ministers. Women's organisations became increasingly acceptable to government, as a direct result of the outcomes of the Beijing conference and this allowed them to become more specifically focused on women's political issues including representation. Moreover, the members of women's organisations were encouraged by the government to attend these international conferences. Through this participation they drew additional energy and resources to reinvigorate local organisations, and this also provided a catalyst to transform the Jordanian women's movement into one with global connections, attracting public interest and promoting greater consideration of these issues.

The Growth of Women's Organisations in 1990s

As described above, the establishment and the development of new and existing women's organisations in this period was influenced by internal impetus, such as the post-1989 transition to democracy, and external impetus, in the form of the 1995 the Beijing conference. These impetuses have influenced the creation of women's organisations and women's centres, and have encouraged women's organisations to focus more of their activism on women political participation. Concrete outcomes have included changes to legislation, women's overall legal status, and the amending of personal status laws (Lowrance, 1998), including "the laws concerning passports, nationality and retirement" (Al-Atiyat, 2003, p75).

The changing structure of women's organisations during this transition also enabled more freedom for women as these organisations are able to better influence government policy (Lowrance, 1998). For example, the Jordanian National Committees for Women was established in 1992. This created an umbrella for women's organisations, and soon the

question of unequal civil rights was presented in such a way that it invigorated renewed debate in the 1990s. This organisation served as a “reference body entrusted with drawing up general policies and identifying the priorities of women in Jordan” (JNCW Web, 2008). Since 1992, the leader of JNCW, Princess Basma, has pursued a vision and aspired to achieve goals in line with key interests of Jordanian women. As such, the aims and the goals of JNCW have been to improve the legislation to facilitate women’s participation, and the JNCW has created a “legal committee that studies legislation and its impacts on women” (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998, p.12). The JNCW also attempts to create public awareness relating to the importance of women’s public roles, and strives to increase women’s participation in social development activities and enhance job opportunities for women in the public and private sectors (Al-Atyiat, 2003).

During the early 1990s, the JNCW formed the National Strategy for Women (completed in 1993 and subsequently updated), which was endorsed by cabinet and its ministers. The ministers “were asked to implement its principles in their respective departments” (Lowrance, 1998, p.93). The National Strategy has four aims. The first is “improving women’s social status; second, improving and enhancing women’s economic [-] status; third, enhancing women’s status on the legislative level; and fourth, enhancing [the] possibility [for] [broad] female participation in politics” (Al- Atiyat, 2003, p.168). The National Strategy for Women focused on strategies, plans and national programs, and pointed to the necessity of having women participate in the development of executive programs. The Strategy was further inspired by:

The concerns of Beijing, but it formulates them in a more explicitly national context, one that is consistent with the national discourse and pressing national priorities that are affected by changes associated with the regional situation, which is something that a global approach cannot take into account (The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Report, 1996, p.3).

In order to practice the aims of the National Strategy for Women, the JNCW has worked to improve and develop its role in encouraging Jordanian society support to highlight women’s issues. It has promoted the organisation of meetings, programs and workshops that related to women’s affairs. It also has also developed its networks and attempted to engage with the public and private sectors in order to increase the employment and training opportunities for women. The National Strategy for Women on the back of JNCW activities has increasingly come to be acknowledged at both the state and societal levels. The JNCW

has lobbied, and pressured institutions in both public and private sectors (Al-Atiyat, 2003) by supporting and pushing women's progress in all fields within the Hashemite leadership, communicating constructively with the government by providing strategies and plans, and formulating a national program to improve women's political participation (Women in Jordan Web, 2013).

According to Jaradat (2010), the achievements of the Jordanian women's organisations can be seen in their lobbying and mobilisation activities to change legislation during the 1990s and 2000s. Over a period of just seven years (1996-2003), activism led to changes in eight separate laws that affected women's personal status (See Table 13 below). These government responses and successes are an outcome that can be associated with the National Strategy for Women and other JNCW strategies. It is clear that, during the transition period, women organisations started to voice their demands more aggressively to change women's status (Al-Anzi, 2008). The prominence of women was evident in their ability to protect their interests in laws that affected their life, and to enhance their rights, by influencing the government to redesign relevant laws. The improvements of the legal changes that have enhanced the status and role of women are outlined in Table 13.

Table 13. Changes to legal obstacles and women's status

Year	Laws	The Outcome of the Amendments
1996	Labour Law No. 8	The law provides that a woman employee may take leave without pay for a period of not more than one year to devote time to raising her children, and shall be entitled to return to her job thereafter.
1998	Civil Service Regulations No. 1	Under the new regulations, maternity leave is extended from 60 days to 90 days with full pay.
2001	Civil Status Law No. 9	This law provides that a separate family record book may be issued to a divorced woman at her request, and that a family record book may be issued to a widow with children.
2001	Social Security Law No. 19	This law permits an insured woman to continue working until the age of 60 if necessary in order to complete the prescribed term of service required to enable her to qualify for a retirement pension.
2001	Amended Income Tax Law No. 25	This law places men and women on a footing of equality with respect to tax exemptions; both husbands and wives are entitled to the exemptions for which provision is made in the law.
2001	Interim Personal Status Law No. 82	Under this law: The minimum age of marriage was raised from 15 for women and 16 for men to 18 for persons of both sexes. The law also gives a wife the right to ask a judge to grant her a separation from her husband.
2001	Interim Penal Code No. 86	Under this law: In the matter of so-called honour killings, article 340 of the Penal Code, which made such killings lawful, has been replaced by a provision admitting extenuating circumstances.
2003	Interim Passport Law No. 5	This law provides that a married woman is not required to obtain her husband's permission before a passport may be issued to her.

Source: Data from Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 1996; Report by the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action, 1995, pp.16-17.

In this way, the JNCW assisted with the implementation of the post-Beijing strategies and drew up the Jordanian National Program for Action, which built on the National Strategy for advancing the status of women 1997- 2005. The Jordanian National Program for Action program, also led by JNCW, viewed its role as connecting government and NGOs (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998, p.18). The National Programme provided leadership for women and identified a development programme for them, as well as promulgating a clear strategy towards making improvements in women's wellbeing in the realms of social status,⁵³

⁵³ The social status realm was focused on enhancement of "the status and role of women with family and to foster positive social attitudes, [and to] provide support to women in special categories, e.g parents" (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998, B4).

economics,⁵⁴ legislation,⁵⁵ politics,⁵⁶ education,⁵⁷ and health.⁵⁸ It also included an awareness of the need for greater co-ordination of the various factions within civil society organisations (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998).

The 1995 Beijing Conference clearly affected the JNCW's strategy towards improving women's rights through its liaising with government. For example, according to the Cabinet decision in December, 1996, JNCW was granted responsibility for a number of different tasks: first, to develop general policies that related to women's affairs, and give women the opportunity to participate in the formulation of national development plans and development plans for each sector where current rules and norms might prejudice the status of women; second, to strengthen communication and exchange information on experiences, and engage in national and international activities in fields related to women's affairs; third, to review and study the legislation already in force and any other laws related to women to ensure legislation and law projects are free from any discrimination against women; fourth, to prepare a national strategy for women, update development goals, and evaluate their follow-up; and, fifth, to form a communication network between the ministries and public institutions, in order to achieve its objectives (Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 1996, p. 23).

In 1995, Princess Basma Bint Tala then established the Jordanian National Forum for Women JNFW. JNCW's work was focused on the national level, this new Forum was created in order to raise awareness at the local level about the National Strategy. JNFW is now the largest grassroots women's organisations in Jordan, and has spread its operations to twelve provinces in order to reach all women from cities and villages in different social strata. Its aim is to focus on women's rights and increase women's political participation. As noted by one of the interviewees:

JNFW has organised different projects to train women in improving their ability to function as members of municipal governments, and organised training on the

⁵⁴ For the economics realm, the goal was "to increase women's labour force participation and to encourage the provision of support services" (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998, B4).

⁵⁵ The legislative realm was focused on the need "to raise awareness of Jordanian society and women in particular on women's rights" (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998, B4).

⁵⁶ In the political realm, there was an identified need "to develop the participation of women in all aspects of political life" (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998, B4).

⁵⁷ In the educational realm, the objective was "to develop and improve education throughout the kingdom; to also use it to promote a positive image of women and their status" (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998, B4).

⁵⁸ The main focus of the strategy for the health realm was "to improve the quality of health services and to raise awareness about public health and health in the family" (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998, B4).

electoral laws which seek to explain the quota system for women candidates in 2003, 2010, 2013 (JNFW1,2012).

Throughout the third phase of the women's movement, women leaders of the JNFW were become much more involved in women's issues, and have worked to achieve the changes that are necessary. Most notable is the president of the umbrella of women's organisations JNCW, and of JNFW in Jordan, which is Princess Basma bint Talal. This has helped these organisations to communicate their issues to the government and get more support for their projects.

In addition, in 1995, the women's organisations that operated under the leadership of Princess Basma bint Talal stipulated that the government needed to appoint women as ministers, particularly to head the Ministry of Trade and Industry in 1993, and in 1996 to head the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation⁵⁹. Previously, all the women who received ministerial appointments were appointed to the Ministry of Social Development, which focused on social work, which suggested that the successive prime ministers in Jordan still did not believe that women could run important ministries. This perception of competence has begun to change over time, as women have received higher profile ministerial appointments, have been elected directly to representative office, and have been appointed as judges (Al-Atiyat, 2003, p.87).

The third phase of the women's movement has also led to the creation and establishment of women's institutions in Jordan known as 'women's centres'. These centres were recommended by the Beijing Conference. Two particular centres were identified as being of critical importance. The first centre, the Princess Basma Women's Resource Centre for Women's Affairs, was established in March 1996 to facilitate and promote efficient communication and meetings between women's organisations and policymakers. It focused on four principal areas: social policy and population; women's development; advocacy and decision making; and research and development (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998). The second centre, the Centre for Women's Studies, was established in 1998. It later became an academic department within the University of Jordan in 2006. The objective of this centre was to improve the awareness of women's studies and also to connect with other centres in

⁵⁹ These Ministries were led by Reema Abu- Khalaf.

different countries for the purpose of sharing experiences, information and knowledge about various Jordanian women's movement issues (Centre for Women Studies, 2008).

Alongside these initiatives, the Jordanian Arabic Women Union (JAW) "*Etihad Al-Marra' Al-Arabi*", changed its name to the Jordanian Women Union "*Etihad Al-Marra' Al-Urduneh*" in 1997, with the government's permission (Al-Tal, 2013). With its newly acquired recognition, the JWU aimed to enhance human rights and highlight the need to promote women's equal right. In particular it sought to support a number of women in various provinces in Jordan through JWU branches (Al-Tal, 2013). However, the JWU has faced issues such as a lack of resources because the resources are distributed throughout different branches (Lowrance, 1998). Nevertheless, during this time JWU became increasingly active in relation to political issues, such as women political participation, and sought to develop ways to increase the number of women's political representatives. It also developed and widened its membership base and gained greater media access to discuss the issues that women have faced at all levels, social, political, and economic, and has linked to networks of international organisations to gain greater support for their programs. These developments have helped the JWU spread throughout the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and gain societal salience. Thus women's organisations have continued to grow over time, partly in response to the opportunities opened up by the Beijing Conference and the transition to democracy. Both events gave women's organisations greater legitimacy and therefore more opportunity to focus on women's rights, and to improve and enhance women's political participation.

Increasing the number of women's organisations

The growth of the number of women's organisations over time has proved critical in ensuring women's participation in governmental institutions at both local municipality and national parliamentary levels. There are now many programs provided by these organisations, and as noted by one respondent:

JNCW organisation increased awareness of women's political rights, enhancing women's participation in Bedouin areas in Jordan, and explaining and educating women in the electoral laws; this period has especially affected Jordanian women by changing different electoral laws and focused on the quota system at local and national level (JNCW2, 2012).

As a consequence of this raised profile, women who were leaders and members of women’s organisations attempted to further increase the number of women standing as candidates in other cities throughout Jordan by supporting them through a range of training exercises, and promoting their experience and suitability to run for office. The main women’s organisation, JNFW, has established twelve branches in different provinces in order to create opportunities to achieve progress and to fight for their rights. These branches are led by twelve rapporteurs and twelve coordinators from the same area of each branch. This allows them to more easily connect with women in different villages, and rapporteurs and coordinators are also connected to the main office in the capital of Amman.

The growth in the numbers of WCSOs has been led by groups of women active in public life and by women in political positions. As they have worked to improve women’s lives, they have also gained additional power and influence, even with the royal family of Jordan (Al-Atiyat, 2003; Mehra & Feldstein, 1998). In this way, the transition to democracy has provided women in Jordan who were sufficiently well-positioned with the political opportunity to advance their own careers and the interests of their women constituents. Women’s organisations have been assisted by the transition period and have taken advantage of the shift in institutional constraints, growing in number, size and reach thereby enhancing a significant growth in women’s political participation across Jordan (see Table 14).

Table 14. Women’s Civil Society Organisations (1990s-2000s)

Period	Number of Women’s Organisations
1980s	27
1990–1994	92
1994–1998	97
2000	88
2002–2009	110

Source: Data from the Centre of Al-Urden Al-Jaded, 1999, 2002, 2009.

As illustrated in Table 14, in the 1990s, the number of women’s organisations dramatically increased (Al-Suyoufi, 2007; National Commission, 2003). The number of civil society organisations focused on women tripled during the 1990s (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998). This was a direct result of the growing numbers of women who became involved in women’s organisations and in the growth of new branches in the twelve separate provinces of Jordan.

In the 1990s, the number of volunteers in all provinces reached over 70,000. Over half were concentrated in Amman, the capital (Mehra & Feldstein, 1998). The collected JNFW women's organisations, which have now spread throughout the twelve provinces in Jordan, had 127,000 members in 2013 (JNFW Report, 2013). Although there has been steady growth in the number of women's organisations since the 1990s, it was the transition period that provided the impetus for the significant increase in women's organisations. This increase in women's participation in the public sphere was probably the most important result of the third phase of the women's movement. The women's organisations have established different branches in different parts of Jordan. For example, the JWU has established seven branches, and JNFW has established twelve branches during the 1990s and the 2000s.

Hussein (2010) argues that the increasing number of women's organisations has resulted in the development of programmes that attempt to help women avoid becoming trapped by the cultural factors which hinder their advancement. The activities of women's organisations during the transition specifically included new programs that focused on the concept of women's participation for the purpose of improving women's political representation. Different women's activities helped to enhance women's political representation and assist women's organisations in overcoming the barriers they faced in implementing their strategies to change women's political position, and thereby enable them to become more legitimate actors in culture and society (Al-Suyoufi, 2007). Several women's civil society organisations formed women's community-based groups in order to facilitate their work in improving women's political status. Many of these organisations continued to advocate economic reforms for women (Al-Suyoufi, 2007; Khalil, 2009), as receiving economic support and becoming financially independent would allow women to better take on the responsibility to run for office.

During the third phase of the women's movement, WCSOs also became better organised in the sense that women's organisations now worked under the umbrella of women's organisation JNCW. They developed better communication channels and their organisations have paid greater attention to economic factors, pressuring government institutions to avoid any discrimination that could affect women's employment opportunities; in particular they advocated and lobbied for greater government support to help women find jobs with their newly developed skills (JNCW Web, 2008). Secondly,

during this third phase, women's organisations increased society's awareness about the importance of women's political participation, and women achieved greater representation at the local municipal level by targeting different issues of interest to women and the community. WCSOs promoted programs to develop women's skills and capabilities relating to how women could present themselves to the community as legitimate leaders, alongside training and awareness courses for women. WCSOs also spearheaded gender inequality awareness campaigns by educating women in the electoral law so that they could understand how they could run for office and present their messages.

As Beck (2012) notes, in the case of Jordan, women's rights must be formalised, so that equality is provided within the law. Women's organisations have indeed attained notable successes in relation to women's political rights. Firstly, they have discussed with the government how to improve women's equality rights in the political sphere. For example, in 1996, JNCW called for twenty percent of the seats in the Jordanian Parliament to be reserved for women (JNCW, 2011). Jordanian women's organisations collected 15,000 signatures in support of their bid to institutionalise women's political rights and fair political representation for women. In this case, the goal was to increase the number of women representatives in the Jordanian Parliament by pushing the government to implement quota seats at the national level, as it did in 2003 (JNCW Report, 2011). Women's organisations continued to lobby for an increase in the number of reserved seats and this resulted in an increase from six to twelve seats in 2010. The improvement in women's political rights has in turn encouraged more women to become politically active as candidates, and to assume a dynamic role within both formal and informal political institutions, as well as becoming active members in women's organisations.

The women's movement working through the framework of WCSOs has led to increased opportunities for women in leadership roles to hold meetings to discuss and to transfer to WCSOs ideas about women's political participation issues to the public. This in turn has resulted in WCSOs building a National Strategy alongside the government, thus making WCSOs a critically important actor in advancing women's representational goals. WCSOs have also increased their influence over government decision makers with regard to legislation relating to women. They have identified the constraints and obstacles that affect women's political participation, and also have followed up with the government to implement the decisions of the Beijing Conference in regards to the different social realms

of health, economics and politics (Al-Tal, 2013). During the transition to democracy from 1989 until now, women's organisations within public forums have proved essential to women's political rights' activism, have shared their calls for women's political action, and have promoted their ideas on the policies necessary to create institutional change that supports increasing women's representation.

Moreover, the mobilisation of women themselves has resulted more effective action being taken to enhance the level and quality of women's participation. This third phase has consolidated the outcomes of women's organisations' activism and clearly resulted in an increasing in women's representation that the women's movement had previously worked towards. The increased interest in gender equality amongst women in Jordan has encouraged women's organisations to increase their work organising specific training opportunities, and this has continued to facilitate the political participation of women. In this way, we see that institutional change has produced an opportunity for women's organisations to continuously mobilise women across Jordan.

By way of a brief summary, during the third phase of the women's movement and at the time of the transition to democracy, women began to increase their participation in politics at both the national and local level. Jordanian women's organisations encouraged women to become more involved in local and national politics which has further integrated women into public life. This was accomplished by pressure being applied to the government to change electoral laws in 2001, particularly to implement the quota reserved seat in 2003. Most importantly, the implementation of the quota system has assisted women to start to overcome the still relatively low level of political representation. Women in these groups and related organisations undertook their activities on the understanding that the state would be willing to co-operate with them. For example, the JNCW has supported women as advisers and consultants surrounding women's issues, and this has been done by involving women who have reached out to the government through women's civil society organisations. JNCW has sought a strong relationship with the government.

The number of women's organisations has continued to grow over time, and women's civil society organisations have worked towards change for many years. As a consequence, the transition to democracy has affected the activities of women's organisations and allowed them to be more direct in focusing on women political rights, changes to legislation, and in promoting the importance of women's political participation to the wider Jordanian culture.

Their focus has now been shifted to include the subject of sexual discrimination. JNFW and their branches through Jordan have proved to be influential forums for women, permitting women to discuss issues which mutually affect them. By holding meetings in JNFW branches, women were encouraged to express new ideas, and to approach the government with a more powerful, united voice.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the ways that the activities of the women's movement and women's organisations have changed and evolved during the third phase of the movement during the on-going transition to democracy from 1989 up until the current period. Women are now permitted to be more active in public life, and many do so through participation in WCSOs. I argued that, as a contemporary movement, the 'third women's movement' has played an important role on the back of the transition to democracy. The transition to democracy process has been a critical and important mechanism for assisting the process of developing political participation, and also in the emergence of women's civil society organisations. It has clearly played an important political role in terms of mobilising women to demand their rights (McIlwaine, 2009).

The period of the transition to democracy can be seen as 'a juncture period', and it has ultimately been positive for women. Agitating for change to women's rights and legislation has increasingly become a mainstream activity in Jordan. As the women's movement becomes more focused on gender equality and changing government policy, the increase of the number of WCSOs has assisted individual women working on women's issues. WCSOs have provided strategic support for women in an effort to assist them to gain political status, and have also assisted them in the making of advantageous connections with other organisations. A critical part of this has been the provision of human and financial resources to lobby for amendment to Jordanian laws pertinent to women's wellbeing and political rights. The major success of note over the 2000s was the implementation of a gender quota to boost women's political participation at the national parliamentary level, which built on the introduction of the quota at the municipal level in 1995. This chapter has drawn attention to understanding how civil society organisations have played a significant role in promoting women in their political life. This reflects the argument of Waylen (2007), who claimed that it is necessary to focus on gender issues

during the period of transition to democracy in order to understand how women's organisations have enhanced women's participation in public life and politics.

This period was credited with the growth of the intellectual dimensions of the women's movement and development of broad-based national organisations. The third phase led to an improvement in awareness of the specific issues that women have dealt with in Jordanian society as it applies to women's political participation and representation. The most important institutional change during the third phase of the women's movement in Jordan was the quota policy for women. Without the implementation of reserved seats, women would not be able to be as prominent in political life and would not be able to discuss women's issues nor improve laws related to women's status and rights. Spearheaded by women's organisations, the quota rule has assisted women to become part of the government at both a local and national level, and has facilitated the entry of more women into politics (Ryan, 2002). Additional institutional changes have taken place as a result of increasing the representation of women in parliament and the ministry and as such represents an important milestone for women. Even though cultural norms have been slow to change, a significant outcome has been the increased acceptance by Jordanian culture of women as politicians (UN, 2007).

By the 2000s, more women were standing as candidates for election: the increases were considerable - from three in 1993 to 54 candidates in 2003 and then 213 in 2013. Nevertheless, obstacles remain in terms of women gaining even greater political representation. Understanding these obstacles and how they have affected women in their political representation is essential. The next chapter will focus on describing some of the specific obstacles which have affected women's political representation by investigating the formal macro-level and informal micro-level institutional rules and normative influences which function as barriers to women's organisation being even more successful. This will allow us to understand why women's organisations commitment to formal institutional change, as well as their strategies addressing society and cultural norms, has been so important in the Jordanian context.

CHAPTER SIX: Macro and Micro-level Factors affecting Women's Representation

Women's organisations have assumed an essential role in enhancing the position of women in political life in Jordan. However, the activities of women's organisations, and their progress, have not taken place in a vacuum. Numerous feminist scholars have demonstrated the importance of the institutional context and its impact on the activism of women's movements and organisations. For example, Weldon (2002) and Rochon and Mazmanian (1993) note that women's organisations often focus their strategies and undertake activities to gain access to the policy process and thereby have an impact on policy outcomes. However, there are rules and norms, at the macro and micro level that underpin the political system and the policy making process, which in turn shape the way women's organisations are able to make a meaningful impact on the participation of women in Jordanian politics. This chapter reviews these macro and micro level factors through an analysis of the formal rules and norms of the political system. These factors include the dynamics of the electoral system, the role of the parties, and the effect of these on women's representation.

Second, informal institutions are investigated to reveal the extent to which they have impacted upon women's representation. Culture features as one dimension of this informal sphere. Culture can be understood to include, among other things, familial traditions, and tribal control of women, accentuated by long-standing customs, all of which are underpinned by a male dominated society. In Jordan men are placed above women, and as will become apparent, women interviewees responded that these cultural factors have affected their self-confidence and limited their participation in public life. Several studies (Al-Attayat, 2005; Al-Doqme, 2008; Nahar and Abu Humaidan, 2013; Shtawe and Daqstani, 1994) have noted that Jordanian women's political representation is affected by a range of barriers, including those noted above, and these continue to undermine women's ability to hold decision-making positions in general, and in terms of achieving political representation in particular.

The analysis below presents a discussion of the barriers that affect women's political participation. The participants responded to questions about what they regarded as key constraints, and the extent to which they thought women's political freedom continued to be impacted by social norms. This chapter will serve as an analytical guide to understanding how the barriers that have affected women are shaped by the institutional context in which women's organisations operate. This will, in turn, inform an assessment of how women's

organisations have responded in order to grow the political participation and representation of women in Jordan.

Formal Institutional Rules

A macro level focus on the formal institutions' rule has influenced the study of the representation of women in politics (Bird, 2003). Jordanian women's political representation has been affected by a number of challenges at different junctures, as women have sought equal rights and political representation, and have become involved in the process of becoming elected. In line with these insights, the next section will discuss how women themselves view the opportunities and obstacles presented by the formal institutional rules including the electoral system and party competition.

The electoral system

One third of the women that I interviewed in this research responded that women have been affected by the operation of the electoral system. They argued that the current electoral system needs modification to enable an increase in the number of women who participate in political life. They argue that the enhancement of electoral laws, through the broader use of quotas, could increase the percentage of women's parliamentary representation, and break down cultural barriers that prevent women from being active in politics. While the quota system and the electoral laws have facilitated women's participation in Jordan, with representation steadily improving, the increases are happening at a slow rate.

However, it is not just the electoral system per se, that is seen as the problem. Rather, the influence of clans or tribes on voters' perceptions of who constitutes a viable candidate is thought to have an impact on the opportunity for women to be successful candidates. The voters from clans or tribes do not provide women much opportunity to become candidates and develop their political skills because these voters are most often in favour of male candidates (Amawi, 2007). The impact of tribalism on the operation of the SNTV electoral system was explicitly noted by several interviewees from women's organisations in the provinces. They noted that, as voters have the right to vote for only one candidate, they preferred to vote for the candidates from their own tribes who were most often men.

Fleschenberg (2008) argues that the impact of the SNTV as a form of voting may be ineffective in terms of increasing women's representation, especially when there can only

be one winning candidate from each district or area. McGing (2013) has also argued that in such systems we “cannot discount the importance of cultural factors” (p.325). It is this particular aspect of both the STV and SNTV systems that tend to favour local notable candidates, which is good when parties are weak, as STV emphasises voting for the individual candidate rather than the party. It is, however, a problem in traditional contexts as it is more difficult for women to become locally known and to build the necessary public networks.

In case of Jordan, the SNTV system enables tribalism to be of continued electoral salience, especially given the weakness of nation-wide political parties. The electoral system SNTV itself favours men over women which is a point made in the scholarship as well as by ten interviewees. These interviewees responded that women were adversely affected by the SNTV system. One participant explicitly argued that changing the electoral law to modify the SNTV system would give women more opportunities to be elected and to gain more votes. Changing the electoral law to include multiple options would give voters a chance to vote for different candidates, which could help women to get elected directly to parliament. This reflects Matland’s (2005) point that electoral systems can affect women’s participation, and have the potential to change patterns of women’s participation relative to the cultural status of women in society. Interviewees pointed towards the challenges of the electoral system based on current electoral law:

The problem is in the electoral system in the form of SNTV; we have been constantly concerned about changing the electoral law (JNFW2, prov4, 2012).

Our challenge is within the SNTV electoral system to run for parliament (IWSCOs B1, 2012).

Rule (1994b) found there is a strong the relationship between the type of electoral system and the percentage of women elected to the parliament (p.18). She also found that STV systems were becoming increasingly viable and in many instances electoral reformers were advocating STV because the votes of women would impact on the final composition of parliament and better express their wishes (Rule, 1994b, p.691).

In case of Jordan, the reserved seats quota has been mapped onto the SNTV electoral system, and has increased the number of women holding office and women’s political representation throughout the country, and has helped women to take part of political positions. Thus, six women responded that it is still important to improve the current SNTV,

and to increase the number of women quota seats to increase the number of women's participation. There is awareness of the need for a strategic emphasis to be placed on making changes to formal institutions. For example, mandating internal gender quotas for political parties could also improve the progression of women in politics. Several statements provided by the interviewees show the importance of the quota seats system in supporting women given the weakness of current electoral laws in facilitating women's representation.

When the quota system came into existence, I got support from my community to be elected for office, this has encouraged me. Increasing the parliament seats by implementing quota seats has allowed women to reach their goal to be a Member of Parliament (WC1, 2012).

The quota system has assisted in increasing women's political participation as they run for elected office and more women vote (IWCSOs B1, 2012).

Reserved quota seats for women helped change society's opinion during the past several years, whereas prior they did not vote for women (IWCSOs A2, 2012).

Indeed, during the period over where this thesis was written, awareness of this issue appeared to filter through to the Jordanian government. In 2013, the electoral system changed once again with newly adopted law that instituted a mixed single non-transferable vote (SNTV) system and a proportional closed-list system. According to European Union Election Observation Mission Final Report (2013), the mixed law has given three more quota seats for women to participate in Bedouin areas. The Closed-List System (CLS) has a national constituency of 27 seats to be elected through closed lists of political parties, and this closed-list system is an innovation compared with Jordan's previous electoral systems. It also gives women more opportunity to run at the national level. For example in 2013, one woman won in the Closed-List System, and it is thought that this enhanced her electoral chances as she received votes from across the country. The change in the electoral system from a single non-transferable vote (SNTV) system to a mixed electoral system in 2013 (a SNTV system and a proportional closed-list CLS system) may yet be seen to be a critical juncture in the development of women's political participation if the numbers of women elected in future elections increases substantially.

This also suggests that informal institutional norms, such as the domination of tribalism and its favouritism towards men, can be changed by modifications to formal institutional rules. The electoral system in particular has been a notable example which has had an

impact on the number of female candidates from tribes and has decreased male domination in Jordan in general. Women's participation in Jordan has improved and it is less remarkable to see women in positions of leadership compared to even ten years ago. The responses of women in the interviews strongly supported the notion that the change in the electoral system, particularly the introduction of reserved seats for women had helped them to increase the numbers of women voters turning out and the election prospects of women candidates.

The political parties

We did not enter into a direct relationship with the parties therefore the parties are not effective in terms of our political existence (JNFW1, prov7, 2012).

Women have less interest in becoming members of political parties (JNFW2, prov4, 2012).

Norris and Lovenduski (1995) have argued that political parties serve as key gatekeepers for potential candidates who are interested in participating in political office. Kenny (2013) similarly claims that political parties control participation and selection for political office, and often serve as the main instrument to present candidates for parliament and government. Bano (2009) argues in developing countries, however, that the advent of political parties as they relate to increasing women's participation has not led to a significant number of women appointed to positions within parties due to cultural barriers. In the case of Jordan, however, the status of political parties within the political system is unclear at best. In fact, as shown by the two quotes from women immediately above, women believe there is a lack of a clear commitment on the part of the political parties to bring women more into politics. It seems that parties are not interested in women and that women are not interested in political parties in Jordan. To date women in Jordan have seldom chosen to engage with political parties; as the interviewees' note, they did not have communications or relationships with any political parties, and they did not want to be associated with political parties.

A total of 28 out of the 46 women who participated in this research were negative or uninterested in political parties. Regarding the representation of women in politics within parties, they agreed that the political parties did not play a substantial role in encouraging and assisting women to run for office to serve political positions. Rather, women suggested that women were affected by the male domination of political parties and this served as a

deterrent. Twelve out of the 28 women who were interviewed as representatives of women's organisations as well as individuals had not had the opportunity to communicate with parties often or to attend the activities of political parties. The political parties did not contact WSCOs, although women's organisations did contact the women who were members of these parties to engage them in their activities. This reflects the argument of Al-Rashdan (2002), who claimed that typically parties do not include women in their activities and do not communicate with women in regards to issues of women's rights and political participation.

Several examples were provided showed the lack of interaction between women's organisations and political parties:

We have not contacted the parties until now (JNFW2, porv6, 2012).

No, there is no political participation within the political parties by women (NJFW2, prove 8, 2012).

Our communication with the political parties is very weak and in my branch in our province, no women have been here have been members of any political party (JNFW1, prov5, 2012).

A key reason for this ambivalence towards political parties, generally, but amongst Jordanian women in particular, is that for decades the government did not allow its citizens to become party members or activists. There is some residual feeling amongst women that joining a political party may not be legitimate, even though restrictions on political activity were removed in 1992. Up until that point, participation in political parties had impacted upon the members of parties negatively; members of political parties were being constantly asked to inform the government about the reason that were taking up roles as members of these parties. This is an occurrence that still takes place even now in Jordan.

The women interviewed stated that it is rare for members of women's organisations, or women's organisations themselves, to have any visible or significant influence on the decision making undertaken within political parties, or the policies they develop in advance of an election. The women respondents stated that the parties are predominantly male dominated, especially in terms of the leadership roles, as noted in JNCW report (2011).

The strong sense that political parties have not served women well is a critical problem deserving of attention, because parties tend to be seen as a reflection of the male privilege

in Jordanian society in general. Moghadam (2007) and Dababneh (2012) have further argued that the absence of an effective political party system, especially for women, creates the most important challenge for those interested in taking part in political life and holding office. Moghadam (2007) argues that formal institutional rules such as party quotas (rather than reserved seats) can enhance women's participation in government. Araujo (2003) also argues women should be at the centre of parties and believes that party quotas should be considered and that would result in bringing women into positions of power, rather than relying solely on reserved seats.

Party quotas are those policies that "aim to increase the proportion of women among individual parties' candidates" (Krook, 2008, p.347). Similarly Gernet (2008) found that "party quotas are more successful at increasing women's participation in politics, as they are voluntarily adopted by political parties, which is often to their electoral advantage" (p.102). To enhance women's political participation, it is important to promote the practice of gender quotas within political parties. There is a need to use gender quotas in political parties in order to give women members more opportunity to participate in politics and be politically represented, and to assist them to gain seats in elected assemblies (O' Neal, 1993, p.37). As such, political parties in Jordan could assume a more proactive role in helping to promote women candidates, to run and stand for election, and in cooperation with women's organisations.

Informal Rules and Institutional Norms

Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith (2002) and Bjarnegard (2013), claim that changes in formal institutional rules could contribute to increased political participation for women, but it is important to also recognise that informal rules and institutional norms can impact upon women's participation in the political system. De Soysa, Jutting, Drechsler, and Bartsch (2007) have found in developing countries informal institutions such as family, and social norms often compete with or complement formal institutions (p.9). Similarly, Helmke and Levitsky (2003) argue that informal institutional rules permeate the political system because they are based on behavioural regularity and on social rules, and are created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially-sanctioned channels.

As a result of their embeddedness, and their slow-changing nature, informal institutions sometimes require changes to formal institutional rules to stimulate or create substantive

change (Helmke & Levitsky, 2004, p.732). It is unsurprising then that given the long-standing traditional social, cultural and tribal norms in Jordan that women have encountered various informal barriers to participating politically even when the formal rules were changed in their favour and quotas were introduced. Moreover, these informal rules and norms have also influenced indirectly how the electoral system works in practice, and how political parties have implemented candidate selection processes. The quota system has gone part of the way towards breaking down these informal obstacles, but there remains considerable institutional resistance.

Political and social culture

Lauti and Fraenkel (2006) argue that the main restrictions with respect to women's progress in politics are often viewed as traditional and cultural. In the case of Jordan, most women interviewed responded that Jordanian society is characterized by certain values, customs and principles that determine the position of women socially. Specifically, the dominant culture is patriarchal, masculine, and tribal and familial.

What becomes apparent is that most of the women interviewed indicated that they believe the representation of women has been affected by cultural barriers, more so than the formal institutions analysed above. The focus on cultural barriers in Jordan also relates to women's organisations in terms of membership, and the strategies implemented in their programs in different areas. As will be explored in more depth in the next chapter, these organisations cannot help all women to overcome the barriers in their attempts to help women to be more active in public life, as not all women's families allow them to participate in the public sphere. Most of the women who were interviewed explained that the social culture had direct negative effects in terms of their political participation. Many noted that others had used social pressure to try to stop them running for office, and that there remained a general sentiment among the public that men have more political ability.

Tribes were also identified by a number of women as being a critical issue. Nahar and Abu Humaidan (2013) argue that the tribes exhibit a traditional type of culture, and play an important role in Jordanian politics (see also Norris and Inglehart, 2003). Traditionally women are perceived to be first and foremost wives, and that their place is in the home, and this view remains strong amongst traditional tribal members. Women have tended to be reluctant to defy these social norms and are also in turn seen as unsuitable for political life

as a result of their limited experience outside the home. In addition, women once elected to office also had to contend with impediments arising from their own tribes and families. For example, a number of women interviewed stated that when they showed interest in running for election, they were challenged by their brothers and fathers, which is particularly problematic culturally as they had to receive family approval to run for election at the local and national levels. Nahar and Abu Humaidan (2013) argue that in terms of women's participation, families must agree and allow participation, which has affected women's participation in Jordan.

Over half of the women interviewed identified that socio-cultural factors had affected them in some way, and specified that they believe customs and traditions have an influence on women's participation. This constitutes a continuation of one of the fundamental issues that has plagued the promotion of women's rights in Jordanian society. It is not easy for Jordanian society to accept women being in decision-making positions and to be elected for high office. Women interviewed stated that their members have faced discrimination and barriers even from younger generations of men. In this way, we see the relevance of traditional culture continuing to inform socialisation processes which in turn negatively affects women's participation (Norris, 2004; see also Ritter, 2007). Eight of the participants specified that society still does not have complete confidence in the capabilities of women and their role in public life, as noted by several interviewees:

The vision of the society has viewed men as stronger in decision-making positions (JNFW, prov12, 2012).

Jordan has tribal rules and culture which has resulted in a masculine society, and has no confidence in women; this has a negative impact on the role of women seeking to take part in political decision making (MPs4, 2012).

Jordanian society is a tribal and macho society, and still distinguishes men from women and elects to give men their vote, not women (JNFW2, prov9, 2012).

Men do not believe in the role of women outside the house (JNFW2, prov7, 2012).

Al-Nawaisheh (2011) argues that traditional culture has continued to influence women's political participation in Jordan, even during the transition to democracy. Jordan's political culture remains tied to traditional values, customs, and Jordanian citizens are still socialised to believe the natural roles of men and women remain determined by tradition. Women's organisations have attempted to lessen the impact of this socialisation process by promoting

legislative changes that they hope will transform cultural attitudes that affect the reality of women, and by increasing women's political participation. Lauti and Fraenkel (2006) argue that the quota system has served to 'kick-start' (p.134) the journey to achieving a gender balance in parliament. Rather than waiting for Jordanian society to recognise the importance of equality and societal engagement for women and elect women to parliament directly, women's organisations hope that the bias will decrease through legislative change and electoral reform. For example, one respondent from the Jordanian JNCW noted:

Cultural society adversely affected women's ability to reach Parliament for several decades. However, the changes in laws relating to women's rights have featured in increasing women's participation in the political process (JNCW1, 2012).

The experiences of women respondents who participated in this research highlighted that their personal lives had also been adversely affected by traditional cultural norms, for example, some interviewees noted that many women got divorced if they decided to run for office, or even if they chose to vote differently than their husbands. Some women can be more qualified than many men yet customary and traditional habits within society hinder women from taking part in political life (Lauti & Fraenkel, 2006, p.134). Speaking to this problem, eleven interviewees stated that some women are under the control of their families, which negatively impacts on their level of participation:

We continue to face challenges as women as it is considered that we should just look after our family and society is still prefers that women stay at home; I wish that women could have a kind of positive freedom, in order to work and focus on issues that could successfully change this attitude (JNFW2, prov4, 2012).

Women have been facing challenges with their family, as they do not allow them to be out of their house (JNFW3, prov4, 2012).

Society still is reluctant to let women go out of the house, thus they do not believe women could have an important role [...] Other convictions...[well] they are not convinced of the role of women and until now society's perception positively favours men over women (JNFW2, prov1, 2012).

As a Member of Parliament [...] I wish society could be more encouraging of us (MPs1, 2012).

As a Member of Parliament [...] I wish that women could be treated fairly with justice [...] and that there would not be such a distinction between men and women (MPs2, 2012).

We need to change societal perception so that there is more faith in the ability of women and conviction in the capacity of women to be able to change (WP1, 2012).

This control and pressure comes from close family members, such as fathers, brothers, and sons on the one hand, and on the other hand, from tribal leaders and other influential men. These particular findings demonstrate that it is likely that cultural pressures will prevent voters from believing they can or should support women candidates. Some women were elected to the parliament and were able to reach high office only after receiving support from their close family, thereby echoing the insights of Nahar and Abu Humaidan (2013). Moreover, family support is dependent on individual circumstances and not an automatic right. For example, Bakir (2002) argues that in some exceptional cases men did support women throughout their campaign, and were proud of the women's political achievements although this appears to be a relatively rare occurrence.

However, based on the responses from the Jordanian women included in this study, there is some evidence that women's participation in politics remains neither normal nor universally acceptable. This reflects Norris and Inglehart's (2001) findings that in traditional cultures, men often express reservation about women's leadership, or women running for political office. One women's organisation representative stated that the men in her geographical area were surprised that a female in her province had won election in 2007.

As a reflection of these attitudes, Ouston (1993) argues that women are believed to be emotionally unstable and indecisive compared to their male counterparts, and as such, women are considered to lack the strength and capability required for high positions and cannot command loyalty. As one woman politician noted:

Men should reconsider how they perceive women, because they still see them as daughters or wives, even women in higher positions. Society has a responsibility to help women overcome the obstacles in front of them and change the stereotypes associated with women's roles (MPs3, 2012).

However, 14 out of 46 interviewees noted that the problem was not a lack of confidence emanating from others but also a lack of self-confidence amongst women:

We need women who have more self-confidence, to show that we can be in positions of responsibility (JNFW1, prov4, 2012).

The challenge for women is that they do not have high self-esteem [themselves] (JNFW2, prov4, 2012).

Respondents argued that this lack of confidence is the result of a culture that does not encourage women to take on challenges outside the home, and consequently has a negative impact on women's representation in formal political institutions. Several MPs stated that, from their experience, women did not believe that they would even receive encouragement from other women. Indeed, some interviewees seemed to reflect more widely-held attitudes that women should defer to men in some situations. This includes women who hold high positions and have university degrees. This reflects the argument put by Patil (2008), that gender-based discrimination also occurs through negative perceptions held by females of other females in male dominated cultures (see also Shvedova, 2005). In Jordan, many people are not convinced of the moral arguments for political equality or the value of having women in politics. Even though women have had some support from other women, they are also unsupported by a majority of women who are yet to join women's organisations. Several respondents noted the following:

In the previous five years women have not supported other women to take an active part in public life (JNFW1, prov12, 2012).

Also we need women to support other women (JNFW1, prov4, 2012).

The lack of awareness about the status of women by women, and the lack of female confidence about the role of other women, for example, [is an issue.] Women are not convinced about women even at the level of the doctor, [and] this has make it more difficult for the women who try to hold positions at different levels (JNFW1,prov 9, 2012).

From my observation it seems that women are jealous of each other, for example, my relationship with one female friend is warm and we have a strong relationship, however, when we wanted to reach a certain rank or get into particular positions, the jealousy started and I started working against her. So the jealousy of women toward other women sometimes causes the lack of opportunities that women have to reach their goals (JNFW1, prov 10, 2012).

Another key factor is that it is often only elite groups of women that receive support. It can be difficult for non-elite women to independently seek out leadership and political positions as noted by two interviewees:

Women, who have attained positions of leadership or decision-making, are either from political families or have succeeded through their experience (WC1, 2012).

Women are not seen as having the right to hold leadership positions to the same degree as men, [and are not considered] to be able to become senators or ministers; for example, women in the capital even if they are not qualified could receive appointment and I do not wish to focus specifically on the type of women, but focus on women who have their qualifications to hold a leadership position, yet do not receive consideration (MPs4, 2012).

Matland and Montgomery (2003), Matland (2005) and Tremblay (2008) have all noted that government support for elite women to access politics and gain political representation is often greater than for other women, and that this can actually be a barrier to full and diverse representation of and by women. A number of women interviewees explained that in Jordan the government supports elite women disproportionately to take up political positions, such as Ministers and Senators. This non-inclusive phenomenon prevents more women becoming active in public life as it suggests only women with elite backgrounds can expect to be qualified or selected to take up representative roles. While useful in terms of the symbolic effect of having competent women engaged in politics, arguably, the presence and prominence of elite women in politics may limit others from being elected or appointed who may be both qualified and interested in taking up the opportunity to actively participate in public life. The women interviewed in this study suggested that this focus on elites contributed to other women's lack of self-confidence in that they would never be able to meet the requirement of coming from a 'political' family.

Thus the continuing prevalence of a male dominated society and the associated traditional attitudes to women's roles (informal norms) means that many women are dissuaded from becoming active in public life in Jordan. This is exacerbated by the impact these cultural attitudes have on women's ability to gain support from other women, and grow their self-confidence.

Economic constraints

Economic factors are also significant in that they determine the standard of living, and determine the extent to which women are able to take on the economic risks associated with running for office. More directly, access to economic resources directly impacts on the opportunities for higher education, instruction and training. Norris and Inglehart (2003) argued that economic growth is as important as attitudinal change in the promotion of

gender equality. From this perspective then, economic empowerment is likely to increase women's participation in public life by ensuring that they have an opportunity to join the paid labour market, and support themselves and their family materially. Unsurprisingly then, economic barriers are considered to be one of the main constraints on women's participation in politics and public life. This is especially true for those from the middle and lower class in Jordan, and for non-elite women who reside in the provinces (Nahar & Abu Humaidan, 2013).

Economic factors have limited Jordanian women's ability to advance and finance campaigns in order to be elected at the local and national levels. Income earned by women is used instead for other immediate priorities within the family. Therefore, family obligations and burdens which fall on women have played a critical role in limiting women's political participation (Miqdad, 2006). It stands to reason that even if public attitudes and institutional rules changed to allow greater participation of women in politics, most women would still find this to not be a serious option:

Some women may face financial obstacles to being elected, as the cost to run their election could cost anywhere from thousands to tens of millions (JNFW1, 2012).

The most important obstacle is the financial support (JNCW1, 2012).

A total of 16 out of 46 women participants in this research noted factors related to economics. Clearly, socio-economic constraints have an effect on women's representation in politics and their ability to progress. This insight was supported by a member of a women's organisation who stated that "if the women have the ability to be represented in political action such as elections, the economic barriers will have a big negative impact" (JNFW2, prov8, 2012). Women noted a number of variations on this theme of finances, however. For example eight participants described this factor as derived from limited access to resources. In addition, nearly half of the women interviewed responded that they found it hard to find their own financial sponsors for their campaigns:

Women do not have financial support to cover the cost of their campaigns (JNFW1, prov4, 2012).

Economic empowerment is most important, so women who have a strong character and the capacity to work face a financial barrier, which is a big obstacle for them (JNFW2, prov8, 2012).

The challenge is the economic aspect, but women do not have economic independence, especially because women do not receive inheritance from their family while men do. So there are few women who have their own companies (JNFW1, prov4, 2012).

One participant responded that women are often financially dependent on family members, while two other participants argued that if women intended to stand as candidates, the removal of the full range of economic obstacles, and this would need to be state-driven. Another dynamic is that women require better and more equitable access to higher education if they want to engage in participating politically, yet men do not appear to need a higher education to enter politics. Given that gaining higher education requires financial resources and often goes against the preferences of males in a given family, this makes the conundrum more difficult to resolve:

Some employers do not believe that women have the same skills and capability to work to the same level as men do (JNFW3, prov4, 2012).

The role of women in the workforce is still limited in the public and private sector compared to men (IWCSOsB1, 2012).

Patil (2008) and Leach and Sitaram (2002) also claimed that sex-based discrimination in the formal labour market negatively impacts on women that it tends to be men who have the opportunity to get jobs with good pay and conditions. Peebles, Darwazeh, Ghosheh, and Sabbagh (2004) argue that many employers require women to have higher educational qualifications to assume jobs whilst men are routinely hired with fewer qualifications. Thus, it is evident that the cultural and social norms impact both directly and indirectly in restricting women's material opportunity to put themselves forward for public office.

Discussion and Analysis

Kelly and Bresline (2010) argue that women in the Middle East have undertaken the difficult process of enacting social change to reverse the unequal status of women. This has resulted in women's organisations working toward gender equality in governmental institutions and to hold positions at different levels in local and national government. Women's civil society organisations have continued to play a role in improving women's political participation in Jordan over time. Derichs (2014), Kuttab (2012), Molyneux, (2002), and Al-Atiyat (2003) all argue that women's mobilisation has had some impact in changing structures to promote gender equality, in enhancing women's rights, and in efforts

to include women in the political institutions, irrespective of institutional resistance and traditional cultural norms. In regards to their mission to improve women's political representation, interviewees noted that benefits could potentially come from alterations in the discourse around the importance of women's organisations. Women's organisations have gained civil society legitimacy and this has led to their having notable input into government decisions. This has in turn led to an increase in the proportion of women's reserved seats in the national and local governments, as well as other substantive policy changes.

Alongside this, women continue to experience low economic status. Structural socio-economic barriers have made women dependent in terms of financial support on their family and do not allow independent activity in politics. Thus we see that formal institutional rules have influenced women's political representation. Even though cultural traditions and norms have affected women's representation in Jordan, the formal institutional rules, such as the electoral system, the lack of political parties, results in women lacking confidence to consider participating actively in public life. Both formal and informal institutional rule changes are thus essential and will continue to affect women's political representation.

Conclusion

This chapter provided a discussion of the impact of formal and informal institutional rules and norms on women's political representation. Formal institutional factors are those legal rules, including the electoral system, and formal organisations, such as political parties, that impact upon whether women will be in demand or put themselves forward as candidates. Informal institutional influences are the norms and less visible means of regulating behaviour (often at the attitudinal level) that affect women's participation. In Jordan these informal rules have at their foundation long-standing traditions, customs, tribal affiliations, and all of which support male-centric norms. As seen in this chapter, these informal institutional arrangements have an impact in terms of undermining women's self-confidence, because they do not believe they can win the support of other women, and there is the very real perception that it is only elite women who are deemed 'acceptable'.

The analysis of interviews in this chapter shows that women's political participation has been affected by formal and informal barriers. This in turn highlights the importance of the

need for women's organisations to adopt specific strategies that address these barriers. The extent to which women's organisations have sought to affect formal institutional change as well as informal institutional change will be deliberated on in the next chapter. In particular I will focus on how these organisations have worked to address law change, to promote organisational changes within parties, to effect cultural and attitudinal changes in tribal/provincial areas as well as urban areas, to educate women, to provide economic support, and to build their self-confidence and belief in the possibility that non-elite women can participate in Jordanian politics.

CHAPTER SEVEN: Women's Organisations and the Promotion of Women's Political Representation

Women's organisations have played a major role since 1995 in strengthening the capacity and skills of women as candidates especially in terms of women's training on the management of parliamentary election campaigns (JNFW1, 2012).

This chapter examines the goals of Jordanian women's civil society organisations (WCSOs) in order to provide insight into the means by which women's organisations have sought to support and promote women's political representation. A key dimension of this analysis relates to how WCSOs have succeeded in undermining the barriers identified in the previous chapter. This chapter provides an empirical investigation of two domestic and two international women's organisations. It also looks at how women's organisations have assisted women in overcoming barriers that impacted women's political participation in terms of formal rules and norms. These formal rules and norms included the electoral system and other institutional norms, as well as social culture and economic constraints, as identified in the previous chapter. This chapter delivers a range of evidence to support the argument that women's civil society organisations have worked towards achieving a higher degree of women's political involvement, and have assisted women in undermining the constraints and barriers that have negatively impacted women's political participation to date.

This analysis of the goals of women's organisations reveals that four strategies have been focused upon. First, they have sought to empower women economically. Second, they have supported women throughout their election campaigns. Third, they have attempted to alter societal culture. Last, they have attempted to raise awareness among women themselves. This chapter also looks at how international and domestic women's organisations interact in order to promote women's democratic participation in Jordan by providing even greater support to domestic activities. Women's organisations have worked toward increasing women's participation in politics in Jordan. They have had some success thus far that Jordanian citizens have generally come to welcome and the idea of women's participation in politics at both a local and national level, has been supported especially since 1995. This has been accomplished by trying to involve women in different activities in order to present

them with opportunities to participate in political life, to actively gain more knowledge, and to become socially more prominent in the political arena.

Empowering Women Economically

Whoever owns the economy can own the decision-making, which can be an economic obstacle. In my province, women are excluded from economic empowerment. Men are always empowered and funded during election campaigns, whereas the women do not have the same power and are poorly funded (JNFW, prov9, 2012).

An International Alert report (2012) argues that the lack of women's economic success remains a major barrier to women's political participation. Also The Networks on Gender Equality Development Assistance Committee (2011) argued that women's economic empowerment is a prerequisite for rights and equitable societies (Networks on Gender Equality, 2011, p.3). Ghosh (2009) states that NGOs (Non-governmental organisations) can help women develop their economic skills and abilities through development projects that affect their lives as well as their social and political awareness and participation. Such sentiment is supported by Al-Sayouf (2008) and Khalil (2009), who argue that the women's organisations' involvement with women-centred economic projects in Jordan have played a role in societal change through the empowerment of women. This included disseminating information regarding an initiative to create a company to train and employ employees in agricultural labour via cooperation with the Jordanian University Faculty of Agriculture. Once women trainees have the necessary skills, they are offered jobs and a monthly payment for this work. In 2009, the company was looking to expand the program to be able to train and hire women for employment in the agricultural sectors (Khalil, 2009, p.32).

Most interviewees were of the opinion that domestic women's organisations since the 1990s had conscientiously worked to economically empower women, including working to fund small projects. Through their participation in various economic projects, domestic women's organisations assisted in enabling women to take up activities outside the home, as well as to reassess their participatory role within public life; in some cases this even included potentially running for political office.

Khreis (1999) concurs with this perspective, arguing that the engagement of women's organisations in Jordan in economic projects has altered the situation of women with regard to their financial independence. Khreis argues that the role of women in their family and

society has gradually changed and they can be more active than previously, although their economic participation in society is still effected by cultural factors. Moreover, a degree of financial autonomy may enable women to make decisions about their personal life without being dependent on their family, and more specifically on male family members such as their fathers, husbands or brothers. This argument was supported by JNFW members who noted that:

At this stage, as women organisations, we are focusing on financial support, in order to enable women to attend and participate in the seminars held by JNFW (JNFW, prov4, 2012).

The Jordanian National Commission for Women has given women training and funds to run small projects, such as ranching and poultry farming. These projects, run by women in their houses, have been organised in order to empower women economically (JNFW1, prov4, 2012).

Nevertheless, only nine out of 46 of the respondents noted that domestic women's organisations (DWCSOs) had directly provided funds to their small projects. For example, JNFW funds some small economic projects, but only a few women's organisations take them up. Consequently, economic issues have affected women's organisations in their efforts to support women with their projects. The economic barriers affected the role of DWCSOs in their support for women attempting to undertake local projects. Increased funding would allow women's organisations to expand their economic support of women in the community, as noted by one participant "this kind of support has been identified as an expectation of WCSOs in other countries" (JNCW1, 2012). Women cannot look outside Jordan for funding for economic projects, as relevant international organisations do not tend to support individual women's projects directly. They support domestic women's organisations as a whole. Such economic barriers are significant as noted by members of a JNFW women's organisation:

The first challenge we faced as women's civil society organisations were the economic factors that impacted upon the funding of our participation (JNFW1, prov9, 2012).

The main challenges are economic barriers; if we want to empower our members economically, we need to have more support for our organisation (JNFW1, prov1, 2012).

In the interviews, twenty three participants from women's organisations stated that with economic gains came increased confidence within their public lives, and financial independence had improved their ability to be more active and connect with other women in the community; this independence was a direct result of the work of the women's organisations. Individual women have been given more opportunities to gain support from their community, which has enabled them to run for elected office. This is important to note because their newly-found confidence encouraged existing members of the organisations to create projects that not only assisted in improving their own talents, skills, and abilities, but also helped them to address the economic challenges of others, as noted above. One participant shared that:

Women's organisations are considering granting more opportunities to help women talk about becoming financially independent while having confidence in their own natural abilities (JNFW1, prov1, 2012).

In short, domestic women's organisations have launched and supported small projects with the aim of empowering women to provide more opportunities and support their independence. By focusing upon economic barriers to political participation, this may in turn help empower them to venture out and to participate in public life. While the scale of such projects are not yet very large, they could serve as a template for future initiatives should greater funding become available.

Supporting Women's Election Campaigns

I have been supported financially by receiving a donation, amounting to 140 JD, which represented my registration fees; JNFW reimbursed me (JNFW, prov10, 2012).

Economic and financial independence also matters to women participating in politics and fund raising for political campaigns. A lack of financial independence means that women are generally less likely to be chosen as suitable candidates for election. The quote above indicates that women are heavily dependent upon others, such as family members, and this reflects arguments put forward in the report, *iKNOW Politics* (2007). This also reflects the opinions of interviewees discussed in Chapter Six, where women noted that economic constraints limited women's ability to financially support their own campaigns. In any democratic nation, "money is central to campaigns for public office as substantial amounts are necessary to mount credible campaigns for national office" (Burrell, 2005, p.26). Tovar

(2007) notes that the mobilisation of increased resources and finances for the purpose of funding women's campaigns "should be incorporated into the gender equality agenda, [and should bring] attention to the gender-specific needs and financial obstacles women candidates face in different geographical, cultural and political contexts" (p.18). At a national level in Jordan, women's organisations have begun to address the financial element of women's campaigns as they recognise how important funding is to female candidates to their chances of securing national office.

Seven out of 46 participants noted that the role of women's organisations was to help with financial costs, indicating that women's organisations have had a relatively limited impact in the fund raising process and have not provide extensive financial support for women candidates running for election to date. In many cases, this financial support was simply the payment of registration fees for female candidates, as noted above. This lack of support could limit the number of women running for office and lead to low numbers of women participating, or even attempting to participate in political life. Burrell (2005) and Carroll (1994) have argued that changes in campaign financing helps to increase the representation of women; so addressing this issue in Jordan is important.

Nine participants claimed that domestic women's organisations had supported women candidates seeking national election, albeit in kind, rather than through direct funding. For example, two respondents stated that when they ran for election they were provided with hats and tee-shirts by one women's organisation (JNFW). DWCSOs also invited women candidates to give lectures, as well as to hear and meet experts within the women's organisations to help build their profile during the campaign.

As previously mentioned, both domestic and the international women's organisations have both worked to raise the awareness of women themselves in regard to the importance of women taking up a role in public life. For instance, women's organisations held workshops in order to inform voters of the importance of women's participation in elections, which, in turn, could help women candidates connect with voters more easily. This becomes a virtuous cycle as they are subsequently more confident when making political statements in public. Additionally, they actively support and empower women to represent themselves. This has been achieved through various training programmes and activities. These activities help women to improve their abilities and skills, and to understand current laws that relate

to their everyday lives, some of which require political action to change to advance gender equality. These activities were referenced by several participants:

The direct training in legal literacy programs helps women know their rights (WP2, 2012).

I gained benefits from the leadership skills training (JNFW4, Prov4, 2012).

Women’s organisations have provided training programs for women candidates and for the managers of their campaigns (JNFW1, porv12, 2012).

Women’s organisations have provided training for women in regard to how they can present themselves, how to run for election, and how they can effectively present their messages to voters (NFW1, prov11, 2012).

In addition, nine of the participants agreed that the role of the women's organisations included providing moral support for women who wanted to run for political office:

I have gained encouragement from women’s organisations as they called me and asked me to present lectures and represent women by giving a speech on behalf of the women in my town (WC1, 2012).

The support is moral and may be limited to training candidates and voters (JNFW, Prov8, 2012).

The organisations asked women if they are interested in standing for parliamentary elections, in order to support them morally, not financially (JNFW, Prov7, 2, 2012).

Women’s organisations visited me during the election campaign to see how my campaign was going and to offer assistance (MPs4; 2012, Researcher, 2007).

The election support from DWCSOs is outlined below (see Table 15).

Table 15. Types of election support from DWCSOs

Type	DWCSs
Women’s campaign	
- Funding	7
-Moral support	9
Understanding legal requirements	21
TOTAL	37/46

Table 15 notes that, overall, most women interviewed had received some kind of support from domestic women’s organisations in Jordan, with 37 out of 46 participants stating that domestic women’s organisations were most helpful in supporting women candidates within

their campaign by offering to pay registration fees (despite domestic women's organisations themselves being economically challenged), and by providing moral support. DWCSOs helped female candidates in understanding the election law to run for national offices by offering seminars and workshops.

Domestic women's organisations have also focused resources on increasing the number of women at the municipal level. For example, the JNCW and JNFW organisations, which are both chaired by Princess Basma Bint Talal, worked to influence the government so that they would appoint 99 women members to various offices at the local level within different municipalities. This call appeared to be successful as women were then increasingly appointed at the local level (municipality) to be members of municipal councils, as noted here:

In our province, we have 23 women who have been appointed to different municipal roles (JNFW1, prov4, 2012).

In 1995, women have increasingly participated at the local level, as members of municipalities, via the appointment of 99 members by Princess Basma Bint Talal (JNFW1, 2012).

The achievement at the municipal councils led to increased numbers of women engaging in local politics, which in turn encouraged women's organisations to place women's issues on the political and decision-making agenda at both the local and national levels. Al-Attiyat (2005) also argues that the increase of women in the political process, through appointment or otherwise, added to the incentives for the government to recognise women's issues and rights, as well as showing concern for policies relating to women's rights. This conclusion was supported by several interviewees from the main offices of JNCW and JNFW:

Lobbying and organisational gatherings serve to raise the number of women appointed to municipality offices (JNCW1, 2012).

Lobbying is carried out to raise the degree of women's participation by appointment, for example; this includes appointments to the Jordanian Senate (JNFW1, 2012).

In particular DWCSOs have attempted to build a collaborative cooperative relationship with members of the House of Representatives. The DWCSOs relationship with members of the House of Representatives is characterised through meetings and conversations that

create awareness with regard to the laws affecting women's lives. This was noted by JNCW2, from her experience, that:

We have learned about the convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, and there was also a coordinating committee between the JNCW and the House of Representatives to study the legislation and laws that are presented to the House of Representatives (JNCW 2, 2012).

In addition, JNCW has taken up coordinating seminars, workshops and meeting with the members of the House of Representatives and Senators in order to explain a range of laws of relevant to women's lives, as well as the reasons for updating them. Several examples below highlight the relationships that exist between women's organisations and MPs:

JNCW has targeted the House of Representatives and held specific meetings and programs for the purposes of presenting women's issues to the House of Representatives (JNCW1, 2012).

There is cooperation for the purposes of transferring knowledge regarding issues related to women, and in previous years, there was an agreement between some parliamentarians in order to work as a lobby in order to support women (JNFW1, 2012).

My relationship is strong, in terms of being the chairperson of a civil society organisation in my province (MP1, 2012).

The narratives provided by members of various women's organisations and MPs described within this study, mirror those presented in the Westminster Foundation for Democracy report (2012) which argued that the women's organisations are formed for female parliamentarians for the promotion of greater inclusivity and representation. It is evident in the case of Jordan that domestic women's organisations have started to reach out to women parliamentarians in the hope of encouraging them to present women's issues so that they will potentially pass laws in the future to help improve women's lives. If women's organisations and parliamentarians could cooperate more efficiently and focus on approving and updating laws, this will greatly assist the improvement of women's situation. Furthermore, such collaboration will accelerate gender equality and assist women's organisations to realise greater women's representation both in parliament and in the broader political and civil society, which is the current primary objective of women's groups.

Women's organisations at the domestic level have primarily focused on the electoral system, as well as the legislation and laws in force that may improve the reputation of women overall. Domestic organisations have lobbied to increase the number of seats reserved for women at both the national parliamentary and municipal levels. While women have struggled to be part of Jordanian politics for four decades due to social and cultural issues, domestic women's organisations have been most successful in playing a role in supporting women's political participation by lobbying to increase the number of women's reserved seats. Women's civil society organisations called for 20 percent of the seats in parliament to be occupied by women, and this was achieved through the implementation of reserved seats in 2010 (JNCW report, 2011). The main proposed change was that the quota system would promote to the parliament those women who had achieved the highest percentage of votes relative to the population size of their province, rather than the highest percentage of votes relative to the size of their district. This would naturally favour those running for election in urban areas rather than the rural area given the relative population sizes. Beck and Collet (2010) note that women's civil society organisations later successfully lobbied throughout the 2010 election to increase the number of quota seats from 6 to 12 seats in order to provide women with greater opportunities to run and stand for elected parliament offices.

Changing Social Culture

As members of women's organisations, we particularly encourage women to support and elect women (JNFW1, prov2, 2012).

As noted previously, Jordanian society is characterized by certain values, customs, and principles that determine the position of women socially. Specifically, the dominant culture is patriarchal, masculine, tribal, and familial. Women who were interviewed explained that the social and cultural composition of Jordanian society had direct negative effects on them in terms of incentives revolving around their political participation. It is important to understand the role of women's organisations and how they are attempting to help all women to overcome socio-cultural barriers, and to help women to become more active in public life.

Jutting and Morrisson (2005) argue that the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women to exercise their freedom and the presence of mind to make

autonomous decisions may assist in altering social perceptions, and eventually will result in the alteration of norms and culture. As noted previously, traditional social culture has negatively affected the participation of women in public life in Jordan. Women's civil society organisations have, however, succeeded in altering to some degree the public's perception of women, and women now have more of an opportunity to venture out from their homes and be more active within society. There are reasons to be optimistic that these activities have affected Jordanian society, and it is now more acceptable for women to be active in public life and politics. This point was supported by JNFW1, who stressed that:

The fact is that the JNFW is now one of the main women's organisations throughout Jordan, and it now has a lot of opportunity to communicate with more women from different areas across the country to improve the roles of women in their communities (JNFW1, prov5, 2012).

Socio-cultural barriers, alongside economic barriers, are still the major ones that affect women's political participation, and influence women themselves in terms of being reluctant to politically engage. Women's organisations' members, through their participation in JNFW, have actively looked to educate women in the community regarding the importance of women taking on a role in public life. Domestic women's organisations have sought to lobby further for the appointment of women to political roles, such as at the municipality level. It addresses this problem by directly circumventing the socio-cultural barriers, and in the long-run, altering them.

The mobilisation efforts by DWCSOs have enhanced the involvement and increased the number of women by supporting them and encouraging other women to vote for women candidates running for office. The implemented quota system has provided more opportunities for women to run by having certain seats that they can run for, allowing them to circumvent the socio-cultural barriers that would otherwise exclude them from the political and electoral process. This reflects the argument of the report of the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance IDEA (2004) that "quotas address the cultural challenges to women's representation in the Arab world" (p.3), although it did also note that "cultural values take a long time to change" (p.38).

In short, domestic women's organisations have been playing an important role in attempting to facilitate the realisation of genuine and on-going women's participation by transforming socio-cultural barriers. Women's organisations have been supporting women

so that they have better opportunities for acquiring legitimacy as political actors and greater acceptance, and thereby become more active within public life. This change has been achieved through the involvement of domestic women's organisations, through the implementation of the quota reserved seats system, and the appointment of women at the local-level. Pettygrove, Nasser and Fauss (2006) argued that the quota-system presented an opportunity for women to be accepted as legitimate participants in politics in Jordan.

Raising Awareness among Women

The most significant matter that we work on, is informing women and training them, and also the voters (JNFW1, prov3, 2012).

The European Institution for Gender Equality (2013) report argues that raising awareness of the importance of women's rights by "changing attitudes, behaviours and beliefs" (p.1) constitutes one of the crucial strategies for changing opinions and policies in regard to women's equality. Khalil (2009) has emphasised the importance of women's organisations for generating awareness through training, and thereby offering support and guidance for their members. Ballington (2012) argues that domestic and international women's organisations in South Africa have thus far aimed to increase awareness of women throughout their campaigns, through such efforts as implementing and extending the national quota system. Interviewees reflected the findings of scholars, such as Keyman and Icduygu (2003) and Diamond (1994), who suggest that civil society organisations remain a critical mechanism for the enhancement of women's lives and mobilising pressure for political change.

Discussions with women respondents indicate that participation in women's organisations is seen as a significant factor in increasing the effectiveness of women politicians. Most women stated that, as candidates, they received training from women's organisations to enhance their capabilities and skills related to their respective parliamentary election campaigns. This training also encourages women voters to understand their rights and their roles, and also to seek representation in politics. These organisations assist in the explanation of election laws and the quota system so that women could learn how to participate and understand the implications of a new law. This reflects Hickey and Mohan's (2005), argument that NGOs in political, legal and moral terms serve as repositories of knowledge. Additionally, Darke and Cope (2002) found that women's organisations were experts on "gender-based" issues as they worked in-depth on such matters and could offer

advice to women candidates and politicians. Responses of women’s organisations reflected the findings from the scholars mentioned above:

The participation with women’s organisations raises the efficiency of women (MP3, 2012).

As domestic organisations, we developed a national coalition, in order to support women in their election, and to inform women candidates about election law (JNFW, 2012).

Table 16 shows the key findings in accordance with the interviewees, each of which will be expounded upon and discussed below.

Table 16. Role of WCSOs in raising women’s awareness for political rights

Activities	DWCSOs	IWCSOs
Training activities	22	18
Capabilities, skills and expertise	5	11
Understanding rights and laws	8	1
Awareness in political action	8	9
TOTAL	43/46	39/46

Domestic women’s organisations realise that their contribution to improving the skills and awareness of women activists and politicians develops their capabilities and assists them in envisioning themselves as playing a more proactive participatory role in public life. Through training, activities and various programmes such as workshops, lectures, seminars and meetings, members of women’s organisations have been transferring their skills to ensure attendees are made aware of the laws influencing and regulating their daily lives. Twenty two participants agreed that women had benefitted from domestic organisations’ training sessions. Women interviewees believed that domestic women’s civil society organisations not only helped women to become more aware about their rights, but that they also actively encouraged them to be more active in public life.

My success in domestic civil society organisations gave me the motivation to become more active in public life (WC1, 2012).

Our domestic organisations [under the banner of...] “JNFW” have empowered women through training them in many skills, including how to communicate with

others. We have attended different training courses which enable women themselves to become trainers (JNFW2, prov6, 2012).

The awareness programs related to politics helped women attain knowledge regarding decision-making processes. Women have now obtained decision making positions, such as Members of Parliament, at municipal level, and as mayor (JNFW3, prov 6, 2012).

Women's organisations have assisted women to help improve their skills to empower women to take roles in politics and social life (WC2, 2012).

Several programs conducted and organised by domestic women's organisations have been supported by international organisations, especially programs to promote women's political participation, as noted by staff persons associated with domestic organisations:

We cooperated with UN and UNDP offices in Jordan to support our programs (JNFW1, 2012).

We got support from UN women and our relationship is strong; as of last year we had participated in 55 training courses with UN women (JNCW2, 2012).

Markoff (1999) has claimed that women's rights advocates have made beneficial use of existing international organisations, while Connel, Smoot, and Abi Khalil (2013) claimed that international organisations are currently sending individuals and groups to share ideas, expertise, knowledge and their experiences to the Middle East and North Africa (MENA).

Such exchange programmes help women to gain more experience and build their expertise, and most of the participants who attended international women's organisations training say that they gained useful information regarding how to best present their campaign messages, as noted by several interviewees:

We have worked in programs related to women's political participation through training women as candidates and we are supportive of women in how they can manage their campaigns (IWSCOs A1, 2012).

As an international organisation, we have a focus on women candidates, and the members of municipalities, by offering training for them in terms of how they can gain support (IWSCOs B2, 2012).

International organisations have followed women, even after they become successful in their campaigns, so to help them improve even further and increase their skill in presenting their messages to the public, as noted by several interviewees:

IWCOSOs have included media training for women to learn how to effectively participate in TV interviews, and to be more confident to give their opinion on a variety of issues (IWCOSOsB1, 2012).

International organisations have different programmes for women to exchange experiences, even after we won our campaigns, such as media training (MP2, 2012; also from my experience).

Currently the most important women's organisations we are in contact with are the international organisations (NDI), and they are the only ones trying to support us, especially in terms of exchange programs with other women (MPs2, 2012).

Respondents noted that this had had a positive impact on the work and activities of domestic organisations. Several examples were provided:

International organisations have helped women who wanted to run for office at the national level and would like to run in elections for parliament, by training them to be able to reach parliament (IWCOSOs B2, 2012).

International organisations supported domestic organisations by providing professional expertise to improve women's competencies (MP2, 2012).

We had meetings at National Democratic Institute (NDI) and at the International Republican Institute (IRI) institute. We met and spoke exchanging our experiences (MP4, 2012).

These responses reflect the comments of Rolla Attar, director of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in Jordan, published in the Living Well magazine (2010). Attar stated that, communication with local groups, including women's organisations; addressed issues such as the political participation of women, helping them to gain valuable experiences that later helped their public service work. For example, the NDI has helped women build and run effective campaigns, mobilizing voters to help elected women candidates across Jordan. Four women in parliament commented on the effectiveness of international organisations that had helped them in the past to raise awareness and knowledge through their connections with senior advisory staff within international organisations.

Overall, 29 out of 46 the respondents stated that they gained expertise from the international women's organisations' training, and furthermore were able to build upon their existing capabilities and skills offered by international organisations. This collaboration improved the efficiency and expertise of women who had sought and run for public office previously,

both during and subsequent to the election. The help they received provided them with the opportunity to work with more confidence with regard to their work as legislators.

Furthermore, these individuals benefitted from understanding the work of women's representatives elsewhere. For instance, one interviewer stated that women's organisations carried out workshops to inform voters of the importance of women's participation in elections, which, in turn, could help women candidates connect with voters more easily. This becomes a virtuous cycle as they are subsequently more confident in the political statements that they make in public. Additionally, they actively support and empower women to represent themselves.

Female candidates who were interviewed supported these perceptions of women's civil society organisations. For example, they believed that they had increased their own ability to take action and succeed, which, in turn, assisted in improving the perception and credibility of other women in the political sphere. Moreover, the help they received had assisted them in increasing other women's confidence, thereby increasing the likelihood of other women seeking political office. Legal training courses and other programmes had also helped to increase their knowledge; two participants from the main offices of international organisations articulated a hope that they may have the opportunity to find other women who would consider standing for parliamentary elections. Therefore, women parliamentarians have joined with women's civil society organisations for the purpose of helping potential candidates to build their self-confidence. They used their experience to encourage prospective candidates, they provided advice, and they articulated a clear vision with regard to women's issues and their mission.

A majority of participants also responded that they thought that domestic women's organisations had worked effectively to communicate and reach women from varying backgrounds and locations within all 12 provinces. Table 16 summarises participants' responses with regard to the role of international and domestic women's organisations, with 43 out of 46 responders consulted in this study agreeing that domestic women's civil society organisations have been working toward the objective of raising awareness for and about women's conditions in Jordan. Furthermore, 39 out of 46 participants stated that international organisations cooperated with domestic organisations and supported their domestic programs. For example, a JNCW organisation has worked with different international women's organisations in order to "improve the state of knowledge about the

status of women in Jordan” (Social and Economic Development Group and Middle East and North Africa Region, 2005, p.49).

In summary, increasing the awareness of women through training activities encourages women to become more knowledgeable and more assertive in relation to their rights. This reflects the argument of Moghadam (2003), who asserts that the goal of women’s organisations is to enhance the rights of women as part of ordinary life. The women MPs have gained greater credibility as candidates for office over time. This is in some part due to the impact of various training courses, which has allowed the vision, talent and abilities of these women to be better expressed in political discourse. Voters have responded positively as they see women demonstrating their talent as they compete with men in the political arena. As these women gain more experience and refine their skills, this has resulted in an increased ability to take political action, and has emboldened women to speak to the public and educate other women with regard to women’s social and political status and their existing rights.

Narratives of the members of women’s organisations described here reflect the arguments presented by the report of the National Democratic Institute (2005) in the sense that international women’s organisations had an awareness of the role for working with “domestic women’s organisations to help them develop and implement strategies to encourage women’s political participation” (National Democratic Institute, 2005, p.32). For instance, the interviewees who were politicians discovered that women who attended women’s civil society organisation’s activities and workshops were more active with regard to their own community compared to the period before their political career.

Additionally, Waylen (2007b) has argued that “feminist professionals organised workshops that often engaged in consciousness raising as well as leadership training and sessions on sexuality and women’s legal rights” (Waylen, 2007b, p.60). Responses of women’s civil society organisations at both national and international levels had a significant impact by assisting women in asserting rights’ claims, as well as in improving their understanding and education through provided training programmes. Furthermore, the delivery of group training sessions was undertaken in order to increase the amount of women that would be able to assist other women in the future. Indeed, two participants became trainers with the intention of improving their own abilities and ability to share information about their experiences, issues and ideas.

Discussion and Analysis

The data collected from interviews offers insights into the efforts of domestic and international women's organisations in the promotion of women becoming more actively involved in public life. Women were encouraged by these organisations to take part in politics and women were tangibly assisted in a variety of ways. The ultimate goal of these WCSOs was to reach as many women as possible who wish to build a career in politics or in other areas with administrative or decision-making responsibility.

Initially, women's organisations started out by pursuing the aim of ensuring that women were suitably represented in society, as well as spreading ideas and emboldening women to participate in public life. In addition to opening women's pathways to political, executive and legislative positions, WCSOs have also sought to enhance the status of women by making them more aware of changes necessary for personal development. To promote the acquisition of the skills needed for women to fully understand and exercise their rights and enhance their social status, emphasis has been put on consolidating their general education and providing them with training. The more educated and skilled women are, the more capable and self-assured they feel about becoming involved in political life. This essential point was highlighted by the female interviewees.

Offering assistance to women for securing political or decision-making positions and equipping them with knowledge about the legal underpinnings of the electoral process are also important goals of women's organisations. This has been translated not only into financial support, but also has involved the provision of much-needed moral support. Adequate training has always played a crucial role in giving women the tools to successfully run campaigns for political office, and to overcome overwhelming obstacles. These activities fall more within the scope of domestic women's organisations, whereas international organisations tend to focus on facilitating access to information and enhancing candidates' skills by imparting their expert knowledge.

On the other hand, the women who were interviewed stated that the financial support that is offered to women in politics at present is still not enough and should be increased in the future. This emphasises that helping women to achieve financial independence should be the main priority of WCSOs at both domestic and international levels. Financial considerations pose significant hindrances to the active involvement of women in politics. Women lack

the necessary capital for running campaigns because WCSOs do not have ample funds. In this regard, the findings are consistent with those articulated by various researchers, including Shvedova (2005), that women's participation in political life is primarily obstructed by financial inequality and levels of economic growth.

The relationships that women's organisations have established with women MPs are also vital. They enhance women's status by assisting women MPs to convert ideas into policies, and prompt reconsideration of laws pertaining to the social position of women. The MPs also benefit from connections with women's organisations to keep abreast of developments with regard to women's issues. Furthermore, the relationship that domestic women's organisations have built with Princess Basma Bint Talal, leader of the JNCW and JNFW women's organisations, has proved crucial in enabling these organisations to secure different positions for female candidates.

International women's organisations have given their support to domestic organisations by funding programs related to empowering women financially, and they have also worked towards achieving their goal of increasing the awareness of the role of women in Jordanian society. International women's organisations in return have obtained from their participants the knowledge that they need to improve future programmes in order to help women to become more politically active.

The election of women to parliament is not the only goal of domestic women's organisations; they continue their efforts to provide women the support they need to expand their knowledge and skill base, as well as consolidate their status as players on the political stage. Thanks to such efforts, women who have secured seats in parliament have been able to acquire more experience and broaden their knowledge of key issues that necessitate informed views and discussion. Furthermore, by working in collaboration with each other, the domestic women's organisations and female politicians can pass on the accumulated knowledge and skills to other women who wish to enter political life, affording them the support required to run their campaigns with success. For women at the start of their political career, the assistance of other women with expertise and knowledge is invaluable, especially with respect to presentation to constituents in their communities and parliamentary elections. Thus, the activities and programmes arranged by women's organisations are vital in putting female candidates into contact with experts. This enables

them to develop and expand their network of connections, from which they can draw support to run for office.

Conclusion

It is evident that women's civil society organisations have made a significant contribution to the empowerment and recognition of Jordanian women, granting them the greater assurance needed to take part in political life. As reported by the participants who were interviewed in this study, WCSOs have helped women to secure decision-making positions by providing them with needed skills, education, training, and knowledge. In the context of the training sessions and strategy planning meetings offered, domestic and international women's organisations concentrated on making women more aware and better informed regarding their rights, as well as supporting women in acquiring the competencies needed to advance in the political and public spheres.

In addition, by advocating how important it is for women to be involved in politics and public life, women's organisations have made a contribution by honing the competencies and abilities of women. Domestic women's organisations have been instrumental in making the people of Jordan more aware of the significance of women's political participation. They have also worked together with the Jordanian government to assign a greater number of women in local positions of power, especially since 1995. This helps to make the presence of women in parliament more visible. As a result of such measures, Jordanian women have become more confident in their ability to recognise problems and overcome obstacles facing women in society, as well as to call for policy amendments and enforce them promptly.

Women's organisations have been of invaluable assistance in removing the obstacles that have hindered women in Jordan from taking part in political life. These organisations have promoted female representation in Jordanian public life by providing women the necessary support to run election campaigns and foster changes in their social status. This has led to the creation of networks of mutual support, as women who have succeeded in entering politics help other women to attain their objective of forging a political career and fighting for equal rights. Such networks are a highly important component of women's organisations as they play a central role in the dissemination of ideas and experiences,

increasing women's awareness of the purpose of WCSOs as well as advancing women's issues. These aspects constitute the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Women's Networks and Women's Civil Society Organisations

In the preceding review of the role of women's organisations in Jordanian society, the focus was primarily placed on documenting attempts to overcome barriers that have affected women's wider political representation through formal political and economic legal changes, as well as through the provision of greater opportunities, including training and education, to politically active women. This chapter discusses the ways in which women's networks coordinate and transfer information to women members who are involved in these networks. This focus on networks will show another way that women's organisations assist women to overcome the socio-cultural and economic barriers that women in Jordan have faced by facilitating and connecting women and activists in face-to-face meetings with other women, nationally and internationally. The transition to democracy period has given women's organisations the opportunity to build women's networks in the new, more open environment. Since 2006, the growth of women's networks in Jordan reflects a significant change in how women's organisations and their participants inform and translate their demands and create awareness throughout society with respect to the barriers that have affected women's participation in politics.

The goal of this chapter is to analyse the relative importance of the women's networks domestically and internationally, and the knowledge sharing and creation that takes place through networking. It also highlights the importance of differentiating between formal and informal networks, and describes the levels of access to these networks for different groups of women. The exploration will demonstrate the manner and the way in which the members of the women's networks transfer their knowledge to other women, who in turn want to help improve the lives of other women throughout society. Also discussed is how the intensification of networking between women's civil society organisations is a prerequisite for improving women's representation in areas of activity such as women's rights, and the laws relating to women's political status in Jordan. Understanding women's networks is important because the strength of networks may impact the quality of sharing and knowledge exchanged within networks.

The discussion contained in the preceding chapters indicates that there are strong reasons to believe that women's networks are critical to advancing women's political interests. These insights also underpin my own argument that the growth of the women's networks in Jordan reflects a significant change in the power of women's organisations to mobilise

resources and their participants to inform and to influence wider Jordanian society. The space that has opened up in Jordan since the transition to democracy has allowed this development to take place. In addition, as will be discussed below, my research indicates that women's organisations have taken advantage of political changes in Jordan to share issues of concern relating to women's issues with Members of Parliament and those running for office. In general, women have become more active and involved in political activities, and the networking between women's organisations and between professional women has enabled this development.

Women's Networks

The goal of women's networks is to promote "collaboration of local women's organisations and their affiliated regional and global networks, increase grassroots women's participation in decision-making processes impacting their lives with a special focus on political participation" (Leavitt and Tonder, 2003, p.7). Durbin (2011) argues that women's networks allow the more effective development of programmes that help to develop skills. The networks' strategy has a significant impact on the exchanging and sharing of knowledge. Such networks impact the members of the organisations and their relationships with others, by sharing members' experience and connecting members domestically and internationally, (Wilson-Grau and Nunez, 2006).

Purkayastha and Subramaniam (2004c) have argued that formal and informal women's networks also play an important role in bringing about positive social change. Purkayastha and Subramaniam (2004c) state that informal networks "involve[d] the community in the process of decision making through the creation of social space for sharing experiences that are particularly empowering for participation" (p.8). Durbin (2011) states that formal networks "comprise a set of individuals with formally specified relationships between superiors and their subordinates and among those who have to interact with others outside of their usual functional groups in order to accomplish certain tasks" (p.94). Formal networks are built on linkages between professional women in the public sector where the explicit purpose is to coordinate on policy measures concerning women, whereas informal networks are comprised of associations between organisations that enable women to share experiences either face-to-face at meetings, or while spending time with each other in informal settings. Formal and informal networks accompany each other, and the development of women's status through formal networks is often spread via informal

networks (Purkayastha and Subramaniam, 2004c, p.56). Durbin (2011) also finds that “women join networks to help personal skills development, to meet other who could help with their careers and for social contacts” (p.98). Bjarnegard (2013) argues that “informal networks often have precedence over formal arrangements when it comes to important decisions being made” (p.53), especially when political systems are weak and are dominated by corruption issues that affect the quality of governance (Bjarnegard, 2013, p.53). Kuehnast, Omar, Steiner, and Sultan (2012) argue that networks can establish effective internal and external communications and connections between women’s groups, thereby enabling women to learn about legislation and women’s rights. These networks can help assist women to find resources to run campaigns and provide training to generate awareness about politics amongst women. Zuidberg (2004) also argues that building women’s networks enhances calls for policy change and the desire to influence political development with respect to improving women’s lives.

Networks can influence discourse, procedures and support policy changes; they help different groups of actors from many countries to unify their values and goals and mobilise for social change. Dajani (2008) observes that networks are often “formed between individuals or organisations to exchange information, to mobilize support, to co-ordinate strategy, [and] to share and to have a greater political impact” (p.4). This perspective is supported by Putnam’s argument that the significance of networks lies in their capacity to “coordinate and cooperate for [shared] benefits” (Putnam 1995, p.66). With respect to women, Craviotto and Antolin (2010) have observed that women’s organisations and networks have accelerated the liberation of women by increasing the mobilisation of women and their influence on policies pertaining to gender equality within their communities (see also Malhotra, Schulte, Patel and Petesch, 2009). Keck and Sikkink (1998) believe that such networks are important in forging new links among actors in civil society organisations both internationally and domestically.

One aspect of women’s networks is that they “bring together experts, NGOs, [and] consultants” (GDN, 2013, p.1) to defend women’s rights in line with their aims “to improve female representation” (MWIN, 2011, p.6). Networks help in achieving women’s rights and equality by increasing the opportunities for women to take an active part in the political process, and successes for women are due in part to the efforts of women’s organisations comprising these networks, as highlighted in the previous chapter. Women’s civil society organisations have connected with several networks domestically and internationally. This

reflects the argument of Keck and Sikkink (1998), who emphasise the importance of transnational women's networks for producing policy change and generating new ideas about gender justice. As noted by Marlin (2012), women's networks are becoming increasingly common and are widely seen as an important element of a society's efforts to advance women's rights. Women's networks can contribute to the globalisation of culture by developing the society's interest by giving women a chance to participate in activities and meet other women globally (Kurwitz and Taylor, 2012, p.810).

Networks have assisted women to connect with other women from other countries in order to discuss and share various topics and situations, and overcome obstacles (Kuehnast, Omar, Steiner, & Sultan, 2012). Networks enable an understanding of the political environment in various regions of the world regarding social, cultural and political issues as actors in different geographical positions negotiate with institutions of power, formally and informally. Strengthening networks exist as a specific strategy to enhance gender equality (True & Mintrom 2001), and increased focus on network-building had become a feature of the global women's movements by the late 2000s (Wilson-Grau & Nunez, 2006).

Aims of women's networks

Women's networks are important mechanisms that enable women's organisations to promote women's political representation. As a manifestation of critical social processes taking place between the actors involved, women's networks are comprised of organisations that represent key channels for sharing knowledge and developing activities (Bouwen, 2001). The report of the Metropolis Women International Networks (2011), states that the objectives of women's networks are "to improve female representation in local government and decision-making processes and to facilitate the sharing of experiences and good practice relating to good governance" (p.6). True and Mintrom (2001) have emphasised that the aim of networks is to play an influential part in domestic politics. By advocating for changes to policies that would benefit women, they enhance the ability and the influence of domestic women organisations to promote change and guide the participants of these networks toward embracing a set of ideas by transforming their attitudes. In this way, networks serve to assist women who are interested in participating in politics and public life, yet do not have direct experience or are otherwise unable to articulate their aspirations in a confident and coherent fashion.

The main objective of the women’s networks is to help women build relations between the actors (the members of these networks) within international and domestic organisations, as well as within their societies. Women’s networks play a vital role in assisting women to connect with other women around the world regarding issues related to their challenges and interests (True & Mintrom 2001). According to Keck and Sikkink (1998), women who were active members in networks have connections with domestic and international networks as well as individual women. These networks can create ‘thick’ relationships between women and gives them opportunities to improve their situation by exchanging ideas regarding different issues. Dajani (2008) argues that in the case of Jordan, women’s networks have shown their effectiveness in promoting gender equality by organising training workshops, seminars, and conferences. This provides participants with on-going opportunities to develop their skills, talents, and abilities.

According to Durbin (2011), Wilson-Grau and Nunez (2006), McGuire (2000), the effectiveness of women’s networks is dependent on the aims and strategies applied by these networks, as is detailed further in the Table 17 below.

Table 17. The aim of women’s networks to improve women’s organisations

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A key channel for sharing knowledge. • Exchange of information and material resources. • Social exchange. • Provide social benefits, by interactive behaviour between individuals. • Able to balance the diverse contributions of members. • Provide members an opportunity to be active in different exchange programmes. • Provide the opportunity for women to meet with other women and with various delegations of women from different countries around the world. • Enhance the interaction between its members, building relations between the actors. |
|---|

In addition, according to the Gender and Development Networks (2013) report, networks can also bring “experts from women’s organisations, consultants, academics and individuals to work on gender development and issues related to women’s rights” (2013, p.1). They do this by encouraging the members of national and international women’s networks to share ideas, visions, interests, and ambitions relevant to their respective cultures and customs. The goals and missions of these networks are intimately related to women’s issues in their quest to promote gender equality, allowing all women to practice and enforce their rights free from discrimination. Keck and Sikkink (1998) have observed

that, for women's organisations within networks, being armed with powerful ideas informs their efforts to influence policies, even if they are not successful initially in practical politics (as noted in Chapters One, Four, and Five). Successful networks have the ability to further enhance relationships between organisation members, civil societies and the state, and to promote social mobilisation and political activism (Wilson-Grau & Nunez, 2006). How women's networks have impacted upon the members of women's organisations in Jordan, and how this may have led to improvements in the status of women, will be deliberated upon in the next section.

Formal women's networks

Purkayastha and Subramaniam (2004c) argue that formal women's networks require "formal membership" (p.2). Formal women's networks can be part of a strategy to advance women's political status (Rand, 2014, p.40) by influencing government strategies in order to focus on women's issues. With respect to formal women's networks, in this research I have focused on two kinds of women's networks, women's participation at international conferences, and via networking with a number of MPs.

In terms of the first type of formal network, women organisations in Jordan have been participating in international conferences to ensure equitable outcomes for women, and also to improve women's political status. International conference networks with formal membership, such as the United Nations conferences, are critical for developing women's equality and representation (International Civil Society Action Network, 2012). During the third phase of the women's movement in Jordan, women from a number of organisations participated in international conferences on women's rights. For example, in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, women began developing new networks and sharing information between the different actors and participants (Tripp, 2005). As Rowaida, Hadeel Al Maaitah, Olaimat, and Gharaeibeh (2011) argue, after their participation at the Women's Conference in 1995 in Beijing, Jordanian women were able to meet many other participants, communicate their needs and goals, and expand their networks by connecting with others through attending conferences and seminars. Subsequently, the government also began to develop the national plan with a more prominent focus on women, and to reinforce gender equality in national policies.

Furthermore, women in Jordan have been participating in the political process in order to raise awareness about issues of concern specific to the Jordanian case, and also to discuss such issues in a wider context. WP2, from her experience, noted the importance of placing the issue of women's rights in an international context:

The Euro-Mediterranean conference highlighted that gender equality is required for democracy and that there is no excuse whatsoever to delay progress in the field of equal rights for men and women and to end violence against women (WP2, 2012).

The response of another female politician similarly demonstrated the importance of networks in successfully agitating for greater equality:

My relationship with international women's conference networks has been essential to my success and has had a strong positive effect on my knowledge and encouraged me to be more active in political life (PW1, 2012).

The comments from female politicians suggested that their attendance at international conferences encouraged the establishment of formal women's networks, as noted by several interview participants:

Participation in international conferences facilitates the exchange of information regarding the conditions of women's civil society, with a focus on the status of women (WP1, 2012).

Connected with NDI, and IRI international conferences and activities, this has had tremendous success in raising the efficiency of women in achieving their goals (MP3, 2012).

Qurashi (2009) observed that the purpose of international networks in Jordan has been to promote "democratic education in politics" and "good governance" (p.1). Furthermore, during the time of transition, women began taking a more institutional approach by participating in international women's networks and contributed to the political debates by organising public meetings within the communities (WDN, 2011). These networks facilitate the sharing and gathering of experience from other women by cooperating with various international women's organisations which have a presence in Jordan. For instance, the International Republican Institute (IRI) created the Women's Democracy Network.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Women's Democracy Network (WDN) is a "women's networks [that] aim[s] to increase women's political participation, leadership and representation in elected office". WDN "accomplishes this goal by linking these

The knowledge gained from women's involvement in these international organisations has been gradually integrated into local and community organisations that previously had little or no communication with the outside world. As one member noted:

I have connected with international organisations that have offices in Amman, such as IRI, and NDI, but not outside the country (NJFW1, prov1, 2012).

I did not participate at the international level, especially those of us from the south; we did not know anything about it (JNFW1, prov11, 2012).

International women's networks encourage women to be more active by communicating with other women from different parts of the world. International programs organised through global networks provide support for those attempting to influence the strategies of their governments to change policies to improve the political status of women. They have also agitated for increased political representation, as can be seen in the Fourth World Conference in 1995, which made a call to improve women's political participation in general. In Jordan, this encouraged the women's organisations to confront the government to change the electoral laws and to include quota reserved seats.

Another example is "iKNOW Politics" which is an online international network that is "an interactive network of women in politics who share experiences, resources, advice and collaborate on issues of interest" (iKNOW Politics, 2015). In October 2009, Jordan launched a conference to announce the establishment of the iKNOW Politics women's networks for Arab women activists working in politics. Both international and domestic women's organisations were in attendance, with the main highlight being Princess Basma Bint Tala discussing the importance of the idea and goals of the iKNOW Politics online women's network. The aim of this conference was to add an Arabic language component to the iKNOW Politics online network, thereby making it possible for Jordanian women and other Arabic women to communicate with each other and become more involved in women's networks. Domestic women's organisations recognised the importance of an international women's network to make it possible for members to communicate with others locally, regionally and globally (Qurashi, 2009). According to Qurashi (2009), women's networks take pride in promoting women's professional development across borders by providing opportunities for members to network with prominent female leaders.

women with their peers in other countries who share similar struggles, providing mentorship from experienced women who are leaders in their fields, and also providing skills-building training designed to target their identified needs" (WDN Web, 2012).

Women's networks also build their membership and foster knowledge transfer, but they are not always effective in bringing new people into the network. Specifically, women who have had experience in politics tend to be the ones who have had the opportunity to attend conferences, whilst other women who have had less political experience have fewer opportunities to attend conferences and so do not have access to the same knowledge and experience. This dynamic results in a situation where those members with more experience and higher social status, and who already had a greater chance of gaining higher leadership positions, are self-selected as prominent members of networks and gain most of the advantages. By contrast, those with less experience will continue to be side-lined, and responses from women in this study suggest that those who have attended international conferences and have built strong networks found that these opportunities supported their entry into higher-level political positions. Indeed, based on the career path of some of the interviewees, and others involved in the leadership of women's organisations, it is evident that their work with women networks has supported their rise in the political ranks, including even being appointed as a senator or minister. However, women in the provinces with similar experience and qualifications did not have the same opportunity or career trajectory, possibly because they had limited access to conferences and networks, which has restricted their access to higher positions. This may be due to the fact that they did not have the chance to attend various conferences and that they had not joined women's organisations and women's networks.

It can therefore be concluded that women from the provinces have significantly reduced opportunities to participate in international conferences and the networks that emerge from these, meaning they are disadvantaged in their attempts to improve their confidence levels and knowledge of strategies concerning women's rights and experiences elsewhere. Women who attended international conferences stated that their participation helped improve their networking skills, in addition to enabling them to transfer what they learned to other women in their organisations during the conferences. Furthermore, those who attended international conferences had the opportunity to learn from women who were experts in their respective fields, especially in relation to laws and policy-making and the use of the knowledge gained to influence change in the lives of women. They decisively asserted that their efforts will eventually improve the realities of women's lives and their status. Several examples were provided by elite women from various organisations to

demonstrate that they strongly supported the idea of women sharing their issues with other members in these conferences.

Our participation in courses in Sweden on domestic violence legislation inspired us to lobby for the implementation of a law for protecting women from violence, and to amend the family law in Jordan (JNCW2, 2012).

Direct training helped us transfer our expertise and knowledge to other women, especially to female candidates vying for parliamentary or municipal seats (MP2, 2012).

However, women in the provinces gained little benefit from being members of women's networks as they had limited opportunities to take part in international conferences; as several examples from rural female politicians suggested:

We have not had the chance to participate in international conferences (JNFW1, prov10, 2012).

It might be the main centre of our organisations, but in our province we never had any participation and no one spoke to us about participating at the international level (JNFW1, prov5, 2012).

This is evidence of a weakness of international women's networks with respect to connecting with and assisting members in the provinces. Consequently, national women's networks in Jordan need to take up more of a role transferring knowledge and resources from conferences and international networks to women and organisations at the grassroots level to give them the resources to engage more actively in public life.

To conclude, attendance and participation in international conferences gave women the chance to network and to learn about others' experiences, as well as to share and discuss their issues. They could discover new solutions and prioritise existing ones. But as we know, not all have had access to these events; for example, 17 out of 46 participants stated that they were not aware of the possibility of participation at international conferences. It appears that the participation of members from provincial women's organisations at national and international conferences may be relatively limited. This is partly due to a lack of direct communication between the main branches of domestic women's organisations

and the branches located in the provinces, and a centralisation policy⁶¹ practised by some organisations.

In terms of the second type of formal network, women's organisations have cooperated to build their own networks with members of the House of Representatives by networking with certain MPs to update the relevant laws, as noted by JNFW1:

The networking with parliamentarians' members was by way of personal connections – this was in order to support women's issues being discussed in Parliament and to vote on laws that women need (JNFW1, 2012).

This networking supported women to call for new laws that would raise the status of women and help women to become more active in political life. One example of this was the assistance provided to women advocating the passing of a law to create the Fund for Expenses of Women⁶² (JNFW1 prov6). The networking between the member of the House of Representatives and women's organisations was characterized by dialogue and discussion of some laws that women had discussed through the Legal Committee in the House of Representatives:

We met with the president of the House of Representatives, and this meeting was for the Fund Expense of Women, as our goal was to set up a fund for divorced women (JNFW2, prov6, 2012).

There have also been notable examples of women's organisations networking with Members of the House Representatives for the purpose of improving laws that have affected women's issues, as previously discussed. These examples include social security laws, the personal status law, and increasing quota seats. This reflects the findings of Albes (2013), who reported that Jordanian women's organisations proposed many modifications to be discussed in the House of Representatives, such as the Personal Status Law, and the Labour Law. In addition, networks of women's organisations have lobbied to support women in parliament who wanted to discuss the requests from women's organisations in their meetings at the House of Representatives. For example, as noted by JNFW2 above, women's organisations networked with the president of the House of Representatives and

⁶¹ The centralisation policy, as the participants explained, enabled staff in the main office of their organisation in Amman to attend, and they have more opportunities to participate in the international conferences.

⁶² The Fund for Expenses of Women was passed when women's organisations demanded when they deliberated with the family committee in the House of Representatives to pass a law to create the Fund for Expenses to help those divorced women who do not receive any payments or support from their ex-husbands.

the male members of the House of Representatives to present the laws that needed to be discussed. Members of domestic organisations also noted that they protested at a sit-in in front of the House of Representatives for the rights of women and demanded citizenship for women married to non-Jordanians. Based on the responses of MP interviewees, networking with MPs had allowed women MPs to strongly present women issues to be discussed in sessions of the House of Representatives.

Wang (2013) argues in her case study of Uganda that an increase in the number of women in parliament has “had significant effects on policy outcomes” (p.113). In Uganda, several women’s rights-related laws passed after an increase in the degree of women’s representation. In the context of Jordan, Jordanian parliamentarians who were interviewed noted that the women MPs in parliament in particular tended to concentrate much of their effort on women’s issues. Women parliamentarians networked strongly with male legislators as well as with women’s organisations, as noted by one politician interviewee. She stressed that women MPs hoped to receive the support of all colleagues, male and female, as well as women’s organisations.

As previously discussed, all participants from the main office of domestic women’s organisations, and all four women parliamentarians interviewed, agreed that they had built strong relationships through their networking with women parliamentarians. This had been achieved by organising meetings to present women’s issues and requests to ensure that their requests were positioned front and centre in parliamentary debates. Women in the provinces (13 of 46 in this study) agreed that they had created relationships with women parliamentarians, while 13 others stated that so far they had not been able to establish such connections.

In short, formal women’s networks, such as through women’s global conferences, and within members of the House of representative, have affected and improved the political influence of women in Jordan. This is due to these networks allowing women to have an opportunity to learn and share their issues, and to exert pressure to change government policy, particularly to increase the degree of women’s representation. Although formal networking was seen as an important feature of the work of women’s representation, many interviewees agreed that informal networks are also critical, with women’s organisations joining with individuals in order to promote women’s participation.

Informal women's networks

Purkayastha and Subramaniam (2004c) note that “informal networks between members and community groups, through exchanges of ideas and information” (p.56), are a valuable addition to formal networks. Informal networks do not require having formal membership, and operate through lobbying and mobilising members to support women candidates and politicians. This section focuses on the informal women's networks built and organised by women's organisations in Jordan, at both the domestic and international levels, in order to understand how these networks improve the status and the political representation of women. Informal women's networks have played a role in encouraging women to become active members of society and to participate in formal women's networks at different levels, national, Arabic regional, and international.

At the national level, according to one member of the main centre of a women's organisation, women's networks help women members to connect with each other face-to-face. They also work to enhance the capacity of elected local government representatives to provide women in the community with information and opportunities, as well as to support women's candidacy in order to fill the gaps in political representation especially given the opportunities provided by the quota system. They also advocate for and defend the rights of women (Dajani, 2008). Two examples of such networks in the Jordan case are notable. First, the “Al-Nashmiyyat Network” concerned with the issue of women's representation on municipality councils has promoted the networking of individual and organisational members in different areas since 2008. The second network of interest is the “Candle Network”, which is concerned with issues related to violence against women and was set up in 2008. These networks represent a local information hub for women, created under the umbrella federation of JNCW. At the regional level, Jordanian women's organisations have built their networks by connecting to other women and women's organisations in other Arabic countries. Women across these countries experience similar issues in regard to women's political representation, and the cultures have much in common. Members of these Arab women's networks share a similar vision regarding the advancement of women's rights. An event held in Amman on 29 October, 2013, “called for the establishment of an Arab Regional Network on Women, where over 80 Arab leaders and activists identified participation, protection, prevention, and peace building as their four crucial areas of strategic focus” (Karama Web, 2013). A number of women's

organisations from different countries have become connected by different interlocutors to form this Arab Regional Network.

Members of domestic women's organisations interviewed in this study concurred with the perspective of the Karama network's website, which states that Jordanian domestic woman's organisations have sought to connect with Arabic women's networks. A notable example of this is the Roa'a network. The Roa'a network is an Arab women's network that upholds an empowering vision for Arabic women; as noted by one participant,⁶³ "we decided to create the Roa'a network in order to coordinate the efforts of Arab women to help women overcome challenges" (PW2, 2012). This network represents women's organisations from Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, Sudan, Palestine, Morocco, Syria, and Bahrain, and was formed by the Jordanian Women's Union in 2009 to coordinate the efforts of Arabian women who faced certain challenges, particularly in the political sphere. The Roa'a network sets the foundation and criteria for managing regional and international networks to ensure that the goals of the network are achieved (Jordanian Women Union JWU, 2009).

Alongside this, the Roa'a network coordinates both Arabic and international networks in order to broadcast the region's feminist vision emanating from the point of view of Arabic women. Roa'a's work as a network is underpinned by the belief that women's rights constitute a vital component of the definition of human rights, and that the associated social, economic and political issues deserve political and policy attention (Jordanian Women Union, 2009). The major issues this network targets include women's rights, jobs, and equal working conditions, and the removal of certain legislative articles which contravene the conventions of CEDAW (Jordanian Women Union, 2009). The Roa'a network has held seminars and events throughout the country that have been organised by networks of women's organisations. Unfortunately, despite Roa'a's aims, the network is not very well known, only one participants knowing about the work of Roa'a network. Jordanian women's networks have been assisting women to advance their political rights, and to lobby for women's political representation.

Informal networks have connected with international networks to facilitate collaboration with international members, and allows women representing the international networks to better understand the experiences and challenges faced by women in Jordan. International

⁶³ The network's website can be accessed at: <http://www.arabwomennetwork.org/>

women's networks have also been created by international organisations, and have been connected with a range of national domestic women's organisations. International organisations that have offices in Jordan encourage women to learn more about international women's networks and methods to get involved with these networks. However, most opportunities with international networks were limited to central branches of the domestic women's organisations as noted by the one of the members of an organisation in the provinces. She stated that the networking with international organisations in Jordan was through activities championed, co-sponsored or advocated for by the main branch in Amman. As similarly noted by one interviewee from the JNFW, "there was only the opportunity for networking with the international organisations when these international organisations had branches in Amman, which is the case for the NDI and IRI" (JNFW1, 2012).

In this context, women who associated with international women's networks have discovered their shared values, ideas and principles as they continue developing international women's networks in Jordan. Women's networks and their individual members can make a positive contribution to women's rights and standings by sharing their ideas (Wilson-Grau and Nunez, 2006). The aims and goals of international women's networks that undertake activities in Jordan are increasing women's participation, and also forcing governments to implement gender equality policies (iKNOW Politics, 2009). International organisations have helped create their own women's networks inside Jordan. For example, the Women's Learning Partnership, an international network based online,⁶⁴ was established in Jordan in 2010. It seeks legal reform in order to improve the status of women (WLP, 2012), and wants to see the removal of the legal bias against women's political participation by enhancing the capabilities of Jordan's women's organisations. It aims to connect women within 20 autonomous and independent partner organisations in Afghanistan, Brazil, Cameroon, Egypt, India, Iran, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mauritania, Morocco, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Palestine, Turkey, Uzbekistan and Zimbabwe (WLP, 2010).

This is similar to Women Helping Women (WHW), which was established in Jordan in 2006 by the National Democratic Institution (NDI, 2008). WHW's focus is on training younger women in political activism and mobilising voters to assist in the elections of

⁶⁴ This organisation's website can be accessed at: <http://www.abanlearning.org/>

female candidates across Jordan (NDI, 2008). In addition, WHW assists and supports women who are interested in running for office. They do this by holding workshops to help women cultivate the skills required for successful campaigning, such as the effective delivery of messages to voters, and the management of campaigns. This perspective was endorsed by a participant from the province:

The WHW network supported women during the 2011 elections by conducting a training workshop for women to educate them on the methods of election should they wish to run for office; it included training on building and running their campaigns (JNFW, prov2, 2012).

Second, training and guidance for successful campaigning is provided to support female candidates. Female voters are encouraged to vote for female candidates in order to raise the number of women holding political office. For example, the Women's Democracy Network (WDN), established in March 2006 in Jordan by the International Republican Institute (IRI),⁶⁵ plays a proactive role in disseminating knowledge through a range of international networks. It provides skills-building training at the International Republican Institute. It is designed to target their identified needs by experienced women and leaders in their field, and links the members of this network with peers in other countries who share similar struggles. In 2009, a branch was established in Jordan to support women running for political office (WDN, 2012) and to provide opportunities for women to share their experiences with other women, at the national as well as at the international level, and by giving women a chance to participate in an exchange program. As noted by one interviewee:

The WDN network has provided opportunities for women to exchange their experiences; for example, it supports women through courses and I believe you, Tharwat, attended those courses as a member and also had a chance to participate in an exchange program (IWCSOA2, 2012).

Third, as one participant from an international women's organisations highlighted (Women's Democracy Network), international networking has had much success in lobbying for support for female candidates during local campaigns at the municipal level, and has been involved in lobbying for changes to municipal laws with the help of the Minister of Municipalities. These activities prepared members to discuss and enhance women's representation at the local level. By utilising the communication tools of the

⁶⁵ This organisation's website can be accessed at: <http://www.wdn.org/about-wd>

international women's network, these women have been able to disseminate the goals of the organisations and networks by lobbying for the implementation of effective ideas:

Communications with international women's networks has encouraged women to be more active and to become leaders in their societies, so as to be more prepared if they were to decide to run for political candidacy; for example, the Women Helping Women network has connected to international experts in order to create training courses for women who run for elected office (IWSCOs B1, 2012).

Fourth, international networks seek to raise awareness of threats to the rights of women through a variety of programmes. For example, the Women's Learning Partnership network educates women about their rights and the need to defend them. The international networks enhance their connectivity by encouraging women to register on the website online to become a member, and members then gain access to resources and the opportunity to connect with women from around the world, such as iKNOW Politics, Women's Democracy Network (WDN), and Women's Learning Partnership. This essentially functions as an informational hub, and as noted by one international expert, "the aims of the international networks have been to share and organise to help domestic women's organisation with their initiatives with other women" (IWCSOsA2, 2012).

Although all participants in this study raised a range of views relating to the concept of international networks, 27 agreed that international networking was helpful and was able to bring positive change to the reality of women's lives through their work with informal networks that were created by domestic women's organisations. Communication with international networks in different countries gave women the opportunity to be connected and to have a greater chance to exchange their experience and increase their knowledge in regard to other women's issues. Nevertheless, from a review of the responses of those who took part in this study, two factors stand out as limiting the effectiveness of women's networks for promoting change. First, 17 of 29 participants from the provinces recognised the role of women's networks, while 12 participants were generally unaware of the concept and purpose of women's networks. The second factor is related to the earlier point that international networking opportunities were still relatively few in number for provincial women, limited to only a select number of women. Therefore, women's networks tended to be known only to female municipal-level politicians, MPs and women who worked in the main centre of international and domestic organisations.

Successes and the Influence of Women's Networks

According to Metropolis Women International Networks (2011), successful women's networks need to:

Firstly, develop the networks through local activities, specifically, increase membership by carrying out recruitment activities in a widespread area, including the provinces. Secondly, create a website for the network as the internet is key to international communication. Thirdly, organise training sessions offering skills that allow women to contribute positively to the networks. Fourth, participate actively in international organisations and international events as this could increase acknowledgement of the network. Fifth, develop partnerships with international organisations that focus on similar or complementary themes. Lastly, organise fundraising campaigns to complement contributions made by the members (p. 7).

A notable example of a successful Jordanian national network, the Al-Nashmiyyat Network, aims to encourage women to take part in public life and to run for political office. This network was actively involved in municipal campaigns in Jordan. One participant, and the coordinator of JNFW's women's programs, noted that Al-Nashmiyyat Network is connected with members of JNFW. Furthermore, the Women Helping Women network, which is an election network that aims to assist women candidates in running effective campaigns for elected office, also serves as an example of a successful international network. It provides multiple training sessions for successful campaigning, and gathers support for women candidates. A member of the Women's Democracy Network also stated that Women Helping Women visited her during the elections to see how her campaign was going and to offer assistance. The responses from one participant from international organisations suggest that some of these networks have encouraged and mobilised voters to vote for female candidates. The participant noted:

Women's Democracy Network has helped and trained women in their municipalities' elections, and has focused on women voter to support women's candidates (IWSCOs B2, 2012).

Networks significantly impact the experience of women members (Castells, 1996) and enhance the cultural knowledge of members (Hurwitz & Taylor, 2012). This is achieved by increasing the opportunities available for women to connect and network with other women, and by encouraging them to build their networks and obtain more information related to challenges and issues other women face, particularly with regards to political participation. Successful women's networks have advanced women's abilities by

facilitating the adoption of women's activities that result in increased equitability and accessibility (Bierema, 2005). Krolokke and Sorensen (2006) have noted that networking provides women's organisations the opportunity of sharing information on women's issues (p.82). Women's organisations networks do this to influence women to persuade the government to adopt new policies on issues related to women (Keck & Sikkink, 1998). This fact is reinforced by a former Member of Parliament who noted that she went to Albania as a member of the Women's Democracy Network to exchange experiences with other women running for office. This added-value for her in terms of knowledge of how women can be part of political parties and could run by getting support from their parties. The arguments of Keck and Sikkink (1998) were reflected in the words of a female parliamentarian who stated that:

Women's networks are instrumental in supporting and providing opportunities for women to connect with other women. This would facilitate an exchange of experiences which aims to improve the political lives of women (MP1, 2012).

Dajani (2008) argues that women's networks play important roles in providing support to women in order to enable them to have greater political influence. This is achieved by linking local, national, and international groups to formulate effective strategies through information exchange. An example of this can be seen in the implementation of gender quotas where a network of groups influenced and made a call for change that they communicated to the government. According to the report of JNCW (2011), DWCSOs also organised and created women's networks to provide the opportunity for women to contact other women nationally in order to get their signature to influence the government to change the electoral system to implement the quota system. These activities reflect the argument put forward by Bjarnegard (2013), who suggests that "informal and personal networks are a better and more secure political investment" (p.154), than clientelist networks (in which women are seldom included).

Women's networks also added benefit to organisational members by sharing access to valuable expert training on critical matters such as electoral campaigns. The means of communication of women's networks include face-to-face interaction and communication through the internet. Face-to-face interaction allows members to deliberate upon designated issues in addition to fostering a closer bond between the members, especially those who have limited access to and knowledge of the internet. According to McLoughlin, Preece, and Dawson (2002), the importance of face-to-face interaction is that it "can proceed

among several individuals simultaneously” and that it is “critical when many people are involved” (p.1666). Sproull and Kiesler (1991c), meanwhile, find that with the advent of information technology, email, and online messaging communication has become easier where overcomes temporal and geographical barriers.

Networks have the capacity to influence public opinion while also allowing the member of women’s organisations to voice their thoughts and positions on issues. They also facilitate the organisation of events and activities to increase public awareness of the issues that women in society face (Zlitan and Touati, 2012). In doing so, domestic women’s organisations have sought to cooperate with local branches of international organisations. Two members from the head of the main office of the JNCW noted that their organisation has had good relations with the United Nations organisation and its affiliates - UN women, UNF Foundation, and UNDP. Waring (2010) argues that capacity-building programmes through partnership with the United Nations Democracy Fund has allowed the funding of projects to advance and support democracy. These programs are empowering women, promoting leadership, and increasing the likelihood of women running for office. Programs such as these encourage women’s organisations and women leaders to join efforts in exchanging information and experiences, and to cooperate in order to achieve their goals.

The influence of international organisations’ networks enables women in Jordan to perceive their issues from a different perspective. These women have been able to benefit as they have had the chance to build their personal networks to support women and influence the growth of women’s networks (Tripp, 2005; Keck & Sikkink, 1998). These networks reached women and enabled them to increase their capacity and propensity to actively take part in public life, especially in politics. Promoting networking with international groups is important to present women’s issues internationally (Fraser & Tinker, 2004). This reflects the arguments put forward earlier in Chapters Four and Five that Jordanian women’s attendance at UN Conferences in 1975, 1985, and 1995 helped them establish a strong vision towards achieving their goals in regard to women’s issues and alerted them to the opportunity to build their own organisations. The responses of the participants of the women’s organisations who have benefitted from international organisations reflect Minkoff’s (1997) findings that civil society organisations help create social resources within national societies. Female members from JNCW organisations stated that JNCW, as

an umbrella federation for women’s organisations in Jordan, has regular contact with several online women’s networks.

True and Mintrom (2001) have argued that networks serve to improve the conditions of women by informing women about crucial knowledge concerning political strategies and methods of promoting policy updates. For example, *Al-Nashmiyyat*, Women Helping Women, and Women’s Democracy Networks, have all organised many events and seminars to increase female candidates’ confidence and to educate the general voting population about the value of women in politics. iKNOW Politics meanwhile, influences the government by emphasising the importance of taking the gender perspective in politics into account. Qurashi (2009) notes that iKNOW Politics network makes available online information for Arab women activists. In Jordan, iKNOW Politics has been known by a number of diverse events organised by the National Democratic Institute (NDI). The impact brought about by these networks is encouraging their members to take part in different international conferences. Table 18 below shows the responses in interviews regarding the impact of women’s networks.

Table 18. The impact of women’s networks in term of women’s representation

Participants	Positive impact ⁶⁶	No impact⁶⁷
Domestic organisations	3	0
International organisations	5	0
Members of provincial domestic organisations	12	17
Female politicians ⁶⁸	7	0
Female candidates	0	2
TOTAL	27/46	19/46

A significantly large proportion of participants (27) agree that women’s networks could further expand their efforts to reach out to more women in nations around the world. These

⁶⁶ This refers to the number of participants who agreed that women’s networks have had a positive impact in terms of supporting or enhancing women’s representation.

⁶⁷ This refers to the number of participants who agreed that women’s networks have had no impact in terms of supporting or enhancing women’s representation.

⁶⁸ The female politicians’ grouping includes one women minister, one member of political parties, and four female parliamentarians.

networks, then, would form new pathways and open up different possibilities in women's lives, particularly related to political involvement. They provide opportunities for women to connect with other women in order to exchange experiences that are relevant to participation in politics. As such, 12 members of provincial domestic organisations stated that they believed women's networks were successful, and have connected them with women's networks through personal contacts:

The women's networks have assisted women to enrich their experiences, as they provided different trainers from overseas to support women candidates, such as the Women Helping Women Network (JNFW1, prov4, 2012).

However, the data collected may not be representative of all women, as some of the women who responded affirmatively that they were connected to international and national women's networks may have already possessed the skills and abilities to form their own connections. This may particularly apply to all of the women parliamentarians and politicians, as well as women who work in central branches of domestic and international organisations. Meanwhile, most of the members located in the branch offices of the organisation in the provinces have had limited participation in international women's networks, for reasons that will be discussed later. In this study, 19 women participants were not completely satisfied with the impact of women's networks with regard to women making connections to other women, and 17 out of the 29 participants from JNFW domestic women's organisations in the provinces argued that networks did not provide very many opportunities to do so. Nevertheless, while provincial women are not getting the support they need right now nor were sufficiently aware of the networks, these women did indicate that they thought connecting with women's networks could be helpful and important, and they agreed that they could in the future have a significant impact that would improve the political status of women.

For maximum impact, women's networks have encouraged collaboration with international partners to inspire women to be more pro-active in their efforts to gain equal rights. By building women's organisations and strengthening the associated networks to communicate with other women in different provinces in Jordan, women are able to gain more confidence to tackle their issues, resulting in a higher probability of success in getting women involved politically and becoming members of wider women's networks. For example, 19 participants responded that they could improve their knowledge further if they had better opportunities to connect with international networks. Thus it appears that women's

networks have had an important effect in terms of political participation both inside Jordan and elsewhere, and play an important role in providing support to women in order to enable them to have greater political influence, by lobbying for their members during their campaigns.

Creating formal change through networking between women's organisations has been a critical development in Jordan. For example, at the local level, the Women's Democracy Network has discussed electoral laws, which subsequently allowed this network to influence deliberation over other legislation through connections between women professionals, politicians, and activists. Networks also give members opportunities to be involved and become active in various activities to address issues and seek support for changes to laws. This was noted by one participant who stated that the "Women's Democracy Network has organised meeting with the ministries of municipalities to discuss the municipality electoral law and the way to increase the number of women participation at the local level" (IWCSOs A2, 2012). Also, *Al-Nashmiyyat* has worked to increased women's representation at the municipality level by 25 percent (JNFW, 2008).

Women's networks have worked along with women's organisations and have encouraged women to vote for women candidates. For example, *Al-Nashmiyyat* and the Women's Democracy Networks have lobbied and encouraged their members to support women candidates at the local level, which helped to change the formal institutions by increasing the number of elected women at the local level. This was noted by one woman politician when she said that "networks also support women candidates and encourage people to vote" (WP2, 2012).

Most of the participants in this research were positive about connecting with women's networks to share their experiences, and to improve their confidence levels so that they may be able to present their ideas to the public. They believed that networks helped to expand their knowledge by sharing information with others so that they could catch a glimpse of the realities of the lives of women in other parts of the world. In short, women's networks are successful in achieving their aims by lobbying to support women who are running for election, before, during, and after their election, at both the national and local levels. They have helped women's organisations to accelerate greater gender equality in political participation.

Discussion and Analysis

Women's networks have the potential to increase women's representation in politics by raising public awareness of the potential contributions women bring via their involvement in policy-making. The aims of national women's networks are to improve women's rights, and to enhance the ability of women by helping them increase their representation in local government. The aims of international women's networks include helping women to increase their participation in politics, encouraging voters to vote for women, providing resources for successful campaigning, and improving women's status. By providing benefits to other women with their experiences and knowledge, the initiatives of women's networks and conferences provide opportunities for women at international conferences specifically to share knowledge with other participants and to transfer their experiences through associating, meeting and conversing with women from many organisations from different countries.

Consequently, women's networks are important in understanding and resolving challenges faced by women, especially with regard to the social and cultural aspects of their lives. These networks provide women's organisations with wider avenues to discuss women's issues, focussing specifically on improving women's status and attaining equal rights for women by calling for the adoption of new policies. Furthermore, as the members in these networks are insightful, they are more aware of progress related to the goals associated with promoting women's knowledge, especially regarding politics. They can skilfully assist in developing activities, creating websites, training members of the networks, and building relationships and partnerships with international organisations. Gradually, the issue of women's underrepresentation in politics can be addressed, and to increase their representation in political decision-making positions in government, networking could assist women members of these networks to propose changes to state policies, and to enable more women to seek the opportunity to do so.

However, as many of the Jordanian members of domestic women's organisations, especially in the provinces, have little or no information regarding international networks and international conferences. The perceptions of female politicians supported the narratives of other women in different provinces that women in the provinces have not been able to gain much advantage by belonging to women's organisations or networks. Women throughout Jordan have not gained as much from international networks compared to

women based in the capital of Amman. Therefore, in order to increase the involvement of women in the provinces, women's networks located in Amman could work on the adoption of effective strategies to reach out and include these women.

The availability of financial resources plays an important role in the under-representation of women from the provinces. If greater finance is given to women in the provinces, as well as greater opportunities to participate in various activities, this will increase the number of informed women involved who can make a difference; this in turn will help educate more women. Connecting to women's networks enabled women to update and connect with members from different countries who spoke different languages to share their issues. In this way, they will have the opportunity to be active and participate in women's networks and their activities. As noted, the response towards women's networks, both international and national, is largely favourable, with 27 out of 46 participants agreeing on their potential positive impact. Those participants who did not agree (19 out of 46) may not have had sufficient opportunity to participate in the activities offered by these networks, or they may lack information about these networks. By contrast, the participants who agree on the positive impact of networks tend to be elite women who are capable of creating their own networks and connections, and are therefore not entirely reliant on these more structured networks. The under-representation of women from the provinces in women's networks may be remedied by recruiting expert women actively involved with women's networks to create awareness and to inform the women of the significance and benefit of women's networks. This reflects the argument of the Turknnett Leadership Group report (2012), which claims that the benefit of women's networks is that they "provide women with the opportunity to develop more career-supportive relationships within their organisations" (p.1).

In this context, it would be helpful if the women members were aware that these networks could provide them with skills and experience related to political participation. By attending activities, this will increase the numbers of informed women involved who can make a difference and help educate more women. By giving women who are members of women's organisations the chance to connect with various national and international women's networks, they could present updated information, ideas, and suggestions to others regarding what it is they have learned from attending various programs. This will be invaluable, as doing so will update domestic women's organisations regarding initiatives

put into action in other parts of the world. To create a greater understanding of women's networks, the role of women's organisations is essential. Jordanian women hold women's organisations in high regard and look to them for guidance, and to shine a light on their issues and help improve their status and their lives. In order to develop their networks further by promoting the importance of the objectives and goals of their network, the coordination and facilitation between women's organisations and networks is vital. Online networks are instrumental in helping women as they provide members were an opportunity to connect and be involved in the activities of women's organisations without being restricted by geographical barriers or temporal restrictions. This is particularly true for the women who find it challenging to attend meetings and seminars that women's organisations offer.

The number of participants who had the opportunity and knowledge to network via the internet has, however, been limited as participants have not been able to connect online. This includes 27 out of the 29 members of provincial women's organisations, and two female candidates have not been able to interact online. In this sense, emphasising networking via the internet may also limit the participation of women from the provinces, as they do not have the facilities to connect via the internet. As they could not participate in most national and international networks, they are not able to attend or connect. They could therefore feel even more excluded compared to women residing in the capital city.

Conclusion

The focus on women's networks is critical to understand the significance of how idea-sharing and networking help women's organisations to overcome women's political participation barriers. In this chapter, I have argued that networks of women's organisations in Jordan can change formal institutions by building networks which focused on women's political representation issues with other women at the national and international level. The dynamic and networked nature of women's civil society organisations are a prerequisite for improving women's representation in municipality and national elections in particular.

The increase in networking and the proliferation of networks may have already contributed to the increase in women political representation in Jordan. For example, by increasing the number of women's networks since 2006, women's organisational networks have connected to the communities of candidates in order to encourage the voters to overcome

the cultural and economic barriers that have affected women's political participation. These women's networks has mobilised voters to assist female candidates across Jordan. The number of women who were elected at the local level has increased due to the influence of women's networks, and, as noted previously, *Al-Nashmiyyat* has mobilised to increase the number of women at the municipality level to 25 percent in 2008. In fact, this resulted in the total number of women who were elected in 2013 to increase to 338 members. The Turknett Leadership Group in their report (2012) argues that women's networks still continue to develop and grow. Indeed, there is limited access to online women's networks in Jordan, especially for women from the provinces, who do not have the opportunity to be involved with women's networks.

The impact of women's organisational networks on women's political participation and representation is that they have added value and enriched the experience for women through their political activism. Networking has allowed them to share their knowledge and experience with others from different backgrounds and histories. To create effective networking opportunities and open learning sources for other participants from various communities and countries is necessary. This reflects the argument of Tripp (2005), who claims that women were networking and sharing information between different actors and participants. This also reflects the argument of Craviotto and Antolin (2010), who argue that women's networks have enhanced the mobilisation of women and their influence on policies to promote gender equality.

Women's networks help women in Jordan understand how significant idea-sharing and networking can be. The aims of women's networks as important mechanisms enable women's organisations to promote women's representation, and their success provides members of women's organisations an opportunity to become active in attending exchange programmes and meeting with other women from different countries. I found the benefit of women connecting to women's networks enabled women to update and connect members from different countries who speak different languages to share their issues. In this way, members of women's networks have the opportunity to be active and participate in women's networks and their activities.

CONCLUSION

Women's civil society organisations have played an important role in the development of political culture by promoting values that support the political participation of women. This study has examined the roles and outcomes of women's organisations in their promotion of the political participation of women in the case of Jordan. Using an historical institutionalism (HI) perspective has helped to provide an analysis of women's political participation during the democratisation period, and has also contributed to a greater understanding the dynamics of gendered institutional change (Waylen, 2009). Gendered institutional change was analysed through the assessment of efforts pursued by these organisations over time, and included close scrutiny of how the strategies they chose to pursue were influenced by, and in turn influenced, the institutional context in which they operated. The objective was to evaluate the impact women's organisations have had on the opportunities for women to participate confidently, and in greater numbers, in public life and politics at both the national and local level from 1940 to the present, which is the period that covers the nation's transition to democracy.

Waylen (2007) found that actors in the women's movements and organisations shape and are shaped by historical factors. In this sense, the role that women's organisations have historically played in a given society would impact upon the role that they would continue to play in the transition to democracy. The exploration of gender issues and the opportunities provided by the processes of democratisation to pre-existing women's movements is of critical importance. Waylen shows that, during a period of democratic transition, it can be expected that a window of opportunity will be created that will allow women's movements to use institutional changes associated with the transition to build new institutional rules that have the potential to facilitate or promote women's political equality. Bratton (1994) and Sajoo (2002) noted that civil society organisations are critical in encouraging democracy by mobilising their members to support the democratic process. Through an extended historical analysis of the situation in Jordan, this study shows that Waylen's analysis can be extended to Arabic countries and women's political participation in Jordan, despite significant cultural and political differences. As such, this study provided insights into the influences and impacts of women's civil society organisations on the political culture of Jordan and on women's political representation. In doing so, the study involved the collection of original empirical data, the development of a thick descriptive

qualitative case study of key organisations, and an analysis of these primary data materials in conjunction with second-order literature.

A range of scholars (Al-Tal, 1985; Al-Hammad, 1999; Al-Atiyat, 2003; Al-Attiyat, Shteivi and Sweiss, 2005; Al-Hourani, 2009; Al-Atiyat, 2012; Al-Tal, 2013) have discussed the relevance of civil society to political mobilisation, particularly during the 1990s in Jordan. Alongside this, Jordanian women's civil society organisations have begun to play an important role in implementing policy change, such as the right to vote and to stand for elected office in the hope of making Jordan more accommodating to gender equality. Rather than promoting spontaneous radical change, women's organisations in Jordan have committed themselves to the strengthening of partnerships that exist between individual women, politicians, the government, civil society and women's organisations. These partnerships have strived to empower women and increase their political access within different social and political arena.

Moreover, in part as a result of the transition to democracy, Jordanian women's organisations have gradually gained prominence through the women's movements that emerged in three phases between the 1940s and the 1990s. In the first and second phases, the focus of Jordanian women's organisations was directed primarily towards voluntarism, social issues, and sometimes charity work. They focused on refugees rather than on the political representation of women, and women's organisations were relatively inactive with regard to broader societal gender issues, and concentrated instead on issues related to welfare and human rights. However, the development of women's organisations in the first and second phases did help women to become active when serving their communities.

Women's organisations had supported changes to the political status of women, such as the right to vote for educated women (1957), and amendments to enable all women to exercise the right to vote and stand for office (1974). As women have not always exercised their rights to the fullest extent in Jordan, women's organisations have not always found it easy to push for women to be involved in active political roles. The more contemporary third phase is notable, however, as it shifted the spotlight of programs and goals of women's organisations to concentrate more directly on women's social and political issues, a phenomenon that developed in tandem with Jordan's transition to a democratic form of government. Women's organisations have, during this third period in particular, developed

their domestic and international networks in order to assist women to increase the level of their political participation in order to achieve gender equality goals.

Addressing the Research Questions

Previously, women's organisations and the women's movement were focused more on health, wellbeing and refugee issues. In responding to the research questions posed at the start of this study, I subsequently considered the means by which organisations have increasingly engaged with issues related to women's political equality in new and developing democracies. Although my answers are partial and contextualised, as well as descriptive and analytic, they nevertheless provide an insight into the multiple forms of power and knowledge in relation to the role of women's organisations in Jordan. As revealed in Chapter One, the main question posed for this study was: how have women's civil society organisations worked towards increasing women's political involvement between the periods of non-democratic rule and the elections that brought democracy to the state of Jordan? The focus of this question was to understand the extent to which women's civil society organisations can influence particular institutional outcomes on behalf of women in times of institutional change, and during the transition to democracy.

In order to answer this question, I studied the development of women's civil society organisations by relying on two main sources: a chronological literature review and secondary source analysis, and a descriptive, qualitative case study analysis based on primary data collected during this study. This thesis also built analytically on the research of Waylen (1994, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010) and her focus on the role of the women's movement and women's organisations in the context of the transition to democracy. I sought to partially replicate her focus on Latin America in my analysis of the transitional process to democracy in Jordan. As such, this investigation applied a form of historical institutionalism (HI), which involved an exploration of the relative importance of different historical conditions and institutions, and how institutional change both shapes, and is shaped by, the ebbs and flows and activities of women's organisations over time. Therefore, I examined the role of women's organisations predating the time of democratisation in 1989, as well as during and subsequent to the transition to democracy itself.

The aim of this research was to develop an understanding of the role of women's organisations in advancing women's political rights and assess the range of strategies that

they have employed over time, and analyse what might account for the various successes that they have achieved. The research found that the development of the women's movement and women's organisations was affected by the political and social transformation process of the time. In the case of Jordan, the findings do indeed suggest that the transition toward democratisation has been an important factor for the development of civil society and women's organisations in Jordan, especially regarding gender equality. The transition enabled the women's movement to move into a third phase, and provided more opportunities to focus on developing new institutions in Jordan. Women's organisations have increasingly engaged political decision-makers at both the national and local level in Jordan, and women are now engaged in a wide range of political activities, such as sending memoranda to decision makers, staging peaceful protests, focusing on the women's political rights, discussing and debating electoral laws, and pushing for the implementation of quota reserved seats for women.

One important finding was that formal changes and the strategies employed by women's organisations were able to influence the Jordanian state. For example, since 1974, the aims of women's organisations has included a focus on women's right, and has improved the opportunities available for women to become involved and began to enter the national assembly as parliamentarians by appointment in the 1970s. This process is characterised by the increased influence of women within public life and politics. Women's organisations, and the political networks they operate within, have helped women at both levels national and local.

First, the institutional changes to the political system in Jordan assisted in producing this outcome in part due to the democratic transition, which led to changes in the electoral laws, and the implementation of quota reserved seats. The gender quota increased incrementally over time, resulting in an increase in the number of women parliamentary representatives at the national level (from 0 in 1974, to 17 in 2013). The work of Princess *Basma Bit Talal* has also been important. She organised and agitated for the appointment of women to municipal governments, and for the introduction of a quota system at that level. The number of women holding office at the municipal level has increased from 0 in 1982, to 338 in 2013.

Second, those women's organisations which predated the transition to democracy redesigned and reinvented themselves in ways that allowed them to take advantage of the

new opportunity structure that emerged. In particular, they worked to change the electoral system laws, so that a new system emerged that would allow greater women's participation. A mixed system was adopted, combining the Single Non-Transferable vote (SNTV) system with a Closed-List System CLS (in 2013), which meant that voters had the opportunity to vote for two candidates. This not only allowed voters to vote for (potentially female) candidates aside from tribal representatives, but gave more of a role to political parties than the previously purist Single Non-Transferable vote (SNTV) system. As political parties had not fared well in the Jordanian political system up until this point, improving political party participation may represent another avenue through which to promote the participation of women in the political process.

In terms of informal changes and the informal strategies of women's organisations, women's organisations have sought to mobilise and educate women and the public to increase supply of women as candidates running for office, as well as to encourage them to become active members of civil society organisations. Women can now join international networks, create new domestic, regional and national networks, and have more avenues to share women's issues and experience with other women around the world and in Jordan, all of which help to mobilise women politically and potentially to vote for female candidates in elections. In terms of regional women's networks, the Jordanian women's movement has played a leading role in the Arabic region and Middle East, with a notable example being the building of the "*Roa'a*" network, which was formed by the Jordanian Women's Union in 2009.

Together, domestic and international women's organisations have combined forces and placed greater focus on the issue of electoral politics to improve the political participation for women. Domestic women's organisations have played a role in enhancing political women's status within existing programs in Jordanian communities, as well as having enhanced women's participation through the education of Jordanian society at large with regard to the role of women in public life. International women's organisations have also assisted in training and the provision of experience regarding the improvement of women's knowledge and skills. This partnership with international women's organisations has supported domestic organisations to better evaluate the means by which they attempt to improve the status of women. With regard to the role of civil society women's organisations, the degree of women's representation has increased at both levels, local and national. This helped in answering the research question of how international and domestic

civil society organisations interact in order to promote women's democratic participation in Jordan.

Support offered by Women's Organisations

Women's civil society organisations have played an important role in representing the interests of women in civil society, and in improving women's representation by enhancing their opportunities to run for elected offices. WCSOs, by contributing their own strategies to enhance and shape women's political participation outcomes, have encouraged women to participate in decision making, and to focus on gender issues and women's rights advocacy. The role of WCSOs has assisted women in increasing their abilities and improving their skills, as well as to better understand their rights.

Women who are involved with women's organisations activities have been able to improve their skills, confidence and ability through the attendance at relevant meetings and conferences. Their attendance has provided them with more opportunities to learn from other women with relevant experience and expertise. There are now discrete political channels in Jordan which assist female actors to agitate for the enhancement of women's status and to increase women's representation, such as digital media, television, and newspapers. Through these channels, women's organisations support candidates for election to governmental offices and to work in other parts of the public and political spheres. Women's networks include members who help other women in the sharing of experiences on a local, national, and international basis, as well as assist them to understand their surroundings and enable them to interact with other women from differing cultural backgrounds.

Understanding the dynamics of gender equality in Jordan may be better comprehended by looking closely at women's networks, and not just the individual women's organisations themselves. The relationships between the organisations and women's networks, how they work together, and the idea-sharing and interpersonal networking they undertake, are particularly important to enhancing women's political participation. Members of women's organisations share and distribute knowledge obtained from their participation within these networks as a means of sharing goals within wider society. These networks provide women's organisations with wider avenues to discuss women's issues, focussing specifically on improving women's status and attaining equal rights for women by calling for the adoption of new policies. Through networking and connecting, members of

women's networks are able to increase their knowledge as women's networks provide opportunities for them to attend international conferences and also to participate in online conferences, especially with regard to the social and cultural aspects of their lives.

However, for almost four decades during the first and second phase of the women's movement, women were unsuccessful in actively running for elected office at both national and local levels. Progress has been gradual at best. In 1956, educated women in Jordan were granted suffrage, with all Jordanian women being granted the right to vote and right to be elected to all levels of government in 1974. During the third phase of the women's movement, on the back of the mobilisation of women's organisations, women were able to take part in politics and have been particularly successful in influencing the Jordanian government. During the transition to democracy, women lobbied for the quota system, which leads to an institutional change, which then facilitates and changes the strategies employed by women's organisations. For example, Jordanian women's organisations lobbied and collected 15,000 signatures in support of their bid to institutionalise women's political rights and fair political representation for women when they attempted to influence the government to implement quota reserved seats. Women's organisations also support women by training women candidates to run for office, and by educating them so that they are able to better organise their campaigns. The efforts of women's organisational lobbying is characterised by an increase in the number of women running as candidates and eventually succeeding in being elected to public office. Additionally, women have gained support and expertise that has enabled them to campaign effectively. The domestic organisations have helped members gain greater acceptance within their community.

Furthermore, women's organisations in their promotion of greater women's representation have helped change societal perceptions in Jordan with regard to involving women in politics, which has subsequently led to wider and deeper acceptance of women's rights in the community. Women's organisations have already achieved one of their goals, namely, to increase the number of women serving in political roles. Indeed, in 1995, more women were appointed to positions within local, municipal levels of government than ever before, and 20 women were appointed as councillors to municipal governments in 1996. This boosted women's confidence nationally with regard to running for office in the future and increased their participation both locally and nationally.

Women's civil society organisations form specific groups of women and offer training to help others improve their skills and knowledge. Subsequently, it is hoped that these women will, in turn, take a leadership-based role to facilitate other activities of women's organisations which have been devised to improve the status of women in society, as well as to support fellow women's organisations. For example, through the Jordanian National Commission for Women (JNCW), efforts are being made to unify the endeavours of all women's organisations in Jordan. The JNCW is primarily interested in women's issues as well as being responsible for the coordination of work regarding the improvement of the status of women in Jordan. Interestingly, I found that the leaders of these organisations and the women who are working therein have mostly been successful in presenting women's issues and women's interests to the Jordanian government. Moreover, perspectives from interview participants in this study showed that three women from the JNFW were specifically trained in the ability to host and lead workshops between women and policymakers.

Women's Organisations and Women's Political Participation: A Summary

Even though women's organisations still experience challenges as a result of the economic standing of their members and women in general, women's organisations have achieved many of their initial goals, most notably changing electoral laws that resulted in the adoption of quota seats. Women's organisations have affected the degree of women's representation in terms of the number of candidates and the numbers elected to office, and have succeeded in enhancing the capability of female candidates and political activists through support programs. As such, the development of women's organisations and their strategies has had an impact on institutional change due to the actions and activities of their members and the relative strengths and positions of various groups vis a vis key political institutions. During the transition to democracy, the activities of these organisations have been concerned with involving more women in political participation, and have focused on creating both institutional change and social change at the local level to improve women's political representatives.

In order to compare the practices of women in Jordan with those from other nations and cultures, it is necessary to look more closely at the concepts dictating normative practice for women in Jordanian culture. It is also important to understand how these women's organisations can improve their strategies and goals, and women's organisations contribute

to and influence the initiatives of members and staff who are already involved in adapting and implementing programs to improve women's standing in Jordan. There are still many ways that the women's movement and organisations can improve the conditions of women politically and socially. Through this research, I found that women in the provinces were not as able to participate in international organisations as much as they desired. This issue has arisen from the lack of opportunity to participate as a result of the previously-mentioned problems that such individuals have in attending national meetings and international conferences. Throughout the Jordanian transition to democracy, one of the main objectives of women's organisations was the realisation of gender equality at all levels, so that women from many diverse communities could possess greater opportunities to work in decision-making positions. In this sense, there is room for improvement for women's organisations.

Women's organisations are spaces for women to cooperate and communicate, discuss their demands for women's rights, and address the barriers that have restricted women's political representation. I found that changes in both formal and informal institutional norms have worked together and altered the incentives affecting women's political participation, particularly as it relates to the electoral system. Furthermore, I found that women's organisations cooperated to help women develop stronger relationships between each other, something that has had a positive effect on the ability and successes of DWCSOs generally. Essentially, these efforts have helped encourage those hoping to develop their confidence to become more active in their communities, in addition to assisting them to run for election and political office. Training by these organisations informs women of how to win elections, motivating them to continue their work with the intention of influencing change so that the realisation of gender equality in society will lead to improvements for women. Simultaneously, women leaders with particular experiences have associated themselves with international women's organisations to train members of DWCSOs in order to assist them with their projects and conferences.

Women's organisations are able to tap into networks to gain knowledge from the expertise of IWCSOs that assist them in their activities so that they interact more dynamically with their members. This, in turn, adds to the support that they receive. Women's organisations have worked to create women's networks that represent organisational expressions related to the transfer of women's issues. I discovered that the focus on international and national women's networks assists women from different backgrounds with regard to their

education, skills, and shared experiences, and helped to address issues that affected women's political representation.

When I followed up with the interviewees who were part of this research, it was notable that their political status had changed, further demonstrating the empowering potential of women's organisations and networks and the results of their political advocacy. For instance, four participants stated that their level of political representation had markedly improved. Two women who had previously been members of domestic organisations and were prospective politicians have now been appointed as senators. Additionally, two further participants were elected to parliament after the most recent changes in the quota-system law in 2013. In 2013, the electoral system was changed to become a combined system (as noted above), and the quota reserved seats increased to 15; 12 quota seats for 12 provinces and also one seat each for the three Bedouin areas. By increasing the number of women seats to 15 seats, one member of a DWCSO originating from the provinces, who was encouraged to run for office, also won her seat. This individual had previously run for elected office in 2010, although she did not win.

On the other hand, two incumbent MPs who participated in this research from small tribal and provincial areas with less population were not successful in their election in 2013. As discussed previously, the mixed system is expected to increase the number of elected female candidates, but will not help women from the provinces or small tribal regions, due to the way the quota system calculates political performance when distributing quota seats. This demonstrates that changes in the electoral system may not help all the women from different areas, so the women's organisations have to be wary of the specific impacts of the electoral system regarding the improvement of women's representation for all women in Jordan.

Contributions, Caveats and Conclusions

This study has highlighted the means by which women's organisations work toward the improvement of the role of women in political life. Furthermore, this study has made a contribution to our knowledge of Jordanian society by pointing to the changes in women's active participation in their community, as well as their holding greater numbers of decision-making positions at local and national levels. The developments and strategies of women's organisations are a significant component in comprehending the impact of women's organisations as well as their role in the improvement of quality-of-life for all

women. As such, this research contributes to the understanding of the means by which these organisations have helped, and may continue to assist women's political representation, though an assessment of their activities, the opportunities and barriers they address, and the means by which they have developed their focus toward women before and after the democratic transition.

Improving women's political representation remains an important challenge for women's organisations. Historically, Jordanian women were not able to take part in most aspects of public life. Jordanian society is formed on the basis of traditional customs relating to family and tribal control and the institutionalisation of a male dominated society. This restricted the role of women in their own societies and most were not members of women's organisations as their family did not allow them to be involved within women's organisations, especially in rural areas. These traditional issues have affected women and the improvement of their public political roles, as they have less opportunity to build their experience. This study's research findings demonstrate that the effectiveness of women's organisations will be dependent on them becoming more inclusive of women from all areas and by facilitating a level playing field on public activities, so that more women have better opportunities to develop their skills and abilities, and are more able to contribute to society. By expanding their efforts, women's organisations will be able to mobilise and are thus able to engage beyond the easy-to-reach and more experienced, well-educated women. This process increases the opportunities provided to women, regardless of where they reside, and ensures that younger women who have the interest, potential and the talent to aspire to high-level political positions will thrive. With some training, they are often able to do so.

This research attempted to construct an understanding of women's organisations activities pursuing women's representation in Jordan by utilising information collected from female interviewees in addition to selected case studies. These findings support those agitating for greater integration of women into active participation into political life in Jordan. In presenting a historically-informed analysis of four women's civil society organisations (two domestic women's organisations; a single organisation with branches in twelve provinces; and two international women's organisations), this thesis has demonstrated that the women's movement has adapted and changed in response to the opportunities and demands presented to it over time. Moreover, this thesis has provided an in-depth exploration of the changing roles of women's civil society organisations in the hope of

increasing women's political participation. Additionally, the research conclusions within this study will contribute to the literature in women's studies and will provide a foundation for future research within this field.

Finally, this research highlights the way in which women can transfer their skills and share knowledge that members have acquired through their attendance at meetings, seminars, and conferences. My findings are founded upon developments related to the actions of various women's networks as they engage in the process of discussing issues, exchanging ideas, and making suggestions. These findings show that there has been a significant change within women's networks which empower women's organisations and their participants to inform society as a whole. Indeed, within this research, it has been demonstrated that public awareness is increasing with regard to the benefits, value and importance of women's political participation. Furthermore, the findings of this research both recommend and encourage domestic organisations to be more active regarding their cooperation with international women's networks so to improve the means by which women develop their communicative methods with other women, in local, national and international circles. Additionally, these findings suggest the surveying of members to provide them with more opportunities to participate at meetings, conferences, as well as to enable them to meet and converse more readily, is essential. There need to be more opportunities to discuss and network for women, and they need more forums to present their issues to others that will, in addition, allow them to transfer their experiences related to women's matters and issues requiring closer attention. Subsequently, it is hoped that they will learn more in the future as a result of this.

As this study focused upon women's organisations as being more than social service organisations that work to improve women's quality of life, the study's findings differ from that of much previous research. This research study has addressed the significant impact of the role of women's organisations in the promotion of women's representation in Jordan, while previous research has not investigated this aspect in-depth. With regard to the role of women's civil society organisations that are currently engaged with women's issues, at all levels, both nationally and internationally, the author found this topic to be insufficiently investigated. There is a significant gap within the sub-field of women and politics in considering the impact of transitions to democratic rule. This subject adds to the field of knowledge regarding the role of women's civil society organisations and women's political

participation, as there is insufficient explanation of how women's civil society organisations have come to have specific influence over the political process, nor how they have improved women's political life.

Moreover, this thesis established an understanding of the way women's activism intersects with civil society, as well as with the processes of institutional change in order to promote political change. This investigation focuses upon Jordan and builds upon Waylen's (1994; 1998; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010, 2011) analytical research, which does not encompass Middle Eastern countries. This will add to the literature regarding women and politics in Jordan to provide insight into the changes that have resulted in the improvement of the status of women in Jordan over time. Waylen's analysis showed that Historical Institutionalism was an approach that enabled the creation of knowledge that focused on the institutional change and how this might be applied to advance successful outcomes for women. She also found that women's organisations have organised to practise gender interests, they also have become more active in promoting the importance of observing human rights, and they have focused women's mobilisation on gender issues beyond welfare-related issues. In addition to this, they played an essential role in process of the transition to democracy, without which Jordan's claim to becoming a more open society could not be supported.

In order to improve the prospects for women to obtain political and decision-making positions, as well as to increase the overall political representation for women's issues, recommendations need to be made based on the findings of this research that will hopefully provide options for future research. There is also a need to discuss the limitations of the research before summarising the main conclusions. Currently, improving the prospects for women's organisations to attain their goals will be realised through the distribution of relevant awareness and information to other women and the improvement of their skills-base. Thus, women will therefore be able to participate in future politics and potentially attain sought-after elected office. Others may, in the future, hold positions within various ministries, and in doing so, more women will have the opportunity to become more active in decision-making processes, and through lobbying, be able to implement relevant laws addressing women's priorities.

As women's organisations generate more dialogue between their members, this will, in turn, facilitate the inclusion of women throughout the country, particularly those inhabiting

rural areas within the provinces, and encourage them to raise their own concerns and identify their own priorities. Women's organisations have established and recommended certain policy changes, including the passing of equality laws so that women attain equal status, thereby improving the chance of equal allocation of seats for women to hold office. This is to be realised through the analysis of laws related to women's representation in order that more women will be qualified in holding decision-making positions. This study also provides recommendations in terms of the promotion of educational workshops related to issues such as women's rights, opportunities, and educational options for youth and women at all levels of education and backgrounds. Educational workshops will reach out to members of women's organisations across the country in order to foster additional support and provide motivation for them to increase their skill-base (or 'up-skill') and enhance their capabilities so that in the future those women who are interested will be ready and able (as well as look forward) to take part in the political process, and thus themselves be able to serve as female representatives.

With regard to the main offices of women's organisations, they should consider enhancing their communications and connections with other female members regardless of their location in the country. For instance, the main offices in the capital of domestic women's civil society organisations should develop a strong relationship with the branches, in order to encourage other members from the rural areas to be more active in important activities that the main office offers. The main office may create a comprehensive strategy and agenda which will ensure equal support for all women, regardless of location or background. Consequently, with regard to issues related to women in the provinces, it is therefore necessary to provide them with more opportunities to become involved in the operations of primary organisations. Future research should continue to focus upon the relationship between primary women's organisations and members in the provinces and continue to focus on discussions that will enhance the participation of these aforementioned provincial women.

Women's organisations could organise meetings to establish strategies to devise fundraising activities to support their organisation's activities, as well as to involve them in fundraising activities that will allow them to learn and obtain relevant experience. This, in turn, will help them to achieve the goal of full and equal rights for women, thereby enabling them to take part in the setting up of small businesses and other projects within

their communities that may be able to raise funds in supporting women's organisational activities. Furthermore, these women could establish connections with other members of their communities with the aim of supporting and assisting their members with their campaigns, which will, in turn, be reflected in women improving their political status. This can be achieved through the intensification of efforts supporting and empowering women economically, and with women's projects used to support women's incomes, these supporting institutions could provide women with greater means by which to participate in politics and run for office. As women's organisations contribute and organise support to help women with their election campaigns, fundraising will consequently help female candidates acquire the resources needed to enhance their ability to run effective campaigns.

This research indicates that women from urban areas, particularly from Amman, possess many opportunities through which to take part in the various activities of women's organisations, and have greater access to important positions. This is despite the fact that often the educational level and experience of women who reside in the provinces may be higher. However, as such women do not have the equivalent opportunities to obtain position in politics as their peers in higher social strata, they are therefore less likely to be considered for political positions. This may be due to the fact that they are farther away from the central offices of decision-making position, and therefore are subject to the maxim 'out of sight, out of mind'. As women in the provinces are better engaged by women's organisations, this may assist central office as such individuals have insights and strengths that can complement those in urban areas. This can also bring in more and different members.

Women's organisations could send their newsletters to members in the provinces and thereby create more opportunities by which to connect and influence the media, including radio stations, magazines, newspapers and television. This, in turn, could be utilised to encourage interviews and more coverage of their activities and events. Furthermore, these may be used to expand the participation of women in the provinces so that they are more aware of the activities of the main office of the women's organisation. This will enable women, no matter where they are located, to more easily participate or to be aware of the relevant meetings. It is possible that women in rural areas will be able to regularly organise local activities in conjunction with those of the main offices. The main office of women's organisations may consider developing greater flexibility so that their branch chapters are better able to work locally with regard to their programmes, as each city has different issues

based on the backgrounds of their citizens. Women in the provinces could pursue their own regular meetings that assist central office. These women will nevertheless be developing their skills as members, and so are more able to contribute to the goals and aspirations of the organisation. This would require additional organisational coordination if it is to be efficacious.

This critical enhancement will assist women to achieve their goal of changing their reality, and thereby ensure women are better recognised and more successful as a gender. Additionally, by offering interesting and insightful training, workshops, and seminars to current members, as well as the offer of programmes that will attract new members, women's organisations will expand their reach. For example, a programme could be developed for different niche target audiences and focus on issues-oriented training, training for working women, or training for mothers and daughters. Indeed, organisations may also devise a questionnaire and distribute it to inquire into suggested topics for training, or to survey their members to determine new and interesting programmes to perpetuate the up-skilling of their members.

However, the findings of this research highlight the impact of the activities of women's organisations with regard to the improvement of members' skills and knowledge in order to alter the role of women and enhance their prospects of attaining political or public office. And it is important to continue to collect information on the activities of women's organisations and their contribution in enhancing women's political representation and status, if these organisations are to succeed in their goals.

Political representation that takes into account women's issues of concern and enhances each woman's capability, skill level, and education, will very likely result in women holding even more important political roles and being elected on their own merits. Furthermore, as women's political representation continues to grow and women become more active in politics by participating in the process as campaign staffers, volunteers and interns, public and media relations personnel, trainers, educators, and campaign managers, they will, in turn, become more effective as representatives and politicians, and all of society will prosper as a consequence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdul-Wahab, T. M. (2000). Psychology of political participation: With a study in the psychology of political Arab environment. Cairo: Dar Al-kareeb for Publication and Distribution.
- Abo Elbeh, A. (2013). Women participation in political parties and unions (Publication no. 978-9957-484-29-3). Retrieved 10/3/2014, from Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/amman/10348-20131126.pdf>
- Abu-Zayd, G. (2002). In search of political power: Women in parliament in Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon. In A. Karam (Ed.), *Women in Parliament: Beyond numbers* (pp. 43-54). Stockholm: The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance IDEA.
- Abrash, I. (1998). Political sociology science. Amman: Dar Al-Shorok.
- Abu Ghazaleh, H. (2007). Regional parliament studies. Amman, Jordan: United Nations Development Fund for Women UNIFEM.
- Abu Rumi, R. (1995). The women's movement in Jordan. (MA), University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan. (301.41209565).
- Abu Rumman, H. (2007). The women's quota in Jordan: Crowning three decades of support for female political participation (978-91-85724-00-0). Stockholm: International IDEA.
- Abu-Karaki, M. (2011). Democracy and judicial controlling in Jordan a constitutional study. *Journal of Politics and Law*, 4(2).doi:10.5539/jpl.v4n2p180
- ACE/Electoral Knowledge Network. (2012). The ACE encyclopaedia: Parties and candidates. Retrieved from www.aceproject.org
- Acharya, R., Singh, A., Santhya, K. G., Ramb, F., Jejeebhoy, J., Ramb, R., & Mohanty, S. (2010). Participation in civil society and political life among young people in Maharashtra: Findings from the Youth in India - Situation and Needs study. *Journal of Adolescence*, 33(4), 553-561. doi 10.1016/j.adolescence.2009.05.012.
- Ajlani, M. (1995). The democratic experiment in Jordan. Amman, Jordan: Publications of the Ministry of Culture.
- Al Akash, M. A. (2006). The civil society institutions and democratisation in Jordan (1999-2005). (Master), Al al-Bayt University, Mafrqa, Jordan. (321.809565)
- Al Borini, O., & Al Hindi, H. (1994). Jordanian women: Pioneers in the field of employment. Amman, Jordan: Dar Aljame'a.
- Al Maaitah, R., Al Maaitah, H., Olaimat, H., & Gharaeibeh, M. (2011). Arab women and political development. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 12(3), 6-26. Retrieved from <http://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol12/iss3/2>
- Al Rashed, R., & Oehring, O. (2013). Introduction to media skills for women's organizations. Amman, Jordan: Konrad Adenauer Office.
- Al Saket, A. (2005). Jordanian women and economic development. Paper presented at the Promoting the Role of Women in the Economic Development, Kingdom of Bahrain. Retrieved from http://www.amanjordan.org/aman_studies/wmview.php?ArtID=974
- Al Shalabi, J., & Al-Assad, T. (2011). Political participation of Jordanian women. *Arab world* (9), 211-230. Retrieved from <http://ema.revues.org/3033>
- Al Zubi, K. M. (2005). The vision of His Majesty King Abdullah II in the political development. Amman, Jordan: The National Assembly Message. Retrieved from http://kingabdullah.jo/index.php/ar_JO/pages/view/id/169.html

- Alagappa, M. (2004). *Civil society and political change in Asia*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Al-Ali, N. (2002). *Women's movements in the Middle East: Case studies of Egypt and Turkey*. From Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 5, ii-37. Retrieved from <http://www.unrisd.org/>
- Al-Ali, N. (2003). Gender and civil society in the Middle East. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5(2), 216-232. doi: 10.1080/1461674032000080576.
- Al-Amro, T. (2004). *American aid and democratic transformation in Jordan: 1985-1995*. Amman, Jordan: Dar-Majdalawi.
- Al-Anzi, S. (2008). *The Jordanian women's political participation in the political process (1952-2006)*. (Master), University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan. (320.08209565).
- Al-Atiyat, I. (2003). *The women's movement in Jordan: Activism, discourses, and strategies*. Amman, Jordan: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Al-Atiyat, I. (2012). Harvests of the golden decades: Contemporary women's activism in Jordan. In P. Alrenfeldt & N. Golley (Eds.), *Mapping Arab women's movements: A century of transformations from within* (pp. 133-170). Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Al-Attayat, I. (1998). *The relationship between the Jordanian civil society associations and international organisations*. (Master), University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan. (301.59209565).
- Al-Attayat, I. (2005). Participation in public life and its impact on women in Jordan. In I. Al-Attayat, I. Shteiwi & S. Sweiss (Eds.), *Building Democracy in Jordan: Women's political participation, political party Life and democratic election* (pp. 25-68). Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA).
- Al-Attayat, I., Shteiwi, M., & Sweiss, S. (2005). *Building democracy in Jordan: Women's political participation, political party life and democratic elections*. Z. Majed (Ed.) International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) & The Arab NGO Network for Development (ANND) (pp. 1-143). Retrieved from <http://www.idea.int/>
- Al-Azzam, A. A. (2003). The Jordanians' tendencies towards the political parties. *Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences*, 30(2), 244-263. <http://journals.ju.edu.jo/DirasatHum/index>
- Albanane, F. (2005). *Women movement in the Arab World*. New York, NY: United Nations. Retrieved from <http://www.escwa.un.org/divisions/events/ecwssession/provAgendaitem6A-ar.pdf>
- Albes, H. (2013). *Jordanian women: Achievements waiting for more rights*, Amman Net Newspaper. Retrieved from <http://ar.ammannet.net>
- Aldahleh, H. (2010, 22/5/2010). *Annual report on the human rights situation in Jordan in 2009*, Al-Fajer Newspaper. Retrieved from <http://www.turess.com/alfajrnews/33340>
- Al-Doqme, D. (2008). *The impact of the quota system on political participation of Jordanian woman (2003-2006)*. (Master), Al-Al Bayte University, Mafraq.
- Alexander, A. C. (Ed.). (2007). *Empowering women: The role of economic development, political culture and institutional design in the World's societies*: Center for the Study of Democracy.
- Al-hamarneh, M. (1995). *Civil society project and the transitions of democratisation in the Arab World case study (Jordan)*. Cairo, Egypt: Dar Al-Amin for Publishing and Distribution.

- Hammad, W. (1999). Jordanian women's organisations and sustainable development. Amman, Jordan: Al-Urdu al-Jadid Research Center.
- Al-Hourani, H. (2000). Vocational unions and the challenges of democratisation in Jordan. Amman, Jordan: Sindbad Publishing House.
- Al-Hourani, H. (2002). The Jordanian labour movement: History, structure and challenges. (3-89892-032-1). from Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Retrieved from <http://library.fes.de/fulltext/iez/01144toc.htm>
- Al-Hourani, H. (2009). Civil society in Jordan: A literature review. Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center for Studies. Retrieved from <http://foundationforfuture.org/>
- Al-bes, H. (2013). Jordanian women: Achievements, a waiting for more rights, Amman Net Newspaper.
- Al-Jabri, M. A. (1993). The democratisation problem and the civil society in the Arab World. *Journal of the Arab future*, 167(15). Retrieved from www.caus.org.lb
- Al-Jraibi, M. (2000). Women and political participation in Jordan: The development of attitudes towards allocating a quota of parliamentary seats for women. Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center, Amman
- Alkan, A. (2009). Gendered structures of local politics in Turkey. *Middle East Studies*, 18(1), 31-56. doi:10.1111/j.1949-3606.2009.tb00106.x
- Al-Kateb, J. (2013). The current status of Jordanian women: Obstacles and opportunities. 1-15. Retrieved from <http://albadeeljordan.org/report1.htm>
- Al-Khasawneh, S. (2013). Media ethics in covering the parliamentary elections. Paper presented at the media and its role in monitoring the parliamentary elections, Amman, Jordan. Retrieved from http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_33420-1522-2-30.pdf?130204123954
- Al-Naqshabandi, B. (1995). Women's changing political participation in Jordan. (Doctor of Philosophy <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/998/>), Durham University. UK.
- Al-Naqshabandi, B. (2001). Women's political participation in Jordan and other Arab countries. Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Al-Nahar.
- Al-Nawaisheh, A. (2011). The role of non-governmental organisations in democratic transition in Jordan (1989-2009). (Master), Middle East University.
- Al-Owaimer, W. (2010, 19/2/2015). The political rights for the Jordanian women between the laws and the reality. Amman Newspaper. [Online Newspaper]
- Al-Quds Center for Political Studies. (2007). Women in political parties. Amman, Jordan: Alquds Center.
- Al-Quds Center for Political Studies. (2007). Study about the reality of women in Jordanian political parties. Amman, Jordan: Al-Quds Center for Political Studies.
- Al-Rashdan, N. (08/03/2010). Jordanian women: The model of achievement, the truth of work, and continuous process of change. Paper presented at the Jordanian Women, Amman, Jordan. Retrieved from http://women.jo/ar/news_details.php?news_id=1281
- Al-Rawashdeh, A., Al Arab, A. R., & Al-shboul, A. M. (2012). Difficulties prevent Jordanian women participation in political life in light of some social variables. *Journal of Asian Social Sciences*, 8(10), 208-222. doi:10.5539/ass.v8n10p208
- Alrenfeldt, P., & Golley, N. (2012). Arab women's movements: Developments, priorities, and challenges. In P. Alrenfeldt & N. Golley (Eds.), *Mapping Arab women's movements: A century of transformations from within* (pp. 1-41). Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Als'adeen, D. S. (n.d). Renewals that face participation of Jordanian women in political development. Retrieved from <http://www.womengateway.com>

- Al-Saleem, B., Al-Ahmad, N., Al-Ali, N., & Al-dibs, M. (2009). Jordanian women and education. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(1), 67-75. doi: 10.3844/jssp.2009.67.75
- Al-Sobeihi, A. (2000). *The future of civil society in the Arab World*. Beirut, Lebanon: Center of Arab Unity Studies.
- Al-Suyoufi, N. (2007). *Civil society organisations and social change: A study of the effectiveness of Jordanian women empowerment programs (1989-2005)*. (PhD social studies), University of Jordan, Amman, Jordan.
- Al-Tal, S., & al-Hamad, W. (2000). Jordanian women's participation in politics and decision-making. Paper presented at the Arab Women and Political Participation, Amman, Jordan.
- Al-Tal, S. S. (1985). *Introduction about women's issues and the women's movement in Jordan*. Beirut: The Arab Foundation for Studies and Publishing.
- Al-Tal, S. S. (2013). *The history of the women's movement in Jordan: 1944-2008*. Amman: Dar Azminah.
- Al-urdun Al-Jadid Research Center. (1996). *Civil society and the public sphere in the city of Amman*. Amman, Jordan: Al-Urdun al-Jadid research Center.
- _____. (1997). *Jordanian women and the electoral Law*, seminar proceedings. Amman, Jordan: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center.
- _____. (2001). *Civil society organisations in Jordan: Characteristics, challenges and tasks*. Amman, Jordan: Sindbad Publishing house.
- _____. (2007). *Assessment of the electoral framework: The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*. Retrieved from http://www.democracy-reporting.org/files/dri_report_jordan.pdf
- _____. (2010). *The contemporary civil society in Jordan*. Amman, Jordan: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center.
- Amawi, A. (2007). Against all odds: Women candidates in Jordan's 1997 elections. In V. M. Moghadam (Ed.), *From patriarchy to empowerment: Women's participation, movements, and rights in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia* (pp. 40-55). New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Amawi, A., & Joseph, S. (2000). *Gender and citizenship in the Middle East*. New York, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Amenta, E., & Ramsey, K. M. (2010). Institutional theory. In K. T. Leicht & J. C. Jenkins (Eds.), *State and society in global perspective* (pp. 15-39). New York, N.Y: Springer.
- Amer, S. (2007). *The role of women institutions in development planning in the Palestinian territories*. (Master), Al-Najah National University, Nablus, Palestine. (307.12082).
- Anderson, S. B. (1997). The status of democracy in Jordan. *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies of Iran and Middle East*, 6(10), 55 – 76. doi: 10.1080/10669929708720100
- Annesley, C. (2008). *Gendering the institutional politics of welfare reform in the UK*. Paper presented at the Gender, Politics, and Institutions: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism? UK, University of Manchester. Retrieved from <http://www.ecpr.eu/>
- Antlov, H. Brinkerhoff, D.W., & Rapp, E.G. (2008, Nov 20-22). *Civil society organisations and democratic reform: Progress, capacities, and challenges in Indonesia*. Paper presented at the Association for Research on Non-profit Organizations and Voluntary Action, Philadelphia, PA. Retrieved from http://www.rti.org/pubs/antlov_csos_in_indo_arnova.pdf

- Antoun, R. T. (2000). Civil society, tribal process, and change in Jordan: An anthropological view. *Middle East Studies*, 32(4), 441-463. doi:10.1017/S0020743800021164
- Arat, N. (1996). Women's studies in Turkey. *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 24(1/2), 440-411. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40004541>
- Arat, Y. (1989). *The patriarchal paradox: Women politicians in Turkey*. London; Toronto: Associated University Presses.
- . (1994). Toward a democratic society: The women's movement in Turkey in the 1980s. *Women's Studies*, 17(2-3), 241-248. Retrieved from [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395\(94\)90030-2](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0277-5395(94)90030-2)
- . (2001). Women's rights as human rights: The Turkish case *Human Rights Review*, 3(1), 27-34. doi: 10.1007/s12142-001-1003-9
- . (2004). Rethinking the political: A feminist journal in Turkey, Pazartesi. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 27(3), 281-292. doi: 10.1016/j.wsif.2004.06.007
- . (2005). *Rethinking Islam and liberal democracy: Islamist women in Turkish politics*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Araujo, C. (2003). Quotas for women in the Brazilian legislative system. Retrieved from http://www.quotaproject.org/CS/CS_Araujo_Brazil_25-11-2003.pdf
- Ardener, S. (1978). *Defining females: The nature of women in society*. London: Croom Helm.
- Arendt, H. (1958). *The human condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Arenfeldt, P., & Golley, N. (2012). Arabic women's movements: Developments, priorities and challenges. In P. Arenfeldt & N. Golley (Eds.), *Mapping Arab women's movements: A century of transformations from within* (pp. 7-41). Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Arjomand, S. A. (2008). *Constitutional politics in the Middle East: With special reference to Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan*. Oxford England; Portland, Or: Hart Publishing.
- Armenian Association of Women with University Education, & Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe. (2007). *Women's political participation in the 2007 parliamentary elections in the republic of Armenia*. Yerevan, Armenia: Association of Women with University Education Gender Studies Center. Retrieved from <http://www.osce.org/yerevan/28769?download=true>
- Arts, Z. F. (2002). *Deconstructing images of the Turkish woman*. New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Ashour, E. (2003). *The political participation of Jordanian women 1989-2001*. (Master), Jordanian Diplomatic Institute, Amman, Jordan.
- Ashour, R., Ghazoul, F. J., & Reda-Mekdashy, H. (2008). *Arab women writers: A critical reference guide, 1873-1999* (M. McClure, Trans.). Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Awad, T. (1995). *Women's associations in Jordan, Amman*. Amman, Jordan: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center.
- Ayata, A. G., & Tutuncu, F. (2008). Critical acts without a critical mass: The substantive representation of women in the Turkish parliament. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 61(3), 461-475. doi: 10.1093/pa/gsn012
- Azzouni, S. (2010). Palestine authority and Israeli-Occupied territories. In J. Bresline & S. Kelly (Eds.), *Women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Progress amid resistance* (pp. 359-396). New York, NY: Rowman&Littlefield.

- Baaklini, A. I., Denoeux, G., & Springborg, R. (1999). *Legislative politics in the Arab World: The resurgence of democratic institutions*. United States of America: Lynne Rienner.
- Babbie, E. (2010c). *The practice of social research*. Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth Cengage.
- Bac, M. M. (2005). Turkey's political reforms and the impact of the European Union. *South European Society & Politics*, 10(1), 16-30. doi: 10.1080/13608740500037916
- Bach, J., & Stark, D. C. (2002). Link, search, interactive: The Co-Evolution of NGOs and interactive technology (Working Papers). From Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10022/AC:P:9716>
- Baker, G. (1999). The taming of the idea of civil society. *Democratization*, 6(3), 1-29. doi: 10.1080/13510349908403619
- Bakir, N. (2002). The gendering and democracy in Jordan. Paper presented at the Social gender and democratic transformation in the Arabic area, Amman, Jordan.
- Baldez, L. (2006). The pros and cons of gender quota laws: What happens when you kick men out and let women in? *Politics & Gender*, 2(1), 102-109. doi: 10.1017/S1743923X06221019
- Balkan Civil Society Development Network BCSDN. (2007). *Media relations - Guide for civil society organisations*. Krajnc, Kristina: Macedonian Center for International Cooperation MCIC. Retrieved from <http://pdc.ceu.hu/>
- Ballington, J. (2012). *Empowering women for stronger political parties*. United Nations Development Programme and National Democratic Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.undp.org/>
- Ballington, J., & Karam, A. (2005). *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers*. Stockholm, Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance IDEA. <http://www.idea.int/>
- Banaszak, L. A. (2003). The women's movements policy successes and the constraints of state reconfiguration. In L. A. Banaszak, K. Beckwith & R. Rucht (Eds.), *Women's movements facing the reconfigured state* (pp. 141-168). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Banaszak, L. A., & Beckwith, K. (2003). *Women's movements facing the reconfigured state*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Bani Yasin, R., & Assaf, N. (1997). *The role of civil society organisations in accessing women the parliament*. Irbid, Jordan: University of Yarmouk.
- Bano, S. (2009). Women in parliament in Pakistan: Problems and potential solutions. *Women's Studies Journal*, 23(1), 19-35. Retrieved from <http://www.wsanz.org.nz>
- Bari, F. (2005). *Women's political participation: Issues and challenges: Issues and challenges (EGM/WPD-EE/2005/EP.12)*. Bangkok, Thailand: United Nations.
- Bartelson, J. (2006). Making sense of global civil society. *European Journal of International Relations*, 12(3), 371-395. doi: 10.1177/1354066106067348
- Bashirieh, H. (1993). *Political sociology: Role of social forces in political life*. Tehran: Nay Press.
- Bataineh, R. S. (2004). *Democratic and human rights*. Amman, Jordan: The Ministry of Culture.
- Bebbington, A. (1997). New States, new NGOs? Crises and transitions among: Rural development NGOs in the Andean Region. *World Development*, 25(11), 1755-1765. doi: 10.1016/S0305-750X(97)00066-1
- Beck, M. (2012). CEDAW shadow reports: Process, method, and content (Publication no. doi: 31901/. 2013-12-0122:50:22.2-6). From Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung

- Beck, M., & Collet, L. (2010). Jordan's 2010 election law: Democratization or stagnation? (Publication no 20947-1522-2-30). Retrieved 7/3/2014, from Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. doi: 101108101415
- Beckwith, K. (2003). The gendering ways of states. In L. A. Banaszak, K. Beckwith & R. Rucht (Eds.), *Women's movements facing the reconfigured state* (pp. 169-202). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Bélanger, C., & Ghorayshi, P. (1996). Women, work and gender relations in developing countries: A global perspective. (pp.i-262). Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/lib/auckland/docDetail.action?docID=10005599>
- Ben Tala, B. (2004). *Rethinking and NGO: Development, donors and civil society in Jordan* (Vol. 36). London: I.B.Tauris.
- Ben Tala, H. (1996). The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Political parties' law. *Arab Law Quarterly*, 11(3), 294-301. doi: 10.2307/3381882
- Beneria, L. (2003c). *Gender, development and globalization: Economics as if all people mattered*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Beneria, L., & Bisnath, S. (2004). *Global tensions: Challenges and opportunities in the world economy*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Bentz, M. V., & Shapiro, J. J. (1998). *Mindful inquiry in social research*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.
- Berelson, B. (1952). *Content analysis in communication research*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Berger, S. A. (2006). Face-off: Gender, democratization, and globalization. In S. A. Berger (Ed.), *Guatemaltecas: The women's movement 1986-2003* (pp. 1-18). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Beyeler, M., & Annesley, C. (2011). Gendering the institutional reform of the Welfare State: Germany, the United Kingdom, and Switzerland. In L. M. Krook & F. Mackay (Eds.), *Gender, Politics and Institutions: Towards a feminist institutionalism* (pp. 79-94). United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bibb, S., & Kourdi, J. (2004). *Trust matters for organisational and personal success*. New York, NY: Plagrave Macmillan.
- Bierema, L. L. (2005). Women's executives' concerns related to implementing and sustaining a women's network in a corporate context. *Organisation Development Journal*, 23(2), 8-20.
- Biglang-awa, L., & Bestari, G. (2011). *Successful engagement with civil society organisations*. Mandaluyong, Philippines: Independent Evaluation at Asian Development Bank. Retrieved from <http://www.adb.org/>
- Bird, K. (2003, 11/ Nov). The Political representation of women and ethnic minorities in established democracies: A framework for comparative research. Paper presented at the Academy of Migration Studies in Denmark (AMID), Aalborg University, Denmark. Retrieved from <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/>
- Bitektine, A. (2008). Prospective case study design qualitative method for deductive theory testing. *Organizational Research Methods*, 11(1), 160-180. doi: 10.1177/1094428106292900
- Bjarnegard, E. (2013). *Gender, informal institutions and political recruitment: Explaining male dominance in parliamentary representation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Blaho, A. (2012). *Centre-periphery relations between Western and Eastern Europe*. Paper presented at the centre-periphery relations in a global world, Paris. Retrieved from http://unipub.lib.uni-corvinus.hu/1068/1/Blaho_2012_centre.pdf

- Blair, H. (1993). Civil society and democratic development: A CDIE evaluation paper. Washington: USAID, POL/CDIE/E/POA.
- Boden, D., & Molotch, H. L. (1994). The compulsion of proximity. In R. Friedland & D. Boden (Eds.), *NowHere: Space, time, and modernity* (pp. 257-286). University of California Press: Berkeley.
- Bound, M. (2011). *Qualitative method of research: Grounded theory research*. (PhD), Nova Southeastern University, Fort Lauderdale, FL.
- Boussard, C. (2003). *Crafting democracy: Civil society in post-transition*. Honduras: Lund University.
- Boutros-Ghali, B. (2000). An agenda for democratization: Democratization at the international level. In B. Holden (Ed.), *Global democracy: Key debates* (pp. 105-124). Florence, KY, USA: Routledge. Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/lib/auckland/docDetail.action?docID=5001331>
- Bouwen, R. (2001). Developing relational practices for knowledge intensive organisational contexts. *Career Development International*, 6(7), 361-369. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/EUM0000000006057>
- Bozkurt, E. (2007). Women's human rights; Turkey's way to Europe. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 6(1), 1-6.
- Brainard, S. (2011). Network for women. *Nature*, 474(669). doi: 10.1038/nj7353-669b
- Braithwaite, A. (2002). The personal, the political, third-wave and postfeminisms. *Feminist Theory*, 3(3), 335-344. doi: 10.1177/146470002762492033
- Brand, L. A. (1998). Women and the state in Jordan: Inclusion or exclusion? In Y. Y. Haddad & J. L. Esposito (Eds.), *In Islam, gender, and social change* (pp. 100-123). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Brand, L. A. (1998). *Women, the state, and political liberalization: Middle Eastern and North African experiences*. New York, NY: Columbia University press.
- Bratton, M. (1994). Civil society and political transition in Africa. In J. W. Harbeson, D. Rothchild & N. Chazan (Eds.), *Civil society and the state in Africa* (pp. 51-81). Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Breatton, M. (1989). The politics of government-NGO relations in Africa. *World Development*, 17(4), 569-587. doi: 10.1016/0305-750X(89)90263-5
- Breuls, L. J. (2013). Belonging to the nation state? A historical institutionalist perspective on citizenship. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/4768482/Belonging_to_the_Nation_State_A_Historical_Institutionalist_Perspective_on_Citizenship
- Brinkerhoff, D. W., & Goldsmith, A. A. (2002). Clientelism, patrimonialism and democratic governance: An overview and framework for assessment and programming. Paper presented at the U.S. Agency for International Development Office of Democracy and Governance under Strategic Policy and Institutional Reform, Montgomery, USA. Retrieved from http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pnac426.pdf
- Brown, D., & Kalegaonkar, A. (1999). *Addressing civil society's challenges: Support organisations as emerging institutions*. Boston, MA. Institute for development research, IDR. 15 (2).
- Brynen, R. (1992). Economic crisis and post-rentier democratization in the Arab World: The case of Jordan. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 25(1), 69-98. doi: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3228950>

- Brynen, R., Korany, B., & Noble, P. (1995). *Political liberalization and democratization in the Arab World: Theoretical perspectives* (Vol. 1). United States of America: Lynne Rienner.
- Bucheli, M., & Wadhvani, D. (2014). *Organisations in time: History, theory, methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bunbongkarn, S. (2004). The role of civil society in democratic consolidation in Asia. In Y. Sato (Ed.), *Growth and governance in Asia* (pp. 137-144). Honolulu, Hawaii: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.
- Burrell, B. (2005). Campaign financing: Women's experience in the modern era. In S. Thomas & C. Wilcox (Eds.), *Women and elective office: past, present, and future* (pp. 26-39). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Canadian Foundation for the Americas FOCAL. (2006). *The role of civil Society in the promotion and strengthening of democracy in the Americas: A vision for the future*. Canada, Ottawa: Canadian Foundation for the Americas FOCAL. Retrieved from <http://www.focal.ca/>
- Carroll, S. J. (1994). *Women as candidates in American politics*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Carter, C. A. (2003). *Redefining positive integration: A critical application of historical institutionalism to the 'open method' of co-ordination*. Paper presented at the Nashville Eighth biennial international conference, Nashville, Tennessee. Retrieved from http://aei.pitt.edu/6475/1/001324_1.PDF
- Carter, S. L. (1994). *The culture of disbelief: How American law and politics trivialize religious devotion*. New York, NY: BasicBooks.
- Castells, M. (1996). *The rise of the network society: The information age: Economy, society and culture* (Vol. 1). Oxford: Wiley- Blackwell.
- Castells, M. (2008). The new public sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social*, 616, 78-93. doi: 10.1177/0002716207311877
- Women's Studies Center. (2013, 25/June/2013). *Feminist methodology workshop*. [Workshop] Retrieved from http://centers.ju.edu.jo/ar/wsc/Lists/Announcements/Disp_Announcement.aspx?ID=24
- _____. (2008). *Achievements of the center for women's studies in the academic year 2008-2009*. Retrieved 17, June 2013, from Women's Studies Center <http://centers.ju.edu.jo/ar/wsc/Home.aspx>
- _____. (2008). *The accomplishments of the centre for women studies of Jordan during 2008-2009*. Amman, Jordan: Women's Studies Center.
- Champion, T. (1995). *Centre and periphery: Comparative studies in archaeology*. Canada: Routledge.
- Chappell, L. (2006). Comparing political institutions: Revealing the gendered “logic of appropriateness”. *Politics & Gender*, 2(2), 223-235. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X06221044>
- Chatelard, G. (2010). *What visibility conceals: Re-embedding Refugee Migration from Iraq*. Paper presented at the *Dispossession and Displacement: Forced Migration in the Middle East and North Africa*. London; British Academy. doi: 10.5871/bacad/9780197264591.003.0002
- Choucair, J. (2006). *Illusive reform: Jordan's stubborn stability*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (76).
- Chowdhury, A. K. (2005). *The role of women in Peace-Building: U.N Undersecretary general and high representative for the least developed countries, landlocked developing countries and small island developing states*. From Women Studies

Review <http://www.lehman.cuny.edu/academics/inter/women-studies/documents/women-role-peace-building.pdf>

- Cindoglu, D., & Toktas, S. (2002). Empowerment and resistance strategies of working women in Turkey: The case of 1960-70 graduates of the girls institutes. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 9(1), 31-48. doi: 10.1177/1350506802009001380
- Clark, A. M., Friedman, J. E., & Hochstetler, K. (1998). The sovereign limits of global civil society: A comparison of NGO participation in UN World conferences on the environment, human rights, and women. *World Politics*, 51(1), 1-35. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0043887100007772>
- Clark, J. (1991). *Democratising development: The role of voluntary organisations*. West Hartford, Conn., USA: Kumarian Press.
- Clark, J. A., & Michuki, W. M. (2009). Women and NGO professionalisation a case study of Jordan. *Development in Practice*, 19(3), 329-339. doi: 10.1080/09614520902808035
- Clarke, G. (1998). The politics of NGOs in South-East Asia participation and protest in the Philippines. doi:978-0-415-17140-3 (hardback) 978-0-203-02546-8 (electronic)
- Clemens, E. S. (1993). Organisational repertoires and institutional change: Women's groups and the transformation of U.S. politics, 1890-1920. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98(4), 755-798. doi: 0002-9602/93/9804-0002
- Clemens, E. S., & Cook, J. M. (1999). Politics and institutionalism: Explaining durability and change. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25, 441-466.
- Cohen, J. L. (1985). Strategy or identity: New theoretical paradigms and contemporary social movement. *Social Research*, 52(2), 663-716. doi: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40970395>
- Cohen, J. L., & Arato, A. (1994). *Civil society and political theory*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press
- Coleman, I. (2004). The payoff from women's rights. *Foreign Affairs*, 83(3), 80-95.
- Collet, L., Tauch, M., & Beck, M. (2010). Civic participation and local development: Building effective communities in Jordan (Publication no. doi: 101031144126). Retrieved 26/08/2014, from Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.
- Collier, R., & Collier, D. (1991). *Shaping the political arena: Critical junctures, the labor movement, and regime dynamics in Latin America*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Conway, M. M. (2001). Women and political participation. *Political Science & Politics*, 34(02), 231-233. doi: 10.1017/S1049096501000385.
- Cook, J. A., & Fonow, M. M. (2007). Knowledge and Women's interests: Issues of epistemology and methodology in feminist sociological research. *Sociological Inquiry*, 56(1), 2-29. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-682X.1986.tb00073.x.
- Corbetta, P. (2003). *Social research: Theory methods and techniques*. London, UK: Sage Publications.
- Cosar, S. (2007). Women in Turkish political thought: Between tradition and modernity. *Feminist Review*, 86(1), 113-131. doi: 10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400337
- Cox, G. W. (2005). *The efficient secret: The cabinet and the development of political parties in Victorian England*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Craviotto, N., & Antolin, L. (2010). Gender equality and aid effectiveness. Brussels, Belgium: WIDE-Globalising Gender and Social Justice. Retrieved from http://wideplusnetwork.files.wordpress.com/2012/10/mobilisation_towards_accra_20092.pdf

- Crawford, B. J. (2007). Toward a third-wave feminist legal theory: Young women, pornography and the praxis of pleasure. *Michigan Journal of Gender & Law*, 14, 1-64. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.pace.edu/lawfaculty/243>
- Creswell, J. W., & Clark, P. V. L. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Crowe, S., Cresswell, K., Robertson, A., Huby, G., Avery, A., & Sheikh, A. (2011). The case study approach. *Medical Research Methodology*. Retrieved from <http://www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2288/11/100>
- Dababneh, A. B. (2012). Jordanian women's political participation: Legislative status and structural challenges. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 27(2), 231-221.
- DAC Network on Gender Equality. (2008). Innovative funding for women's organisations. In *Gender equality, women's empowerment and the Paris declaration on effectiveness: Issues brief 3*. Retrieved 14/5, 2014, from <http://www.oecd.org/dac/gender-development/40954592.pdf>
- DAC Networks on Gender Equality. (2011). Women's economic empowerment. Retrieved from www.oecd.org/dac/gender
- Dahlerup, D. (2005). Increasing women's political representation: New trends in gender quotas. In J. Ballington & A. Karam (Eds.), *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* (pp. 141-153). The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance: Stockholm, Sweden. 91-85391-19-0
- Dahlerup, D. (2006). *Women quotas and politics*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Dahlerupa, D., & Freidenvalla, L. (2005). Quotas as a 'fast track' to equal representation for women. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(1), 26-48. doi: 10.1080/1461674042000324673
- Da'jah, H. (1996). *Jordanian House of Representatives between the logo and the application: The House of Representatives 11th*. Ministry of Culture: Amman, Jordan.
- Dajani, R. (2008). *Review of women networks, unions and coalitions in Jordan*. Amman, Jordan: Institutional Development and Fundraising Consultant. Retrieved from http://www.gsfjo.org/inp/Upload/127323_NCU%20Review%20-%20Final%20report.pdf
- Darke, J., & Cope, A. (2002). *Trans inclusion policy manual for women's organisations*. Vancouver, BC, CA: Trans Alliance Society. Retrieved from <http://www.transalliancesociety.org/>
- Darke, P., Shanks, G., & Broadbent, M. (1998). Successfully completing case study research: combining rigour, relevance and pragmatism. *Information Systems Journal*, 8(4), 273-289. doi: 10.1046/j.1365-2575.1998.00040.x
- Davis, F. (c1991). *Moving the mountain: The women's movement in America since 1960*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- De Haan, F., Daskalova, K., & Loutfi, A. (2006). *Biographical dictionary of women's movements and feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*. Herndon, VA, USA: Central European University Press.
- De Soysa, I., Jutting, J., Drechsler, D., & Bartsch, S. (2007). Informal institutions: How social norms help or hinder development. Retrieved from <http://browse.oecdbookshop.org/oecd/pdfs/product/4107101e.pdf>
- De Soysa, I., & Jutting, J. (2007). Informal institutions and development: How they matter and what makes them change. J. Jutting, D. Drechsler, S. Bartsch & I. de Soysa (Eds.), *Informal institutions: How social norms help or hinder development* (pp. 29-44). Retrieved from <http://browse.oecdbookshop.org/oecd/pdfs/product/4107101e.pdf>

- Dekker, P., & Van den Broek, A. (2004, 11-14 July). Civil Society in longitudinal and comparative perspective: Voluntary associations, political involvement, social trust and happiness in a dozen countries. Paper presented at the International Conferences of the International Society for the Third-sector Research, Toronto, Ryerson University. Retrieved from <http://www.istr.org/>
- Derichs, C. (2014). *Women's movements and countermovements: The quest for gender equality in Southeast Asia and the Middle East*. Newcastle upon Tyne; UK: Cambridge Scholars.
- Diamond, L. (1994). Rethinking civil society: Toward democratic consolidation. *Journal of Democracy*, 5(3), 4-18. doi: 10.1353/jod.1994.0041
- Diamond, L. (1999). *Development democracy: Toward consolidation*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Diamond, L. (2008). *The spirit of democracy: The struggle to build free societies throughout the World*. New York: Times Books/ Henry Holt and Co.
- Diamond, L., Plattner, M., & Brumberg, D. (2003). *Islam and democracy in the Middle East*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dicker, R. C., & Piepmeyer, A. (2003). *Catching a wave: Reclaiming feminism for the 21st century*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Doumato, E. A., & Posusney, M. P. (2003). *Women and globalization in the Arab Middle East gender, economy and society*. United State: Lynne Rienner.
- Driscoll, D. L. (2011). Introduction to primary research: Observations, surveys, and interviews. In C. Lowe & P. Zemliansky (Eds.), *Writing spaces: Readings on writing* (Vol. 1, pp. 153-174). Anderson, South Carolina: Parlor Press LLC.
- Droeber, J. (2005). *Dreaming of change: young middle-class women and social transformation in Jordan* (Vol. 3). Leiden, Danver: Brill.
- Durbin, S. (2011). Creating knowledge through networks: a Gender perspective. *Gender, Work and Organization*. 18(1) doi: 10.1111/j.1468-0432.2010.00536.x
- Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia ESCWA. (2005). *The conditions of the Arab women 2005: The history of women's movements in the Arab world* (E/ESCWA/ECW/2007/IG.1/4/Add). New York, NY: United Nations.
- Ehrenberg, J. (1999c). *Civil Society: The critical history of an idea*. Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/lib/auckland/docDetail.action?docID=10032521>
- El Baz, S. (1997). *The Arab non-governmental organisations on the outskirts of the twenty-century atheist: Determinants the reality and future prospects*. Cairo: The Commission Follow up the Non-governmental Organisations.
- Elshtain, J. B. (1981). *Public man, private woman: Women in social and political thought*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Embassy of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. (1993). *Her Royal Highness Princess Basma Bint Talal*. Retrieved from <http://jordanembassyus.org/royal-family/her-royal-highness-princess-basma-bint-talal>
- Embree, L. (1999). *Schutzian social science*. Netherlands, USA: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Emerson, M., Aydin, S., Nuotcheva, G., Tocci, N., Vahl, M., & Youngs, R. (2005). The European Union as promoter of democracy in its Neighbourhood. *Center for European Policy Studies* (223), 1-44.
- Engel, R. J., & Schutt, R. K. (2005). *The practice of research in social work*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.
- Ennaji, M. (2014). Women's NGOs and social change in Morocco. In C. Derichs & D. Fennert (Eds.), *Women's movements and countermovements: The quest for gender*

- equality in Southeast Asia and the Middle East (pp. 137-150). Newcastle upon Tyne; UK: Cambridge Scholars.
- Err, L. (2009). Impact of electoral systems on women's representations in politics (32). Germany: Council of Europe. Retrieved from http://assembly.coe.int/CommitteeDocs/2009/20090908_aegadoc32rev.pdf
- European Institute for Gender Equality EIGE. (2012). Advancing gender equality in decision-making in media organisations. European Institute for Gender Equality EIGE. Retrieved from <http://eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/Women-and-Media-Fact-sheet.PDF>
-
- _____. (2013). Review the implement of the Beijing platform for action in the EU member States: Women and media (Publication no. 10.2839/65479). Retrieved from European Institute for Gender Equality <http://www.ru.nl/publish/pages/672064/mh3113742enc-women-and-media-report-eige.pdf>
-
- _____. (2013b). Study on collection of methods, tools and good practices in the field of domestic violence (area D of Beijing Platform for Action): Awareness raising (MH-30-12-146-EN-C). European Institutions for Gender equality EIGE. Retrieved from <http://eige.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EIGE-DOMESTIC-VIOLENCE-AWARENESS-RAISING.pdf>
- European Union Election Observation Mission Final Report. (2013). The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Parliamentary Elections, 23 January 2013. Amman, Jordan: European Union. Retrieved from http://www.eods.eu/library/FR%20JORDAN%2027.03.2013_en.pdf
- Evans, J. (1995). Feminist theory today: An introduction to second-wave feminism. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3175205>
- Evans, J., Hills, J., Hunt, K., & Meehan, E. M. (1986). *Feminism and political theory*. London & Beverly Hills, Calif: SAGE.
- Fakir, F. (1997). Engendering democracy and Islamic in the Arab World. *Third World Quarterly*, 18(1), 165-174. doi: 0143-6597/97/010165-10
- Faqir, F. (2000). Arab democracy minus women: Gender, democracy and citizenship in Jordan. *Asian Women*, 11(2), 61-89.
- Fawcett society organisations. (2013). What about women? Retrieved 20/1/2014, from <http://www.fawcettsociety.org.uk>
- Feagin, J. R., Orum, A. M., & Sjoberg, G. (1991). *A case for case study*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Ferree, M., M., & Hess , B., B. (2000). *Controversy and coalition: The new feminist movement across four decades of change*. New York; London: Routledge.
- Ferree, M. M., & Martin, P. Y. (1995). *Feminist organisations: Harvest of the new women's movement*. Philadelphia, USA: Temple University Press.
- Findlay, T. (2012). *Feminist institutionalism and feminist political economy: A dialogue on gender, the state and representation*. University of Alberta: Canadian Political Science Association. Retrieved from <http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2012/findlay.pdf>
- Fleschenberg, A. (2008). Afghanistan: From misogynist theocracy to gender-inclusive democracy. In M. Tremblay (Ed.), *Women and legislative representation: Electoral systems, political parties, and sex quotas* (pp. 71-84). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), 219-245. doi: 10.1177/1077800405284363

- Fowler, A. (2008). The role of NGOs in changing state-society relations: Perspectives from Eastern and Southern Africa. *Development Policy Review*, 9(1), 53-84. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-7679.1991.tb00175.x
- Fraenkel, J. (2006). The impact of electoral systems on women's representation in pacific parliaments. *A Woman's Place is in the House*. Retrieved from http://www.forumsec.org.fj/resources/uploads/attachments/documents/REPORT_2_A_Woman_s_Place_is_in_the_House_-_the_House_of_Parliament-51.pdf
- Fraser, A. S., & Tinker, I. (2004). *Developing power: How women transformed international development*. New York, NY: Feminist Press at the City University of New York.
- Freedom House. (2005). *Women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa citizenship and justice*. USA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, INC.
- Freidenberg, F., & Levitsky, S. (2006). Informal institutions and party organisations in Latin America. In G. Helmke & S. Levitsky (Eds.), *Informal institutions and democracy: lessons from Latin America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Freidenvall, L., & Krook, L. M. (2010). Discursive strategies for institutional reform: Gender quotas in Sweden and France. In M. L. Krook & F. Mackay (Eds.), *Gender, politics and institutions: Toward a feminist institutionalism*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Freidenvalla, D. D. L. (2005). Quotas as a 'fast track' to equal representation for women *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(1), 26-48.
- Friedman, E. J. (1999). The effects of transnationalism reversed in Venezuela: Assessing the impact of UN global conferences on the women's movement. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 1(3), 357-381. doi: 10.1080/146167499359790
- Gabbay, S. M. (2014). The status of Palestinians in Jordan and the anomaly of holding a Jordanian passport. *J Pol Sci Pub Aff*, 2(1), 1-6. doi:10.4172/2332-0761.1000113
- Gal, S., & Kligman, G. (2000). *The politics of gender after socialism: A comparative-historical essay*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Gender and Development Network (GDN). (2013). Submission to the EC public consultation "Towards a post-2015 development framework". Retrieved from <http://ec.europa.eu/>
- Geraldine, C. (2010). *Jordan: A Refugee haven*. Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=794>
- Gernet, C. (2008). *Globalization and the diffusion of gender policy reforms in Latin America*. (PhD), Dublin City University. Retrieved from http://doras.dcu.ie/17028/1/christian_gernet_SC.pdf
- Gerring, J. (2004). What is a case study and what is it good for? *American Political Science Review*, 98(2), 341-354. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055404001182>
- Ghosh, S. (2009). NGOs as political institutions. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 44(5), 475-495. doi: 10.1177/0021909609340063
- Giddens, A. (1987). *Social theory and modern sociology*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (2001). *The Global third way debate*. Cambridge, UK: Polity press & Blackwell.
- Gilley, J., & Columnist, G. (2005). Writings of the third wave young feminists in conversation. *Reference & User Services Quarterly*, 44(3), 187-198.
- Gilman, S. E. (2007). Feminist organisations in Tunisia: negotiating transnational linkages and the state. In V. M. Moghadam (Ed.), *From patriarchy to empowerment:*

- women's participation, movements, and rights in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press (pp. 97-135). Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Global Women's Leadership Initiative GWLI. (2013). Women in democratic transitions in the MENA region. The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Retrieved from http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/Women_in_democratic_transitions_in_the_MENA_region_compilation.pdf
- Goetz, A. M. (2009). Governing women: Women's political effectiveness in contexts of democratization and governance reform. New York; London: Routledge.
- Goldstein, J., & Keohane, R. (1993). Ideas and foreign policy: Beliefs, institutions, and political change. New York. NY: Cornell University Press.
- Gorges, M. J. (2001). New institutionalist explanations for institutional change: A note of caution. *Politics*, 21(2), 137-145. doi: 10.1111/1467-9256.00145
- Goswami, R. (2013). Facilitating the fulfilment of state obligations towards women's equality. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: International Women's Rights Action Watch Asia Pacific. Retrieved from http://www.iwraw-ap.org/aboutus/pdf/FParmed_conflict.pdf
- Grace, J. (2010). Politics and promise: A feminist-institutional analysis of the royal commission on the status of women. Concordia University. Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2010/Grace.pdf>
- Grace, J. (2011). Gender and institutions of multi-level governance: Child care and social policy debates in Canada. In M. L. Krook & F. Mackay (Eds.), *Gender, politics and institutions: Towards a feminist institutionalism* (pp. 95-111). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Graham, H. (1984). Surveying through stories In C. Bell & H. Roberts (Eds.), *In social researching: politics, problems, practice* (pp. 104-124). London; Boston: Routledge Keagan & Kegan Paul.
- Greene, J. C., Benjamin, L., & Goodyear, L. (2001). The merits of mixing methods in evaluation. *SAGE*, 7(1), 25-44. doi: 10.1177/13563890122209504
- Greener, I. (2005). Historical institutionalism, critical realism and morphogenetic social theory –Towards a synthesis of explaining why history matters in organisations? , Retrieved from Department of Management Studies <http://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2005/proceedings/criticalrealism/Greener.pdf>
- Researchers Group. (2001). The role of civil society organisations in reaching women to the parliament. Irbid, Jordan: Yarmouk University.
- Guion, L. A., Diehl, D. C., & McDonald, D. (2002). Triangulation: Establishing the validity of qualitative studies. Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences, 1-3. Retrieved from <http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/fy394>
- Gündüz, Z. Y. (2004). The women's movement in Turkey: From Tanzimat towards European Union membership. *Perceptions*, 9(3), 115-134.
- Habermas, J. (1989). *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hachhethu, K. (2006). Civil society and political participation. In L. R. Baral (Ed.), *Nepal: Quest for participatory democracy* (pp. 111-132). New Delhi: Adroit.
- Haddad, Y. Y., & Esposito, J. L. (1998). *Islam, gender, and social change*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Haddadin, S. (2014/8/3). 29% the percentage of women in the municipalities' councils, Alrai Newspaper. Retrieved from <http://www.alrai.com/article/604542.html>

- Haddadin, S. (2013). Independence is a significant impact on the women's movement course, Alrai Newspaper Center.
- Halder, N. (2004). Female representation in parliament: A case study from Bangladesh. *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, 6(1), 27-63. Retrieved from <http://www.nzasia.org.nz>
- Hall, P. (1986). *Governing the economy: The politics of state intervention in Britain and France*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, P. (1993). Policy paradigms, social learning, and the state: The case of economic policymaking in Britain. *Comparative Political*, 25(3), 275-296. doi: 10.2307/422246
- Hall, P., & Thelen, K. (2009). Institutional change in varieties of capitalism. *Socio-Economic Review*, 7, 7-34. doi: 10.1093/ser/mwn020
- Hall, P. A. (2010). Historical institutionalism in rationalist and sociological perspective. In J. Mahoney & K. Thelen (Eds.), *Explaining institutional change: Ambiguity, agency, and power* (pp. 204-223). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, P. A., & Taylor, R. C. R. (1996). Political science and the three new institutionalisms. *Political Studies*, 44(5), 1-32. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.1996.tb00343.x
- Hammad, W. (1999). *Jordanian women's organisations and sustainable development*. Amman, Jordan: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center.
- Hancock, B. (1998). Trent focus for research and development in primary health care: An introduction to qualitative research. *Trent Focus Groups*, 1-27. Retrieved from <http://classes.uleth.ca/>
- Handicap International. (2006). *Good practices for the economic inclusion of people with disabilities in developing countries: Funding mechanisms for self-employment*. Retrieved from <http://www.handicap-international.org/uploads/media/goodpractices-GB-2coul.PDF>
- Hann, C., & Dunn, E. (1996). *Civil society: Challenging western models*. London: Routledge
- Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. (1996). *Implementation of the Beijing platform for action (1995) and the outcomes of the twenty-third special session of the general assembly (2000)*. Paper presented at the twentieth anniversary of the Fourth World Conference on Women and the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/Review/responses/JORDAN-English.pdf>
- The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. (2011). *The Constitution of Jordan*. Amman, Jordan: Military Presses
- Hassan, R. (2005). Jordan country report. In S. Nazir & L. Tomppert (Eds.), *Women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Citizenship and justice*. United States of America: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Hasso, F. (2005). *Resistance, repression, and gender politics in occupied Palestine and Jordan*. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press.
- Hayes, E. (2007). *The waves of feminism: Exploration in open space and dissent in the second wave feminist movement and its contributions to the emergence of third wave feminism [Paper presented]*. Ottawa, ON: Carleton University. Retrieved from <http://critical-courses.cacim.net/twiki/tiki-index.php>
- Helmke, G., & Levitsky, S. (2003). *Informal institutions and comparative politics: A research Agenda*. South Bend, IN: The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies. Retrieved from <https://kellogg.nd.edu/>

- Hendriks, C. (2002, October). The ambiguous role of civil society in deliberative democracy. Paper presented at the Jubilee conference of the Australasian Political Studies Association, Australian National University, Canberra. Retrieved from <http://web.iaincirebon.ac.id/ebook/moon/CivilSociety/Civil%20Society%20and%20Deliberative.pdf>
- Henig, R., & Henig, S. (2000). *Women and political power: Europe since 1945*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Henry, C. M., & Springborg, R. (2001). Globalization and the politics of economic development in the Middle East. Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com/www/lib/auckland/docDetail.action?docID=5008038>
- Heritage, J. (1984). *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; New York, N.Y.: Polity Press.
- Herod, A. (1999). Reflections on interviewing foreign elites: Praxis, positionality, validity, and the cult of the insider. *Geoforum*, 30(4), 313-327. doi: 10.1016/S0016-7185(99)00024-X
- Hesse-Biber, S. (2011). Exploring, interrogating, and transforming the interconnections of epistemology, methodology, and method. In S. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *Handbook of feminist research* (pp. 2-25). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Hickey, S., & Mohan, G. (2005). Relocating participation within a radical politics of development. *Development and Change*, 36(2), 237-262. doi: 10.1111/j.0012-155X.2005.00410.x
- Hjelmar, U. (1996). Constructivist analysis and movement organizations: Conceptual clarifications. *Acta Sociologica*, 39(2), 169-186. doi: 10.1177/000169939603900203
- Hodgson, G. M. (2006). What are institutions? *Journal of Economic Issues*, XL (1), 1-25. Retrieved from <http://www.geoffrey-hodgson.info/user/image/whatarestitutions.pdf>
- Hogan, J. (2005). Testing for a critical juncture: Change in the ICTU's influence over public policy in 1959. *Dublin Institute of Technology*, 20(3), 271-295. Retrieved from <http://www.thehealthwell.info/node/620719>
- Hogan, J. (2006). Remoulding the critical junctures approach. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 39(3), 657-679.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2004). The active interview. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative research: Theory, method and practice* (pp. 140-161). London; Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications
- Hooks, B. (2000c). *Feminist theory: From margin to center*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- Horrocks, C., & King, N. (2010). *Interviews in qualitative research*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Hosken, F. P. (1994). The status of women and women's rights around the globe. *Women's International Network News*. Retrieved from <http://www.feminist.com/win.htm>
- Hourani, H. (1997). *Arabic women's political participation and democracy*. Amman, Jordan: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center.
- Hourani, H., & Abu-Rumman, H. (2004). *The development of civil society in Jordan and the current reality*. Amman, Jordan: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center.
- Hourigan, N. (2001). New social movement theory and minority language television campaigns. *European Journal of Communication*, 16(1), 77-100. doi: 10.1177/0267323101016001004
- Howell, M., & Prevenier, W. (2001). *An introduction to historical Methods*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

- Hoy, W. K. (2010c). *Quantitative research in education: a primer*. Los Angeles L.A: SAGE.
- Htun, M. N. (2005). Case study: Latin America. In J. Ballington & A. Karam (Eds.), *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* (pp. 112-121). Stockholm, Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. doi: 91-85391-19-0
- Huber, M. (2014). *International organisations and the politics of development: Historical perspectives* (Publication no. doi: 06.12.2013-07.12.2013). From Graduate Institute Geneva: University of Geneva.
- Human Rights Watch. (2010). *Stateless Again: Palestinian-origin Jordanians deprived of their nationality, USA*. Retrieved from <http://www.hrw.org/>
- Huntington, S. (1984). Will more countries become democratic? *Political Science Quarterly*, 99(2), 193-218. doi:10.2307/2150402
- Huntington, S. (1991). *The third wave*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Huntington, S. (1996c). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of World order*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Huntington, S. (1996c). Democracy's third wave. In L. Diamond & M. Plattner (Eds.), *The global resurgence of democracy* (pp. 3-25). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Huntington, S. P., & Nelson, J. M. (1976). *No easy choice: Political participation in developing countries* (Vol. 3). Cambridge: Harvard University Press Cambridge.
- Hurwitz, H. M., & Taylor, V. (2012). Women's cultures and social movements in global contexts. *Sociology Compass*, 6(11), 808-822. doi: 10.1111/j.1751-9020.2012.00502.x
- Hussainy, M. (2014). The social impact of Jordan's electoral system (Publication no. doi: 978-9957-484-39-2). Retrieved 9/3/2014, from Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Husseini, R. (2003, 16 February). 6 parliament seat quotas is not enough "women activists say", *Jordan Times*.
- Husseini, R. (2010). Jordan. In S. Kelly & J. Bresline (Eds.), *Women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Progress amid resistance* (pp. 193-222). New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield, Inc.
- iKNOW Politics. (2007). *Financing women candidates in Muslim countries*. Retrieved from www.iknowpolitics.org/
- iKNOW Politics. (2009). *Consolidated response on women's participation in local governments*. Retrieved from <http://iknowpolitics.org/>
- Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the World*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- International Alert. (2012). *Women's political participation in countries emerging from conflict in the great lakes region of Africa*. London, UK: International Alert.
- International Civil Society Action Networks ICAN. (2012). *What the women say: Egypt's fitful revolution: Women in the balance*. Washington: International civil society action networks ICAN. Retrieved from <http://www.icanpeacework.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/WWS-Egypt-Fitful-Revolution-Oct-2012.pdf>
- International Development Research Centre. (2007). *Governance and women citizenship. MENA regional consultation on women's rights and citizenship*. Retrieved from http://www.docstoc.com/docs/93969046/MENA-Regional-Consultation-on-Women_s-Rights-and-Citizenship
- International Fund for Agricultural Development IFAD. (2013). *Gender and rural development brief: Near Middle East North African*. Rome, Italy: Retrieved from <http://www.ifad.org/gender/policy/>

- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance IDEA. (2002). Women in Parliament; Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance IDEA.
-
- _____. (2004). The Arab quota report: Selected case studies quota report series in Cairo, Egypt. Stockholm, Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance IDEA.
-
- _____. (2005). Building Democracy in Jordan: Women's Political Participation, Political Party Life and Democratic Election. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance IDEA.
-
- _____. (2007). The Arab quota report: Selected case studies quota report series. From National Council for Women in Egypt. Retrieved from http://www.idea.int/publications/quotas_arab_world/
-
- _____. (2008). Democracy and developments in a globalized World New Delhi: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance IDEA.
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance IDEA, & Arabic networks for Development ANND. (2005). Building democracy in Jordan. Stockholm, Sweden: IDEA. Retrieved from http://www.idea.int/publications/dem_jordan/upload/Jordan_country_report_English.pdf
- International Republican Institute IRI. (2012). The international republican institute mission. Retrieved from <http://www.iri.org/learn-more-about-iri/mission>
- International Republican Institution IRI. (2011). Basic campaign manual for municipal candidates. Amman, Jordan: International Republican Institution.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union IPU. (2011). Women in politics. Retrieved from <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>
- Ism'iel, F. K. (2005, 11/9). Women's political empowerment. Modern Discussion. Retrieved from <http://www.ahewar.org/news/default.asp?cid=0>
- Jaber, A. A. (2011). The role of civil society in building democracy. Al-shaub magazine. Retrieved from <http://www.shaubmagazine.com/view.1508/>
- Jad, I. (2007). The NGO-isation of Arab women's movements. In A. Cornwall, E. Harrison & A. Whitehead (Eds.), *Feminisms in development: Contradictions, contestations and challenges* (pp. 177-190). London, New York: Zed Books.
- Jamal, M. A. (2012). Democracy promotion, civil society building, and the primacy of politics. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(1), 3-31. doi: 10.1177/0010414010365998
- James, S. (2009). Historical institutionalism, political development, and the presidency. In G. Edwards & W. Howell (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of the American presidency* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jaquette, J. (1994). *The women's movement in Latin America: Participation and democracy*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Jaquette, J. (2000, 25/May). Women and democracy: Past, present, future. Paper presented at the A session of the Democracy Seminar, Stanford, California.
- Jaquette, J. S. (2009). *Feminist agendas and democracy in Latin America*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Jaradat, S. (2010,13/March). Jordanian women: Achievements synchronizing global developments, *Alrai Newspaper*.
- Jardaneh, B. (2003). Women and political action. Paper presented at the Support of Jordanian Women in Elections 2003, Amman, Jordan.

- Jarrah, S. (2009). *Civil society and public freedom in Jordan: The path of democratic reform*, Washington DC.
- Jick, T. D. (1979). Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24(4), 602-611. doi: 10.2307/2392366
- Johl, S. K., & Renganathan, S. (2010). Strategies for gaining access in doing fieldwork: Reflection of two researchers. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 8(1), 42-50.
- John, I. (2012, August 3). The role of civil society organisations in promoting good governance, *The Nigerian voice*. Retrieved from http://www.thenigerianvoice.com/NigeriaHome/mg_services/aboutus.asp?menu_id=11&sub_menu_id
- Joint Working. (2008). *Elections and transitions to democracy in the Arab World*. Amman, Jordan: Al-Quds Center for Political Studies.
- Jordan, E. (1999). *The women's movement and women's employment in nineteenth century Britain*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Jordan Parliament Monitor JPM. (2009). Women MPs evaluate their experience in parliamentary work. Retrieved 11/March, 2014, from http://www.jpm.jo/index.php?type=articles&id=144&_print
- Jordan women union JWU. The Jordanian women's union. Retrieved from <http://www.gfjw.org.jo/ar/>
- Jordanian legislation. (1989). Amended laws number 3622. Retrieved from http://www.lob.gov.jo/ui/laws/all_modified_law.jsp?no=14&year=1989&law_no=22&law_year=1986
- Jordanian legislation. (2007). Municipal law amended. Retrieved from http://www.lob.gov.jo/ui/laws/search_no.jsp?no=14&year=2007
- Jordanian legislation. (2010). Amended laws number (31) 5032: The Law on the Election of the House of Representatives
- Jordanian National Commission for Women's Affairs JNCW. (2010). *Mapping legislation policies on women's rights prepared by the Arab women organisation- AWO presented to NCA*. Amman, Jordan: Jordanian National Commission for Women's Affairs JNCW. Retrieved from <https://www.kirkensnodhjelp.no/>
- Jordanian National Commission for Women's Affairs JNCW. (2008). *Al-Nashmiyyat*. Amman, Jordan: Jordanian National Commission for Women's Affairs JNCW. Retrieved from http://www.women.jo/ar/news_details.php?news_id=160
- Jordanian National Forum for Women JNFW. (2013). *The strategy of Jordanian National Forum for Women*. Jordanian National Forum for Women JNFW. Amman, Jordan.
- Jordanian Women Union JWU. (2009). *Arab women's network: The Roa'a network*. Retrieved from http://arabwomennetwork.org/home_en.aspx
- Joseph, S., & Stork, J. (1993). *Gender and civil society: An interview with Suad Joseph*. Middle East Report: Retrieved from <http://www.scribd.com/doc/102659284/Gender-and-Civil-Society-An-Interview-with-Suad-Joseph>
- Jraibi, M. (1999). *Women and political participation in Jordan, the development of attitudes towards allocating a quota of parliamentary seats for women*. Amman, Jordan: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid.
- Jung, D. (2006). *Democratisation and development: New political strategies for the Middle East*. Gordonsville, VA, USA: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jutting, J., & Morrisson, C. (2005). *Changing social institutions to improve the status of women in developing countries*. France: Development Centre Policy Brief OECD. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/dev/>

- Khalil, M. M. (2009). The national report for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Beijing+15. Amman, Jordan: The Jordanian National Commission for Women. Retrieved from <http://www.women.jo/>
- Kamrava, M. (1998). Frozen political liberalization in Jordan: The consequences for democracy. *Democratization*, 5(1), 138-157. doi: 10.1080/13510349808403551
- Kanaan, T., & Massad, J. (2010). Jordan: propellers of autocracy: The Arab-Israeli conflict and foreign power interventions. In I. Elbadawi & S. Makdisi (Eds.), *Democracy in the Arab World: Explaining the deficit* (pp. 86-114). USA & Canada: Routledge.
- Kandil, A. (1994). *Civil society in the Arab World: A study of the Arab civil societies*. Cairo: Dar al-Arab future.
- Kaplan, G. (1992). *Contemporary western European feminism*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Karam, A. (2000). Beijing+5: Women's political participation: Review of strategies and trends Meeting on women and political participation: 21st century challenges (pp. 15-24). New Delhi, India: United Nations Development Programme. Retrieved from <http://magnet.undp.org/>
- Karam, A., & Lovenduski, J. (2005). Women in parliament: Making a difference. In A. Karam & J. Lovenduski (Eds.), *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* (pp. 187-212). Stockholm, Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, IDEA.
- Karama. (2013). Arab regional network on women, peace and security issues 10-point manifesto on conflict and post conflicts. Retrieved 15/April, 2014, from <http://www.el-karama.org/>
- Kardam, N. (2005). *Turkey's engagement with global women's human rights*. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Kasfer, N. (1998c). *Civil society and democracy in Africa: Critical perspectives*. London: Frank Cass.
- Kathleen, T. (2004). *How institutions evolve: The political economy of skills in Germany, Britain, United State, Japan*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Katzenstein, M. F. (2003). Protest, policy, and the problem of violence against women: A cross-national comparison by S. Laurel Weldon. *Political Research Quarterly*, 118(2), 359-361. doi: 10.1002/j.1538-165X.2003.tb01223.x
- Kaufman, J. (1999). Three views of associationalism in 19th- Century America: An empirical examination. *American Journal of Sociology*, 104(5), 1296–1345.
- Kavle, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks; California: Sage Publications.
- Kawaldeh, S. (2014). The women political participation in Jordan: The participation of Jordanian women in the lections of the House of Representatives (16th) in 2012. *Politics and law books* (11), 229-252.
- Keane, J. (1988). *Democracy and civil society: On the predicaments of European socialism, the prospects for democracy, and the problem of controlling social and political power*. London ; New York: Verso.
- Keane, J. (1988). Despotism and democracy, the origins and development of distinction between civil society and the state, 1750-1850. In J. Keane (Ed.), *Civil society and state: New European perspectives* (pp. 35-71). London; New York: Verso.
- Keck, E., M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). *Activists beyond borders: Advocacy networks in international politics*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.
- Keck, E., M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). Transnational advocacy networks in international and regional politics. In E. Keck, M & K. Sikkink (Eds.), *Activists beyond borders:*

- Advocacy networks in international politics (pp. 1-37). Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press.
- Kedourie, E. (1994). *Democracy and Arab political culture*. London: Frank Cass & CO. LTD.
- Kelly, S., & Bresline, J. (2010). *Women's rights in the Middle East and North Africa*. United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield Publisher.
- Kenny, M. (2007). Gender, institutions and power: A critical review. *Politics*, 27 (2), 91–100. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9256.2007.00284.x
- Kenny, M. (2009). *Gendering institutions: The political recruitment of women in post-devolution Scotland*. (PhD), University of Edinburgh.
- Kenny, M. (2011). Gender and institutions of political recruitment: Candidate selection in post-devolution Scotland. In M. L. Krook & F. Mackay (Eds.), *Gender, politics and institutions: Towards a feminist institution* (pp. 21-41). United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kenny, M. (2013). *Gender and political recruitment: Theorizing institutional change*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kerennerich, M. (2009). The impact of electoral system on women's representation in politics (482/2008). Venice: The Council for Democratic Elections. Retrieved from [http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-AD\(2009\)029-e](http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-AD(2009)029-e)
- Kerlin, J. A. (c2009). *Social enterprise: A global comparison*. Hanover, NH, USA: University Press of New England.
- Keyman, F. E., & Icduygu, A. (2003). Globalization, civil society and citizenship in Turkey. *Citizenship Studies*, 7(2), 219-234. doi: 10.1080/1362102032000065982
- Khreis, S. N. (1999). *Women's organisations and their role in promoting Jordanian women's conditions at Eidoun Township: An anthropological field study*. (Master), Yarmouk University.
- Kirby, L. S., Greave, L., & Reid, C. (2006). *Experience research social change methods beyond the mainstream*. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press.
- Klenke, K. (2006). Keeping control in nonhierarchical organisations. Retrieved from the Ultimate Resource http://www.aom-iaom.org/article_kk.pdf
- Knaus, K. (2007). Turkish Women: A century of change. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 6(5), 47-59.
- Kohler-Koch, B., & Quittkat, C. (2009). What is civil society and who represents civil society in the EU? *Policy and Society*, 28(1), 11-22. doi: 10.1016/j.polsoc.2009.02.002
- Komasawa, M. (2006). *Comprehensive study on family planning and women in development projects in Jordan*. Tokyo, Japan: Japan International Cooperation Agency JICA. Retrieved from <http://jica-ri.jica.go.jp/>
- Korkut, U. (2007). Participatory policy-making, participatory civil society: A key for dissolving elite rule in new democracies in the era of globalisation *World Futures*, 63(5-6), 340-352. doi: 10.1080/02604020701402723
- Kramer, G. (1992). Liberalization and democracy in the Arab World. *Middle East Report*, 174, 22-35. doi: 10.2307/3012965
- Krias, M. (1985). *The history of the volunteer movement in the East Bank and the role of women*. Amman, Jordan: The Jordanian Women's Union.
- Kriesberg, L. (1989). Transforming conflicts in the Middle East and central Europe. In L. Kriesberg, A. T. Northrup & J. S. Thorson (Eds.), *Intractable conflicts and their transformation* (pp. 109-131). New York, NY: Syracuse University Press.

- Krolokke, C., & Sorensen, S. A. (2006). Three waves of feminism: From suffragettes to grrls. In C. Krolokke & S. A. Sorensen (Eds.), *Gender communication theories & analyses: From silence to performance* (pp. 1-24). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Krook, L. M. (2005, April 14-19). Quota laws for women in politics: A new type of state feminism? Paper presented at the Paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research, Granada, Spain. Retrieved from <http://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/a3e15191-c680-4481-96c2-92181807b829.pdf>
- Krook, L. M. (2009). *Quotas for women in politics: Gender and candidate selection reform worldwide*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Krook, M. L. (2008). Quota laws for women in politics: Implications for feminist practice. *Social Politics*, 15(3), 345-368. doi: 10.1093/sp/jxn014
- Krook, M. L., & Mackay, F. (2011). *Gender, politics and institutions: Toward a feminist institutionalism*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kuehnast, K., Omar, M., Steiner, E. S., & Sultan, H. (2012). *Peacebuilding efforts of women from Afghanistan and Iraq: Lessons in transition*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved from www.usip.org
- Kumar, K. (2001). *Women and women's organisations in post-conflict societies: The role of international assistance*. Washington: Center for Development Information and Evaluation CDIE.
- Kurwitz, M. H., & Taylor, V. (2012). Women's cultures and social movement in global context. *Sociology Compass*, 6(10), 808-822. doi: 10.1111/j.1751-9020.2012.00502.x
- Kuttab, E. (2012). Discovering the positive within the negative: Palestinian women's movements. In P. Arenfeldt & N. Golley (Eds.), *Mapping Arab women's movements* (pp. 171-195). Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Kuumba, M. B. (2002). "You've struck a rock" - Comparing gender, social movements, and transformation in the United States and South Africa. *Gender & Society*, 16(4), 504-523. doi: 10.1177/0891243202016004006
- Kvale, S. (1996c). *Interviews an introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.
- Laforest, J., Bouchard, L.-M., & Maurice, P. (2009). *Guide to organizing semi-structured interviews with key informant: Safety diagnosis tool kit for local communities*. doi:9782550573524
- Landman, M. (2006). Getting quality in qualitative research: a short introduction to feminist methodology and methods. *Proceeding of the Nutrition Society*, 65(4), 429-433. doi: 10.1079/PNS2006518
- Landman, T. (2003). *Issues and methods in comparative politics: an introduction*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Langley, A. (1999). Strategies for theorizing from process data. *The Academy of Management Review*, 24(4), 691-710.
- Lather, P. (1988). Feminist perspectives on empowering research methodologies. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 11(6), 569-581. doi: 10.1016/0277-5395(88)90110-0
- Lauti, R. A., & Fraenkel, J. (2006). *Developing a more facilitating environment for women's political participation in Nauru*. Suva, Fiji: Pacific Islands forum secretariat. Retrieved from <http://www.forumsec.org/>
- Leach, F., & Sitaram, S. (2002). Microfinance and women's empowerment: A lesson from India. *Development in Practice*, 12(5), 575-588. doi: 10.180/0961452022000017597

- Leavitt, J., & Tonder, A. (2003, July 17-19). The case of Huairou commission: Local organising and global networking campaigns. Paper presented at the International research group on land and urban space (IRGLUS) Conference, Porto Alegre. Retrieved from http://staging.huairou.org/sites/default/files/Case_of_Huairou.pdf
- leglitzin, L. B., & Ross, R. (1976 c). *Women in the world: a comparative study*. Santa Barbara, Calif: University of California; Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.
- Lehman, G. (2007). The accountability of NGOs in civil society and its public spheres. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 18, 645-669. doi: 10.1016/j.cpa.2006.04.002
- Leigh, I. (2004). Civil society, democracy and the law. Geneva. Retrieved from http://www.dcaf.ch/_doce/WP130.pdf
- Helmke, G., & Levitsky, S. (2004). Informal institutions and comparative politics: A research agenda. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2(4), 725-740. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592704040472>
- Levy, B. (2008). *Women and violence*. Berkeley, Calif: Seal Press: Distributed by Publishers Group West.
- Lewis, L. (2012). Convergences and divergences: Egyptian women's activism over the last century. In P. Arenfeldt & N. Golley (Eds.), *Mapping Arab women's movements: A century of transformations from within* (pp. 43-64). Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Lewis, R. (2004). *Rethinking orientalism: Women, travel and the Ottoman harem*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Library of Congress. (2006). Country profile: Jordan. Retrieved 10/March/2014, from Federal Research Division <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Jordan.pdf>
- Lijphart, A. (1971). Comparative politics and the comparative method. *The American Political Science Review*, 65(3), 682-693. doi: 10.2307/1955513
- Lijphart, A. (1991). Debate-Proportional Representation: III. Double Checking the Evidence. *Journal of Democracy*, 2(3), 42-48. doi: 10.1353/jod.1991.0041
- Lim, T. C. (2006). *Doing comparative politics: An introduction to approaches and issues*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner.
- Living Well. (2010,4/01). Talking politics. Living Well. Retrieved from https://www.ndi.org/files/Living_Well_Roula_Attar.pdf
- Long, D. S., & Vaughan, L. (2006). Interpersonal communication (AAGE Reference Online). Retrieved 12/5/2014, from Encyclopaedia of Industrial and Organizational Psychology <http://www.sagepub.com/>
- Lorber, J. (2010). *Gender inequality feminist theories and politics*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Lovell, T. (2003). Feminist social theory. Retrieved 1/7/2013, from University of Regina <http://uregina.ca/~gingrich/s319iw03.htm>
- Lovenduski, J., & Baudino, C. (2005). *State feminism and political representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lovernduski, J. (2001). Women and politics: Minority representation or critical mass? *Parliamentary Affairs*, 54(4), 743-758. doi: 10.1093/parlij/54.4.743
- Lowrance, S. R. (1998). After Beijing: Political liberalization and the women's movement in Jordan. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34(3), 83-102. doi: 10.1080/00263209808701233
- Lucas, R. E. (2005c). Institutions and the politics of survival in Jordan: Domestic responses to external challenges, 1988-2001. doi:10.1017/S1537592706710143
- Luckham, R., & White, G. (1996). *Democratization in the south the jagged wave*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

- Mack, N., Woodsong, C., Macqueen, M. K., Gust, G., & Namey, E. (2005). Qualitative research methods: A data collector's field guide. *Family Health International*, i-120.
- Mackay, F. (2009,4/02). 'Nested newness' and the gendered limits of change: Institutionalising 'new politics' in post devolution Britain. Paper presented at the Mid-Western Political Science Association, Chicago. Retrieved from http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p360977_index.html
- Mackay, F., Kenny, M., & Chappell, L. (2010). New institutionalism through a gender lens: Towards a feminist institutionalism? *International Political Science Review*, 31(5), 573-588. doi: 10.1177/0192512110388788
- Mackay, F., & Krook, M. L. (2011). Introduction: Gender, politics and institutions. In F. Mackay & M. L. Krook (Eds.), *Gender, politics and institutions: Toward a feminist institutionalism* (pp. 1-20). UK: Plagrave Macmillan.
- Mackay, F., Meehan, E., Bonaghy, T. B., & Brown, A. (2002). Women and constitutional change in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland *Australasian Parliamentary Review*, 17(2), 35-54.
- Mackay, F., & Meier, F. (2003, 28 March-2 April). Changing constitutions, building institutions and re defining gender relations. Paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research, Edinburgh. Retrieved from <http://www.essex.ac.uk/ecpr>
- Mackay, F., & Meier, P. (2003, 28 March-2 April). Institutions, change and gender-relation: Towards a feminist new institutionalism? Paper presented at the European consortium of political research, Edinburgh, Scotland. Retrieved from [http://www.ccee.edu.uy/ensenian/catgenyeco/Materiales/2011-08-10%20M1%20-%20MackayandMeier\(2003\).pdf](http://www.ccee.edu.uy/ensenian/catgenyeco/Materiales/2011-08-10%20M1%20-%20MackayandMeier(2003).pdf)
- Made, A. P. (2008). Strengthening the voice and visibility of women in elections in in Africa. Craighall, Randburg, South Africa. Retrieved from http://www.amarc.org/documents/manuals/womeninthenews_ips.pdf
- Mahajan, G. (1999). Civil society, state and democracy. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(49), 3471-3472.
- Mahmoud, N. (2011). The civil society and democracy in Gulf and Maghreb countries: A comparative study. Paper presented at the Gulf research meeting, Cambridge, UK. Retrieved from <http://dar.aucegypt.edu/handle/10526/2751>
- Mahoney, J. (2000). Path dependence in historical sociology. *Theory and Society*, 29(4), 507-548.
- Mahoney, J., & Thelen, K. A. (2010). *Explaining institutional change: Ambiguity, agency, and power*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Malhotra, A., Schulte, J., Patel, P., & Petesch, P. (2009). For women's empowerment and gender equality. International Center for Research on Women ICRW. Retrieved from <http://www.icrw.org/files/publications/Innovation-for-Womens-Empowerment.pdf>
- March, J. G., & Olsen, J. P. (c1989). *Rediscovering institutions the organisational basis of politics*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Markham, S. (2012). Strengthening women's roles in parliaments. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 1(11), 1-11. doi: 10.1093/pa/gss024
- Markoff, J. (1999). Globalisation and the future of democracy. *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 5(2), 277-309. Retrieved from <http://jwsr.ucr.edu/>
- Marlin, D. (2012). Panacea or placebo: Are women's network working for women? *Center for Gender in Organizations* (34), 1-4. Retrieved from <http://www.simmons.edu/som/research/centers/cgo/>

- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2006). *Designing qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Masalha, M. (1999). *Political party experience in Jordan: Comparative analysis between the fifties to the nineties*. Amman, Jordan: Dar Wael for Printing and Publishing.
- Matland, R., E., & Montgomery, K. A. (2003). *Women's access to political power in post-communist Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Matland, R. E. (2005). Enhancing women's political participation: Legislative recruitment and electoral systems. In J. Ballington & A. Karam (Eds.), *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* (pp. 93-110). Stockholm, Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, IDEA. 91-85391-19-0
- Mavrikos-Adamou, T. (2010). Challenges to democracy building and the role of civil society. *Democratization*, 17(3), 514-533. doi: 10.1080/13510341003700386
- Mazur, A. G. (2002). *Theorizing feminist policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McBride, D., & Mazur, A. G. (2010). The politics of state feminism: Innovation in comparative research. J. Lovenduski (Ed.). Retrieved from <http://muse.jhu.edu/books/9781439902097>
- McGuire, G. (2000). Gender, race, ethnicity and networks: the factors affecting the status of employees' network members. *Work and Occupations*, 27(4), 500-523. doi: 10.1177/0730888400027004004
- McGing, C. (2013). The single transferable vote and women's representation in Ireland. *Irish Political Studies*, 28(3), 322-340. 10.1080/07907184.2013.818536
- McIlwaine, C. (2009). Civil society. In R. Kitchin & N. Thrift (Eds.), *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography* (pp. 136-141). Oxford, England: Elsevier.
- Mclaverty, P. (2002). Civil society and democracy. *Contemporary Politics*, 8(4), 302-318. doi: 10.1080/13569770216068
- McLoughlin, I., Preece, D., & Dawson, P. (2000). *Technology, organisations and innovation: Critical perspectives on business and management*. London; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Mehra, R., & Feldstein, H. S. (1998). Women and development in Jordan: A review of current activities and future opportunities. i-34. Retrieved from http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pnacc738.pdf
- Meidinger, E. (2001). *Law making by global civil society: The forest certification prototype*. Buffalo, NY: State University of New York at Buffalo. Retrieved from <http://web2.law.buffalo.edu/faculty/meidinger/index.htm>
- Meriwether, M. L., & Tucker, J. E. (1999). *Social history of women and gender in the modern Middle East*. Boulder, Colo: Westview Press.
- Metropolis Women International Networks MWIN. (2011). Commission 6. Barcelona, Spain: Retrieved from <http://www.metropolis.org>
- Michael, E. (2004). *Civil Society*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Migliaccio, T., & Melzer, D. (2011). Using grounded theory in writing assessment. *The WAC Journal*, 22, 79-89.
- Miller, R. E., & Wilford, R. (1998). *Women, ethnicity and nationalism: The politics of transition*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Ministry of Interior. (1992). *Jordanian legislation, the law of political parties in 1992*. Amman, Jordan: Ministry of Interior.
- Minkoff, D. (1997). Producing social capital: National social movement and civil society. *American behavioral scientist*, 40(5), 606-619. Retrieved from <http://abs.sagepub.com.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/>
- Miqdad, M. (2006). Women's political participation in Jordan. *Al-Manar*, 12(1), 289-343.

- Misra, K., & Rich, M. S. (2003). *Jewish feminism in Israel: Some contemporary perspectives*. New England, Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press.
- Mitra, A. (2012). *Women in the organisational hierarchy and leadership: A critical analysis*. Retrieved from www.articlesfactory.com
- Mittman, B. S. (2001). *Qualitative methods and rigorous management research: (How) are they compatible?* Paper presented at the MDRC workshop on Management Research, Veterans Affairs: Sepulveda, CA.
- Moghadam, V. M. (2003). *Modernizing women gender and social change in the Middle East (Vol. 2)*. United State of America: Lynne Rienner.
- Moghadam, V. M. (2007). *From patriarchy to empowerment: women's participation, movements, and rights in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Moghadam, V. M. (2007). *Governance and women's citizenship in the Middle East and North Africa*. Paper presented at the IDRC MENA Regional Consultation, Women's Rights and Citizenship, Cairo, Egypt.
- Moghadam, V. M. (2007). *Women in political parties in Turkey*. In V. M. Moghadam (Ed.), *From patriarchy to empowerment: Women's participation, movements, and rights in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia* (pp. 73-96). Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Moghadam, V. M. (2007). *Women's empowerment: An introductions and overview*. In V. M. Moghadam (Ed.), *From patriarchy to empowerment: women's participation, movements, and rights in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia* (pp. 1-13). Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Mohan, S. (2013). *Facilitating the fulfilment of state obligations towards women's equality*. Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: International Women's Rights Action Watch Asia Pacific IRAW Asia Pacific. Retrieved from http://www.iwraw-ap.org/aboutus/pdf/FParmed_conflict.pdf
- Molyneux, M. (1985). *Mobilization without emancipation? Women's interests, the state, and revolution in Nicaragua*. *Feminist studies*, 11(2), 228-254. doi: 10.2307/3177922.
- Molyneux, M. (2002). *Analysing women's movements*. *Development and Change*, 29(2), 219-244. doi: 10.1111/1467-7660.00077
- Molyneux, M., & Razavi, S. (2002). *Gender justice, development, and rights*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Motta, S., Fominaya, C. F., Eschle, C., & Cox, L. (2001). *Feminism, women's movements and women in movement*. *Interface*, 3(2), 1-32. Retrieved from <http://www.interfacejournal.net>
- Mufti, M. (1999). *Elite bargains and the onset of political liberalization in Jordan*. *Comparative Political Studies*, 32(1), 100-129. doi: 10.1177/0010414099032001004.
- Muteshi, J. (2007). *NAIROBI+21 commemorating the third UN world conference on women*. National Commission on Gender and Development. Retrieved from <http://ke.boell.org/publications>
- N, S. (2006). *Jordanian women's union*. Statement 103, Jordan Press Foundation.
- Nafa, E. (1999). *Women in Arab national society organisations*. Cairo: Dar Al-Mustaqbal Al Arabi.
- Nafa, E. (1999). *Women's NGOs: The case of Jordan*. Arab network for NGOs. Women's NGOs in the Arab World. Cairo: Dar al Mustaqbal al Arabi & Arab Network for NGOs.

- Naffa, E. (2004). Jordanian women and political practices and making decision. Retrieved from Arena <http://maktabatmepi.org/sites/default/files/resources/arabic/Anera9-225-249.pdf>
- Nahar, G. S., & Abu Humaidan, R. L. (2013). The factors affecting the women political participations in Jordanian Parliamentary elections (2002-2013). *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 3(11), 84-94. Retrieved from www.ijhssnet.com
- Naqshabandi, B., & Makhadmeh, D. (2000). The political participation of Jordanian women: A case study of female students in the political science department at the University of Jordan and at the applied science university. *Mutah Journal for Research and Studies*, 6(15), 197-230.
- Naqshabandi, B. (2001). *The women's political participation in Jordan and some Arab countries*. Beirut: The Arab Institution for Studies and Publishing.
- Narli, N. (2007). Women in political parties in Turkey. In V. M. Moghadam (Ed.), *From patriarchy to empowerment: Women's participation, movements, and rights in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia* (pp. 73-95). New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Nasser, L., Belbeisi, B., & Atiyat, D. (1999). *Violence against women in Jordan: Demographic characteristics of victims and perpetrators*. Amman, Jordan: Press Foundation.
- National Commission. (2003). *Jordan first document*. Amman, Jordan: Prime minister.
- National Democrat Institute NDI. (2008). *Women helping women: About the Jordanian women's election network*. Retrieved from <http://www.ndi.org/node/15095>
- _____. (1995). *Democracy and local government in Jordan: 1995 municipal elections*. Amman, Jordan: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. Retrieved from <https://www.ndi.org/>
- _____. (2005). *Pollworkers examine vote tallies late into the night during liberia's national elections: NDI annual report*. Washington: National Democratic Institute NDI. Retrieved from https://www.ndi.org/files/2219_ndi_annual_report_120105.pdf
- _____. (2010, March 2). *Agora the portal for parliamentary development*. In The French National Assembly. Retrieved from <http://www.agora-parl.org/node/2710>
- _____. (2010). *Democracy and the challenge of change: A guide to increasing women's political participation*. Retrieved from https://www.ndi.org/files/Democracy_and_the_Challenge_of_Change.pdf
- _____. (2011). *Democracy and the challenge of change: A guide to increasing women's political participation* (N. Al-Asaad, S. Qazan & N. Suliman, Trans.). Washington & Lebanon: National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.
- Naveen, I. (2013). *Primary and secondary data*. From Institutional institute for Professional Development. Retrieved from <http://www.slideshare.net/hezel3210/primary-secondary-data>
- Netherlands Institute for Multi-Party Democracy NIMD. (2014). *Launch map of political parties and movements in Jordan*. Kingdom of the Netherlands: Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD). Retrieved from <http://www.nimd.org/>
- Ng, C., Mohamad, M., & Hui, T. B. (2006). *Feminism and the women's movement in Malaysia: An unsung (r)evolution*. London, New York: Rutledge.

- Nie, N. H., Verba, S., & Kim, J. o. (1974). Political participation and the Life cycle. *Comparative Politics*, 6(3), 319-340. doi: 10.2307/421518
- Nielsen, J. M. (1990). *Feminist research methods: Exemplary readings in the social sciences*. Boulder, San Francisco & London: Westview Press.
- Norris, P. (2004). *Electoral engineering voting rules and political behavior*. West Nyack, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. (2004). Implementing women's representation in Afghanistan's electoral law: Options for reserved seats. Retrieved 9/3/2014, from Centre on International Cooperation www.hks.harvard.edu/centers/cid
- Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2003). *Raising tide gender equality and cultural change around the world*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2001). Cultural obstacles to equal representation. 12, 3(3), 126-140. doi: 10.1353/jod.2001.0054
- Norris, P., & Lovenduski, J. (1995). *Political recruitment: Gender, race and class in the British Parliament*. Cambridge England; New York, N.Y: Cambridge University Press.
- Norton, A. R. (1993). The future of civil society in the Middle-East. *Middle East Journal*, 47(2), 205-216. Retrieved from <http://www.mei.edu/Publications/TheMiddleEastJournal.aspx>.
- Nuser, A. (2013, 11/3/). Jordanian women: The impact of power and leadership change, Yarmouk University Network News.
- Nzomo, M. (2011). Women in political leadership in Kenya: Access, agenda setting and accountability. From University of Nairobi <http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke:8080/xmlui/>
- O' Connel, S., Smoot, S., & Abi Khalil, S. (2013). *Campaign skills handbook: Middle East and North Africa regional campaign schools*. National Democrat Institute NDI. Retrieved from <https://www.ndi.org/>
- O' Neal, B. (1993). *Electoral systems*. Library of Parliament: Ottawa. Retrieved from <http://www.parl.gc.ca/>
- Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), *Doing feminist research* (pp. 30-62). London; Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- O'Connell, B. (1999). *Civil society: The underpinnings of American democracy*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
- Odhibat, A. (1992, May 28-30). Civil society in Jordan: A preliminary assessment. Paper presented at the International Peace Academy-sponsored Conferences in Giza, Egypt
- O'Donnell, G., Schmitter, P. C., & Whitehead, L. (1986). *Transitions from authoritarian rule: Comparative perspectives* (Vol. 3). Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Okello, C. A. (2010). *The role and scope of women's organisations in enhancing women's participation in Kenyan politics: 1992-2004*. (Master), University of Nairobi.
- Okkenhaug, I. M., & Flakerud, I. (2005). *Gender, religion and change in the Middle East: Two hundred years of history*. Oxford; New York: Berg.
- Ottaway, M., & Choucair-Vizoso, J. (2008). *Beyond the facade: Political reform in the Arab World*. Washington, D.C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Ouston, J. (1993). *Women in education management*. London: Longman.
- Outshoorn, J. (2010). Social movements and women's movements. In D. McBride & G. A. Mazur (Eds.), *The politics of state feminism: Innovation in comparative research* (pp. 143-163). Philadelphia, USA: Temple university press. Retrieved from <http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/books/9781439902097>

- Ozbudun, E. (2000). *Contemporary Turkish politics: Challenges to democratic consolidation*. Boulder, Colorado, USA: Lynne Rienner.
- Palmer, M. (1997c). *Comparative politics: Political economy, political culture, and political interdependence*. Itasca, Ill: F.E. Peacock.
- Patil, S. V. (2008). *Perceptions of female managers in male-dominated industries: Effects of gender rarity, performance, and diversity justification*. (Bachelor of Science An honors thesis), New York University. Retrieved from http://www-wcs.stern.nyu.edu/cons/groups/content/documents/webasset/con_043246.pdf
- Patrick, J. J. (1996). *Civil society in democracy's third wave: Implications for civic education*. Retrieved from Institute of Education Sciences <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED406297>
- Patton, Q. M., & Cochran, M. (2002). *A guide to using qualitative research methodology*. School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. Retrieved from <http://evaluation.msf.at/>
- Paul, N. C. (1985). Increasing organisational effectiveness: A training model for developing women. *Management Education and Development*, 16(2), 211-222. doi: 10.1177/135050768501600218
- Peebles, D., Darwazeh, N., Ghosheh, H., & Sabbagh, A. (2004). *Factors affecting women's participation in the private sector in Jordan*. Amman, Jordan: National Center for Human Resources Development, Al Manar. Retrieved from <http://www.almanar.jo/AlManaren/Portals/0/PDF2/Mayssa%20Gender%20report.pdf>
- Peirce, L. (c2003). *Morality Tales: Law and gender in the Ottoman court of Aintab*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Peters, B. G. (1999). *Institutional theory in political science: The new institutionalism*. London Pinter.
- Peters, B. G. (2013). *Strategies for comparative research in political science: Theory and methods*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Peters, J., & Wolper, A. (1995). *Women's rights, human rights: International feminist perspectives*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Peterson, M. J. (1992). Transnational activity, international society and world politics. *Journal of International Studies*, 21(3), 371-388. doi: 10.1177/03058298920210030901
- Petra News. (27/April/2010). *Discuss the mechanics of the development of women's quota in the election law*. Retrieved from <Http://petra.gov.jo/Artical.aspx?Lng=2&Section=1&Artical=183117>
- Pettygrove, M. W., Nasser, L., & Fauss, L. (2006). *Obstacles to women's political empowerment in Jordan: Family, Islam, and patriarchal gender roles*. Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection, 358, 1-50. Retrieved from http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/358
- Phatharathananunth, S. (2006). *Civil society and democratization: social movements in northeast Thailand*. Copenhagen: NIAS.
- Phillips, A. (1991). *Engendering democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with Blackwell.
- Phillips, A. (1993). *Democracy and difference*. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Phillips, A. (1998). *Feminism and politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Encyclopaedia of civil society organisations in Jordan. (2013). *Jordanian women's association renaissance charity*. Phoenix Center for Economic and informatics Studies PCEIS, & Friedrich Ebert Foundation FEF. Amman, Jordan.

- Pierson, P. (2002). The limits of design: Explaining institutional origins and change. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*, 13(4), 475-499. doi: 10.1111/0952-1895.00142
- Pierson, P. (2004c). *Politics in time: History, institutions, and social analysis*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Pietrobelli, M. (2010). *Institutionalizing gender: Women's political participation in Jordan*. London: University of London. Retrieved from <http://www.soas.ac.uk/lmei/events/ssemme/file67931.pdf>
- Pitkin, H. F. (1967). *The concept of representation*. University of California Press: Berkeley; Los Angeles.
- Poggi, G. (1978). *The development of the modern state: A sociological introduction*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Pollack, M. A. (2009). The new institutionalisms and European integration. In A. Wiener & T. Diez (Eds.), *European integration theory* (Vol. 2, pp. 125-144). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Poskitt, A., & Dufranc, M. (2011). *Civil society organisations in situations of conflict*. World Alliance for Citizen Participation. Retrieved from http://www.civicus.org/view/media/cso_conflict_complete_report.pdf
- PRIA, CDRA, PSO, INTRAC, EASUN, & ICD. (2012). *Civil society at crossroads, shifts, challenges, options*. International NGO Training and Research Centre: International NGO Training and Research Centre. Retrieved from <http://www.intrac.org/resources.php?action=resource&id=757>
- Prime Minister. (2002). *Jordan first*. Retrieved 7/March, 2014, from http://www.pm.gov.jo/arabic/index.php?page_type=pages&part=1&page_id=74
- Princess Basma Center for Women's Affairs. (1997). *The participation of women in the parliamentary Elections of (1997)*. Amman, Jordan: Princess Basma Center for Women's Affairs.
- Prugl, E. (2004). International institutions and feminist politics. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 10(2), 69-89. Retrieved from <http://www.bjwa.org>
- Przeworski, A., & Limongi, F. (1997). Modernization: Theories and Facts. *World Politics*, 49(2), 155-183. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1353/wp.1997.0004>
- Purkayastha, B., & Subramaniam, M. (2004c). *The power of women's informal networks: lessons in social change from South Asia to West Africa*. Lanham, Md: Lexington Books.
- Purushothaman, S. (1998). *The empowerment of women in India: Grassroots women's networks and the state*. New Delhi, India: Sage Publications.
- Putnam, R. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6(1), 65-78. Retrieved from http://www.press.jhu.edu.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/journals/journal_of_democracy
- Putnam, R. (1998). Civil society, political capital, and democratization in Central America. *The Journal of Politics*, 60(3), 780-800. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2647648>
- Putzi-Ortiz, S. (2008). *A to Z world women in culture and business: 175 Countries: Position in society, legal rights, education, dating, marriage, and family, health, social customs, women in professions, women as business owners, and foreign business women*. Petaluma, CA, USA: World Trade Press.
- Qtifan, M. (2006, 23/4). Decentralization and municipal council's elections: Towards women's participation, *Alrai Newspaper*. Retrieved from www.alraicenter.com/

- Wiktorowicz, Quintan. (1999). The limits of democracy in the Middle East: The case of Jordan. *Middle East Journal*, 53(4), 606-620. Retrieved from <http://www.mei.edu/Publications/TheMiddleEastJournal.aspx>
- Qurashi, M. (2009). New media to support Arab women's political participation. iKNOW politics partners launch Arabic languages website to support women in politics, 1-2. Retrieved from <https://www.ndi.org/node/15983>
- Radwan, A. (2012). The evolution of legislature's election laws and the parliamentary elections in Jordan. Retrieved from <http://www.dpp.gov.jo/2012/5.html>
- Ragin, C. C. (c1987). *The comparative method: Moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rai, S. M., & Waylen, G. (2008). Introduction: Feminist perspectives on analysing and transforming global governance. In M. S. Rai & G. Waylen (Eds.), *Global governance feminist perspectives* (pp. 1-18). New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rand, S. (2014). How do formal women's networks affect members' career advancement and the success of their sponsoring organization? (PhD of Philosophy), University of Minnesota. Retrieved from https://conservancy.umn.edu/bitstream/handle/11299/166652/Rand_umn_0130E_14728.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
- Randall, V., & Waylen, G. (1998). *Gender, politics and the state*. London: Routledge.
- Rantawi, O., & Others. (2002). *Women and electoral action in the Arab world*. Amman: Al-Quds Center for Political Studies.
- Rao, A., & Kelleher, D. (2003). Institutions, organisations and gender equality in an era of globalisation. *Gender and Development*, 11(1), 142-149.
- Rasuly-Paleczek, G. (1996). Some remarks on the study of household composition and intra-family relations in rural and urban Turkey. In G. Rasuly-Paleczek (Ed.), *Turkish families in transition* (pp. 1-44). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Rath, K. (1994). The process of democratization in Jordan. *Middle East Studies*, 30(3), 530-557. doi: 10.1080/00263209408701010
- Raven, J. (2009). The emergence of hierarchy, domination, and centralisation: Reflections on the work of Murray Bookchin. *Journal for Perspectives of Economic, Political, and Social Integration*, 14(1-2), 11-75. Retrieved from <http://www.eyeonociety.co.uk/resources/bookchin.pdf>
- Ray, R., & Korteweg, A. C. (1999). Women's movements in the Third World: Identity, mobilization, and autonomy. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25, 47-71. doi: 10.1146/annurev.soc.25.1.47
- Regan, C. (2012). Women, citizenship and change: The role of women's movement in the Arab World. In S. Calleya & M. Wohlfeld (Eds.), *Change and opportunities in the emerging Mediterranean* (pp. 234-251): European Parliamentary Research Service, EPRS.
- Reinharz, S. (1992). *Feminist methods in social research*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Remmer, K. L. (1991). New wine or old bottlenecks? The study of Latin American democracy. *Comparative Politics*, 23(4), 479-495. doi: 10.2307/422261
- Reverter-Banon, S. (2006). Civil society and gender equality: A theoretical approach. *Center for Civil Society*, 24, 1-32. doi: 9780753019573
- Ridd, R., & Callaway, H. (1987). *Women and political conflict: portraits of struggle in times of crisis*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Rishmawi, M., & Morris, T. (2007). Overview of civil society in the Arab World. International NGO Training and Research Center, 1-34.

- Risse-Kappen, T. (1995). *Bringing transnational relations back in: Non-state actors, domestic structures, and international institutions*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Ritter, G. (2007). Critical perspectives on gender and politics: Gender and politics over time. *Politics & Gender*, 3(3), 386-397. doi: 10.1017/S1743923X07000268
- Robinson, G. E. (1998). Defensive democratization in Jordan. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 30(3), 387-410. doi: <http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.auckland.ac.nz/10.1017/S002074380006623X>
- Robinson, M., Frost, D., Buccigrossi, J., & Pfeffer, C. (2003). *Gender: Power and privilege*. Inc. Rochester, NY: wetWare. Retrieved from http://www.consumerstar.org/resources/pdf/Gender_4.pdf
- Robson, C. (1993). *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioners-researchers*. United Kingdom, UK: Blackwell.
- Rochon, T. R., & Mazmanian, D. A. (1993). Social-movements and the policy process. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 528(75), 75-87. doi: 10.1177/0002716293528001006
- Roling, L. (2010). *Internal women's networks – Impact in organizations*. (PhD), University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. Retrieved from <http://coles.kennesaw.edu/centers/womens-leadership-center/>
- Rosen, J. (2012). The effects of political institutions on women's political representation: A comparative analysis of 168 countries from 1992 to 2010. *Political Research Quarterly*, 66(2), 306-321. doi: 10.1177/1065912912449698
- Rowbotham, S. (1992). *Women in movement: Feminism and social action*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Rubin, J. H., & Rubin, S. I. (c2005). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Rule, W. (1994a). Women's underrepresentation and electoral systems. *Political Science and Politics*, 27(4), 689-692. doi: 10.2307/420369
- Rule, W. (1994b). Parliaments of, by, and for the people: except for women? In W. Rule & Z. E. Joseph (Eds.), *Electoral systems in comparative perspective: Their impact on women and minorities* (pp. 16-18). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Ryan, C. R. (2002). *Jordan in transition: From Hussein to Abdullah*. Boulder, CO, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Sabbagh, A. (2004). *Women in the discourse of Jordanian political parties*. Unpublished paper. Jordanian National Commission for Women. Amman, Jordan.
- Sabbagh, A. (2005). The Arab States: Enhancing Women's political participation. In J. Ballington & A. Karam (Eds.), *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers* (pp. 52-71). Stockholm: The International IDEA publications. 91-85391-19-0
- Sabbagh, A. (2007). *Overview of women's political representation in the Arab region: Opportunities and challenges*. Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance IDEA. Retrieved from http://www.quotaproject.org/publications/arab_quota_report.pdf
- Sa'd El Den, I. (1998). *Civil society and democratic turning in the Arab World*. Cairo: Dar Al-Amin for Publishing and Distribution.
- Sahliyeh, E. F. (2005). The state and the Islamic movement in Jordan. *Journal of Church & State*. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jcs/47.1.109>
- Sajoo, A. B. (2002). *Civil society in the Muslim World: Contemporary perspectives*. London, GBR; New York, NY: I.B. Tauris; Martin's Press.
- Salmond, R. (2002). Democratic reform in Tonga: Towards an alternative electoral system. *Revue Juridique Polynésienne*(2), 171-193.

- Sarah, C., & Lovenduski, J. (2013). Political representation. In G. Waylen, K. Celis, J. Kantola & L. Weldon (Eds.), *Gender and politics*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.001.0001
- Sarantakos, S. (2012). Feminist research. In S. Sarantakos (Ed.), *Social research* (pp. 53-71). England: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
- Sarayreh, R. (2009, 14/02/2009). Welcome to cancel the reservation to the text of the freedom of movement of women in the Convention on the "CEDAW", Al Ghad Newspaper. Retrieved from <http://alghad.com/index.php/article/282302.html>
- Sawer, M., & Grey, S. (2008). *Women's movements: Flourishing or in abeyance?* New York; London: Routledge.
- Sawer, M., Tremblay, M., & Trimble, L. (2006). *Representing women in parliament: A comparative study*. Abingdon, Oxon ; N.Y: Routledge.
- Sayari, S. (2002). The Changing party system. In S. Sayari & Y. R. Esmer (Eds.), *Politics, parties and elections in Turkey* (pp. 9-32). Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner Publishers.
- Schadewitz, N., & Jachna, T. (2007). Comparing inductive and deductive methodologies for design patterns identification and articulation. Hung Hom, Hong Kong. Retrieved from <http://www.sd.polyu.edu.hk/>
- Schmidt, V. A. (2011). Reconciling ideas and institutions through discursive institutionalism. D. Béland & R. H. Cox (Eds.), *Ideas and politics in social science research*. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199736430.003.0003
- Schmidt, V. A. (2008). Discursive Institutionalism: The explanatory power of ideas and discourse (Publication no. doi: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060606.135342).
- Schmidt, V. A. (2008, March 6-8). From historical institutionalism to discursive institutionalism: Explaining change in comparative political economy. Paper presented at the Biannual Meeting of the Council for European Studies, American Political Science Association Meetings, Boston, MA. Retrieved from http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/7/8/3/3/page_s278339/p278339-1.php
- Schmidt, V. A. (2010). Taking ideas and discourse seriously: Explaining change through discursive institutionalism as the fourth 'new institutionalism'. *European Political Science Review*, 2(1), 1-25. doi: 10.1017/S175577390999021X
- Scholte, J. A. (1999). *Global civil society: Change the World?* University of Warwick: Center for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation (CSGR). Retrieved from <http://www.csgr.org>
- Schwartz, H. (2004). Down the wrong path: Path dependence, increasing returns, and historical institutionalism. Retrieved 21/May/2013, from Department of Politics <http://people.virginia.edu/~hms2f/Path.pdf>
- Schwedler, J. (1995). *Toward civil society in the Middle East? A primer*. Boulder,Co: Lynne Rienner.
- Schwindt-Bayer, L. A., & Mishler, W. (2005). An integrated model of women's representation. *Journal of Politics*, 67(2), 407-428. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2508.2005.00323.x
- Setiyono, B. (2010). *Making a new democracy work: The role of civil society organisations (CSOS) in combating corruption during democratic transition in Indonesia*. (PhD), Curtin University of Technology, Australia. Retrieved from http://espace.library.curtin.edu.au:80/R?func=dbin-jump-full&local_base=gen01era02&object_id=155518

- Shahin, J. (2012). Study on the impact of the crisis on civil society organisations in the Eu-Risk and opportunities. (978-92-830-2026-4). from the European Economic and Social Committee <http://www.eesc.europa.eu/?i=portal.en.publications-studies>
- Shami, S., Taminian, L., Morsy, S., El Bakri, Z. B., & Kameir, E. (1990). *Women in Arab society: Work patterns and gender relations in Egypt, Jordan and Sudan*. London: Berg Publishers Limited.
- Shamshad, A. (2007). Women's empowerment in India: Rhetoric and reality. In V. M. Moghadam (Ed.), *From patriarchy to empowerment: Women's participation, movements, and rights in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Asia* (pp. 139-158). New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Sharabi, H. (1988). *Neopatriarchy: A theory of distorted change in Arab society*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Shayne, J. D. (c2004). *The revolution question: Feminisms in El Salvador, Chile, and Cuba*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Shitewy, M., & Hourani, H. (1996). *The civil society and the public field in the city of Amman*. Amman, Jordan: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center.
- Shtawe, M., & Daqstani, A. (1994). *Jordanian women and political participation*. Amman, Jordan: University of Jordan.
- Shteiwi, & Degestani. (1994). *The Jordanian women and political participation*. Amman, Jordan: Center for strategic studies, University of Jordan.
- Shteiwi, M. (2004). A reality of economic, political and social status of women and its relationship to political development. Center for Safety Studies Arab Regional Resource & Center on Violence against women and information. Retrieved from http://www.amanjordan.org/aman_studies/wmprint.php?ArtID=1014
- Shteiwi, M., & Hourani, H. (1996). *Civil society and mainstream in Amman*. Amman: Al-Urdun al-Jadid Research Center.
- Shvedova, N. (2005). Obstacles to women's participation in parliament. J. Ballington & A. Karam (Eds.), *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers* (pp. 33-50). doi:91-85391-19-0
- Simons, H. (1980). *Towards a science of the singular: Essays about case study in educational research and evaluation*. Norwich: Centre for Applied Research in Education University of East Anglia.
- Simons, H. (2009). *Case study research in practice*. Los Angeles; London: SAGE.
- Sinkovics, R. R., Penz, E., & Ghauri, P. N. (2008). Enhancing the trustworthiness of qualitative research in international business. *Management International Review*, 48(6), 689-714. doi: 10.1007/s11575-008-0103-z
- Pierson, P & Skocpol, T., (2002). Historical institutionalism in contemporary political science In I. Katznelson & H. V. Milner (Eds.), *Political science: State of the discipline* (pp. 693-721). New York; Washington, D.C: Norton; American Political Science Association.
- Skogstad, G. (1998). Ideas, paradigms and institutions: Agricultural exceptionalism in the European Union and the United States. *Governance*, 11(4), 463-490. doi: 10.1111/0952-1895.00082.
- Smith, D. E. (1987c). *The everyday world as problematic: A feminist sociology*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Smith, R. M. (2006c). Which comes first, the ideas or the institutions. In I. Shapiro, S. Skowronek & D. Galvin (Eds.), *Rethinking political institutions: The art of the state* (pp. 91-113). New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Social and Economic Development Group, & Middle East and North Africa Region MENA. (2005). *The economic advancement of women in Jordan: A country gender*

- assessment. Retrieved from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTJORDAN/Data%20and%20Reference/20507631/Jordan%20Gender%20Assessment05.pdf>
- Sonbol, A. E. (2003). *Women of the Jordan: Islam, labor, and the law*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Sosulski, M. R., & Lawrence, C. (2008). Mixing methods for full-strength results: Two welfare studies. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 2(2), 121-148. doi: 10.1177/1558689807312375
- Sow, N. (2012). *Women's political participation and economic empowerment in post-conflict countries: Lesson from the great lakes region in Africa*. London: International Alert/ Eastern Africa Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women. Retrieved from <http://www.international-alert.org>
- Sproull, L., & Kiesler, S. (1991c). *Connections: new ways of working in the networked organization*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Stacey, J. (1983). The new conservative feminism. *Feminist Studies*, 9(3), 559-583. doi: 10.2307/3177616
- Stake, R. E. (1995c). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Stark, D. C., & Bach, J. (2002). *Link, search, interact: The Co-Evolution of NGOs and interactive technology*.
- Staudt, K. A. (1998). *Policy, politics and gender: Women gaining ground*. West Hartford, Connecticut, USA: Kumarian Press.
- Steinmo, S. (2001). Institutionalism In N. J. Smelser & P. B. Baltes (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (Vol. 20, pp. 7554-7558). Oxford: Elsevier Science.
- Steinmo, S. (2008). What is historical institutionalism? In D. D. Porta & M. Keating (Eds.), *Approaches and methodologies in the social sciences* (pp. 150-178). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Steinmo, S., Thelen, A. K., & Longstreth, F. (c1992). *Structuring politics: Historical institutionalism in comparative analysis*. Cambridge England; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stemler, S. (2001). An overview of content analysis (Practical Assessment). Retrieved 6/7/2001 <http://PAREonline.net/getvn.asp?v=7&n=17>
- Stephen, B. (2013). Institutionalism: Old and new. In D. Woodward, A. Parkin & J. Summers (Eds.), *Government, politics, power and policy in Australia*. Melbourne: Longman. Retrieved from <http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/eserv.php?pid=UQ:9699&dsID=Institutionalism.pdf>
- Stone, D. (2001). *Learning lessons, policy transfer and the international diffusion of policy ideas* (Working Paper). From University of Warwick, Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation. Retrieved from <http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/csgr/research/wo>
- Stone, D. (2008). Global public policy, transnational policy communities, and their networks. *Policy Studies Journal*, 36(1), 19-38. doi: 10.1111/j.1541-0072.2007.00251.x
- Stone, D., & Maxwell, S. (2005). Global knowledge networks and international development bridges across boundaries. In D. Stone & S. Maxwell (Eds.), *Global knowledge networks and international development* (pp. 1-17). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Stons, D., & Denham, A. (2004). *Think tank traditions: Policy analysis across nations*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Strauss, G. A. L., & Glaser, B. G. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine Publisher.
- Streeck, W., & Thelen, K. (2005). *Beyond continuity: Institutional change in advanced political economies*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stremlau, C. (1987). NGO coordinating bodies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. *World Development*, 15(Supplement 1), 213–225. doi: 10.1016/0305-750X(87)90159-8
- Stroh, M. (2000). Qualitative interviewing. In D. Burton (Ed.), *Research training for social scientists* (pp. 196-214). London; Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE.
- Studies and Research Centre. (1993). *The return of parliamentary life*. Retrieved 5/3, 2014, from <http://www.archive.electionsjo.com/Esubject/DefaultSub.asp?seid=77>
- Swanborn, P. (2010). *Case study research: What, why and how*. London: SAGE.
- Sydow, E. V. (2013). *Civil society and democracy: The citizens' shortcut to the EU*. bruxelles, brussels, Belgium: European Economic and Social Committee .Retrieved from <http://www.eesc.europa.eu/resources/>
- Tadros, M. (2011). *Working politically behind red lines: Structure and agency in a comparative study of women's coalitions in Egypt and Jordan*. Development Leadership Program. Retrieved from <http://www.dlprog.org/>
- Tahboub, A. (2003). *Women's participation in Jordanian politics 1990-2000*. (Master), University of Jordan. (331.4813209565)
- Tahboub, N. (2011). *Jordanian foreign policy*. Amman: Department of National Libraries.
- Tasamba, J. (2010, Dec. 20). *Women organisation to expand after winning international award*, New Times: Kigali, Rwanda. Retrieved from <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news/index.php?a=36735&i=14480>
- Taylor, R. (2004). *Creating a better world: Interpreting global civil society*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.
- Tekeli, S. (1995). *Women in modern Turkish society: A reader*. London: Zed Books.
- Tellis, W. (1997). Application of a case study methodology. *The Qualitative Report*, 3(3), 81 paragraphs. Retrieved from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR3-3/tellis2.html>
- Tenenbaum, G., & Driscoll, M. P. (2005). *Methods of research in sport sciences: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Oxford: Meyer; Meyer Verlag.
- Thayer, S. E., & Ray, S. (2006). Online communication preferences across age, gender, and duration of internet use. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 9(4), 432-440. doi: 10.1089/cpb.2006.9.432
- The Bank World. (2003). *Gender and development in the Middle East and North Africa: Women in the public sphere* (28115). Washington, DC: The international bank for reconstruction and development. Retrieved from <http://www-wds.worldbank.org/>
- The Fourth World Conference on Women. (1995). *Beijing declaration and platform for action*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/>
- The Gender and Development Network GADN. (2013). *Achieving gender equality and women's empowerment in the post-2015 framework*. London, UK: The Gender and Development Network. Retrieved from www.gadnetwork.org.uk
- The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. (1996). *Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and the outcome of the twenty-third special session of the general Assembly (2000)*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/>
- The International Centre for Not-for-Profit Law ICNL. (2010). *National fund to support civil society organisations*. Washington, D.C: The International Centre for Not-for-Profit Low ICNL. Retrieved from <http://www.icnl.org/>

- The Jordanian government. (1991). Jordanian national charter. Amman, Jordan: Prime Minister.
- The Jordanian National Assembly JNA. (2014). National assembly structure. Retrieved from <http://www.parliament.jo/en/node/145>
- The Jordanian National Commission for Women JNCW. (1999). National strategy for Jordanian women 2006-2010. A World Health Organisation Resource. Retrieved from <http://www.who.int/en/>
- The Jordanian National Commission for Women JNCW. (2011). The progress of women toward the Jordanian justice, participation and equality 2010-2011. Amman, Jordan: The Jordanian National Commission for Women.
- The Jordanian National Commissions for Women JNCW. (1998). National programme of actions for the advancement of Jordanian women 1998-2002. The Jordanian National Commissions for Women JNCW. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/responses/Jordan.pdf>
- The Jordanian National Forum for Women JNCW. (2013). The Jordanian national forum for women strategies. The Jordanian National Forum for Women. Amman, Jordan.
- The Jordanian National Commission for Women JNCW. (2008). Mission. Retrieved 25/7/2014, from http://www.women.jo/en/about.php?cat_id=10&type=0
- The Official Gazette. (1947). The election law for the House of Representatives, Jordanian legislation. The Official Gazette. Retrieved from <http://www.lob.gov.jo/ui/laws>
- The Parliament of Jordan. (2014). Information about the national assembly. Retrieved 21/March, 2014, from <http://www.parliament.jo/en/node/145>
- World Bank. (2004). Gender and development in the Middle East and North Africa: Women in the public sphere. Washington, DC, USA: World Bank Publications.
- The World Conference on Human Rights. (1993). Fact sheet No.22, discrimination against women: The convention and the committee. Paper presented at the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, Vienna. Retrieved from <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/FactSheet22en.pdf>
- Thelen, K. (1999). Historical institutionalism in comparative politics. 2, 369-404. doi: [10.1017/S0014180199000004](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0014180199000004)
- Thien, D. (2009). Feminist methodologies. In R. Kitchin & N. Thrift (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography* (pp. 71-78). Oxford, England: Elsevier.
- Thies, C. G. (2001). A historical institutionalist approach to the Uruguay round agricultural negotiations. *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(400) doi: [10.1177/0010414001034004003](https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414001034004003)
- Tilly, C. (1984). *Big structures, large processes, huge comparisons*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Toprak, B. (1994). Civil society in Turkey. In A. R. Norton (Ed.), *Civil society in the Middle East* (Vol. 2, pp. 87-118). New York, NY: Brill.
- Torfing, J. (2009). Rethinking path dependence in public policy research. *Critical Policy Studies*, 3(1), 70-83. doi: [10.1080/19460170903158149](https://doi.org/10.1080/19460170903158149)
- Touaf, L., & Boutkhal, S. (2008). *The World as a global Agora: Critical perspectives on public space*. United Kingdom, U.K: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Touq, M. A. (2006). *The partnership between the civil society organisations are working on the human rights and the government*. Amman, Jordan: Jordan Institute of Diplomacy and Konrad Adenauer Foundation and National Center for Human Rights.
- Tovar, M. (2007). *Women candidates and campaign finance*. New York, NY: Women's Environment and Development Organisation WEDO. Retrieved from

- <http://www.wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/women-candidates-and-campaign-finance-report-final.pdf>
- Tremblay, M. (2008). *Women and legislative representation: electoral systems, political parties, and sex quotas*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tripp, A., M. (2005). Regional networking as transnational feminism: African experiences. *Feminist Africa: Women Mobilised*, (4), 46-63. Retrieved from <http://agi.ac.za/feminist-africa>
- Tripp, A. M., & Kang, A. (2008). The global impact of quotas: On the fast track to increased female legislative representation. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(3), 338-361. doi: 10.1177/0010414006297342
- True, J. (2008). Gender mainstreaming and regional trade governance in Asia-Pacific economic cooperation. In M. S. Rai & G. Waylen (Eds.), *Global governance feminist perspectives* (pp. 129-159). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- True, J., & Ackerly, B. (2010). *Doing feminist research in political and social science*. England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- True, J., & Mintrom, M. (2001). Transnational networks and policy diffusion: The case of gender mainstreaming. *International studies quarterly*, 45(1), 27-57. doi: 10.1111/0020-8833.00181
- Trumbic, T., & Laframboise, N. (2004). Effects of fiscal policies on the economic development of women in the Middle East and North Africa (Working Paper). From International Monetary Fund. Retrieved from <http://site.ebrary.com/www/lib/auckland/docDetail.action?docID=10302928>
- Turknett Leadership Group. (2012). Benefits of women's networks. Paper presented at the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology (SIOP), San Diego, CA. Retrieved from <http://www.turknett.com/>
- UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). (1995). Fact sheet no. 23, harmful traditional practices affecting the health of women and children. Retrieved August, from UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), Retrieved from <http://www.refworld.org/docid/479477410.html>
- UN women; ESCAP; UNDP; UNFPA; UNICEF; WHO. (2012). The expert group meeting on prevention of violence against women and girls (EGM/PP/2012). Bangkok, Thailand: Retrieved from <http://www.unwomen.org/>
- United Nations Development Programme UNDP. (2010). *Enhancing women's political participation: A policy note for Europe and the Commonwealth of independent states*. Bratislava: Retrieved from http://issuu.com/undp_in_europe_cis/docs/enhancing_womens_political_participation
- United Nations Development Programme UNDP, Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development AFESD, & Arab Gulf Programme for United Nations Development Organisations AGPUNDO. (2006). *The Arab human development report 2005: Towards the rise of women in the Arab World*. UN Plaza, New York, USA: United Nations Publications. Retrieved from <http://www.arab-hdr.org/>
- United Nations industrial development organisations UNIDO. (1975, 12-26 March). Lima declaration and plan of action on industrial development and co-operation. Lima, Peru. Retrieved from http://www.unido.org/fileadmin/media/images/1975-Lima_Declaration_and_Plan_of_Action_on_Industrial_Development_and_Co-operation_26.3.1975.pdf
- United Nations UN. (1975, June 19-July 2). The world conference of the international women's year. Paper presented at the Women's World Conference, Mexico. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/>

- United Nations UN. (1980). *The World conference of the United Nations decade for women: Equality, development and peace* Copenhagen: United Nations, New York. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/otherconf>
- United Nations UN. (1985,15-26 July). *World conference to review and appraise the achievements of the United Nations decade for women: Equality, development and Peace*. Paper presented at the Third World Conference on Women, Nairobi. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/nairobi.html>
- United Nations UN. (1986). *Report of the World conference to review and appraise the achievements of the United Nation decade for women: Equality, development and peace*. Retrieved from United Nations <http://www.un.org/>
- United Nations UN. (1995). *Arab regional meeting of the fourth world conference in Beijing*. New York, NY: The Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw>
- United Nations UN. (1996). *Action for equality, development and peace*. New York, NY: United Nations. Retrieved from <http://beijing20.unwomen.org/>
- United Nations UN. (1997). *Gender mainstreaming*. New York, NY: United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/GMS.PDF>
- United Nations UN. (2005). *Equal participation of women and men in decision-making processes, with particular emphasis on political participation and leadership*. Addis-Ababa, Ethiopia: United Nations, Division for the Advancement of Women DAW, Department of Economic and Social Affairs DESA, Economic Commissions for Africa ECA, Inter-Parliamentary Union IPU. Retrieved from http://iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/women20and20men_decision_making_daw.pdf
- United Nations UN. (2005). *Women's movements in the Arab world*. New York. NY: Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia. Retrieved from <http://www.escwa.un.org/information/publications/edit/upload/ecw-05-1-a.pdf>
- United Nations UN. (2007). *Challenges and prospects for future reality of women's movements in the Arab World: A look at future*. Abo-Dabi: The Economic and Social Council Retrieved from <http://www.escwa.un.org/divisions/events/ecwsession/annAgendaE.pdf>
- United Nations UN. (2010). *Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW/c/EGY/CO/7): Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination*. Retrieved from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/co/CEDAW-C-EGY-CO-7.pdf>
- Vampa, D. (n.d). *What impact, if any, does the electoral system have on the shape of the party system?*, from academia.edu https://www.academia.edu/4137776/What_impact_if_any_does_the_electoral_system_have_on_the_shape_of_the_party_system
- Van Hear, N. (1995). *The impact of the involuntary mass return to Jordan in the wake of the Gulf crisis*. *International Migration Review*, 29(2), 352-374. doi: 10.2307/2546785
- Verba, S., Nie, N. H., & Kim, J.-o. (1979). *Participation and political equality: A seven-nation comparison*. Cambridge, Eng. ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Vinson, P. H., & Golley, N. A.-H. (2012). *Challenges and opportunities: The women's movement in Syria*. In P. Arenfeldt & N. Golley (Eds.), *Mapping Arab women's movements: A century of transformations from within* (pp. 65-92). Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Voet, R. (1998). *Feminism and citizenship*. London: SAGE

- Voluntary Service Overseas VSO. (2013). Women in power: Advancing women's participation and influence in political and public life through the post-2015 framework. Retrieved from <http://www.vso.org.uk/>
- Vrailas, I. (2012). General assembly third committee. Assembly Third Committee: Delegation of European Union to the United Nations.
- Walid, H. (1999). Women organisations and sustainable development in Jordan. Amman, Jordan: Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center.
- Waller, A. A. (2005). Work in progress-feminist research methodologies: Why, what, and how. Paper presented at the 35th ASEE/IEEE Frontiers in Education Conference, Indianapolis from University of Georgia. Retrieved from <http://www.ieee.org/index.html>
- Walzer, M. (1992). The civil society argument. In C. Mouffe (Ed.), *Dimensions of radical democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community* (pp. 89-107). London: Verso.
- Wang, V. (2013). Women changing policy outcomes: Learning from pro-women legislation in the Ugandan parliament. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 41(Part 2), 113–121. doi: 10.1016/j.wsif.2013.05.008
- Waring, M. (2010). Women's political participation. UK's Department for International Development (DFID) & International Development Centre (IDRC). Retrieved from http://www.marilynwarling.co.nz/130393_1_.pdf
- Warren, M. E. (2001). *Democracy and association*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Warrick, C. (2009). *Law in the service of legitimacy: Gender and political in Jordan*. United States: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Waylen, G. (1994). Women and democratization: Conceptualizing gender relations in transition politics. *World Politics*, 46(3), 327-354. doi: 10.2307/2950685
- Waylen, G. (2007). Constitutional engineering: What opportunities for the enhancement of gender rights? *Third World Quarterly*, 27(7), 1209-1221. doi: 10.1080/01436590600933305
- Waylen, G. (2007b). *Engendering transitions women's mobilisation, institutions and gender outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Waylen, G. (2009). What can historical institutionalism offer feminist institutionalists. *Politics & Gender*, 5(2), 245-253. doi: 10.1017/S1743923X09000191
- Waylen, G. (2011). Gender institutionalist analysis: Understanding democratic transitions. In M. Lena & F. Mackay (Eds.), *Gender, politics and institutions: Towards a feminist institutionalism* (pp. 147-162). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan
- Weldon, S. L. (2002). *Protest policy, and the problem of violence against women: A cross-notational comparison*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Westmarland, N. (2001). The quantitative/qualitative debate and feminist research: A subjective view of objectivity. *Qualitative Social Research*, 2(1) doi: 0114-fqs0101135
- Westminster Foundation for Democracy WFD. (2012). *Enhancing women's political participation and leadership in MENA 2012-15*. Retrieved from <http://www.wfd.org/upload/docs/MENA%20WOMEN.pdf>
- White, G. (1994). Civil society, democratisation and development (I): Clearing the analytical ground. *Democratisation*, 1(2), 375-390. doi: 10.1080/13510349408403399
- White, R. L. G. (1996). *Democratization in the south the jagged wave*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

- Wiktorowicz, Q. (1999). The limits of case of democracy in the Middle East: The case of Jordan. *Middle East Journal*, 53(4), 606-620. doi: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4329393>
- Wiktorowicz, Q. (2000). Civil society as social control: State power in Jordan. *Comparative Politics*, 33(1), 43-61. doi: 10.2307/422423
- Wiktorowicz, Q. (2002). Embedded authoritarianism bureaucratic power and the limits to non-governmental organisations in Jordan. In G. Joffe (Ed.), *Jordan in transition 1990-2000* (pp. 111-126). London: Hurst & Company.
- Wiktorowicz, Q. (2002). The political limits to nongovernmental organisations in Jordan. *World Development*, 30(1), 77-93. doi: 10.1016/S0305-750X(01)00092-4
- Wiktorowicz, Q., & Farouki, S. T. (2000). Islamic NGOs and Muslim politics: A case from Jordan. *Third World Quarterly*, 21(4), 685-699. doi: 10.1080/01436590050079065
- Williams, C. L. (1991). Case studies and sociology of gender. In J. R. Feagin, A. M. Orum & G. Sjoberg (Eds.), *A case for the case study* (pp. 224-243). Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Wilson-Grau, R., & Nunez, M. (2006). Evaluating international social change networks: A conceptual framework for a participatory approach. *Development in Practice*, 17(2), 258-271. doi: 10.108/09614520701197226
- Women in Jordan Web. (2013). The national strategy for women in Jordan 2012–2015. Retrieved from <http://womeninjordan.org/>
- Women UN. (n.d). Partnerships. Retrieved from http://www.unwomen.org/partnerships/?show=Civil_Society
- Women's Originations Key Demands for Busan and 2012 DCF. (2011). Key demands from women rights organisations and gender equality advocates. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/newfuncnt/pdf/luxembourg_women's_key_demands_busan_updated_oct201.pdf
- Women's Resource Centre. (2008). The state of the women's NGO sector. United Kingdom: United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Retrieved from <http://www2.ohchr.org/>
- Women's Democracy Network WDN. (2009). A bout the women's democracy network. Retrieved from <http://www.wdn.org/discover-our-programs/country-chapters/jordan>
- Women's democracy network WDN. (2011). Empowering women worldwide. Retrieved from http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/flip_docs/WDN_brochure_2011/HTML/index.html#/2/
- Women's democracy network WDN. (2012). Jordan. Retrieved from <http://www.wdn.org/discover-our-programs/country-chapters/jordan>
- Women's Learning Partnership WLP. (2010). Who we are. Retrieved from <http://www.learningpartnership.org/about-wlp>
- World Bank. (2005). Issues and options for improving engagement between the World Bank and civil society organisations. Washington, DC: The international bank for reconstruction and development. Retrieved from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/>
- World Economic Forum WEF. (2013). The future role of civil society. Geneva; Switzerland: World Economic Forum. Retrieved from <http://www3.weforum.org/>
- Wyche, S., Sengers, P., & Grinter, R. E. (2006, September 17-21). Historical analysis: Using the past to design the future, Organge County, CA, USA.
- Yilmaz, I. (2005). State, law, civil society and Islam in contemporary Turkey. *The Muslim World*, 95(3), 385-411. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1777222>

- Yin, R. (2003). *Case study research design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications.
- Yin, R. K. (1984). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Beverly Hills, London: Sage Publications.
- Yousef, A. (2002). Jordanian activist discusses political empowerment of Jordanian women. *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, 21 (3), 86-88.
- Zeeman, L., Poggenpoel, M., Myburch, C., & Linde, N. V. (2002). An introduction to a postmodern approach to educational research: Discourse analysis. *Education*, 123(1), 96-102.
- Zlitni, S., & Touati, Z. (2012). Social networks and women's mobilization in Tunisia. *International Women's Studies*, 13(5).
- Zucker, D. M. (2009). How to do case study research. In M. Garner, B. Kawulich & C. Wagner (Eds.), *Teaching research methods in the social sciences* (pp. 171-181). Surry, UK: Ashgate. Retrieved from http://scholarworks.umass.edu/nursing_faculty_pubs/2
- Zuidberg, L. (2004). The role of women's organisation in civil society building. EOS Consult for equal opportunities and strength. Retrieved from <http://ebookbrowse.net/lida-zuidberg-role-of-women-0411-pdf-d20063445>

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Interview Questions

A- International Organisations

- 1- What kind of work you are currently doing in this organisation and what is your background in the field (e.g. education and professional experience)?
- 2- How long have you been working for this organisation?
- 3- When was your organisation established?
- 4- What kind of media does your organisation use to engage with women in different parts of Jordan? How else do you disseminate information?
- 5- As an international organisation, what kinds of feminist transnational networks does your organisation build with domestic organisations to give women opportunities to share with other women around the world?
- 6- Can you explain the way in which these networks work before and after the transition to democracy?
- 7- What kind of relationship is there between your international organisation and the domestic organisations who are working for women's issues?
- 8- As professionals working for women, what has your organisation done for Jordanian women, especially regarding political participation?
- 9- What challenges do international organisations face in trying to improve women's political participation in countries like Jordan?
- 10- From your perspective, what is the main challenge that Jordanian women face in their political lives?
- 11- How has the transition to democracy in Jordan helped Jordanian women to be part of political decisions affecting them in their political life especially with regard to their political participation as MPs or office holders?
- 12- How do you engage with the Jordanian government in discussing women's issues in Jordan? Are there any particular groups or political parties in Jordan that you work with?
- 13- As an international organisation, what is your plan for improving women's political participation in Jordan at this stage, and how will you do this?

14- As an international organisation, do you try to use the concept of feminism in Jordan during your meetings with the domestic organisations?

15- Do you have any additional comments?

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON _____ FOR (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER _2011____ / _7726_____

B- Domestic Organisations

1. What kind of work you are currently doing in this organisation and what is your background in the field (e.g. education and professional experience)?
2. How long have you been working for this organisation?
3. When was your organisation established?
4. What kind of media does your organisation use to engage with women in different parts of Jordan? How else do you disseminate information?
5. As a domestic organisation, what kinds of feminist transnational networks does your organisation build with international organisations to give women opportunities to share with other women around the world; can you explain for me the way in which these networks work to improve your experience and knowledge of political life?
6. As professionals working for women, what has your organisation done for Jordanian women, especially regarding political participation?
7. What challenges do local women's organisations face in trying to improve women's political participation?
8. As a domestic organisation in Jordan, what kind of relationship do you have with international organisations to improve women's political participation?
9. How do you transfer the knowledge and the experience that you have from participating in international conferences and training to other women?
10. How do you engage with political parties to enhance and increase the number of women participating politically?
11. What kind of relationship do you have with Members of Parliament to facilitate support from them regarding any law changes that can be helpful for women?
12. What do you see are the obstacles that Jordanian women face in public work, especially in political life?
13. How has the transition to democracy in Jordan helped women in civil society organisations to become a part of decision-making for women in political life, especially concerning women as MPs or office holders?
14. What challenges have you faced in transferring your ideas to the government for improving women's political participation?
15. Do you have any additional comments, please provide these?

C- Women politicians / candidates / political elites

- 1- What kind of work you are currently doing in this organisation and what is your background in the field (e.g. education and professional experience)?
- 2- How long have you been involved in political life?
- 3- What experiences of political life as a female candidate / politician would you consider sharing with other women in Jordan? What would be the best way of transferring your knowledge? Do you see women's organisations as having a role in this way?
- 4- As a politician woman in Jordan what kinds of feminist transnational networks do you involve to build your own knowledge and in order to share with other women around the world?
- 5- As women politicians or MP / candidates what kind of relationship do you have with civil society (women's) organisations in Jordan?
- 6- In your view, to what extent have civil society (women's) organisations changed in recent years?
- 7- What role do you think international women's organisations play in increasing women's political participation?
- 8- To what extent can the government help women to be part of political decision-making in Jordan?
- 9- What role have civil society (women's) organisations played in promoting political participation for women specifically?
- 10- What is the effectiveness of civil society organizations' programmes in achieving progress in the status of women and their political participation in elite positions?
- 11- In your opinion as a female politician / MP/ candidate how can the number of women in decision-making positions be increased?
- 12- Do you have any additional comments?

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON
_____ FOR (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER _2011____ / _7726____

Appendix 2

Twelve Jordanian Provinces included in the fieldwork in this research



Appendix 3&4
Consent Form & Participant Information Sheet



Room G01
 14 Symonds Street
 Auckland, New Zealand
 Telephone 64 9 373 7599
 Ext: 84868/87660/84870
 Facsimile 64 9 373 7499

Postal Address:
 Department of Political Studies
 Faculty of Arts
 The University of Auckland
 Private Bag 92019
 Auckland, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM

(International organisations and domestic organisations)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES

Project Title: The political participation of women in Jordan: A feminist institutionalist analysis

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, and I understand the nature of the research being conducted and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that my participation shall remain confidential to the interviewer.
- I understand that the interview will take about one hour maximum.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw my participation at any time, and to withdraw any traceable data to me up to four weeks after I have received the transcripts. I also understand I will have the opportunity to comment on the transcripts during the same period of time.
- I agree to be recorded (please choose one **Yes/ No**)
- I understand that if the interview is audio- taped I can ask for the recording to be turned off at any time and that I may choose not to answer questions.
- I wish to receive a copy of the transcripts (please choose one **Yes/ No**)
- I wish to receive a summary of the results of this research project (please choose one **Yes/ No**)
- I understand that the electronic data and the transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet at the Department of political Studies for 6 years, after which time they will be destroyed.

Participant Name : _____

Participant Signature : _____

Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON _____ FOR
 _____ (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 / 7726



Room G01
14 Symonds Street
Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 64 9 373 7599
Ext: 84966/87660/84870
Facsimile 64 9 373 7499

Postal Address:
Department of Political Studies
Faculty of Arts
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM

(Member of domestic organisations)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES

Project Title: The political participation of women in Jordan: A feminist institutionalist analysis

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, and I understand the nature of the research being conducted and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that my participation shall remain confidential to the interviewer.
- I understand that the interview will take about one hour maximum.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw my participation at any time, and to withdraw any traceable data to me up to four weeks after I have received the transcripts. I also understand I will have the opportunity to comment on the transcripts during the same period of time.
- I agree to be recorded (please choose one Yes/ No)
- I understand that if the interview is audio- taped I can ask for the recording to be turned off at any time and that I may choose not to answer questions.
- I wish to receive a copy of the transcripts (please choose one Yes/ No)
- I wish to receive a summary of the results of this research project (please choose one Yes/ No)
- I understand that the electronic data and the transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet at the Department of political Studies for 6 years, after which time they will be destroyed.

Participant Name: _____

Participant Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON _____ FOR
_____ (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 / 7726



Room G01
14 Symonds Street
Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 64 9 373 7500
Ext: 84868/87660/84870
Facsimile 64 9 373 7499

Postal Address:
Department of Political Studies
Faculty of Arts
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM

(International organisations and domestic organisations)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES

Project Title: The political participation of women in Jordan: A feminist institutionalist analysis

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, and I understand the nature of the research being conducted and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that my participation shall remain confidential to the interviewer.
- I understand that the interview will take about one hour maximum.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw my participation at any time, and to withdraw any traceable data to me up to four weeks after I have received the transcripts. I also understand I will have the opportunity to comment on the transcripts during the same period of time.
- I agree to be recorded (please choose one Yes/ No)
- I understand that if the interview is audio- taped I can ask for the recording to be turned off at any time and that I may choose not to answer questions.
- I wish to receive a copy of the transcripts (please choose one Yes/ No)
- I wish to receive a summary of the results of this research project (please choose one Yes/ No)
- I understand that the electronic data and the transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet at the Department of political Studies for 6 years, after which time they will be destroyed.

Participant Name : _____

Participant Signature : _____ Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON _____ FOR
_____ (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 / 7726



Room G01
14 Symonds Street
Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 64 9 373 7599
Ext: 84868/87660/84870
Facsimile 64 9 373 7499

Postal Address:
Department of Political Studies
Faculty of Arts
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 32019
Auckland, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM

(Politicians' candidates and in other political elites)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF SIX YEARS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES

Project Title: The political participation of women in Jordan: A feminist institutionalist analysis

Name of Researcher: Tharwat Al-Amro

I have read the Participant Information Sheet, and I understand the nature of the research being conducted and why I have been selected. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

- I agree to take part in this research.
- I understand that my participation shall remain confidential to the interviewer.
- I understand that the interview will take about one hour maximum.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw my participation at any time, and to withdraw any traceable data to me up to four weeks after I have received the transcripts. I also understand I will have the opportunity to comment on the transcripts during the same period of time I agree to be recorded (please choose one **Yes / No**)
- I understand that if the interview is audio- taped I can ask for the recording to be turned off at any time and that I may choose not to answer questions.
- I wish to receive a copy of the transcripts (please choose one **Yes/ No**)
- I wish to receive a summary of the results of this research project (please choose one **Yes/ No**)
I understand that the electronic data and the transcripts will be kept in a locked cabinet at the Department of political Studies for 6 years, after which time they will be destroyed.

Participant Name : _____

Participant Signature : _____ Date: _____

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON _____ FOR
_____ (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 / 7728



Room G01
14 Symonds Street
Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 64 9 373 7599
Ext: 84868/87680/84870
Facsimile 64 9 373 7499

Postal Address:
Department of Political Studies
Faculty of Arts
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 82019
Auckland, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (Member of domestic organisations)

Project Title: The political participation of women in Jordan: A feminist institutionalist analysis

Name of Researcher: Tharwat Al-Amro

Researcher Introduction

This project is being conducted by Tharwat Al-Amro, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Studies at the University of Auckland in New Zealand

Project Description and Invitation

The research will explore how feminist civil society organisations in Jordan work to support women's political participation. It will focus on domestic and international civil society organisations and the impact their work has on the representation of women in the Jordanian parliament, the cultural norms associated with women's participation in politics, and the representation of women's interests in law and society. The research hypothesises that an active and well-networked feminist civil society is a prerequisite for improving women's participation as members of political parties, members of Parliament, and in other political elites.

Your Invitation to Participate

You have been invited to participate in this project because of your expertise and your involvement in innovative ways to improve women political participation in domestic civil society organisations. The interview will require approximately one hour of your time maximum. The contribution you make to this research project will increase our understanding of the process by which civil society organisations can help with women's issues, especially facilitating an increase in women's political participation.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Your responses will remain confidential and your identity will not be revealed in any publications based on the interview material collected. However, because some women who are members of the civil society organisations, political parties or who are parliamentarians are well-known public figures, and the number of participants in this project is likely to be fewer than eighty individuals, it is possible that your identity could be determined indirectly when the results are published. The author will do everything possible to ensure that your identity remains confidential, but you should feel free to decline an interview should you be concerned about this issue.

The Right to Withdraw

The interview is entirely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw from participation at any time, for any reason. You may also withdraw, amend or correct any information you provide in the interview up to four weeks after I have forwarded you the transcript of our conversation. Contact details are provided in this information sheet.

Other Participant Options

The researcher will ask for your permission to record the interview with a digital voice recorder. Even if you agree to being recorded, you may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time. Only the principal researcher will have access to any recordings made during the course of this project. This means recorded interviews will not be shared with third parties. The principal researcher will transcribe the recordings in a password-protected electronic format and store all data on a password-protected computer. Any back-up copies, for instance USB or compact disk, will be stored in a locked cabinet within the Department of Political Studies at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. All of this data will be deleted, shredded, or destroyed six years after this project is ended.

Researcher contact details

Miss. Tharwat Al-Amro
Department of Political Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142 New Zealand
E-mail: tala016@aucklanduni.ac.nz
Tel: +64 09 373 7599 ext 89549

Or *Jordan –Amman*
P.O.Box 711598 Amman 11171
E-mail: tharwatalamro@yahoo.com
Phone: +962788827055

Supervisor contact details:

DR Jennifer Curtin, Ph.D.
Department of Political Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142 New Zealand
E-mail: j.curtin@auckland.ac.nz
+64 9 373 7599 Ext. 87437

Head of Department contact details:

Gerald Chan, Ph.D.
Department of Political Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142 New Zealand
g.chan@auckland.ac.nz
Tel: +64 09 373 7599 ext 89163

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact:

The Chair
The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142, New Zealand.
Telephone +64 9 373-7599 ext. 83711

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON
_____ FOR (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 / 7726



Room G01
14 Symonds Street
Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 64 9 373 7500
Ext: 84868/87660/84870
Facsimile 64 9 373 7499

Postal Address:
Department of Political Studies
Faculty of Arts
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET **(Politicians' candidates and in other political elites)**

Project Title: The political participation of women in Jordan: A feminist institutionalist analysis

Name of Researcher: Tharwat Al-Amro

Researcher Introduction

This project is being conducted by Tharwat Al-Amro, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Studies at the University of Auckland in New Zealand

Project Description and Invitation

The research will explore how feminist civil society organisations in Jordan work to support women's political participation. It will focus on domestic and international civil society organisations and the impact their work has on the representation of women in the Jordanian parliament, the cultural norms associated with women's participation in politics, and the representation of women's interests in law and society. The research hypothesises that an active and well-networked feminist civil society is a prerequisite for improving women's participation as members of political parties, members of Parliament, and in other political elites.

Your Invitation to Participate

You have been invited to participate in this project because of your expertise and your involvement in innovative ways to improve women's political participation as politicians' candidates and in other political elites. The interview will require approximately one hour of your time maximum. The contribution you make to this research project will increase our understanding of the process by which civil society organisations can help with women's issues, especially facilitating an increase in women's political participation.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Your responses will remain confidential and your identity will not be revealed in any publications based on the interview material collected. However, because some women who are members of civil society organisations, political parties or who are parliamentarians are well-known public figures, and the number of participants in this project is likely to be fewer than eighty individuals, it is possible that your identity could be determined indirectly when the results are published. The author will do everything possible to ensure that your identity remains confidential, but you should feel free to decline an interview should you be concerned about this issue.

The Right to Withdraw

The interview is entirely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw from participation at any time, for any reason. You may also withdraw, amend or correct any information you provide in the interview up to four weeks after I have forwarded you the transcript of our conversation. Contact details are provided in this information sheet.

Other Participant Options

The researcher will ask for your permission to record the interview with a digital voice recorder. Even if you agree to being recorded, you may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time. Only the principal researcher will have access to any recordings made during the course of this project. This means recorded interviews will not be shared with third parties. The principal researcher will transcribe the recordings in a password-protected electronic format and store all data on a password-protected computer. Any back-up copies, for instance USB or compact disk, will be stored in a locked cabinet within the Department of Political Studies at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. All of this data will be deleted, shredded, or destroyed six years after this project is ended.

Researcher contact details

Miss. Tharwat Al-Amro
Department of Political Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142 New Zealand
E-mail: tala016@aucklanduni.ac.nz
Tel: +64 09 373 7599 ext 89549

Or *Jordan –Amman*
P.O.Box 711598 Amman 11171
E-mail: tharwatalamro@yahoo.com
Phone: +962788827055

Supervisor contact details:

DR Jennifer Curtin, Ph.D.
Department of Political Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142 New Zealand
E-mail: j.curtin@auckland.ac.nz
+64 9 373 7599 Ext. 87437

Head of Department contact details:

Gerald Chan, Ph.D.
Department of Political Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142 New Zealand
g.chan@auckland.ac.nz
Tel: +64 09 373 7599 ext 89163

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact:

The Chair
The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142, New Zealand.
Telephone +64 9 373-7599 ext. 83711

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON
_____ FOR (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 / 7726

Room G01
14 Symonds Street
Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 64 9 373 7599
Ext: 84868/87660/84870
Facsimile 64 9 373 7499

Postal Address:
Department of Political Studies
Faculty of Arts
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (International organisations and domestic organisations)

Project Title: The political participation of women in Jordan: A feminist institutionalist analysis

Name of Researcher: Tharwat Al-Amro

Researcher Introduction

This project is being conducted by Tharwat Al-Amro, a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Studies at the University of Auckland in New Zealand

Project Description and Invitation

The research will explore how feminist civil society organisations in Jordan work to support women's political participation. It will focus on domestic and international civil society organisations and the impact their work has on the representation of women in the Jordanian parliament, the cultural norms associated with women's participation in politics, and the representation of women's interests in law and society. The research hypothesises that an active and well-networked feminist civil society is a prerequisite for improving women's participation as members of political parties, members of Parliament, and in other political elites.

Your Invitation to Participate

You have been invited to participate in this project because of your expertise and your involvement in innovative ways to advance women's political participation. The interview will require approximately one hour of your time maximum. The contribution you make to this research project will increase our understanding of the process by which civil society organisations can help with women's issues, especially facilitating an increase in women's political participation.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Your responses in the interview will remain confidential and your identity will not be revealed in any publications based on the interview material collected. However, because some women who are members of the civil society organisations, political parties or who are parliamentarians are well-known public figures, and the number of participants in this project is likely to be fewer than eighty individuals, it is possible that your identity could be determined indirectly when the results are published. The author will do everything possible to ensure that your identity remains confidential, but you should feel free to decline an interview should you be concerned about this issue.

The Right to Withdraw

The interview is entirely voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw from participation at any time, for any reason. You may also withdraw, amend or correct any information you provide in the interview up to four weeks after I have forwarded you the transcript of our conversation. Contact details are provided in this information sheet.

Other Participant Options

The researcher will ask for your permission to record the interview with a digital voice recorder. Even if you agree to being recorded, you may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time. Only the principal researcher will have access to any recordings made during the course of this project. This means recorded interviews will not be shared with third parties. The principal researcher will transcribe the recordings in a password-protected electronic format and store all data on a password-protected computer. Any back-up copies, for instance USB or compact disk, will be stored in a locked cabinet within the Department of Political Studies at the University of Auckland, New Zealand. All of this data will be deleted, shredded, or destroyed six years after this project is ended.

Researcher contact details

Miss. Tharwat Al-Amro
Department of Political Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142 New Zealand
E-mail: tala016@aucklanduni.ac.nz
Tel: +64 09 373 7599 ext 89549

Or **Jordan –Amman**
P.O.Box 711598 Amman 11171
E-mail: tharwatalamro@yahoo.com
Phone: +962788827055

Supervisor contact details:

DR Jennifer Curtin, Ph.D.
Department of Political Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142 New Zealand
E-mail: j.curtin@auckland.ac.nz
+64 9 373 7599 Ext. 87437

Head of Department contact details:

Gerald Chan, Ph.D.
Department of Political Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142 New Zealand
g.chan@auckland.ac.nz,
Tel: +64 09 373 7599 ext 89163

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact:

The Chair
The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee
The University of Auckland, Office of the Vice Chancellor
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142, New Zealand.
Telephone +64 9 373-7599 ext. 83711

APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE ON
_____ FOR (3) YEARS, REFERENCE NUMBER 2011 / 7726

Appendix 5

Interviewee Codes

- First category: International women's civil organisations (IWCSOs). Each participant from the main office of two organisations has been given a number code. For IWCSOs A, this code is from 1-3, and for IWCSOs B it is from 1-3 (e.g., IWCSOs A1, IWCSOs B1).

- Second category: The main domestic women's civil society organisations (DWCSOs). Each participant from the main offices of the JNCW and JNFW were given numbers which included the name of the organisations.

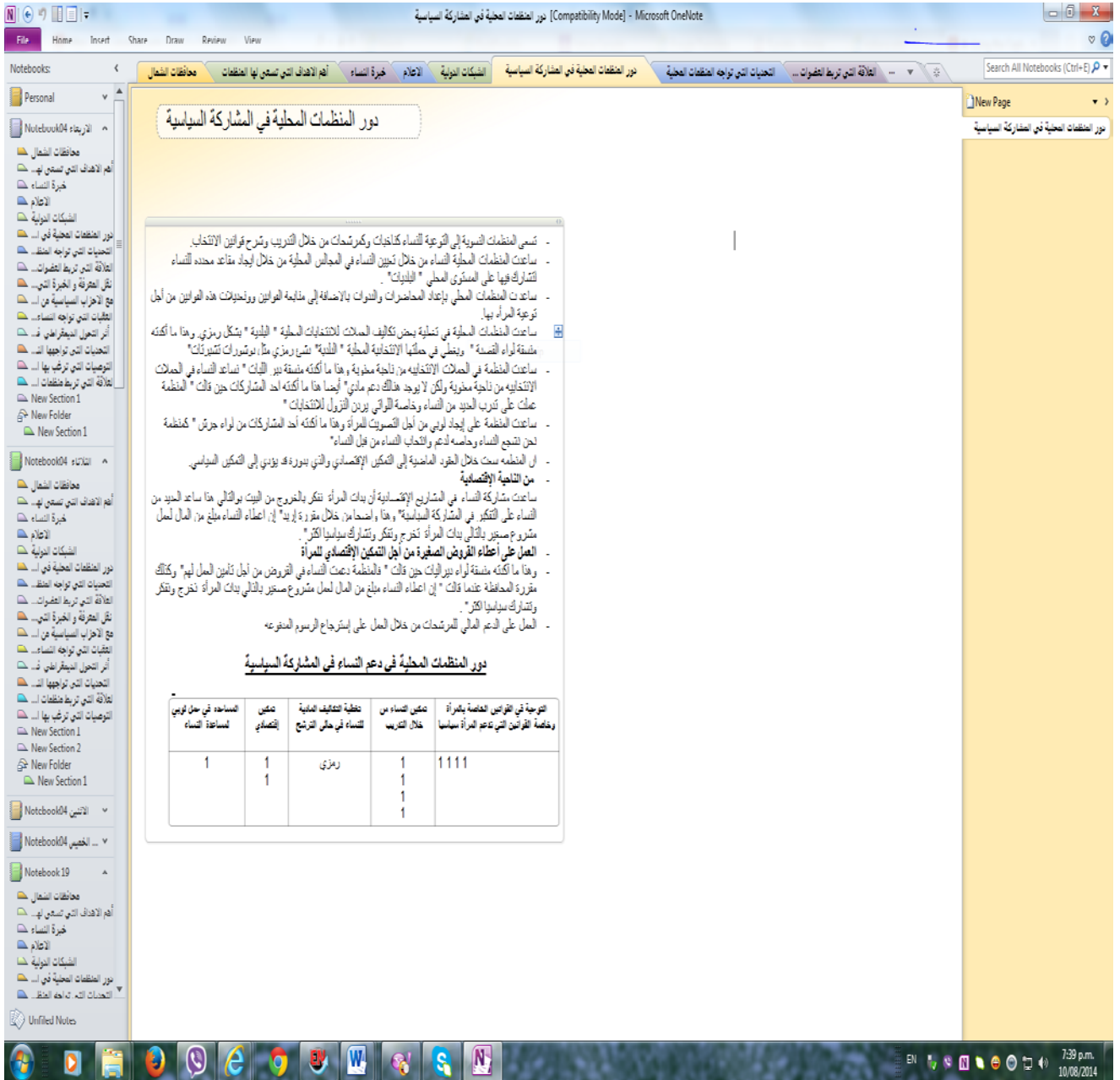
- Third category: The participants from domestic women's civil society organisations from the twelve provinces. Amman (the capital), Zarqa, Balqa, Ajlun, Jarash, Irbid, Mafraq, Madaba, Karak, Tafilah, Ma'an, and Aqabahave been given an anonymous number code for the province and a code that relates to the domestic organisation. (e.g., JNFW1, prov2).

- Fourth category: Women politicians who were members of political parties or ministers. Each participant has been given a number along with the code "WP" (e.g., WP1). Women parliamentarians' participants. These women were given a number along with the code "MPs" (e.g., MPs1).

- Fifth category: Women candidates for office. Each participant has been given a number along with the code "WC" (e.g., WC1).

Appendix 6

OneNote Software



This picture shows the Software of OneNote, which has been used to organise the data, and how the themes have been organised, on the top the themes, and on the left the categories.

Appendix 7

Jordanian women's participation in political parties since in 1992

Date of Establishment	Political Party	Number of members	Men	Women	Percentage of Women
7/12/1992	The Islamic Action Front Party	821	757	64	7,7%
17/1/1993	The Communist Party of Jordan	525	364	161	30,6%
18/1/1993	The Baath Arab Socialist Party	526	433	93	17,6%
24/1/1993	The Jordanian People's Democratic Party	578	292	282	48,7%
9/2/1993	The Democratic Party of Popular Unity of Jordan	512	373	193	37,6%
3/4/1993	Du'aa Party	535	215	320	59,8%
13/4/1993	The Progressive Arab Baath Party	579	406	173	29,8%
7/5/1997	The National Constitutional Party	4250	4000	250	5,8%
10/7/1997	The Nationalist Movement Party of Direct Democracy	537	326	211	32,2%
19/12/2001	The Islamic Wasat party	508	411	79	15,5%
31/12/2002	Al Rasalah Party	509	452	57	11,19%
14/3/2007	National Party of Jordan	714	309	405	56,7%
30/9/2007	The Islamic Front Party of Jordan Unified	541	508	33	6%
19/2/2008 8/2/9	Life Party of Jordan	567	382	185	32,6%
17/2/2009	The Welfare Party of Jordan	508	282	226	44,4%
2009	National Tayyar Party	*	*	*	*
10/3/2012	The National Youth Jordanian Party	1000	700	300	30%

* No enough information. Source: Data from Ministry of Interior, 2012, Jordanian National Commission for Women, National Report *The progress of women toward the Jordanian justice, participation and equality 2010-2011*, Amman, Jordan, 2011.

Appendix 8

Key moments/events for women in Jordan

Year	Key moments/events of women
1940-1960	The First Phase of women's movement
1945	Established the first women's organisations
1948	The war between Palestine- Israel
1951	Act 36 1951 by the Ministry of Social Development
1954	Establishing the Arab Women's Union (AWU)
1957	The Jordanian Constitution include the right for educated women to vote for educated women
1966	King Hussain asked the Prime Minister to study the demand of women for the right to vote and to run for offices
1970-1980	The Second Phase of women's movement
1967	The Arabic-Israel war
1974	The demand of the Jordanian constitution that the right of Jordanian women to vote and to be elected was extended to all women not educated women
1975	The Second World Conference for Women in Copenhagen
1980	General Federation of Jordanian Women established under Act No. 60 of 1981
1981	The women's movement re-established the JWU
1985	Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi
From the end of 1980s-1990	The Third Phase of women's movement
1989	Transition to democracy and the first election
1990-1991	Occupation of Iraq in 1990 and the Gulf War of 1991
1992	The political parties law has established
1992	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women CEDAW
1994	The Jordanian Women's Union (JWU) re-established
1995	The Fourth UN World Conference for Women in Beijing
1995	The Jordanian National Commission for Women JNFW established as an umbrella for all women's organisations
1995	The Jordanian National Forum for Women JNFW
2001	Electoral Act, Amendment No. 34 of 2001 to include quota reserved seats
2003	The first election that Jordanian women have participates with the quota system and have won six seats
2006-2010	Women's organisations and updating the National Strategy for Women